then the ideas of structure and narrative must evolve correspondingly to accommodate. The site of the image in a time-based chain of interpretation must remain fertile.

Shelve the Victorian model of narrative arc and structure.
Or let it respond transformatively to the content.

Consider the indecisive moment.[7]
Free the reproduced event from the essentialization of narratives and story.

Find the epic-banal.
Bring elation to the experience of blackness. Acknowledge the magnificence of the universe's encasement in the social, awaiting other forms.

Lean toward experience creation.
Most logic and blackness are in constant debate. Create the personal-poetic experience of blackness, renew the encounter.

Use music as mentor.
What music does, the universe is. Embody this musicality, its being, forms, its liquid organization, its escape from reason and the need to justify itself. Or be dance.

Incomplete the work.
Default to resignifying. Require joint meaning making. Viewer + work = an instance of finished work.

Reach the mainstream with nonindustrial image production.
Work outside of industrial time and factory processes (and beyond the arthritics of the old avant-garde).

Time becomes the new medium, a clock measuring the long macro drawl of a racial gesture left out, its meaning in respite for a pacemaker's life span or two. Weather and sculpture. Iterations of time in the phenomenon called blackness. In-America suspension. A mountain to its knees. A movement toward the present. An acquired taste for images and films. Of their own volition.

Notes

1. It is the Black Quantum Zeno Effect, following up on Carlo Raveli, *The Order of Time* (London: Allen Lane, 2018).
2. They are today what the steam engine and electricity were to the Industrial Revolution.
3. Charles W. Mills, "Non-Cartesian Sums: Philosophy and the African-American Experience," in Mills, *Blackness Visible: Essays on Philosophy and Race* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 1–20.
4. Can one explore the image/moving image within a decolonialized, polytheistic imaginary?
5. Nicole Fleetwood, *Troubling Vision: Performance, Visuality, and Blackness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
6. To rise above black representational space. See Darby English, *How to See a Work of Art in Total Darkness* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).
7. This is opposed to Henri Cartier-Bresson's Decisive Moment, which referred to capturing an event that is ephemeral and spontaneous, where the image represents the essence of the event itself. See Henri Cartier-Bresson, *The Decisive Moment/Images à la Sauvette* (New York: Simon and Schuster; Paris: Editions Verve, 1952).

Watching White Supremacy on Digital Video Platforms: "Screw Your Optics, I'm Going In"

Lisa Nakamura

> HIAS likes to bring invaders in who kill our people.
> I can't sit by and watch my people get slaughtered.
> Screw your optics, I'm going in.
> —@onedingo (Robert Bowers)

Here, now, are three exhortations about where film and media studies need to move in order for us to understand how digital platforms support fatally racist media, how they ought to be regulated, and how this media exploits and remediates earlier forms—all things that film and media scholars already know how to do.[1] It's not enough to say that the world has changed and media studies must change with it. Instead, we must ask ourselves what we're going to do about it. How do our skills matter in this ghastly moment in U.S. history? What are the best practices and methods for understanding right-wing white supremacist media?

The Case for White Digital Media Studies

It is too easy to simply blame the "Internet"—specifically, YouTube, video games, and social media—for the militant far right's renaissance. One of the first tenets of any introduction

to a media technology class is that it is impossible to understand how platforms for distribution, production, and exhibition relate to social and cultural effects without studying other key factors.

Digital media studies need to critique white digital media culture to understand how the Internet has enabled far-right-wing organizing, media distribution, and production. The very same interactivity that allowed for more gender-balanced participatory media cultures like fan and slash fiction also enabled right-wing meme culture and Pepe the Frog. Though U.S. racial histories show with crystal-clear accuracy the existence of white privilege, digital media studies need to go further than an exclusive focus on oppression.

First, we need to study white-identity media on all its platforms, especially when it is sickeningly horrible and racist. Film scholars with the stomach to screen *The Birth of a Nation* (D. W. Griffith, 1915) in introductory film courses should follow that line to its conclusion and include online content as part of a long history of mediated racial violence. For unlike *The Birth of a Nation*, this content is live and influencing thousands of viewers in a single day; they may not always see the through lines, but media scholars do.

We must center whiteness as a racial identity when we study race and media. Anthologies and university syllabi on "race and film" or "race and television" rarely contain any readings about whiteness, assuming that "race" means African, Asian, or Latinx media. The field of "whiteness studies" was pioneered by scholars such as David Roediger, Richard Jensen, Richard Dyer, and others, and there has never been a better time to learn from this body of work. In particular, we really need to study white femininity; hence my focus in this short piece on reading race and gender in pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic social media posts.

This is a very difficult job, given that the majority of media scholars are white and positioned at elite institutions, as are their students and colleagues. White people often feel blamed when their identities are discussed, and want to disavow any common ground with white-supremacy movements. But, as Tara McPherson has written, the alternative is worse.[2] McPherson employs a multifaceted, lenticular logic to analyze this understudied and fraught identity, and her research on whiteness and white supremacy on digital platforms spans the period from the late 1990s to the present. White nationalists use digital media platforms to cloak and conceal a reactionary vision of whiteness within an assertion of "heritage" preservation, and also to hide behind the Internet's pseudonymity.

McPherson's groundbreaking essay on the late-1990s website Dixie net, an online forum and gathering space for proto-confederates, not only was one of the first published pieces of scholarship on the topic, but also foreshadowed some of the techniques so prominent today in right-wing social media and gaming culture.[3] As she has discovered in her current research on contemporary digital white supremacy or, as she calls it, "intersectional racism," this movement's media strategies have evolved from covert expression to bold identification with Nazi media.[4] "Emboldened" is the word I hear most commonly used to describe white-supremacy movements today. We must be bolder.

Robert Bowers's Gab post announcing his intention to "go in" to the Tree of Life temple (and "shoot as many Jews as possible," as he told the police who extracted him from the building) featured a photograph of a device with a digital readout with the number "1488." This number is code for "Heil Hitler," according to the Anti-Defamation League's hate symbols database. As distasteful as it is, media scholars need to become familiar with this culture's iconographies, its visual preoccupations, its citational practices.

The American right wing is profoundly interested in media history. They are voracious viewers of archival video. Digital video citation is ubiquitous: it is a built-in feature on most social media platforms, and users automatically look for the Share button when viewing any online video. Consider the case of Empress_Wife (@empres_wife). Her profile description reads: "Smash Cultural Marxism & Feminism (purple cross emoji), Proud Housewife and Mom, heart emoji, I love U.S.A. and Europa, Femininity (star emoji), 25 Years Old, Pro-White, #TradLife, #TradLife, #WhiteUnity." This summer, she posted a video clip on Twitter that stopped me dead in my tracks.

I have studied misogyny, racism, and discrimination on digital media since 1996, and I thought that I could no longer be shocked by anything on the Internet, but my jaw literally dropped when watching this. Embedded in a tweet was a grainy black-and-white video of an angry Nazi giving a speech. I did not have the sound on, but the subtitles told me that he was espousing the Final Solution in front of a large audience. The man shook his fist and wagged his finger at his audience. It was Josef Goebbels, saying that Germans had thought that Jews could not be replaced in German culture because of their key contributions to German cultural institutions such as film, art, and music, but that they had indeed been replaced, and could thus be exterminated. Many commenters responded positively to the post, asserting that Jews were not white and needed to be eliminated.
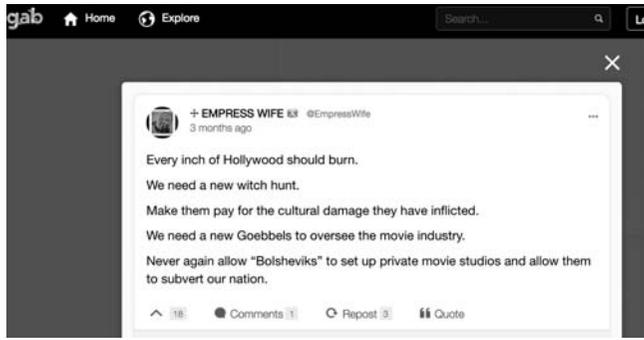
EmpressWife on Gab.com.

I reported this video to Twitter as hate speech, "de-signed to harm a specific group," but when I checked back a week or two later, this post and account were still there. I was not surprised. Content moderators are very poorly paid and overworked, and certainly not chosen for their knowledge of the history of World War II in Europe; given that many of them are working from sites like the Philippines, where labor is much cheaper than it is in the United States, they may have different cultural refer-ents and may not have realized who Goebbels was or why this was hate speech. However, the comments on the post made it clear that many who saw it knew exactly what it was, and "liked" it for that reason.

Right-wing "pro-white" Twitter is full of sentimental his-torical images of Nazis: one account claims to tell the story of World War II from the "German point of view," with pho-tos of German officers holding adorable blond children, kissing wives, and looking wholesome. It is important to note that this is an American right-wing site, not a German one. Other accounts feature vintage photos and advertising pictures of traditional American families from the 1950s, and contemporary stock photographs of beautiful women in traditional European dress (braids and dirndls being partic-ularly popular). These citational practices of nostalgic white-ness visually reclaim an idealized white past as a model for American's future.

Film scholars have vast experience studying genocidal propaganda. We know how to study racist propaganda films, their role in the rise of "populist" movements, their means of production and distribution, their audiences, and forms of resistance and activism against them. As social me-dia platforms invite users to upload video with the goal of monetizing and capturing users and their data, they have much to tell us about new citational practices. For example, how do the Maltese crosses so common on user profiles, or images of American and German families, echo these earlier forms?

American neo-Nazis have written themselves into a highly visible digital presence just most other Internet users do: by appropriating media images from YouTube and other online sources. Their social media represents an archival showcase of video and photographs of white su-premacists. Media scholars are uniquely equipped to ana-lyze what these images mean, how they are deployed, and how they invoke new forms of digital whiteness defined by a right-wing past.

Defining White Supremacy: The Case for an Integrated Model of Digital-Media Scholarship

Here is my second proposition. Media scholar Julie D'Acci's work modeled a multimethod approach to analyzing televi-sion because the field needed it.[5] Two decades ago, her book *Defining Women* researched the industry, employed textual close reading, provided a cultural history of the medium and the program, and delved into the gender and race politics of the time through a virtuoso reading of *Cagney & Lacey* (CBS, 1981–88), convincingly demonstrating that if we want to do a good job as media scholars we need to study them all together.

Never have we have needed these skills more than we do now, when platforms are so much more fluid, ephem-eral, and unaccountable than analog broadcasting ever was. Empress_Wife was finally suspended from Twitter sometime early in the fall. I can no longer find these posts on Twitter because she was permabanned from that plat-form. I couldn't find them on Gab for a few days, either, because Gab was dropped or "deplatformed" by its service providers such as its ISP, Joyent; by online payment sites Paypal and Stripe;, and by domain name server GoDaddy after the Pittsburg shooting. But her content remained view-able on archive sites, demonstrating the futility of digital reg-ulation.[6] While the site was down, Google preserved and indexed her posts on Twitter even though they led to dead links; each search included the first line or two of every one. They weren't gone, but their original context was, so schol-ars must move to create their own visual archives of this material—a job that we have been trained to do.

Gab.com CEO Andrew Torba claimed that the platform was a victim of censorship when the services that they needed in order to do business refused to serve them after the Pittsburgh shooting. Without the capacity to collect rev-enue from users or to broadcast their site, they were basically invisible, except as archived posts or truncated search results on Google. Yet gab.com simultaneously boasted that it could not be killed, and indeed it quickly found new providers and was back in business.

Killing Platforms

Digital platforms need regulation, and media scholars need to be part of this process. The *New York Times* and others are quick to blame platforms rather than users for the Pittsburgh killing and the rise of white supremacy; though Bowers shot the Jewish worshippers in their temple, Gab.com was targeted for providing the means and motive. Platforms have gone from invisible to hypervisible incredibly quickly; we have come a long way from the "If you don't like it, don't use it" days of digital media. Though digital platforms have never been less popular or trusted than they are now, they are the means by which key professional media producers reach audiences—and that is not likely to change anytime soon. Just this spring, professional Fortnite player Tyler "Ninja" Blevins made $350,000 a month from Twitch subscriptions. This puts him in a very powerful position, for Twitch has little incentive to ban or regulate a player who brings in so much revenue.

However, as researchers at the Data and Society Research group and at Georgia Tech have shown, "deplatforming works."[7] When overtly racist subreddits were banned by Reddit in 2015, "more accounts than expected discontinued using the site; those that stayed dramatically decreased their hate speech usage: by at least 80%."[8] This is just one example of how platforms are starting to regulate themselves, albeit in an extremely haphazard, uncoordinated, inconsistent way. Here is where our skills as digital media scholars, infrastructure and industry experts, and visual culture scholars should be activated. Digital media scholars know how to analyze digital practices, platforms, technological histories, and cultural contexts. Media policy scholars in particular have invaluable perspectives to contribute to digital-platform regulation. The world has never needed them more.

Notes

1. The epigraph is from gab.com, October 27, 2018.
2. Tara McPherson, "I'll Take My Stand in Dixie-net: White Guys, the South, and Cyberspace," in *Race in Cyberspace,* ed. Beth Kolko, Lisa Nakamura, and Gil Rodman (New York: Routledge, 2000), 118–31.
3. McPherson, "I'll Take My Stand."
4. Tara McPherson, "Digital Platforms and Hate Speech," paper presented at the Society for Cinema and Media Studies conference, Toronto, 2018.
5. Julie D'Acci, *Defining Women: Television and the Case of Cagney and Lacey* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
6. Adam Rosenberg, "Gab, a Racist-Friendly Alternative to Twitter, Has Been Banned by PayPay and Others," *Mashable*, October 28, 2018, https://mashable.com/article/gab-paypal-stripe-joyent-synagogue-shooting/#A9lZ_MVSqPq3.
7. Jason Koebler, "Deplatforming Works," *Motherboard*, August 10, 2018, https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/bjbp9d/do-social-media-bans-work.
8. Eshwar Chandrasekharan, Umashanthi Pavalanathan, Anirudh Srinivasan, Adam Glynn, Jacob Eisenstein, and Eric Gilbert, "You Can't Stay Here: The Efficacy Of Reddit's 2015 Ban Examined through Hate Speech," *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 1, no. 2, article 31, November 2017, http://comp.social.gatech.edu/papers/cscw18-chand-hate.pdf.

MANIFESTO

Hutukara ("The Part of the Sky from Which the Earth Was Born," in Yanomami)

Karim Aïnouz and Viviane Letayf

Act 1: Context and Provocations

The Brazilian general elections, a process that was concluded on October 28, 2018, offer a possible scenario for understanding what is going astray with the world at large. Throughout this process, what Brazilians witnessed was a spectacle that never strayed far from the script of catastrophe and that most surely promises to continue doing so. Following a sequence of events that would make any spectator gasp in horror, in Brazil today one sleeps fitfully, in anxious anticipation of waking up to the next calamity about to explode in the morning headlines.

The crowd of electoral spectators witnessed a heterodox script during this period, which promised to fulfill all aesthetic tastes while reality was melting into an online menu of entertainment film content: crime, horror, science fiction, high melodrama, thriller, suspense, porn comedies, and fantasies—to cite just a few.

For those who prefer the crime genre, it went in the direction of documentary in Brazil last fall, presenting endless live-action killings and violent attacks. It was like watching *The Purge* (James DeMonaco, 2013), *Funny Games* (Michael