AMERICAN WHITE SUPREMACIST REACTIONISM & GROUP FORMATION:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS IN THE WAKES OF EMANCIPATION &

RECONSTRUCTION (1863-1877) & THE GLOBAL RISE OF THE BLACK LIVES

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Abstract

White supremacist reactionism in America tends to arise and intensify during periods of major social, political, and economic shifts that threaten the white hegemonic power structures built into the foundations of the United States. This thesis diachronically compares two periods in American history which characterize waves of white supremacist reactionism: (1) The Reconstruction era (1863-1877) following the Union victory of the Civil War and the subsequent emancipation of the enslaved Black populations in the South, and (2) The Black Lives Matter (BLM) era, (May 25, 2020-present) identified in this thesis as the period following the global rise of the BLM movement after the 2020 Memorial Day police murder of unarmed Black man, George Floyd. These selected eras will be diachronically compared through the subject case study of two reactionary white supremacist groups for each era that formed or significantly grew in response to the associated trigger event(s). Two groups were selected from each era based on the trajectory of their organization during the given era and the availability of relevant sources. The Reconstruction era groups looked at are the Ku Klux Klan (1865-1877) and the Red Shirts (1876-1900). The selected BLM era groups are Patriot Front (2017-present) and The Base (2018-present). Chapter 1 will provide background and context on the eras while Chapter 2 provides the beliefs, ethos, and aims of White Supremacist Reactionaries through the examination of concepts such as Replacement Theory and constructions of 'Whiteness' and 'Blackness'. Chapter 3 is dedicated to case studies and analysis. This thesis found significant overlap in each era's ideologies, grievances and fears, and aims, while recruitment tactics and group actions and activities. This thesis concludes that these differences in each groups' violent actions and activities are dependent on the degrees of law enforcement and government intervention imposed upon the group and its members in the given time and context.

Introduction

"One day, perhaps, unimaginable generations hence, we will evolve into the knowledge that human beings are more important than real estate and will permit this knowledge to become the ruling principle of our lives".[1]

In recent years, the strife of Black[2] Americans, as well as the structural racism and the rhetoric and actions of American white supremacists, have become unprecedently recognized throughout the United States and the world. Much of this is due to the national and global rise of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement following the grim public murder of George Floyd, an unarmed Black American, by Minneapolis police on May 25, 2020. This thesis will focus on the reactionism following the murder of George Floyd in May of 2020 and the subsequent reactionary violence and group formation. The white supremacist reactionism of the BLM era following Floyd's murder (May 25, 2020-present) will be diachronically compared to that of the Reconstruction era reactionary violence and group formation following the emancipation of America's African American slave population (1863-1877). The rhetoric, behaviors, and ethos of white supremacist reactionaries following the Floyd's murder strongly mirrors span back and beyond the emancipation of slaves in America. The fervor, however, of white supremacist reactionism has snowballed concomitantly since BLM germinated into an influential global movement following the murder of Floyd.

This thesis chose to diachronically compare four reactionary American white supremacist groups that formed or significantly grew in the aftermath of two major triggering events that shifted the structurally racist power structures in America: The KKK and the Red Shirts of the

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[1] James Baldwin, *Nothing Personal* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1964), 44.

[2] The term 'Black' will be capitalized in this thesis to distinguish the discussion of a peoples rather than an adjective. Danyelle Solomon and Abril Castro, "Systemic Inequality: Displacement, Exclusion, and Segregation - How America's Housing System Undermines Wealth Building in Communities of Color," August 7, 2019, https://www.americanprogress.org/article/systemic-inequality-displacement-exclusion-segregation/.

Reconstruction era (1863-1877) and Patriot Front and The Base from the BLM era (May 25, 2020-present). This thesis identified and selected the two groups due to them demonstrating a recognized increase in activity and membership following their associated triggering event(s) (i.e., the Emancipation Proclamation and the global rise of the BLM movement), and because they had sufficient sourcing available to allow for sufficient case study. This thesis hypothesizes that white supremacist reactionism is triggered by major shifts in the social, political, and economic white hegemonic hierarchical systems in America. Putting pressure on all levels of the systematically-racist foundations of American society, – from government and politics to academia and the labor market – progressive shifts and civil rights receive resistance of various forms through official and unofficial channels. The official reactionary channels rely on legal and political methods that use 'slow violence' to dominate Black and marginalized populations, while unofficial channels take the forms of individual and group acts of racial violence and intimidation. This thesis will look at group formation and activity in these periods through diachronic case study comparison. A limitation to this study is the overwhelming proportion of present-day BLM era reactionary violence is that it is perpetuated by individual 'lone wolf' actors. This thesis chose to focus on group formation for this diachronic study, despite the limitations, due to the paralyzing lack of reliable data on Reconstruction era non-group-related racist violence and because of the informative nuances inherent in group formation and activity. Unlike the multi-factorial, socially and psychologically complex manifestations of clandestine lone-wolf violent extremism and terrorism plaguing present-day America, examining group formation allows researchers to better access the ideologies, grievances, aims, organizational styles, members, and actions. Additionally, the diachronic method allows researchers to identify trends and shifts in behavior and activity across time. Diachronically comparing the four above-mentioned reactionary groups will be done

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along the factors of 'years of operation', 'ideology', 'grievances and fears', 'aims', 'recruitment', 'members', and 'actions and activities'.

First formally used in Lazare Carnot's 1797 essay on the 'coup d'état' near the end of the French Revolution, the term 'reactionary' was used by Carnot in his depictions of his bereavement for being exiled from the government alongside, "[…] the same villains, then acting as factious reactionaries".[3] Contemporarily, 'Reactionism' is a term reserved for instances when individuals or groups reactively seek to prevent political or social change; further, it is most often associated with radical conservatism and right-wing conspiracy.[4] This is due to the right turn in the etymology of the term 'reactionism' in the early twentieth-century with the rise of the Nazi party. The reactionism of the Third Reich emphasized notions of resurrecting the idealized and politicized past as the 'German empire of old'.[5] Thereafter, reactionism became a concept inextricably linked to right-wing, fascist, nationalist, and ethnonationalist movements. Affectively driven by the 'compulsory psychological phenomenon' '*ressentiment*',[6] political reactionaries use 'scapegoating' to narrate the 'victimization' of their ingroup while regulating their emotions through the weaponization of their 'anger', 'hatred', and 'ressentiment' towards targeted persons in the outgroup(s).[7] Stemming from a 'longstanding tradition' of reactionism in American

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[3] Derrick F. Till, "Reactionism: Resurrecting the Past" (University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, 2017), 3.
[4] "Conspiracism" is, historically and presently, a key feature in far-right movements. See, Iskander Rehman, "Rise of the Reactionaries: The American Far Right and U.S. Foreign Policy," *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2017): 29–48.
[5] Till, "Reactionism: Resurrecting the Past," 3.
[6] Coined and "elaborated" by German philosophers Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1868) and Max Scheler (1874-1928), "ressentiment" is the "emotional mechanism" which influences the "transvaluation processes" where 1. the "unattainable" is reassessed as "undesirable", and 2. the individual's "self-form" being perceived as "inferior" is reassessed as "superior". The experience of ressentiment fuels reactionaries' "revenge impulses" and negative emotions of "envy", "shame", and "inefficacious anger". See, Mikko Salmela and Tereza Capelos, "Ressentiment: A Complex Emotion or an Emotional Mechanism of Psychic Defences?," *Politics and Governance* 9, no. 3 (2021): 191–203.
[7] Ibid., 199–200.

Politics,[8] these motivators are believed to have 'propelled' the 2021 storming of the U.S. capital on January 6, following the defeat of President Donald Trump to President Joe Biden, by over two-thousand reactionary right-wing Trump supporters.[9]

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) , "the growth of a mainstream reactionary rightwing movement in 2021 is inextricably linked to the powerful racial justice movement [BLM] that mobilized Americans in 2020".[10] Floyd's murder sparked world-wide protests and demonstrations demanding recognition and revision of the complex multitude of racial injustices regularly enforced upon and experienced by Black, indigenous, and people of color (Black and IPOC)[11] in America and around the globe. As a result, the white supremacist and alt-right advocates of the world responded en masse. In 2020, white supremacist propaganda in the U.S. doubled, reaching record levels.[12] Veiled in nationalist patriotism, these white supremacist messages called for recruits to join in the fight against Blacks, Muslims, non-white immigrants, Jews, the LGBTQIA+, and other 'undesirable' minorities that threatened to undermine the moral and material order of the country's white majority. The number of attempted and completed hate crimes have sky-rocketed since Floyd's murder; resulting in an unprecedented, successive chain of political violence and lethal action targeted at Black people, non-whites, Muslims, Jews,

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[8] Rehman, "Rise of the Reactionaries: The American Far Right and U.S. Foreign Policy," 30.

[9] "The Year in Hate and Extremism: 2021" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2022), 4.

[10] Ibid., 5.

[11] This thesis will use the term "Black and IPOC" when discussing issues that impact the BIPOC community. In highlighting the Black community in this chosen terminology, this thesis aims to recognize and respect the sentiments made in 2021 by Kenyan academic Awino Okech who found the BLM movement to be moving since it allowed Black people - in America and around the world - to '[...] talk about Blackness without being buried under the banner of "people of color"'. Awino Okech and Shereen Essof, "Global Movement for Black Lives: A Conversation between Awino Okech and Shereen Essof," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 2021, 5.

[12] Kanishka Singh, "White Supremacist Propaganda in U.S. Hit Record in 2020, Group Says Singh," *Reuters*, March 17, 2021, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-white-supremacy/white-supremacist-propaganda-in-u-s-hit-record-in-2020-group-says-idUSKBN2B917P.

immigrants, and queer peoples.[13] Focusing on fears of BLM, immigration, race mixing, Jewish conspiracies, and liberal 'race-traitors', today's white supremacist reactionism is approaching a new zenith, one which is becoming transnational in scale. In the U.S., scores of white supremacist groups and organizations have formed and/or attained significant membership and participation since the summer of 2020. The enthusiasm to reverse the tides of change washing over and leveling the racial, economic, and social terrain of America has reached a level not experienced since the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s and the Reconstruction era of the late nineteenth-century.

It should be of no surprise that major shifts in national and societal norms and practices tend to trigger reactionism and counter-efforts by the established hegemonies. In the United States, reactionaries have mobilized in opposition to many movements and legislative changes. The most severe of these reactionary trends have developed in response to political and social challenges to the racial hierarchy. Such was the case following the Civil War (1861-1865) and the Emancipation Proclamation (1 January 1863) ending slavery and the Civil Rights movement and subsequent Civil Rights Act of 1964. Presently, these forces have set their sights on the BLM movement, as it challenges the fervent social and structural racism and white supremacy woven into the fabric of the United States. Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild claimed in his 2016 book *Strangers in their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*, that the prevailing narrative of white (Southern) men during the Reconstruction era of the1860s, the Civil Rights era of the 1960s, and today is that they and other whites are unfairly being pushed back in line by undeserving 'others' (i.e., Blacks, northerners, immigrants, women, LGBTQIA+ peoples, etc.).[14] In comparing the

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[13] Chauncey Devega, "Tucker Carlson Prepares White Nationalists for War: Don't Ignore the Power of His Rhetoric," *Salon*, June 30, 2021, https://www.salon.com/2021/06/30/tucker-carlson-prepares-white-nationalists-for-war-dont-ignore-the-power-of-his-rhetoric/.

[14] Arlie Russel Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York, NY: The New Press, 2016), 225.

manifestations of white supremacist reactionism (i.e., reactions, grievances, motivations, fears, rhetoric, justifications, and slogans) and group formation (i.e., the Ku Klux Klan, Patriot Front, etc.), what are the commonalities and distinctions between white supremacist reactionism during the Reconstruction era following the emancipation of the slaves in America (1863-1877) and that succeeding the national and global rise of the BLM movement following the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police (May 25, 2020 – present)?

Between these two periods of major civil rights reform and racial reckoning, several white supremacist themes are located in both cases, including: perceived threats of an impending 'white genocide', fears of race suicide and degeneracy, eugenic actions and calls for the removal or eradication of non-whites and other 'undesirables' from the country, claims of racism and discrimination being targeted against white people, and the propagation of 'Replacement Theory' which asserts that Jews, non-whites, and immigrants seek to intentionally replace the white race through violence, war, reproduction, race-mixing, and other tactics.[15] This thesis will focus primarily on the 'alt-right' subgroup of the 'far-right'. The alt-right, or 'Alternative Right', is a subsection of far-right ideology which places 'white identity' at the center of its ethos and contends that 'political correctness' and 'social justice' are aimed at weakening the power and legitimacy of the white race and 'white civilization'.[16] Far-right ideologies are political, social, and religious in nature and encompass white supremacist movements (i.e., neo-Nazis, racist skinheads, the alt-right, etc.) and extremist anti-government sentiment.

This thesis strives to identify a number of notable commonalities between these periods, as well as noteworthy distinctions. Regarding the latter, the most significant difference between the

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[15] Andrew Pel and Meghan Conroy, "What White Supremacists Are Saying Online and Doing Offline," *Inkstick*, July 7, 2021, https://inkstickmedia.com/what-white-supremacists-are-saying-online-and-doing-offline/.

[16] "Alt-Right," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2021, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/alt-right.

white supremacist reactionism in America today in relation to that in the Reconstruction era is the breadth of the categorization of 'racial'[17] and social 'others' who the reactionaries identify as the primary threats to white hegemony and white existence itself. Counter to the major focus of racist reactionism following the Civil War, being African Americans and Northern Republicans, the reactionaries of the present-day regard immigrants from ethnically-colored nations to be as much a proportionate threat to the 'white nation' as Black Americans. There also appears to be a significant element of antisemitism woven into the present conspiracies regarding the supposed effort posed by white supremacists and the alt-right that an international cabal of Jews who, in some theories are now aligned with Muslims, are engaged in efforts to wipe out the white race.[18] A part of the present-day Replacement Theory narrative, these neo-Nazi conspiracies have flourished in recent years, with debunked fliers falsely attributed to BLM stating, "White men, women and children, you are the enemy",[19] and outrageous theories that liberal Jewish billionaire George Soros paid to populate BLM protests as part of the Jewish-run global cabal using Black people to carry out their bidding.[20] Still echoing in many of our ears is the synchronous enraged slogan 'Jews will not replace us' chanted most memorably at the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia on the 11th and 12th of August in 2017, in response to the removal of a

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[17] "Race is a human-invented, shorthand term used to describe and categorize people into various social groups based on characteristics like skin color, physical features, and genetic heredity. Race, while not a valid biological concept, is a real social construction that gives or denies benefits and privileges". See, David R. Roediger, "Historical Foundations of Race," National Museum of African American History and Culture, 2021, https://nmaahc.si.edu/learn/talking-about-race/topics/historical-foundations-race.

[18] "White Lives Matter," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2021, White Lives Matter co-founder, Rebecca Barnette, has claimed that Jews and Muslims are allied in the effort "[...] to commit genocide of epic proportions" against white people., https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/white-lives-matter.

[19] "Far-Right US Facebook Groups Pivot to Attacks on Black Lives Matter," *VOA News*, July 5, 2020, https://www.voanews.com/a/usa_race_america_far-right-us-facebook-groups-pivot-attacks-black-lives-matter/6192258.html.

[20] Devega, "Tucker Carlson Prepares White Nationalists for War: Don't Ignore the Power of His Rhetoric."

statue of American Confederate general Robert E. Lee.[21] This rally, populated by hundreds of torch-wielding white nationalists and a considerable number of anti-racist counter protesters, demonstrated the violent nature of white supremacist reactionism as it escalated to the point of alt-right demonstrators surrounding and attacking counter protesters with torches, pepper spray, and lighter fluid. Hours later, a white supremacist protestor drove his car into a crowd of anti-racist counter protestors, injuring thirty-five people and killing thirty-two-year-old Heather Heyer.

There can be much gleaned from tracking the historical lineage of present-day phenomena. Presently, the rise and ramifications of white supremacy around the world and in popular culture, media, government, and society are both eminent and imminent. In the case of examining the current significant rise in white supremacist and alt-right violence, group formation, rhetoric, grievances, fears, and future-looking fantasies, we can conduct better risk assessment, develop radicalization prevention measures and tools, prepare informed response plans, reform relevant legislation, and more. To compare the present-day situation with parallel phenomena in the past adds to the previously-mentioned efforts and provides a historically-informed perspective for responding to the threat of white supremacist and alt-right terrorism, violent extremism, and other dangerous consequences. Using a diachronic approach in the comparison of these parallel periods allows for the consideration of the genesis/geneses of white supremacist reactionism and violent extremism in America. Additionally, it provides a framework for identifying and comparing the parallels and particulars of reactionary language, imagery, ethos, recruitment tactics, violence, terror, intent, grievances, etc.

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[21] See, Yair Rosenberg, "'Jews Will Not Replace Us': Why White Supremacists Go after Jews," *The Washington Post*, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/08/14/jews-will-not-replace-us-why-white-supremacists-go-after-jews/.

Awareness of the longevity and deeply-rooted nature of white supremacy and white supremacist violence in the United States can be paralyzing and distressing; concurrently, it offers us room to employ the lessons gleaned from a historic perspective in intentional and informed counter-actions. The context derived from a diachronic comparison contains a wealth of applicable knowledge and insight into what exactly the present-day U.S. is dealing with in this current escalation of white supremacist extremism and violence. Additionally, it is important for policy makers, researcher, activists, and citizens to be cognizant of the old and new tactics of ethnonationalist domination and reactionism. The generations of activists alive today and in the future will not cease fighting for justice and reform; as such, reactionaries will continue trying to prevent progressive change through a multitude of means. The more aware and prepared activists are of this, the less power the reactionaries will have to stand in their way. Today, many see the current wave of white supremacy and alt-right reactionism as a phenomenon unique to our own times. Though this is true in the particulars, the omnipresent lineage of its actuality is not unparalleled nor unforeseen.

This thesis will confront and examine the question of how white supremacist reactionism in the United States has manifested in response to two major periods of social and structural change aimed at rectifying and reforming the previous and existing racial inequalities and structural racism. In its manifestation in the present-day since the 2020 murder of George Floyd – approximately one-hundred-fifty years since Reconstruction – a striking number of themes appear to have endured: including particular worldviews, ideals for a white utopic future, fears and rhetoric prophesizing a mixed-race dystopic future, and so on. In engaging with these questions and themes, this thesis will begin with a discussion chapter that contextualizes these periods within their particular historical, social, economic, and political situations. Chapter 1 will first explore the

Civil War and Reconstruction beginning with a review of slavery in the North American Colonies, followed by a brief overview of the Civil War and the losses resulting from 'America's bloodiest war'.[22] After introducing the Emancipation Proclamation and Reconstruction era legislation, Chapter 1 will move onto the BLM era and contemporary phenomena of structural racism in America and police brutality. Chapter 1 will conclude by laying out the events of George Floyd's murder at the hands of Minneapolis Police and the subsequent responses and reactions from the global community as the Black Lives Matter movement spread across the nation and world. Chapter 2 will present the beliefs, ethos, aims, and actions of white supremacist reactionaries during these two periods. This will include the introduction, definition, and explanation of relevant theories and concepts such as 'replacement theory', 'accelerationism' 'white genocide', and 'race suicide'.[23] Reactionaries' conceptions of 'whiteness', romanticized visions of the past, future-looking fantasies, recruitment strategies, and concrete actions (i.e., acts of terror, lynching, assassinations, vandalism, etc.) will be identified and compared. Chapter 3 is dedicated to case studies of violent reactionary white supremacist hate groups which either formed or significantly grew in response to the associated trigger event(s), which signaled societal and structural shifts towards racial equality and away from white hegemony. Three case studies will be investigated per era, starting with the Reconstruction era KKK and the Red Shirts, and followed by the BLM era Patriot Front and The Base. Chapter 3 will conclude with a comprehensive table detailing each of the four groups' 'years of operation', 'ideology', 'grievances and fears', 'aims', 'recruitment', 'members', and 'actions and activities'. In addition to a summary of the research and findings, the Conclusion will present new questions and recommendations for future research on white

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[22] "Civil War Casualties. The Cost of War: Killed, Wounded, Captured, and Missing," *American Battlefield Trust*, accessed March 21, 2022, www.battlefields.org.
[23] Simple definitions of these concepts can be found in "Key Terms and Concepts" on page 2.

supremacist reactionism, as well as the author's thoughts and meditations regarding the timely, significant, and layered qualities of white supremacy in America as a past, present, and future reality.

1. <u>Background & Context</u>

"The poor white was enslaved almost from the instant he arrived on these shores, and he is still enslaved by a brutal and cynical oligarchy. The utility of the poor white was to make slavery both profitable and safe and, therefore, the germ of white supremacy which he brought with him from Europe was made hideously to flourish in the American air. Two world wars and a whole world-wide depression have failed to reveal to this poor man that he has far more in common with the ex-slaves whom he fears than he has with the masters who oppress them both for profit".[24]

1.1 The Civil War & Reconstruction

Many white Americans alive in the Civil War period were fearful and distraught about the economic, social, demographic, legislative, and other certain changes resulting from the Emancipation Proclamation (1863), the Union Army's victory in the Civil War (1865), the freeing of approximately four million slaves, and the reintegration of the South, their economy, and their legislatures into the United States. During the 'Radical Reconstruction' (1865-1877) of the nation in the subsequent years following the Civil War, violent reactionary forces, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), sought to reverse these redemptive changes and restore the South as a region dictated and sustained by white supremacist hierarchies and power.[25] The KKK, established in 1865 following the conclusion of the Civil War, initially began as a Confederate vigilante group which used terror and violence in its efforts to snuff out the progress of Reconstruction. The KKK has survived to be the most infamous American hate group, focused today on attacking Blacks, Jews, immigrants, and LGBTQIA+ peoples.[26] The Klan has resurfaced three times: firstly in the early

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[24] Baldwin, *Nothing Personal*, 10–11.
[25] "Reconstruction," January 11, 2022, https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war/reconstruction.
[26] "Ku Klux Klan," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2021, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/ku-klux-klan.

twentieth-century in response to Communism and immigration, secondly in the 1960s in efforts to preserve segregation and combat the Civil Rights movement, and thirdly following the rise of the BLM movement today.[27]

Since Reconstruction, the added contexts of globalization, 'racial integration', 'secularism', 'modernity',[28] gun control, the increasing agency and power of women, an expanding catalogue of sexual and gender identities and social norms, the economic declines of essential economies such as coal and small agriculture, and numerous other factors have influenced and informed much of the discourse espoused by white supremacists today. The question is: How much has white supremacist discourse in America changed since Reconstruction? Furthermore, how much so since the BLM movement spread across the nation and globe in the summer of 2020?

1.1a Slavery in the North American Colonies

The Americas were first settled by the British in 1607 and in the Caribbean Islands in 1623. Nearly a century before the British colonization of North America, the Spanish made physical contact with the continents. It was in 1492 that Christopher Columbus and his expedition landed in what would be later referred to by Europeans as the 'New World'. Portugal and France laid claim to lands in North America beginning in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth-centuries. The arrival of Europeans to the Americas resulted in centuries of conflict and colonization which reduced the native population from fifty-million in 1492 to eight-million by 1650.[29] Other than war and disease, a major contributor to the haunting degree of native loss of life in the centuries following the arrival of Europeans to the Americas was the enslavement of the native

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[27] The KKK (1865-present) will be revisited and examined in detail in Chapter 3 as a case study alongside the parallel Reconstruction white supremacist group 'The Red Shirts' (1875-present) and the present-day violent-extremist groups 'The Base' (2018-present) and 'Patriot Front' (2017-present). Though the end of Reconstruction was formally marked by the Compromise of 1877, its racist social, legislative, and economic legacies survived and adapted to and through the 1960s Civil Rights movements and again today. Ibid.

[28] Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*, 207.

[29] "La Catastrophe Démographique," 2007.

populations.[30] An estimated two-point-five to five-million Native Americans were forcibly enslaved in mines, farms, and residences from Columbus's initial arrival in the late fifteenth-century up to the late nineteenth-century.[31] Due in large part to the rapid erasure of enslaved native populations on the Caribbean Islands, as well as the introduction of African slave labor to the islands by Dutch planters in 1640, the market for a continuous supply of a labor force opened up. This shift in the source of labor was adopted by the British in North America who then transitioned the predominantly domestic small-scale agricultural system to a system of monoculture crop plantations fueled by an influx of imported African slave labor.[32] Made possible by the Transatlantic Slave Trade, developed by the Portuguese starting in 1519, approximately eleven-million Africans were boarded onto ships set to sail to the Americas and the Caribbean Islands; an estimated nine-point-six-million trafficked Africans survived the journey and were sold to labor on farms, plantations, mines, homes, and estates.[33] This three-century dynamic was outlawed on humanitarian grounds only after the Civil War in 1867. A relatively small portion of these trafficked Africans, approximately three-hundred-sixty-one were sent to the North American Colonies.[34] This reduced rate of imported African slave labor to the Colonies, relative to that to the Caribbean Islands and the rest of the Americas, is in large part because of the different approach the British-led Colonies effectuated in maintaining their enslaved workforce. While other plantations and slave owners in the region were working their slaves to the point of death and constantly resupplying their workforce with new incoming slaves, the slave owners in the Colonies

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[30] Xenia Bonch-Bruevich, "Ideologies of the Spanish Reconquest and Isidore's Political Thought," *Mediterranean Studies* 17 (2008): 27–45.
[31] Kevin Waite, "The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America," *The Journal of Civil War Era* 7, no. 3 (2017).
[32] "About Abolition," The National Archives, n.d., https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/about.htm.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Slavery, by the Numbers," *The Root*, 2014, https://www.theroot.com/slavery-by-the-numbers-1790874492.

discovered that it was more affordable to keep their slaves alive and to allow them to procreate and have children born into slavery. This perpetual supply of new, young, English-speaking slaves no longer haunted by memories of a freer past in their African homelands, traditions, and languages enabled the Colonies to create a self-sufficient economy and means of production capable of building a nation. The United States Congress officially banned the import of new slaves in 1808, but by that time, the population of Black people had grown from the nearly four-hundred-thousand to four-point-four-million in 1860.[35]

This system of forced servitude by ethnic 'others' is what the economy and social hierarchy of the Americas was built upon; consequently, the social, economic, and judicial systems of America have and are structured around these policies and systems created for the maintenance of forced labor and racial hierarchy. From this wide and solid foundation of slavery propping up economies, modes of production, and socio-political order, the reliance of whites in America on slave labor became increasingly customary, critical, and ideological. Worldviews were constructed and crystallized to justify the use of human slaves in America, including 'scientific racism' which asserted that indigenous and Black peoples were of other species than were white Europeans; conveniently, a species less evolved, less moral, less rational, and more physically designed for hard labor.[36] Social theorist George Fitzhugh's 1850 piece "The Universal Law of Slavery" echoed popular white supremacist claims that the intellectual capacity of an adult Black was at the same level as that of a white child. Fitzhugh went on to use this justification to state that if it were not for the Southern slave system, the free Black would, "[…] become an insufferable burden to

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[35] Gates Jr., "Slavery, by the Numbers," (2014)

[36] It was believed that due to their "[...] primitive psychological organization", Africans were less than human and therefore were morally acceptable to be commodified. Alexander Thomas and Samuel Sillen, *Racism and Psychiatry* (New York, NY: Bruner Meisel U, 1972).

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society", and that, "Society has the right to prevent this, and can only do so by subjecting him to domestic slavery".[37]

Slavery was practiced throughout the Colonies, but was practiced primarily in Southern states; additionally, abolitionist laws were passed in the North during and following the Revolutionary War (1775-1783). By 1805, slavery in the Northern states was all but abolished, leaving the South with not only a particular monopoly on African American slave labor, but a particular reliance on it as well. In his 2021 article "*Black Bodies in America as the Metaphors for Oppression, Poverty, Violence, and Hate: Searching for Sustainable Solutions Beyond the Black-letter Law*" scholar Iheme Williams conjectured that the South's particular proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, in combination with their far larger scale of farming as compared to the North – enabled them to become economically wealthier than the North;[38] this major economic and cultural rift between the North and the South was the environment from which the Civil War emerged. With free Blacks living in the North and enslaved Blacks trapped in the South, emancipatory systems such as the Underground Railroad functioned in secret to attempt to break free and transport as many slaves in bondage from their life sentences as slaves in the South to the relative freedom enjoyed in the North. Pro-slavery advocates in the South endorsed slavery as a 'necessary evil'[39] which not only allowed for economic success in the South, but also served as a system that protected Blacks from the woes of prejudice in a mixed society.[40] The general consensus among white Southerners was that freeing the slaves and integrating them into white society would lead to the destruction of one or the other. Replacement Theory is once again visible in this ideology

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[37] Leslie H. Fishel and Benjamin Quarles, *The Black American: A Documentary History* (Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970).

[38] Williams Iheme, "Black Bodies in America as the Metaphors for Oppression, Poverty, Violence, and Hate: Searching for Sustainable Solutions Beyond the Black-Letter Law," *Journal of Black Studies* 53, no. 3 (2022): 293.

[39] See, Harold Tallant, *Evil Necessity: Slavery and Political Culture in Antebellum Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003).

[40] See, Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835).

and serves as the core of the Southern defense against a multiracial nation. Job security was also cited as a benefit of the slavery system for Blacks. Politician and planter, James Henry Hammond, asserted in an 1858 speech to the Senate that, "The difference […] is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated; there is no starvation, no begging, no want of employment", as opposed to freed Blacks in the North who needed to seek employment.[41] The notion that slavery was also seen as a 'positive *good*' is illustrated in political theorist John C. Calhoun's 1837 speech to the Senate in which he claimed that every civilized society requires one portion of society to live on the labor of another. The slavery system in the South, Calhoun asserted, prevents conflicts between 'capital' and 'labor'.[42]

1.1b The Civil War

The divide between the North and South became most visible during the 1860 presidential election between Northern Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln, Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge, Constitutional Union Candidate John Bell, and Democrat Stephen A. Douglas. With votes split right along the North/South line, emancipation advocate Abraham Lincoln won the popular vote with 39.8% majority.[43]

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[41] "The 'Mudsill' Theory" (1858).

[42] "[...] learning, science, and the arts are built upon leisure; the African slave, kindly treated by his master and mistress and looked after in his old age, is better off than the free laborers of Europe; and under the slave system conflicts between capital and labor are avoided. The advantages of slavery in this respect, he concluded, "will become more and more manifest, if left undisturbed by interference from without, as the country advances in wealth and numbers". Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *History of the United States* (The Macmillan Company, 1921), 316.

[43] Dave Leip, "1860 Presidential Election Results," Database, Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections, n.d., https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/.
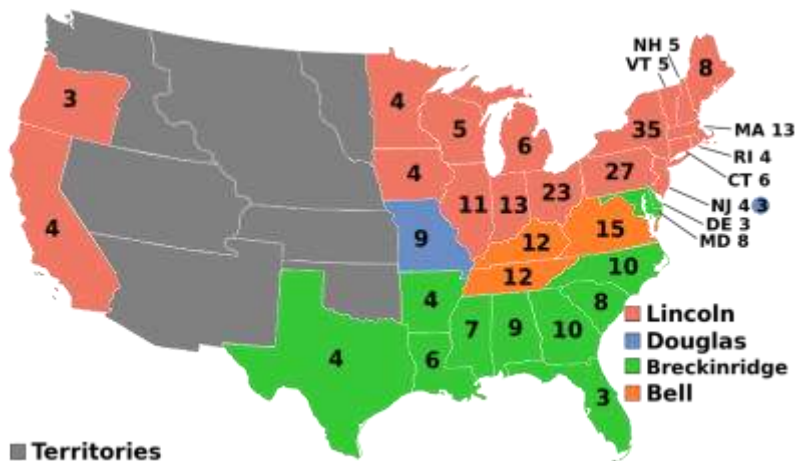
Figure 1: *1860 Presidential General Election Results* [44]
(Number-values represent the number of electoral votes allotted to the state)

Lincoln's victory in the 1860 elections prompted the first serious calls for secession by the Southern states South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas who were later joined by Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina. On February 8, 1861, fearing the economic, social, and other ramifications of abolition, these Southern states drafted a provisional constitution for what they were calling the Confederate States of America (CSA). Just over two months later, the Civil War began.

Though the motivations behind why the Southern states wished to secede from the Union have been debated since before the Civil War began, and certainly in the decades since its conclusion, the accepted consensus is that fear of abolition was the primary trigger. Many Southern states warned that if Lincoln won the 1860 election, they would disunion. Southerners feared that a Lincoln victory would result in less legislative representation of Southerners in the Federal Government which would likely lead to abolitionist policies being enacted by the North throughout the South. Once Lincoln was elected with the popular vote, efforts to secede began.

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[44] Ibid.
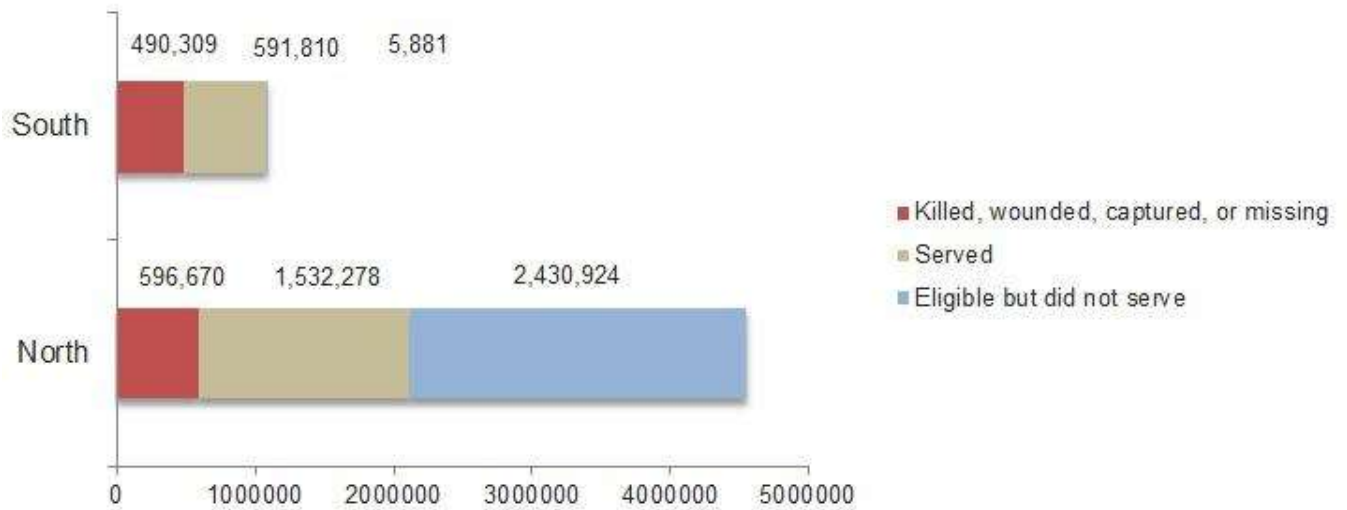
Figure 2: *Civil War Service by Population*[45]

The Civil War began on April 12, 1861, with the first shots fired by Confederate Troops at Fort Sumter in South Carolina.[46] The Battle of Fort Sumter ended in a Union loss and began the four-year-long Civil War between the Northern Union and Southern Confederate States. In these four years, approximately 620,000 soldiers and 50,000 civilians were killed out of the at least 1,030,000 casualties.[47] Professor of History J. David Hacker has claimed that these numbers are much higher, totaling what he estimates to be between 750,000 and 850,000 soldier deaths.[48] Estimates predict that one out of every thirteen veterans of the Civil War were amputees, with nearly 60,000 soldiers losing at least one limb.[49] According to the United States National Park Service, the Union Army suffered a total of 642,427 casualties while the Confederate Army

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[45] "Civil War Casualties. The Cost of War: Killed, Wounded, Captured, and Missing."
[46] "Civil War Begins," *United States Senate*, accessed March 20, 2022, www.senate.gov.
[47] Al Nofi, "Statistical Summary: America's Major Wars," Archive, Louisiana State University, 2007, https://web.archive.org/web/20070711050249/http://www.cwc.lsu.edu/other/stats/warcost.htm.
[48] J. David Hacker, "A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead," *Civil War History* 57, no. 4 (2011).
[49] Teresa Riordan, "When Necessity Meets Ingenuity: Art of Restoring What's Missing," *The New York Times*, March 8, 2004, https://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/08/business/technology-when-necessity-meets-ingenuity-art-of-restoring-what-s-missing.html.

suffered 483,026.[50] These figures are out of the 2,672,341[51] total enlisted Union soldiers and 750,000 to 1,227,890 enlisted Confederate Soldiers.[52] If these numbers are projected onto the 1860 U.S. census, it is revealed that eighteen-percent of white men in the South between the age of thirteen and forty-three were killed in addition to the six-percent of white Northern men.[53] As these values reveal, the loss of life, particularly in the South, was monumental. As is illustrated in Figure 3 below, the loss of soldier life in the American Civil War exceeded that of other North American conflicts, up to and including the Vietnam War, combined.

War	Losses
Civil War	620,000
World War II	405,399
World War I	116,516
Vietnam	58,209
Korea	36,516
Revolutionary War	25,000
War of 1812	20,000
Mexican War	13,283
Iraq-Afghanistan	6,626
Spanish-American War	2,446
Gulf War	258
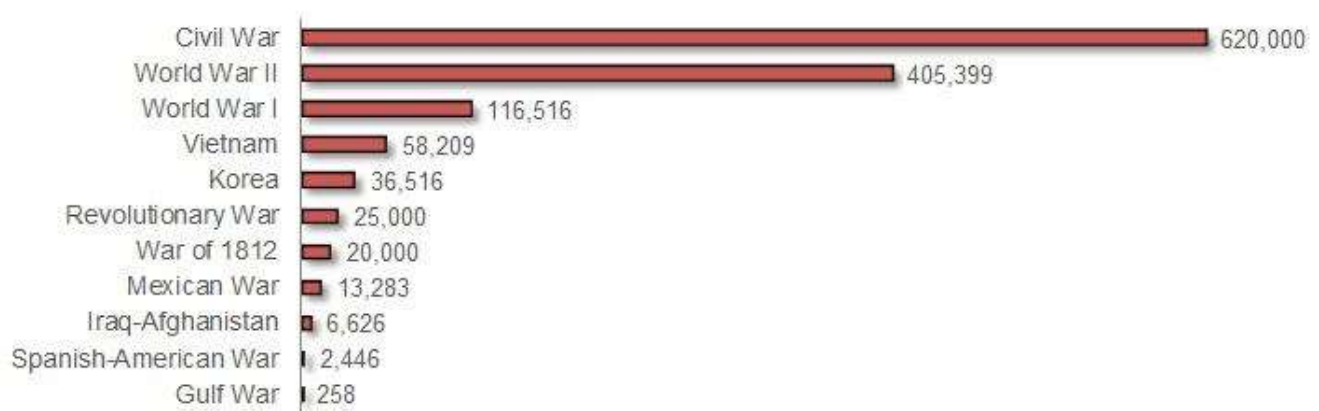
Figure 3: Military Losses in American Wars [54]

1.1c The Emancipation Proclamation & Reconstruction Era Legislation

Considering the radical loss of life in conjunction with the rates of life-long injuries and missing limbs as well as widowed women, fatherless children, a lack of remaining able-bodied

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[50] Casualties measured include: "killed in battle", "diseases", "wounded in action", and "prisoners of war". "Civil War Facts: 1861-1865," National Park Service, October 27, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/facts.htm.
[51] Enlisted Union troops included 2,489,836 white soldiers, 178,975 African American soldiers, and 3,530 Native American troops. "Civil War Facts: 1861-1865."
[52] The range of enlisted Confederate soldiers is so wide due to demographics records for the Confederate Army being either incomplete or destroyed. Ibid.
[53] Maris Vinovskis, *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7.
[54] "Civil War Casualties. The Cost of War: Killed, Wounded, Captured, and Missing."

men to rejoin the workforce, economic devastation, resentment to the North, the loss of slave labor, and the many other social and structural changes implemented by the victorious North allow some insight into the individual and collective situation Southerners found themselves in after their defeat by Union forces. The South failed to win the war, failed to secede, and failed to protect their slave-based economy. Issued during the war by President Lincoln on January 1, 1863, was the Emancipation Proclamation. This revolutionary document served as a proclamation by the President condemning slavery and served as an executive order declaring that the over 3,500,000 African Americans enslaved in the secessionist Southern states were hence free.[55] This meant that any slaves in the Southern states were officially and permanently free if they either successfully escaped to the North or enlisted themselves in the Union Army. When the South received news of the Emancipation Proclamation and its implications, many took that as a signaling to the beginning of a race war. The Civil War officially ended on May 9, 1865, with the final Confederate troops surrendering on November 6, 1865. The issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 marked the beginning of the Reconstruction era and lasted until the Compromise of 1877 which called for the removal of federal military forces monitoring the former Confederate states and the rebuilding of the South's infrastructure and economy still devastated by the war.[56]

As monumental during this period as the Emancipation Proclamation were the Reconstruction Amendments (or Civil War Amendments)[57] to the United States Constitution. Including the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, these revisions of the Constitution granted the newly freed slaves and African Americans across the new Union essential

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[55] Abraham Lincoln, "Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation: September 22, 1862," National Archives, n.d., https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/american_originals_iv/sections/transcript_preliminary_emancipation.html.

[56] C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), 169–71.

[57] See "The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments," Social History for Every Classroom, 2022, https://shec.ashp.cuny.edu/items/show/1524.

rights. In defending claims that the Reconstruction Amendments fundamentally altered the United States Constitution, leading contemporary historian of Reconstruction, Eric Foner, has gone so far as to identify their ratification as the 'second founding' of the nation.[58] Incorporated into the federal Constitution on December 18, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment set the stage for the ambitions and intentions of Reconstruction. Effectively ending slavery in the United States, the Thirteenth Amendment decreed that in no place within the U.S. may either slavery or involuntary servitude exist. The exception to this rule, one which has been fiercely questioned and debated to this day,[59] allows forced labor as punishment for being convicted of crime.[60] The issues behind this exception in the case of a crime will be discussed later in this thesis in relation to the ways in which it was weaponized against Blacks and other marginalized communities in the United States during Reconstruction and to today. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified on July 9, 1868, and made it so that all persons born in the United States would be born an official citizen of the nation.[61] In addition to this, the Fourteenth Amendment secured U.S. citizens under its jurisdiction, and in turn promised to protect citizens' life, liberty, and property with equal protection under the law, including the right to due process. This thesis too will revisit the responses to and applications of this contentious Amendment in Chapter 2. Lastly, the Fifteenth Amendment, ratified on February 3, 1870, granted all U.S. citizens the right to vote, regardless of their "[…] race, color or previous condition of servitude".[62] Here too we will revisit this Amendment, focusing on the particular

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[58] See, Eric Foner, *The Second Founding: How the Civil War and Reconstruction Remade the Constitution* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2019).

[59] See, Ava DuVernay, *13th*, Documentary (Netflix, 2016), https://www.imdb.com/title/tt5895028/.

[60] James Mitchell Ashley, "The House Joint Resolution Proposing the 13th Amendment to the Constitution" (1865).

[61] The Citizenship Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment overruled the 1857 Supreme Court decision in Dred Scott v. Sandford which determined that descendants of Africans could not be citizens of the United States. See, Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sandford (U.S. March 6, 1857).

[62] "The Constitution: Amendments 11-27," National Archives, accessed March 21, 2022, https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/amendments-11-27.

tactics employed by KKK members and other white supremacists in their violent efforts to prevent Black peoples from voting.

The goal of the North for Radical Reconstruction was to establish and consolidate the North and the South as a unified Republic[63] under the new anti-slavery laws and amendments to the Constitution. In doing so, Confederate territory was taken over by the Union and instilled with Northern Republican legislators to aid in the legislative and other changes enforced during Reconstruction. This included the promise to newly freed slaves made by Union General William T. Sherman to award them 'forty acres and a mule' so to begin their new lives as freedmen.[64] Like many utopian promises made to African Americans and freedmen, this promise proved underprepared, unfeasible, and unsuccessful.

In the fourteen years of Reconstruction, the dust kicked up by the Civil War never settled, but rather culminated, congealed, and swirled into an inconceivable tornado of anger, resentment, revenge, violence, murder, massacres, and pitiful regressions back towards unequal, discriminatory, harmful, and long-lasting legislation designed to prevent the freed Blacks and their families from progressing and living freely or safely for generations. White supremacist reactionism during Radical Reconstruction resulted in at least 2,000 documented accounts of Black men, women, and children being lynched in acts of 'racial terror'.[65] Black civil rights activist and historian William E. B. Du Bois declared that the 'lawless' and 'spasmodic' terror attacks of white mobs between 1865 and 1868 soon became organized, stating that, "Using a technique of mass and midnight murder, the South began widely-organized aggression upon the Negroes".[66] In these

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[63] "Republic Government," in *Britannica*, A Republic government is one ruled by representatives of the citizenry. See, accessed March 21, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/republic-government.

[64] "Juneteenth and the Broken Promise of '40 Acres and a Mule,'" National Farmers Union, accessed March 21, 2022, https://nfu.org/2020/06/19/juneteenth-and-the-broken-promise-of-40-acres-and-a-mule/.

[65] No other period in American history saw more (documented) 'racial terror lynchings' than Reconstruction. "Reconstruction in America: Racial Violence after the Civil War, 1865-1876."

[66] "Reconstruction in America: Racial Violence after the Civil War, 1865-1876."

seven years, there were twenty-two documented mass-lynchings; the most deadly of which resulted in the murder of over 200 Black people in Opelousas, Louisiana in 1868 over Black people attempting to engage in the political process. Due to the extreme rates of racial violence with impunity, and an increasingly outraged and fearful Black citizenry, in 1870 and 1871, Congress passed the Enforcement Acts. These laws gave power to the federal government to prosecute civil rights crimes and provide redress to victims. Between 1872 and 1876, at least twelve 'large-scale massacres' were amassed against politically-active African Americans in the South. This includes the 1873 Easter Sunday massacre in Colfax, Louisiana, where 300 whites murdered over one 150 African Americans in the 'bloodiest single act of carnage in all of Reconstruction'.[67] Despite the passing of the Enforcement Acts, white-on-Black reactionary violence did not cease nor were perpetrators of racist attacks and murders reliably held accountable, with remarkably few federal arrests and prosecutions of white mobs or individuals. This is largely due to the decisions of the all-white Supreme Court which sided with white Southerners who repeatedly argued that the federal government punishing racial violence was a violation of states' rights. Between 1865 and 1872, the Supreme Court struck down twelve Congressional Reconstruction acts as 'unconstitutional';[68] effectively nullifying African Americans' newly acquired legal rights to freedom, voting, citizenship, etc. Major among the legislative and judicial rollbacks of the Reconstruction Era was the 1876 *United States v. Cruikshank* decision that the Fourteenth Amendment only protected citizens from State action and violence and not from private individuals. This decision left the terrorized African American populations throughout the South fully at the mercy of their violent and white supremacist local governments, courts, police, and citizenry. While Federal Reconstruction legislation emptily promised to ensure Constitutional

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[67] Ibid.

[68] See, Ibid.

rights and protection for Black and white Americans alike, local and state governments in the South used legislation, vigilante violence, terror, and murder to ensure that Radical Reconstruction failed, and white supremacy was restored.

1.1d The Compromise of 1877 & the End of Reconstruction

What is often referred to as the 'Great Betrayal of 1877', the Compromise of 1877 was the deal which settled the contested presidential race between Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel Tilden.[69] The agreement awarded Hayes and the Republicans the presidency as long as Hayes strengthened the 'postbellum economy' of the South by spending federal money on the Texas Pacific railroad, and most importantly, withdrawing federal troops from the Southern states.[70] American history scholar, Roger L. Ransom (1938-present) stated in 1989, […] "today, the political bargain that gave Hayes the presidency is regarded as one of the most infamous deals in American history. In effect, the Republican candidate sold the future of his own party in the South—which included most of the Black leaders in the region—down the river in return for the presidency".[71] The Compromise of 1877 signaled the abandonment of Radical Reconstruction, the integration of freedmen and Black Americans into American society and economy, and returned control of the South to white supremacy and reactionary 'white Redeemers' who worked to restore white supremacy and reverse any progress toward racial equality made during Reconstruction. With white supremacy's restoration underway, white supremacist and Southern reactionaries used official and unofficial methods to weave systemic and systematic racism into every working of American economy, politics, health, education, justice system, society, and psyche.

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[69] See, Lena Zuckerwise, "'There Can Be No Loser': White Supremacy and the Cruelty of Compromise," *American Political Thought: A Journal of Ideas, Institutions, and Culture,* 5 (2016): 485–88.
[70] Ibid., 486.
[71] Ibid., 487.

1.2 BLM & the Murder of George Floyd

"For nothing is fixed, forever and forever and forever, it is not fixed; the earth is always shifting, the light is always changing, the sea does not cease to grind down rock. Generations do not cease to be born, and we are responsible to them because we are the only witnesses they have".[72]

1.2a Structural Racism in America

According to the researchers who authored the 2021 study "*The legacy of structural racism: Associations between historic redlining, current mortgage lending, and health*", the enmeshment of racial discrimination manifested through 'structural racism' permeates throughout systems and institutions – such as housing, education, health care, criminal justice, etc. – by "[…] interlocking social, legal, and political institutions and systems, which in turn, reinforce values, beliefs, norms, and resource distribution that privilege whiteness and white racialized identity".[73] By influencing 'resource distribution' and 'access to opportunity',[74] the detrimental – economic, bodily, etc. – consequences of structurally-reinforced social, economic, and environmental inequality can take root and permeate throughout marginalized population(s). Revealed through segregated housing, poverty, underfunded schools, poor physical and mental health, disproportionate incarceration rates, and a myriad of other injustices, the enmeshment of systematic racism in America's past and present operations has effectively maintained the racial hierarchy of Reconstruction era white supremacy into the present-day.

In the wake of the Union's victory, the codification of 'Black Codes' – the predecessor to Jim Crow laws and were "[…] designed to functionally reenact the experience of slavery"[75] –

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[72] Baldwin, *Nothing Personal*, 50.
[73] Emily E. Lynch et al., "The Legacy of Structural Racism: Associations between Historic Redlining, Current Mortgage Lending, and Health," *SSM - Population Health* 14 (2021): 1.
[74] Ibid., 1.
[75] Black Codes permitted white planters to grant Black laborers low-paying yearly labor contracts insured by threat of heavy fines. Iheme, "Black Bodies in America as the Metaphors for Oppression, Poverty, Violence, and Hate: Searching for Sustainable Solutions Beyond the Black-Letter Law," 294.

began to take place in local counties throughout the defeated South. Drafted to limit freedmen from accessing and enjoying the same rights as white people,[76] Black Codes were the seeds of anti-Black systematic racism that – throughout the decades – rooted into every space and institution in America. Black civil rights activist and historian, William E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), observed that Black Codes in the South were being enforced by state police and military in 1865 and 1866.[77] *The Civil Rights Act of 1866* prompted Congress to eradicate Black Codes. In 1870-71 the upswell in reactionary white supremacist violence and terror – perpetuated primarily by KKK members using violence, intimidation, and assassination to prevent Black peoples from voting or participating in politics – pushed Congress to enact the 'Enforcement Acts' and its most-relevant third Act, the 'Ku Klux Klan Act', to undermine the violence of the Klan. Despite the legislative efforts by freedmen and Northern Republicans, the decisions and rulings by local, state, and federal Courts suffocated these laws to total impotence.

The 1876 *United States v. Reese* and *United States v. Cruikshank* Supreme Court rulings were the gravest markers of the terminal course of the Reconstruction era civil rights reforms. The former concluded that the Fifteenth Amendment on voting rights did not protect the individual right to vote, but rather it forbade states from giving preferential treatment to any one citizen. Amidst the perpetual rise of anti-Black violence by angry white people and resulting black 'riots' demanding civil rights, the latter case nullified the *Civil Rights Act of 1875* by ruling that it did not guarantee First Amendment rights to assembly and protest.[78] As arbiters of how the law is

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[76] Cathy Bissoon, Benita Y. Pearson, and David A. Sanders, "From the KKK to George Floyd: Three Judges Explore Qualified Immunity," *Sedona Conference Journal* 22 (2021): 535.

[77] Iheme, "Black Bodies in America as the Metaphors for Oppression, Poverty, Violence, and Hate: Searching for Sustainable Solutions Beyond the Black-Letter Law," 295.

[78] "Rolling Back Civil Rights," United States House of Representatives, 2022, https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Fifteenth-Amendment/Roll-Back/.

interpreted and applied, the United States Supreme Court has long operated in a fashion which delegitimizes and weakens the impact and efficacy of civil rights legislation.

Due to the horrific rates of white-on-Black racial violence in the early twentieth-century South – ranging from graphic lynchings[79] and cross-burnings to deadly massacres – hundreds of thousands of African Americans migrated North. The years between the collapse of Reconstruction in 1877 and the 'Red Summer'[80] of 1919 was referred to by African American historian and activist Rayford W. Logan as the 'nadir' – the lowest or most unsuccessful point – of African American history.[81] It is during this time that the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case made racial segregation, under the guise of 'separate but equal',[82] legal until the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruled it unconstitutional.[83] These segregation, or 'Jim Crow', laws served as 'alternative oppressive tactics' to continue subjugating the newly-freed Black population.[84] Once legally segregated, funding, support, and resources were then withheld from Black neighborhoods, communities, schools, hospitals, infrastructure development, businesses, and peoples; conversely, white communities and institutions were set up to flourish towards the 'Great American Dream'. Given that wealth is historically inherited, each new generation of Black Americans is economically, socially, and emotionally burdened by the racist policies and actions perpetrated against their previous generations.

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[79] Lynching is the public killing of an individual without due process. Lynchings of Black Americans in the 19th and 20th centuries included hangings from trees, torture, mutilation, desecration, burning, and decapitation. "History of Lynching in America," NAACP, 2022, https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/history-lynching-america.

[80] See, "GIS Story Map: Race Riots of 1919 - The Red Summer," www.arcgis.com.

[81] "Racial Violence and the Red Summer," African American Heritage, June 28, 2021, https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/wwi/red-summer.

[82] "Brown v. Board at Fifty: 'With an Even Hand' - A Century of Racial Segregation, 1849–1950," Library of Congress, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/brown/brown-segregation.html#skip_menu.

[83] Desegregation of many Southern, and some Northern, schools lasted until the late-1960s and early-1970s. Thomas N. Maloney, "African Americans in the Twentieth-Century," *Economic History Association*, n.d., https://eh.net.

[84] Courtney M. Echols, "Anti-Blackness Is the American Way: Assessing the Relationship Between Chattel Slavery, Lynchings, & Police Violence During the Civil Rights Movement," *Race and Justice*, 2022, 4.

A 2008 report to the United Nations (UN) on 'Structural Racism on the United States' asserted that the continuation of structural racism perpetuated by the Courts was found to resonate from the Court's present construction of the 'harm' of racial discrimination being synonymous with the harm of being 'classified on the basis of race'.[85] What authors of this Report mean by this is that the scrutiny and 'narrow-reading' of civil rights legislation by the Supreme Court in twenty-first-century America has resulted in segregation being more fueled by policy than integration; resultantly, "[…] society is moving backwards".[86] A 2007 example of courts perpetuating and resolidifying structural racism is the narrow reading of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School Dist. No. 1* where the Supreme Court struck down local efforts to address school segregation and racial isolation, all while affirming the consequences of inequality of segregated societies.[87] One of the most influential and harmful policy types to come out of the burnt ashes of Radical Reconstruction was racial segregation. Enacted through housing, schooling, and the labor market, racial segregation – through 'private conduct' and 'private decision-making'[88] – has proven to be one of the most effective means for maintaining white supremacy and racial hierarchy in America.

The public actions and private decision-making – systematically promoted by federal programs - which constructed the segregated U.S. housing market are the foundations upon which the structural inequalities of poverty, poor education, criminality and conviction, and physical and mental health risk proliferate among marginalized communities. Researchers who conducted a 2021 study on the legacy of structural racism – through the associations between historic redlining,

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[85] Stephen Menendian et al., "Structural Racism in the United States: A Report to the U.N. Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the Occasion of Its Review of the Periodic Report of the United States of America," 2008, 15.
[86] Ibid., 15.
[87] Ibid., 15.
[88] Ibid., 17.

current mortgage lending, and health – found that "[…] Racially discriminatory lending policies and practices have systematically shaped access to wealth, strategically patterned community (dis)investment, and deliberately maintained racial residential segregation".[89] To examine the legacies of twentieth-century redlining on present-day physical and mental health, the researchers chose to focus their investigation on Milwaukee, Wisconsin; identifiably, "[…] one of the most hyper-segregated metropolitan areas in the United States".[90] Articulated as a form of federal aid to reduce the harmful impacts of Great Depression foreclosures, the newly-established Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) and Federal House Authority (FHA)[91] of the 1930s used redlining to both create non-public 'security maps' to help government decision-makers decide which communities should receive government-insured mortgages.[92] 'Redlining' is the "[…] practice of refusing someone credit, a loan, or insurance, or adding unfair terms in those contracts based on their race or ethnicity".[93] Articulated by National Geographic writer Sarah Appleton, the reason for the name 'redlining' is the color-coding system that the HOLC used to categorize each neighborhood:

> *"**Green** or A ('Best'): A 'ethnically homogeneous' (read as white), U.S. born, upper- or middle-class neighborhood where 'professional men' lived.*
> ***Blue** or B ('Still Desirable'): Established, most or nearly all-white, U.S.-born neighborhood with a low chance of having an immigrant or person of color move in.*
> ***Yellow** or C ('Definitely Declining'): Neighborhoods bordering Black neighborhoods where European immigrants and working-class people lived. These places were viewed as concerning as 'undesirable populations' could join the community.*

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[89] Lynch et al., "The Legacy of Structural Racism: Associations between Historic Redlining, Current Mortgage Lending, and Health," 2.

[90] Ibid., 1.

[91] "From 1938 through the end of the 1950s, the FHA insured mortgages on nearly one-third of all new housing produced annually in the United States". Menendian et al., "Structural Racism in the United States: A Report to the U.N. Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the Occasion of Its Review of the Periodic Report of the United States of America," 8.

[92] Sarah Appleton, "MapMaker: Redlining In The United States," National Geographic, 2022, https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/mapmaker-redlining-united-states.

[93] Ibid.

> *Red* or D *('Hazardous'): Neighborhoods where Black, Mexican, Asian, Jewish, or other groups lived. These locations were often also in industrial areas with older buildings and infrastructure".[94]*

The practice of redlining throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s denied mortgages – and, therefore, opportunity for generational economic advancement – to neighborhoods of color while gate-keeping and distributing mortgages and reinvestment in predominantly white neighborhoods. Reinforced by 'place-based resource distribution'[95] – such as access to food, water, and other community resources – the racialized classification system of the HOLC cemented the trajectories of neighborhood divestment and investment in America, revealing the grave circumstances that had arisen from systematic and structural racism through the decades.

The 'Intergenerational poverty'[96] – resulting from a lack of social mobility and residential segregation, housing discrimination, divestment in Black and IPOC neighborhoods, and withheld economic opportunity and advancement – inherited by each generation of African Americans further reinforces their assigned inferior positioning under white supremacy in America. Making up only fourteen-percent of the U.S. population,[97] Black and IPOC Americans – who presently live in one of the most impoverished 'developed' nations in the world[98] – are the primary bearers of the burdens and risks associated with America's severe wealth inequality and resulting poverty. In 2020, studies found that Black families in America had about one-twentieth the wealth as compared to their white counterparts; in other words, "For every dollar of wealth in white families, the corresponding wealth in Black households is five cents".[99] Poverty, – "The lack of resources

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[94] Ibid.

[95] Lynch et al., "The Legacy of Structural Racism: Associations between Historic Redlining, Current Mortgage Lending, and Health," 2.

[96] Michael Poulson et al., "Historic Redlining, Structural Racism, and Firearm Violence: A Structural Equation Modeling Approach," *The Lancet Regional Health - Americas* 3 (2021): 2.

[97] See, "Facts About the U.S. Black Population," Pew Research Center, March 25, 2021, https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/fact-sheet/facts-about-the-us-black-population/.

[98] Bettina M. Beech et al., "Poverty, Racism, and the Public Health Crisis in America," *Frontiers in Public Health* 9 (2021): 2.

[99] Ibid.

necessary to meet basic human needs"[100] - according to a 2021 study on "*Poverty, Racism, and the Public Health Crisis in America*", is a critical health condition in America that is determined and perpetuated by structural racism.[101] Because of the physical and mental stresses of – being born in, living in, and struggling to escape – poverty, Black and IPOC Americans have been found to have 'significantly reduced life expectancies' compared to white Americans.[102] A 2008 study found that, though they only represented twelve-point-seven-percent of the U.S. population, Black Americans accounted for twenty-six-percent of asthma deaths, which were predicted to be resultant due to the proximity of Black neighborhoods to 'toxic dumps', 'toxic fumes', and 'other environmental hazards'.[103]

Researchers of the previously-mentioned study on the legacies of structural racism and their impacts on health in Milwaukee, Wisconsin found that neighborhoods with greater historic redlining were associated with current lending discrimination and increased prevalence of poor physical health and poor mental health.[104] This is permitted through implicit and explicit 'provider bias', institutional and medical 'mistrust', 'low self-esteem', and 'internalized racism'.[105] The links between racism, health inequalities, and health disparities have been written about in America since before the times of Reconstruction. African American physician and abolitionist, Dr. James McCune Smith (1813-1865), argued that one's health "[…] reflected their intrinsic membership in groups created by a race structured society," rather than as a consequence of one's 'innate

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[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid., 3.

[102] Jenny L. Davis and Tony P. Love, "Intersecting Matters: #GeorgeFloyd and #COVID19," *First Monday* 27, no. 4 (2022): 8.

[103] These are examples of "environmental racism". Menendian et al., "Structural Racism in the United States: A Report to the U.N. Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the Occasion of Its Review of the Periodic Report of the United States of America," 13–14.

[104] Lynch et al., "The Legacy of Structural Racism: Associations between Historic Redlining, Current Mortgage Lending, and Health," 1.

[105] Beech et al., "Poverty, Racism, and the Public Health Crisis in America," 2.

constitution'.[106] Renowned African American sociologist, historian, essayist, and educator, Dr. William Edward Burghardt Dubois (1868-1963), validated Smith's arguments with his 1899 study which demonstrated that "[…] racial differences in mortality in Philadelphia were explained by social factors (e.g., economic, sanitary, and education) and not innate racial traits or tendencies".[107]

Further, poverty among Black and IPOC Americans is perpetuated by – and perpetuates – the 'school-to-prison-to-dropout pipeline'[108] and the 'prison industrial complex'.[109] Regarding the former, poorly funded schools in Black neighborhoods and districts lead to higher rates of students dropping out, lower standardized test scores, and 'significantly' lower college attendance rates.[110] A 2008 study found that the average African American student attended a school with a sixty-five-percent 'student poverty rate' compared to the thirty-percent for the average white student's school.[111] At the time of this study, only half of African American students were finishing high school with a diploma in the typical four years.[112] Researchers studying the relationship between redlining, structural racism, and firearm violence in America published their 2021 findings and interpretation, stating, "Redlining practices of the 1930s potentially contribute to increased rates of firearm violence through changes to neighborhood environments, namely through preclusion from homeownership, poverty, poor educational attainment, and concentration (i.e. segregation) of Black communities".[113] Researchers of this study concluded that the intergenerational poverty

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[106] Ibid., 2.
[107] Beech et al., 2.
[108] See, "The School-to-Prison Pipeline," Citizens for Juvenile Justice, n.d., https://www.cfjj.org/school-to-prison-pipeline; Menendian et al., "Structural Racism in the United States: A Report to the U.N. Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the Occasion of Its Review of the Periodic Report of the United States of America," 17.
[109] See, "What Is the Prison Industrial Complex?," Justice Education Project, n.d., https://www.justiceeducationproject.org/post/what-is-the-prison-industrial-complex.
[110] Menendian et al., "Structural Racism in the United States: A Report to the U.N. Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the Occasion of Its Review of the Periodic Report of the United States of America," 16.
[111] Ibid., 16.
[112] Ibid., 16.
[113] Poulson et al., "Historic Redlining, Structural Racism, and Firearm Violence: A Structural Equation Modeling Approach," 1.

and social immobility lead to high rates of firearm crime in racially-segregated Black communities and, consequently, firearm incidents (i.e., injuries, homicides, crime-related, suicide, police shootings).[114]

In communities and environments scourged by poverty, social immobility, and subsequent proximity to crime and policing, there is greater risk for youth to end up being sucked away from the path of their sub-par public education and thrown into the positive (exponential) feedback loop[115] of the school-to-prison-pipeline. Once a young person comes into contact with the juvenile justice system, they are bound to miss weeks, months, or even years of school. Of the students who return to school following incarceration, few successfully graduate;[116] thus, initiates the 'school-to-prison-to-dropout pipeline'. Research conducted in 2019 found that Latino and Black boys who were more often stopped by police are more likely to commit crimes in the following months.[117] The disproportionate rate of young Black and IPOC Americans being fed through the school-to-prison pipeline feeds into their disproportionate representation – and entrapment – in the American criminal justice system's prison-industrial complex.[118]

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[114] Ibid., 7.

[115] Borrowing the concept of the "positive feedback loop" from the natural sciences, the positive feedback loop in this example is demonstrated in the cyclical and self-perpetuating systems of the school-to-prison-pipeline and the prison-industrial complex. In Natural systems, a positive feedback loop example is '[...] how sea ice works in Earth's climate system. Being white, sea ice reflects solar radiation out to space and prevents it from warming the ocean beneath. In a cooling trend, the colder it gets, the more sea ice will grow and spread, reflecting even more of the sun's energy. This further cools the earth and results in more sea ice and snow. This is how ice ages begin'. The present increasing temperatures on Earth with Global Warming is perpetuated by a number of intersecting positive feedback loops. "Positive Feedback Loop Concept & Examples," Study.com, 2022, https://study.com/learn/lesson/positive-feedback-loop-concept-examples-identify.html.

[116] Menendian et al., "Structural Racism in the United States: A Report to the U.N. Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the Occasion of Its Review of the Periodic Report of the United States of America," 17.

[117] Lynne Peeples, "Brutality and Racial Bias: What the Data Say," *Nature*, July 2, 2020, 583 edition, 24.

[118] See, Holly Barrow, "Systemic Racism and the Prison-Industrial Complex in the 'Land of the Free,'" *The Hampton Institute* (blog), July 6, 2020, https://www.hamptonthink.org/read/systemic-racism-and-the-prison-industrial-complex-in-the-land-of-the-free.

The harm and disenfranchisement of Black Americans takes the form of 'institutionalized racism', 'environmental racism', and the 'denial of wealth-building resources'[119] enforced through a system of 'custom', 'law', and 'official and vigilante justice'.[120] Just as the abolition of Jim Crow laws was found to be linked to improved health outcomes for Black Americans,[121] the reform and abolition of today's structurally-racist policies and practices – from residential segregation, social immobility, poor education, unequal distribution of resources, etc. – would have a profound, and essential positive effect on the health, happiness, and success of Black and IPOC Americans for generations to come. This thesis asserts that the inherent violence of structural racism originating from and after the Emancipation Proclamation and the Reconstruction era are examples of 'official' white supremacist reactionism and reactionary violence. Paired with the unofficial reactionary tactics of intimidation, violence, white mobs, lynchings, rapes, and massacres, the reactionism following the South's loss of the Civil War came from various actors, institutions, localities, mentalities, and methods.

1.2b Police Brutality & the Murder of George Floyd

On Memorial Day 2020 – and the 109th anniversary of the 1911 Oklahoma lynching of Laura Nelson and her son L.D. Nelson[122] – forty-four-year-old white Minneapolis police officer,

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[119] "Lessons and Resources," Civil Rights Teaching, 2022, https://www.civilrightsteaching.org/resources.

[120] Kenneth R. Janken, "The Civil Rights Movement: 1919-1960s," Freedom's Story, TeacherServe©, National Humanities Center, 2022, http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/freedom/1917beyond/essays/crm.htm.

[121] Lynch et al., "The Legacy of Structural Racism: Associations between Historic Redlining, Current Mortgage Lending, and Health," 2.

[122] On May 25, 1911, African American mother, Laura Nelson, and her teenage son L.D. Nelson, were brutalized and hung from Oklahoma's North Canadian River. According to journalists with The Black Times, "Reports say that deputy sheriff George Loney was investigating stolen merchandise, and visited the Nelson home. L.D. allegedly shot Loney in the leg, thinking the deputy was reaching for his weapon, he eventually bled out and died. The entire family was taken into custody; Laura, her husband Austin, and their teenage son L.D., and younger infant. This resulted in an angry mob of 40 men kidnapping L.D. and raping his mother. The two were hung from a bridge over the North Canadian River, and their bodies eventually burned. Austin Nelson was convicted for larceny and sent to McAlester State Prison. The baby Nelson's fate is unconfirmed by reports at that time". Faith Jay-Jackson, "George Floyd 'A Modern Day Lynching That Holds A Grasp On Modern America,'" *The Black Times*, 2021, https://www.theblacktimes.org/articles/175vsgt5ijr9gzn4w7ltgi41bojqho.

Derek Chauvin, kneeled on the neck of unarmed forty-six-year-old African-American, George Floyd, for eight minutes and forty-six seconds. Floyd pleaded to officers sixteen times that he could not breath, uttering "I can't breathe," "Please," and "Mama"; Floyd died in the ambulance to the hospital from cardiac arrest.[123] Floyd went to the local Cup Foods store to get a pack of cigarettes at 7:57 p.m., an employee called the police at 8:01 p.m. claiming Floyd had tried to pay with a counterfeit twenty-dollar-bill, officers arrived at the scene at 8:08 p.m. to arrest Floyd who implored "Don't shoot me Mr. Officer",[124] Floyd tells officers at 8:14 p.m. that he was claustrophobic and did not want to get in the back of the police car, Chauvin arrives as backup at 8:17 p.m., bystanders began to film as Chauvin pulled Floyd from the back of the police car onto the pavement at 8:20 p.m. where he then placed his knee onto the neck of Floyd, and by 8:29, Chauvin removed his knee from the limp body of Floyd only once paramedics arrived and told him to.[125] In the eight minutes and forty-six seconds Chauvin kneeled on Floyds neck, Floyd pleaded for his life and his mother while bystanders yelled to officers "Bro, he's not *f***ing moving", "Check his pulse. Check it right now", and "The man ain't breathing".[126] Frustration over the racist history and practices of American policing – dating back to the eighteenth-century establishment of 'slave patrols' whose main functions were, "(1) to chase down, apprehend, and return to their owners, runaway slaves; (2) to provide a form of organized terror to deter slave revolts; and, (3) to maintain a form of discipline for slave-workers who were subject to summary

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[123] Rohan Smith, "George Floyd Death: Timeline from Arrest to Asphyxiation," *News Australia*, June 2, 2020, https://www.news.com.au/world/north-america/george-floyd-death-timeline-from-arrest-to-asphyxiation/news-story/3d574145a17045bb5d6c042f8df264ba.

[124] Timothy W. Luke, "America's Continuing Current Crisis: The Matter of Black Lives," *New Political Science* 42, no. 3 (2020): 426.

[125] See, Smith, "George Floyd Death: Timeline from Arrest to Asphyxiation."

[126] Ibid.

justice, outside the law"[127] – and the criminal justice system, the public 'modern-day lynching'[128] of George Floyd was a 'tipping point' for Black, IPOC, and anti-racist people across the country and the world who have since been calling for higher police transparency and accountability and to reform and restructure American policing.[129]

Every three seconds in the United States, an arrest is made, of which only three-percent are related to 'serious violent crimes'.[130] Additionally, U.S. law enforcement kill approximately 1,000 civilians each year;[131] with 1,021 civilians killed in 2020, 1,136 in 2021, and 427 in the first five months of 2022.[132] In 2020, Black people accounted for twenty-eight-percent of police killings despite constituting only thirteen-percent of the population.[133] Black men are two-point-five times more likely to be killed by a white man in their lifetime while Black Americans are twice as likely as white Americans to be fatally shot by police while unarmed.[134] In 2017, American MSNBC political commentator, Chris Hayes, argued "[…] that the American criminal justice system is two systems – one in which policing operates as expected in a democratic nation and the other in which policing operates as would an occupying force in a foreign land".[135] The dehumanization and hierarchization inherent in American white supremacy and white Christian hegemony influence

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[127] "Slave Patrols: An Early Form of American Policing," National Law Enforcement Memorial and Museum, 2022, https://nleomf.org/slave-patrols-an-early-form-of-american-policing/.

[128] Jay-Jackson, "George Floyd 'A Modern Day Lynching That Holds A Grasp On Modern America.'"

[129] Daniel K. Pryce and Randy Gainey, "Race Differences in Public Satisfaction with and Trust in the Local Police in the Context of George Floyd Protests: An Analysis of Residents' Experiences and Attitudes," *Criminal Justice Studies* 35, no. 1 (2022): 75.

[130] According to a 2019 study. Peeples, "Brutality and Racial Bias: What the Data Say," 24.

[131] Ibid., 22.

[132] See, "Number of People Shot to Death by the Police in the United States from 2017 to 2022, by Race," Statista, June 2022, https://www.statista.com/statistics/585152/people-shot-to-death-by-us-police-by-race/#:~:text=Published%20by%20Statista%20Research%20Department%2C%20Jun%202%2C%202022,and%20in%202020%20there%20were%201%2C021%20fatal%20shootings.

[133] Pryce and Gainey, "Race Differences in Public Satisfaction with and Trust in the Local Police in the Context of George Floyd Protests: An Analysis of Residents' Experiences and Attitudes," 74.

[134] Peeples, "Brutality and Racial Bias: What the Data Say," 22.

[135] Amanda Graham et al., "Race and Worrying About Police Brutality: The Hidden Injuries of Minority Status in America," *Victims and Offenders* 15, no. 5 (202AD): 549.

the construction of the Black and IPOC population to be perceived as 'more criminal' – a subject this thesis will examine at length in Chapter Two – and, therefore, needing more attention from police and the criminal justice system.[136]

Researchers, who authored the 2020 study "*Race and Worrying About Police Brutality: The Hidden Injuries of Minority Status in America*" – looking into the extent (N=875) Black, Hispanic, and white Americans feared or worried about experiencing police brutality,[137] being the victim of a terrorist attack,[138] and being the victim of a racial/hate crime,[139] following the murder of George Floyd – found that "[…] police brutality is an emotional injury that minorities disproportionately experience and whose pervasiveness remains largely hidden from view".[140] A prior 2016 study found that Black subjects (forty-nine-percent) were found to be most worried that they, or someone they know, would be a victim of police brutality compared to Hispanic (twenty-five-percent) and white (twelve-percent) subjects.[141] Research has repeatedly shown that people are far more inclined to obey the law(s) if those enforcing it are perceived as 'legitimate' and *able* to retain the authority to enforce the law.[142] The lesson being that, "The higher the element of trust between the government and the governed, the greater the confidence of citizens in the criminal justice system and the easier it would be for the police to serve local communities".[143] The positive feedback loop of policing, incarceration, and criminality in the context of America's structurally-

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[136] Ibid., 552.
[137] Results: Experiencing police brutality (worry a lot, worry a little, do not worry at all): Black: 32.4%, 36.9%, 30.6%; Hispanic: 26.5%, 37.4%, 36.1%; White: 6.6%, 17.8%, 75.5%. Ibid., 556.
[138] Results: Being the victim of a terrorist attack (worry a lot, worry a little, do not worry at all): Black: 17.9%, 43.8%, 38.4%; Hispanic: 42.9%, 34.7%, 22.4%; White: 12.0%, 39.1%, 48.9%. Ibid.
[139] Results: Being a victim of a racial/hate crime (worry a lot, worry a little, do not worry at all): Black: 38.7%, 41.4%, 19.8%; Hispanic: 38.1%, 33.3%, 28.6%; White: 7.9%, 22.4%, 69.7%. Ibid.
[140] Ibid., 549.
[141] Ibid., 553.
[142] Pryce and Gainey, "Race Differences in Public Satisfaction with and Trust in the Local Police in the Context of George Floyd Protests: An Analysis of Residents' Experiences and Attitudes," 76–77.
[143] Ibid., 77.

racist and anti-Black past and present further evidences the intrinsic enmeshment of official and unofficial violence in America's policing and criminal justice systems.

Since the impactful 'Law and Order' slogan from the 1967-1968 presidential campaign of Richard Nixon, the omnipresence of identity politics, culture wars, and hard-on-crime mentality have haunted American sociopolitical processes. The latter has proven very effective in the oppression of Black and IPOC populations in America. Community organizer and researcher, Courtney M. Echols, found that the spatial distribution of present-day racial conflict, inequality, and violence in America can be explained by historical anti-Black violence.[144] Through her statistical analyses of the South's spatial distribution of correlations between Civil Rights Movement era police violence and 1860 chattel slavery and lynchings of Black people between 1882 and 1930, Echols found significant evidence that localities with higher rates of chattel slavery and lynchings had increased rates of future police violence.[145] Echols explains that this phenomena can be explained by the theory of 'path dependence' which supposes that cognitive paths (ideological, emotional, social, etc.) are strengthened through time and repetition.[146] Echols identified three mechanisms of reproduction that deepen individual and community path dependance towards radical racist ideology: (1) 'intergenerational socialization', (2) 'Institutional reinforcement', and (3) 'laws'.[147] The dangers of failing to break these violent cycles and reform harmful mechanisms are that the path dependence of Black criminality, the 'Lost Cause'

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[144] Echols, "Anti-Blackness Is the American Way: Assessing the Relationship Between Chattel Slavery, Lynchings, & Police Violence During the Civil Rights Movement," 1.

[145] Echols found that "[...] the overall total effect of slavery indicating that with each percentage point increase in this variable, civil rights era police violence is expected to increase by 19%". Echols, "Anti-Blackness Is the American Way: Assessing the Relationship Between Chattel Slavery, Lynchings, & Police Violence During the Civil Rights Movement." Ibid.

[146] Ibid., 3.

[147] Ibid, 3.

mythology,[148] 'Replacement Theory',[149] and other dangerous racist ideas will persist and develop to future generations, conflicts, and violent events.

As Echols' research demonstrates, racist radical right violence and racial subjugation in America develop 'new forms of racialized social control'.[150] Echoing what African American and other liberation activists have argued since the European settlement of North America, the nation cannot heal nor redeem itself from the lingering illnesses, resentments, and traumas of its white hegemonic lineage until there is a national reckoning with it. As is seen today in the lasting battle of the Right against Critical Race Theory,[151] current efforts to overturn *Roe vs. Wade*'s protections on abortion rights,[152] and Florida's 'Don't Say Gay' Bill,[153] the strategies of identity politics and policies aimed at restricting minorities remain tactics of the racist radical right. Further, following the police murder of George Floyd and subsequent global rise of the BLM movement in the summer of 2020, unofficial white supremacist reactionaries have engaged in countless acts of violence against BLM supporters and Black and IPOC peoples; instances ranging from driving

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[148] The "Lost Cause" myth asserts that the Confederate states were just and heroic and that the Black slaves were well-treated and ungrateful. Brian Lyman, "Southern Schools' History Textbooks: A Long History of Deception, and What the Future Holds," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 2021, https://eu.montgomeryadvertiser.com/story/news/education/2020/12/03/southern-history-textbooks-long-history-deception/6327359002/.

[149] 'Replacement Theory' asserts that Jews, non-whites, and immigrants seek to intentionally replace the white race through violence, war, reproduction, race-mixing, and other tactics. Pel and Conroy, "What White Supremacists Are Saying Online and Doing Offline."

[150] Echols, "Anti-Blackness Is the American Way: Assessing the Relationship Between Chattel Slavery, Lynchings, & Police Violence During the Civil Rights Movement," 4.

[151] See, Kenneth Teitelbaum, "Curriculum, Conflict, and Critical Race Theory," *Phi Delta Kappan* 103, no. 5 (2022): 47–53.

[152] See, "Striking down 'Roe v. Wade' Will Hit People of Color Hardest, Activists Say," *National Public Radio*, May 9, 2022, https://www.npr.org/2022/05/09/1096840071/striking-down-roe-v-wade-will-hit-people-of-color-hardest-activists-say?t=1654519423403.

[153] See, Amber Phillips, "Florida's Law Limiting LGBTQ Discussion in Schools, Explained," *The Washington Post*, April 8, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/04/01/what-is-florida-dont-say-gay-bill/.

vehicles into protestors,[154] white counter-protest mobs,[155] murder,[156] and mass shootings.[157] During the present-day stage of Civil Rights activism and reform, the 'reliance on the use of police and the legal system'[158] to restrain and repress African American and other disenfranchised peoples may soon change forms as well.

The BLM movement was launched in 2013 – by three Black female activists,[159] Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi – in response to the acquittal of a white neighborhood watch member, George Zimmerman, who shot and killed unarmed Black teenager, Trayvon Martin, who Zimmerman perceived as a 'prowler'.[160] This 'civil disobedience'[161] movement gained prominence during 2014 following the police killings of unarmed Black men, Michael Brown[162] and Eric Garner.[163] Due to their popularity and platform, BLM became a major influence in the 2016 elections, which accelerated their notoriety among Republicans and the radical right

[154] See, Rosenberg, "'Jews Will Not Replace Us': Why White Supremacists Go after Jews"; In June of 2020, Ku Klux Klan (KKK) member Harry Rogers drove his car into a crowd of BLM protestors. "KKK (Ku Klux Klan)," Counter Extremism Project, 2021, https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/kkk-ku-klux-klan.

[155] When 80 BLM protestors marched in Ohio in June of 2020, they were met by 700+ armed counter protestors. Natasha Bertrand, "Intel Report Warns That Far-Right Extremists May Target Washington, D.C.," *Politico*, June 19, 2020, https://www.politico.com/news/2020/06/19/intel-report-warns-far-right-extremists-target-washington-dc-329771.

[156] This ADL Report found that "Most of the murders (26 of 29) were committed by right-wing extremists" and "White supremacists killed more people in 2021 than any other type of extremist". See, "Murder and Extremism in the United States 2021," 2021, https://www.adl.org/media/17498/download.

[157] See, Artemis Moshtaghian and Madeline Holcombe, "A Year before the Indianapolis FedEx Mass Shooting, the Gunman Browsed White Supremacist Websites, Police Say," *CNN*, April 20, 2021, https://edition.cnn.com/2021/04/20/us/indianapolis-shooting-fedex-tuesday/index.html.

[158] Echols, "Anti-Blackness Is the American Way: Assessing the Relationship Between Chattel Slavery, Lynchings, & Police Violence During the Civil Rights Movement," 4.

[159] "Black Lives Matter Movement," Law Library of Howard University School of Law, n.d., https://library.law.howard.edu/civilrightshistory/BLM.

[160] To "prowl" is to move about in a secretive, suspicious, and predatory manner. Hutchinson, Bill, "Turning Point: Black Lives Matter Organizers Say Right-Wing Backlash Was Expected as Movement Grew," *Abc News*, 25 October 2020 г., https://abcnews.go.com/US/turning-point-black-lives-matter-organizers-wing-backlash/story?id=72863444.

[161] Luke, "America's Continuing Current Crisis: The Matter of Black Lives," 425.

[162] See, "Say Their Names: Michael Brown," Stanford Libraries, 2021, https://exhibits.stanford.edu/saytheirnames/feature/michael-brown.

[163] See, "Say Their Names: Eric Garner," Stanford Libraries, 2021, https://exhibits.stanford.edu/saytheirnames/feature/eric-garner.

as dangers to the status-quo, Christianity, white people, and white supremacy.[164] The year 2020 experienced a series of police and white supremacist violence and killings of Black Americans which turned the BLM movement to simmer, until the boiling point of the murder of George Floyd, was reached that May. On February 23 of that year, an unarmed twenty-five-year-old black man, Ahmaud Arbery, was jogging in Satilla Shores, Georgia when a white father and his son (and another man in the car who filmed the incident) shot and killed Arbery on the side of the road; the three men claimed they suspected Arbery to be a robbery suspect.[165] March 13th marks the date of the police killing of twenty-six-year-old Breonna Taylor while she slept in her home.[166] With these high-profile killings of unarmed Black Americans happening so frequently, being caught on tape, and eventually intersecting with the global shock of the Covid-19 pandemic and the murder of George Floyd, inaction and silence became impossible for Black, IPOC, and allied Americans.

1.2c The Global Rise of the BLM Movement

Shocked out of the comfortable denial of racist policing and white supremacy in present-day America, white people were made to join Black and IPOC Americans in confronting the gut-wrenching and deadly beast of racism that, more clearly than since the 1955 lynching of Emmett

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[164] See, "How Americans View the Black Lives Matter Movement" (Pew Research Center, July 8, 2016), https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/08/how-americans-view-the-black-lives-matter-movement/.
[165] See, "Ahmaud Arbery," Stanford Libraries, n.d., https://exhibits.stanford.edu/saytheirnames/feature/ahmaud-arbery.
[166] See, "Breonna Taylor," Stanford Libraries, n.d., https://exhibits.stanford.edu/saytheirnames/feature/breonna-taylor.

Till,[167] was casting its shadow over America. Darkened by the 'slow violence'[168] of structural racism – exacerbating the physical and mental health risks for Black and IPOC Americans – coalescing with the 'fast violence' of Covid-19 deaths, injuries, losses, and economic uncertainty, the Black and IPOC voices screaming out for justice, recognition, accountability, safety, and life reached a new zenith; a zenith that inspired and healed many while terrifying and enraging others. Polls conducted in June of 2020 found that seventy-six-percent of Americans considered racism and discrimination to be 'big problems',[169] and that sixty-seven-percent of held 'some degree of support' for the BLM movement.[170] The social, political, private, and criminal justice reforms demanded by this galvanized and intersectional movement, parallel with fear-mongering images and rhetoric in right-wing media, acted as an accelerant to the ever-burning flame of white supremacy and racist violence in America. Risking their lives, bodies, and arrest, millions of Americans grabbed their Covid-19 masks and took to the streets in protest.

In just the first month after Floyd was murdered, between fifteen and twenty-six-million people protested in support of BLM in America; the peak occurring on June 6, when at least half

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[167] Fourteen-year-old Emmett Till was horrifically lynched on August 24, 1955 for allegedly whistling at a white woman on the street. The boy was taken in the middle of the night and "[...] picked up four days later around 2:00 a.m., beaten beyond recognition, shot in the head, and thrown in the Tallahatchie River weighed down with a heavy gin fan". Till's mother wanted the world to have to confront the incomprehensibly disturbing outcome of lynchings by white people and ensured that the before and after images of her late son were seen by as many Americans as possible. The trauma of these images of Till have fueled civil rights activism for Black Americans ever since. Civil Rights Movement icon, John Lewis, recalled how these images came out when he was fifteen years old and 'shook him to his core'. Lewis lamented, "That could have been me, beaten, tortured, dead at the bottom of a river". Inspiring the Freedom Rides in the South, Martin Luther King Jr. explained how this particular lynching moved the 'negro masses' to 'rock the nation' and demand 'freedom now'. Marguerite Spencer, "The Lynching of George Floyd: Black Theology, Protest, and Racial Justice," *Mitchell Hamline Law Review* 47, no. 3 (2021): 946.

[168] The concepts of "slow violence" and "fast violence" will be explored more deeply later in this section. Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2011).

[169] Compared to the fifty-one-percent in 2015. Adam Serwer, "The Next Reconstruction," *The Atlantic*, 2020, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/10/the-next-reconstruction/615475/.

[170] Serwer.

a million protestors came out in over 550 locations around the country.[171] With the unavoidable

attention on how the United States – and every nation across the world – is liable for past and

present manifestations of structural anti-Black racism and excessive state-sanctioned violence

against its most-marginalized citizens, the BLM movement fruitfully spread and adapted across

the world. In the June following Floyd's murder, reports found that more than 450 protests took

place globally.[172] At a Tokyo BLM rally that June, a protesting Japanese cook told reporters, "We

are all human first, but we are divided by nationality, gender, religion, skin color. What's

happening in the US shows racism is going on, even after 400 years".[173] That same day, thousands

protested in New Zealand chanting "Racism is a pandemic, let's fight it!" while over ten-thousand

demonstrated in Zurich.[174] In total, 4,446 BLM protests were found to have taken place worldwide

between May 25 and November 18, 2020.[175] Over 198,740 people protested in 83 events in

Germany, 43,910 protested in 149 events in Italy, and 27,387 protested in Denmark in these

months.[176] A 2021 report by the DeZIM Institute on BLM in Europe emphasized the particular

nature of European BLM protests where, "Globally relevant anti-racist frames interacted with

national cultures of protest and domestic debates, including issues such as post-colonialism, anti-

fascism, protest against police brutality and solidarity with ethnic and racialized minorities," and

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[171] Larry Buchanan, Quoctrung Bui, and Jugal K. Patel, "Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History," *The New York Times*, July 3, 3030, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/03/us/george-floyd-protests-crowd-size.html.

[172] Alice Jones, "ITR Global Tax 50 2020-21: The Black Lives Matter Movement," *International Tax Review*, June 28, 2021, https://www.internationaltaxreview.com/article/b1q9x87b9g753y/itr-global-tax-50-2020-21-the-black-lives-matter-movement.

[173] Linah Alsaafin and Elizabeth Melimopoulos, "UN to Hold Debate on Racism, Police Brutality in US: Live Updates," *Aljazeera*, June 15, 2020.

[174] Alsaafin and Melimopoulos.

[175] See, "Black Lives Matter Protests 2020: Showing 4,446 Cities or Towns with Protests Worldwide since May 25, 2020. Updated November 2020.," Creosote Maps, November 18, 2020, https://www.creosotemaps.com/blm2020/.

[176] "Black Lives Matter in Europe Transnational Diffusion, Local Translation and Resonance of Anti-Racist Protest in Germany, Italy, Denmark and Poland" (Berlin: DeZIM Institute, July 2, 2021), 33, https://www.dezim-institut.de/fileadmin/Publikationen/Research_Notes/DeZIM_Research_Notes_06_RZ_210702_web-1.pdf.

finding "[…] varying degrees of frame bridging and modification that adapted anti-racist messages to the local contexts".[177]

The global rise of the BLM movement in the summer of 2020 was fatefully intertwined with the Covid-19 pandemic that was ravaging the United States and the whole of the world. Only two months into the lockdowns in the U.S., the igniting murder of George Floyd occurred; thereupon, triggering the wholly unique and intersectional global BLM movement in the midst of unprecedented global uncertainty and fear.

Becoming the 'largest protest movement in American history', over twenty-three-million people participated in the anti-police brutality protests in the country.[178] In a 2021 publication, cultural theorist and scholar, Claire Colebrook, articulated the concepts of 'slow violence' and 'fast violence' in relationship to the convergence of Covid-19 and the BLM movement. Adapting Rob Nixon's concept of 'slow violence' – "A violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all. […] [slow violence is] incremental and accretive, its calamitous repercussions playing out across a range of temporal scales,"[179] – Colebrook explores the intersections of the fast violence of Covid-19 and police brutality and the slow violence of structural racism.[180] Slavery and Reconstruction in America were identified by Colebrook to intersect the slow violence of four-hundred-years of 'building a racial empire' and the fast violence

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[177] "Black Lives Matter in Europe Transnational Diffusion, Local Translation and Resonance of Anti-Racist Protest in Germany, Italy, Denmark and Poland," 2.

[178] Serwer, "The Next Reconstruction."

[179] Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2011), 2.

[180] Colebrook stated, "The slow violence of everyday hidden deaths (obesity, hypertension, heart disease, diabetes—all tied to the hyper-consumption of the American way of life) intersected with the fast and intolerable violence of mounting COVID-19 deaths, morgue trucks parked in Manhattan's Park Avenue, surging unemployment, plummeting stock market figures, and sudden ecological changes in urban centres". See, Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*.

of the 'sudden spectacle of lynching'; interestingly, the 1918 influenza pandemic intersected with endemic lynching deaths among Black Americans; the slow violence of structural racism through poverty and poor health coalesced with the fast violence of lynchings.[181] A key takeaway Colebrook advocates is the recognition of how the fast violence police murder of George Floyd gave 'spectacular' and 'immediate'[182] visibility to the foundational slow violence – of structural racism, police brutality, health disparities, poverty, unemployment, voting access, freedom of speech, and the freedom to assemble and protest – in the context of a global pandemic and economic crisis.

2. Beliefs, Ethos, & Aims of White Supremacist Reactionaries

"The America of my experience has worshiped and nourished violence for as long as I have been on earth. The violence was being perpetrated mainly against Black men, though – the strangers; and so it didn't count. But if a society permits one portion of its citizenry to be menaced or destroyed, then, very soon, no one in that society is safe".[183]

In this Chapter, the beliefs, ethos, and aims of American white supremacist reactionaries will be examined and contextualized through the consideration of the constructions of 'Whiteness' and 'Blackness', perceptions of the past and future, and fears of Replacement Theory and white genocide. This will include the discussion of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century hierarchicalization of nature and the 'Great Chain of Being', 'white victimhood' and 'danger' narratives, notions of Black criminality, the weaponization of the 'white woman' as a symbol of racial purity and innocence, the Lost Cause myth, Critical Race Theory, and the perceived existential threat of white extinction. The most glaring common element in the beliefs, ethos, and aims of American white supremacist reactionaries in – and between – the Reconstruction and BLM

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[181] Ibid., "Fast Violence, Revolutionary Violence: Black Lives Matter and the 2020 Pandemic," *Bioethical Inquiry*, 2020, 3.
[182] Colebrook, 4.
[183] Baldwin, *Nothing Personal*, 26.

eras is the *construction* of ideas – ideas of Whiteness, Blackness, race, innateness, the past, the replacement and erasure of the white race, and so on. With the power to construct, perpetuate, integrate, and internalize these ideas and associated narratives, White – colonial – America has acted as the expert, judge, and gate-keeper of America's societal, political, and economic order on the bases of 'race' and white superiority.

2.1 Constructions & Conceptions of 'Whiteness' & 'Blackness'

"It is, of course, in the very nature of a myth that those who are its victim and, at the same time, its perpetrators, should, by virtue of these two facts, be rendered unable to examine the myth, or even to suspect, much less recognize, that it is a myth which controls and blasts their lives".[184]

2.1a 'Whiteness' & the 'Great Chain of Being'

With such an unignorable degree of awareness, in the U.S. and around the globe, of structural racial inequality alongside visible and vocal white supremacy, it inspires one to question from where, and when, these ideas of racial hierarchy arose. It can be argued that these phenomena and the 'racial worldview' developed in Europe around the seventeenth-century when Europeans encountered and explored the 'strange lands' of the Americas and their native peoples. Nikolas Rose, in his 2006 book "The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century", posited that the 'initial idealization' of 'primitive' peoples and their identification with Blackness in the eighteenth-century set the course for the European classification of white Europeans at the zenith of human development in the 'great chain of being', while 'primitive' and Black people were deemed lower and less evolved.[185]

The seventeenth and eighteenth-century hierarchization of nature, the 'great chain of being', assumed a divine order of nature revealing God's providence.[186] In this time, naturalists

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[184] Ibid., 10.

[185] Nikolas Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 162.

[186] Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 10.

sought to uncover whether apes would be classified as humans devoid of civilization, or 'beasts' of another species.[187] Europeans were desperate for answers which could make sense of the rapidly changing world in which other people, cultures, customs, morals, and religions existed. With the white European understood as the norm upon which other races' humanity was compared and determined, all degrees of difference were labeled a deficiency and scientific proof of not only their inferiority, but their declassification as human beings. The notion of a 'stagnant sub-humanity' served the European colonial interests and their claim that indigenous and Black 'primitive' peoples had to be dominated, civilized, and governed.[188] The influence of Charles Darwin's theories of evolution on the racial and imperial reasonings of the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries added fuel to the debates around whether humanity and its races had one common origin (monogenist) or multiple (polygenist).[189] Though Darwin supported the monogenic theory, he did have a progressivist view of human evolution; one which viewed white races as more evolutionarily developed and civilized than the Black and 'savage' races.[190] Regardless, the stage was set for imperial Europe to propagate the globe with their powers, peoples, and racial ideals. Today, the language, beliefs, and tropes developed in seventeenth to nineteenth-century Europe can be found in contemporary manifestations of white supremacy.

Present-day adherents to the 'great chain of being' exist largely in the Christian Identity movement which prophesizes North America to be the 'Biblical Promised Land' where 'White Aryan Christians' inherit "[…] divine right [of Anglo-Saxons] to dominate and colonize

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[187] Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 75.
[188] Pascal Blanchard, "Human Zoos. Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires," *Liverpool University Press*, 2008, 106–7.
[189] Gregory Radick, "Darwin and Humans," *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Darwin and Evolutionary Thought*, 2013, 173–74.
[190] Stephen Rose, "Darwin, Race and Gender," *EMBO Reports* 10, no. 4 (2009): 297.

the world"[191] as the decedents of the 'lost tribes of Israel'.[192] The world's current leading distributor of Christian Identity books, Hallimore, preaches conceptions of Black people as non-human and Jewish people as descendants of Satan.[193] In its theology, Christian Identity believes in a biological kinship of Jewish people to Satan and Eve; this supposed canonical evil is believed to seek to manipulate and deploy 'racially inferior' Black and non-Aryan people against the divinely chosen white race.[194] The pseudo-scientific concept of 'human biodiversity' among biological determinists insists upon 'non-negligible' difference along racial lines between human beings.[195] Presently, far-right news outlets and politicians regularly refer to Black people and South Americans as 'animals', 'thugs', 'beasts', and 'predators'.[196] Weeks before a white supremacist mass shooting in El Paso, Texas, then-President Trump called the majority-Black district a 'dangerous & filthy […] rat and rodent infested mess' in which 'no human being would want to live'.[197] In the over nine-hundred leaked emails Trump's White House senior adviser Stephen Miller sent to the alt-right publication Breitbart, Miller raves his support for the radical immigration policies of the 1920s and the white supremacist book "The Camp of the Saints", which depicts non-white immigrants as savages subsisting on feces.[198] When considering that the 1840 U.S. census counted slaves as three-fifths a person due to 'scientific' evidence that Blacks were

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[191] Chip Berlet and Stanislav Vysotsky, "Overview of White Supremacist Groups," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2006): 27.

[192] Stephen Vertigans, "Beyond the Fringe? Radicalisation within the American Far-Right," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8, no. 3–4 (2007): 644.

[193] Brent Renaud, "Black Lives Matter in a Haven for White Supremacists: The inside Story of a Historic Protest March in a Small Town in Arkansas.," *Boston Globe*, June 19, 2020, https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/06/19/opinion/black-lives-matter-haven-white-supremacists/.

[194] Vertigans, "Beyond the Fringe? Radicalisation within the American Far-Right," 28.

[195] "White Nationalist," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2021, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/white-nationalist.

[196] "Far-Right US Facebook Groups Pivot to Attacks on Black Lives Matter."

[197] Sean Collins, "Trump Once Flirted with White Nationalism. Now It's a Centerpiece of His White House: Modern Presidents Have Rejected White Nationalism, but Trump Has Advanced Its Agenda," *Vox*, July 21, 2020, https://www.vox.com/21313021/trump-white-nationalism-supremacy-miller-bannon-immigration.

[198] Ibid.,

'constitutionally unfit for freedom',[199] it should be of no surprise the scientific and popular racism of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-centuries have survived and adapted to today.

2.1b Mechanisms of 'Whiteness'

Christopher Brown, in his 2009 article on the construction of Whiteness ideology and white supremacist discourse on the internet, highlighted how "Whiteness ideologies obscure the inhumanity of the historical violation of human rights in the United States and abroad, racist economic and social practices, intrusion on territories of people of color, and subsequent backlash on minority poor and working class individuals".[200] Brown interrogates Whiteness further, emphasizing that its construction is not 'ahistorical', but a socially-constructed category that systematizes 'hegemonic practices' holding the determinative 'currency' of worth in the 'racial' – and, accordingly, the social, economic, and political – economy.[201] With the construction, hierarchicalization, and legitimization of a 'racial' economy and currency designed for the prioritization and domination of a European construction of 'Whiteness', the machine of white supremacy and European Imperialism secured the monopoly on the constructions of 'race', 'Blackness', and all other racial classifications within their chain of innate racial hierarchy.

Scholar of African American studies, Dr. DaReef F. Jamison, isolated three fundamental conclusions on white supremacy shared by American Afrocentrist psychiatrist Frances Cress Welsing (1935-2016) and author on white supremacy Neely Fuller (1929-present). In his article "*Frances Cress Welsing: Decoding and Deconstructing the Cultural Logic of White Supremacy*", Jamison asserts that white supremacy is the only functional racism, "[…] all third world people (people of color) are victims of it", and white supremacy is expansively maintained and

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[199] Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century*, 165.
[200] Christopher Brown, "WWW.HATE.COM: White Supremacist Discourse on the Internet and the Construction of Whiteness Ideology," *The Howard Journal of Communications* 20 (2009): 205.
[201] Ibid., 204.

perpetuated by supporting social theories and systems.[202] In Welsing's work, she identified three 'Freudian defense mechanisms' deployed by white supremacists in the oppression of Black and IPOC people – repression, reaction formation, and projection.[203] These mechanisms manifest in forms such as denying feelings of inferiority through repression, 'despising' and 'discrediting' Black and IPOC people, propagating mythologies of 'white genetic superiority', projecting one's 'hate and sexual desires' on Black and IPOC people, and so on.[204]

Citing cultural scholar Dr. Lawrence Grossberg (1947-present) in his article examining conceptions of 'Whiteness' and the normalization of white supremacy in the Trump era,[205] Joshua Paul articulates how conceptions of Whiteness are always 'temporary' and 'fractured'; further, Whiteness is perpetually 'resignified' and 'mainstreamed' through contemporary 'strategic metapolitics'.[206] Paul highlights the two 'ongoing white racial projects' identified by sociologist and race theorist Howard Winant (1946-present): 'metropolitan whiteness' and 'parochial whiteness'. The former, metropolitan whiteness, champions itself as a 'progressive' and 'nonracial' view of Whiteness in which race is perceived as a 'social mirage'. Conversely, parochial whiteness is the idea of the 'white-working class'. Paul argues that a third form of Whiteness can be identified: 'metapolitical whiteness'.[207] Paul claims that 'metapolitics' is the "[…] intellectual pathway to revolutionary social transformation" employed by the alt-right[208] and

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[202] DaReef F. Jamison, "Frances Cress Welsing: Decoding and Deconstructing the Cultural Logic of White Supremacy," *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies* 10, no. 6 (2017): 43.

[203] Ibid., 44.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Joshua Paul, "'Because for Us, as Europeans, It Is Only Normal Again When We Are Great Again': Metapolitical Whiteness and the Normalization of White Supremacist Discourse in the Wake of Trump," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44, no. 13 (2021): 2328–49.

[206] Ibid., 2330.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Paul focuses in his article on the discourse of the "alt-right". The alt-right, as discussed in Paul's article, is a present-day sub-section of white supremacy and the radical right. They operate, communicate, and recruit primarily through online networks and platforms, espousing values centering around "moral traditionalism", "economic liberty", and 'strong national defense'. The alt-right propagates grievances of "white disadvantage" cloaking larger

white supremacists today.[209] Metapolitical whiteness covertly celebrates Whiteness, white identity, white achievement, and white advancement under the appropriation of victimhood narratives of white disenfranchisement and oppressive political correctness. Appealing to the hearts and minds of white people, this form, Paul argues, is what has fueled the mainstreaming and normalization of white supremacist rhetoric in post-Trump America.[210] Social media and the internet have supercharged the mainstreaming and normalization of white supremacist rhetoric and ideas.

The alt-right uses these online spaces to spread and mobilize its values of ethnonationalism, Social Darwinism, white identity. The discourses occupying popular public social media sites, such as Facebook and YouTube, are articulated through the watered-down and legitimizing discursive methods of what researcher Cindy Ma calls 'alt-light'.[211] By leaning on narratives of 'white victimhood', – a tactic practiced by the KKK since its conception –[212] 'alt-light' rhetoric paves avenues for white viewers that cement the paths towards internalized notions of white supremacy, 'white identity', scientific racism, and white reactionism. Victimization through the construction of a 'venerable' 'ideal white identity' is key in the identification with experiences of 'marginalization' and 'subjugation' in Paul's theory of metapolitical whiteness.[213] To make white supremacist ideals palatable in the present day, 'alt-light' personalities use subtle strategies – such

notions of innate white superiority. Paul, "'Because for Us, as Europeans, It Is Only Normal Again When We Are Great Again': Metapolitical Whiteness and the Normalization of White Supremacist Discourse in the Wake of Trump." Ibid.

[209] Ibid., 2330.

[210] Ibid., 2331.

[211] See, Cindy Ma, "What Is the 'Lite' in 'Alt-Lite?' The Discourse of White Vulnerability and Dominance among YouTube's Reactionaries," *Social Media and Sociology* July-September, no. 1–15 (2021).

[212] Cindy Ma, "Mainstreaming Resentment: YouTube Celebrities and the Rhetoric of White Supremacy," *Items Social Science Research Council*, April 13, 2021, https://items.ssrc.org/extremism-online/mainstreaming-resentment-youtube-celebrities-and-the-rhetoric-of-white-supremacy/.

[213] Paul, "'Because for Us, as Europeans, It Is Only Normal Again When We Are Great Again': Metapolitical Whiteness and the Normalization of White Supremacist Discourse in the Wake of Trump," 2343.

as retaining ironic distance while pushing racial stereotypes and performatively aligning with other minority groups to 'denigrate' another – to push narratives of the 'historic dominance' and 'implied superiority' of Whiteness and white culture.[214] Once existing in this 'hyper-racialized world',[215] the white consumer of 'alt-light' and alt-right content has been effectively radicalized and racialized towards white supremacy. By leaning into notions of one's metapolitical whiteness, Paul warns that the 'absoluteness of racial identity' replaces and represses racial integration.[216] Given that, according to Brown, Whiteness is, "[…] constructed through antagonistic representations of the Other",[217] it can be understood how constructing one's *self* around notions of an 'implicated Whiteness'[218] can lead to unstable and reactive racialized identities for the White-identified white individual.

2.1c White Supremacy's Construction of 'Blackness'

During Reconstruction, declarations of white superiority and Black inferiority occupied social, political, scientific, and academic spaces throughout America and the Western world. In a study looking into representations of race and racism in southern Black school textbooks between 1861 and 1876, researcher AnneMarie Brosnan found that textbooks made specifically for freed people, as well as those used in 'antebellum northern common schools', both represented Black people as inferior and white people as superior.[219] Brosnan found that these claims were made on the bases of scientific racism and notions of distinct and divided racial groups.[220] These beliefs,

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[214] Ma, "What Is the 'Lite' in 'Alt-Lite?' The Discourse of White Vulnerability and Dominance among YouTube's Reactionaries," 1.

[215] "Alt-Right."

[216] Paul, "'Because for Us, as Europeans, It Is Only Normal Again When We Are Great Again': Metapolitical Whiteness and the Normalization of White Supremacist Discourse in the Wake of Trump," 2343.

[217] Brown, "WWW.HATE.COM: White Supremacist Discourse on the Internet and the Construction of Whiteness Ideology," 204.

[218] Brown, 197.

[219] AnneMarie Brosnan, "Representations of Race and Racism in the Textbooks Used in Southern Black Schools during the American Civil War and Reconstruction Era, 1861–1876," *Paedagogica Historica* 52, no. 6 (2016): 718.

[220] Ibid., 720.

legitimized by the scientization of race, fueled the ongoing belief among many Reconstruction era white Americans that the racial subordination of Black people was not only right, but *their* right. Further, Brosnan found that these textbooks depicted white people as 'intelligent', 'pious', 'industrious', and 'generous', while Black and African people were depicted as 'uncivilized', 'barbaric', 'violent', 'childlike', 'ignorant', 'lazy', and 'degraded by slavery'.[221]

It was during the nineteenth-century that criminologist Cesare Lombroso developed his theory of *l'uomo delinquent* – the criminal man.[222] Published in 1876, Lombroso's "*Criminal Man*" explored the theory of innate criminality by comparing the criminality of animals, the criminality of Man, and the behavior of inferior groups. His biologically-deterministic ideas claimed that, […] the ferocious instincts of primitive humanity and the inferior animals [could be] found in criminals, savages, and apes".[223] Discussing the Dinka of the Upper Nile, he asserted that they displayed 'apish stigmata' in the structure of their noses and inability to blush.[224] Lombroso identified a number of 'apish stigmata' which he claimed could be used to predict innate criminality, including darker skin, large ears, long arms, and a diminished sensitivity to pain.[225] His biologically-deterministic theory of inescapable inherited criminality revolutionized criminology and criminal anthropology in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries.[226] Still today, the 'Black criminality' myth permeates right-wing and white supremacist spaces; so casually, even, that Breitbart News has a 'Black Crime' section dedicated to stories of alleged Black-on-white crime.[227] Stephen Jay Gould, in his book "The Mismeasure of Man", argues that this

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[221] Ibid., 727–32.
[222] Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 123.
[223] Ibid., 124.
[224] Ibid., 125.
[225] Ibid., 129.
[226] Ibid., 135.
[227] Diane Roberts, "The Great-Granddaddy of White Nationalism," *Southern Cultures* 25, no. 3 (2019): 141.

inclination to attribute people's destitution, lack of intelligence, degenerate behavior, and/or criminality to their DNA is a long-standing conservative political argument.[228]

Prominent early-twentieth-century author, politician, lawyer, and filmmaker, Thomas F. Dixon Jr. (1864-1946) produced 'postbellum melodrama' novels depicting 'predatory Black beasts' and 'dispossessed white gentlefolk'.[229] Depicting a fictional America's decent into 'mongrelization' and 'sexual anarchy', Dixon preaches that white Christian men must 'protect' white women and their bodies, so to prevent the destruction of the American family.[230] These fictional texts were so successful in their time that present-day author, Diane Roberts, has asserted that the 'southern race hysteria' triggered by his books spread throughout the North and West and influenced "[…] southern white men [to know that] they could murder southern Black men with impunity". The pretense for violence against Black men and Black people during Reconstruction was often founded on allegations of the Black man endangering – often raping – white women.

Author and journalist, Adam Serwer, wrote in his 2020 article for The Atlantic, titled "The New Reconstruction", that the depictions of racial, ethnic, and religious 'others' as threats to 'white society' is a long-used tool in practices of European imperialism and white domination, as well as in expressions of 'violent white masculinity'.[231] Serwer goes further to highlight the particular role white women, and the 'white woman archetype', play in white supremacist ethos and actions against Black and IPOC men and people. Such was key in the essentialist moral justifications used in 'settler colonialism' and the Native American genocides that took place over centuries with westward expansion. With Black and IPOC men categorized as 'innately predatory', Serwer states, white men are then identified as the inheritors of the responsibility to serve as the 'logical

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[228] Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 136.
[229] Roberts, "The Great-Granddaddy of White Nationalism," 134.
[230] Ibid., 140.
[231] Serwer, "The Next Reconstruction."

defenders' of white society and the white race.[232] Using the myth of the 'Black beast rapist', the systematic, and almost ritualistic, lynchings and mass murders of Black men and their communities was effectively justified for the protection of the white woman archetype. In the early twentieth-century, American popular culture used rapist danger narratives in their depictions of – and propaganda against – Japanese men. Advantageous for the argumentation to place Japanese-Americans in internment camps during World War II, caricatures of dark-skinned Japanese men 'attacking or abducting' white women, paired with slogans such as 'yellow peril' and 'Keep This Horror From Your Home', were attractive and persuasive to white Americans.[233] Black and IPOC rapist archetypes are just one category of danger narratives utilized by white supremacist reactionaries, but they are some of the most effective and employed motifs in white supremacist rationales for 'pre-emptive self-defense'.[234] As symbols of Whiteness and purity, the protection of the white woman from colored men by white men became the most effective and employed rhetorical tool for inspiring and justifying official and unofficial violence against Black and IPOC men and people for centuries.

Dehumanizing racial danger narratives have inspired racist violence in America since the nation's conception. In Brown's analysis of white supremacist rhetoric on the internet, he found that the construction of Black identity had "[…] remained virtually unchanged from slavery to the present".[235] According to Brown, the establishment of racist hierarchies based on biologically determined 'physical features' and 'cultural traits' still rests on the representation of the Black man as 'hypersexual', 'aggressive', and 'violent'.[236] The Black and IPOC rape narrative was identified

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[232] Ibid.
[233] Ashley C. Rondini, "White Supremacist Danger Narriatives," *Contexts* 17, no. 3 (2018): 61.
[234] Serwer, "The Next Reconstruction."
[235] Brown, "WWW.HATE.COM: White Supremacist Discourse on the Internet and the Construction of Whiteness Ideology," 203–4.
[236] Ibid., 204.

clearly in the manifesto of the 2015 Charleston church shooting perpetrator, Dylann Roof. In his 2,444-word manifesto, the self-identified and self-radicalized white supremacist justified his attack – where he shot and killed nine Black worshipers in a Black church in South Carolina – stating, "I have to do it. You rape our women, and you're taking our country. And you have to go".[237] The hysteria that comes from white fears of Black and IPOC criminality leaks into the realm of politics as an issue of 'law and order', and accordingly, an issue of the government, police, punitive institutions, and unofficial vigilante 'justice'.

In 2020, KKK leader Thom Robb called BLM protestors 'cultural terrorists' and encouraged people to confront them with weapons because, "[…] law and order is one of the most fundamental characteristics of a white society".[238] During his campaigns and presidency, Trump identified himself as the 'law and order' candidate who would protect the country from 'terroristic' BLM protestors, 'left-wing radicals', 'hardened' 'criminal aliens', and Muslim immigrants;[239] he even claimed that the latter were, "[…] some of the most vicious and dangerous people on earth".[240] He put great pressure on the dangers of immigration from the southern border, repeatedly calling Mexicans 'rapists', 'bandits', 'murderers', and 'drug dealers'.[241] He often threatened that the asylum seekers at the southern border were mostly men from the Salvadorian gang MS-13, saying, "They take young women. They slice them up with a knife. They slice them up — beautiful, young".[242] President Trump's rhetoric of 'rapists' and 'bad hombres' 'slicing and dicing' young girls invoked the white woman danger narrative and effectively positioned him as the

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[237] Serwer, "The Next Reconstruction."

[238] Renaud, "Black Lives Matter in a Haven for White Supremacists: The inside Story of a Historic Protest March in a Small Town in Arkansas."

[239] Hutchinson, "Turning Point: Black Lives Matter Organizers Say Right-Wing Backlash Was Expected as Movement Grew."

[240] Collins, "Trump Once Flirted with White Nationalism. Now It's a Centerpiece of His White House: Modern Presidents Have Rejected White Nationalism, but Trump Has Advanced Its Agenda."

[241] Ibid.

[242] Ibid.

'righteous crusader' in the protection of white women and white Americans.[243] The 'law and order' ethos was employed in white supremacist language during and after Reconstruction to position white men and people as its 'guardian' amongst the rapid social, economic, and legal changes of the period coupled with increasing 'geographic mobility'.[244]

Ian Hacking, in his 2005 article "Why Race Still Matters", explains the motivations of racial groups in egalitarian states, such as Europe and the U.S., to employ and legitimize race sciences as a means of justifying the domination, exploitation, or eradication of other groups. By endorsing the constructed hierarchies pursued in race sciences, dominant groups allot themselves fuel in asserting that equal treatment for 'others' is not necessary when the 'other' is not equal.[245] Hacking expounds on the integral utility of classification systems in the maintenance of power and empire, and how the eighteenth and nineteenth-century burgeoning of the early modern sciences provided the legitimized classification systems employed in Western imperial and colonial pursuits.[246]

2.2 Romanticized Pasts & Future-Looking Fantasies

"[…] the people are caught in a kind of vacuum between their present and their past – the romanticized, that is, the maligned past, and the denied and dishonored present. It is a crisis of identity. And in such a crisis, at such a pressure, it becomes absolutely indispensable to discover, or invent – the two words, here, are synonyms – the stranger, the barbarian, who is responsible for our confusion and our pain. Once he is driven out – destroyed – then we will be at peace: those questions will be gone".[247]

Researcher, Derrick F. Till, defines 'reactionism' as "the belief that the past is good and should be resurrected".[248] One of the major tropes in American white supremacist reactionism is

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[243] Rondini, "White Supremacist Danger Narratives," 62.

[244] Brown, "WWW.HATE.COM: White Supremacist Discourse on the Internet and the Construction of Whiteness Ideology," 191.

[245] Ian Hacking, "Why Race Still Matters?," *Daedalus* 132, no. 1 (2005): 104.

[246] Ibid., 116.

[247] Baldwin, *Nothing Personal*, 23–24.

[248] Till, "Reactionism: Resurrecting the Past"; Andrey Korotayev, Ilya Vaskin, and Daniil Ramanov, "Terrorism and Democracy A Reconsideration," *Comparative Sociology* 20 (2021): 344–79.

that of an idealized past. This idealized past integrates racialized pro-Confederacy nostalgias with perceptions of a historically dominant white race through the centuries. Famed American author, Mark Twain (1835-1910), remarked that the 'pathological dislike' of progress in the South was manifested in "[…] "the jejune romanticism of an absurd past that is dead, and out of charity ought to be buried".[249] Wholly present and potent in President Trump's campaign slogan 'Make America Great Again', the glorified and moralized messaging of the ideal American past trope has proven its worth in electoral politics and right-wing movement mobilization for centuries.[250] The weight of the idealized traditionalist past has simultaneously triggered strong reactionism in light of progressive change whilst a more radical and crystalized ideal future is articulated among white supremacist reactionaries.

Following the Northern victory of the Civil War, former Confederates began the propagation of the 'Lost Cause' mythology. Deemphasizing the South's motivation to maintain its slave economy,[251] The Lost Cause asserts, firstly, that the Civil War was "[…] a four-year struggle for independence and sovereign rights".[252] Secondly, it emphasizes a narrative of slavery that insists it was a benevolent institution which served to 'civilize' the 'benighted' African peoples who were, themselves, decidedly 'incapable of handling independence'.[253] Following the Civil War, former Confederates and the newly-formed KKK began participating in the 'redemption' of the South by reasserting their positions in local and state government.[254] The 1870s and 1880s introduced a wave of shameless post-Reconstruction celebrations of the Confederacy and

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[249] Roberts, "The Great-Granddaddy of White Nationalism," 134.

[250] It can be argued that President Trump was elected on behalf of his promise to "restore" America's Idealized past. Serwer, "The Next Reconstruction."

[251] Rehman, "Rise of the Reactionaries: The American Far Right and U.S. Foreign Policy," 39.

[252] Grace Elizabeth Hale, "The Lost Cause and the Meaning of History," *OAH Magazine of History*, 2013, 13.

[253] Roberts, "The Great-Granddaddy of White Nationalism," 138.

[254] Hale, "The Lost Cause and the Meaning of History," 14.

'Southern Heritage'.[255] With the Lost Cause mythology firmly established in the South, amateur and professional historians began to rewrite American and Southern history under the acceptance that the Civil War was a noble fight and sacrifice in the name of states' rights.

Lost Cause propaganda and Confederate monuments proliferated throughout the South and America in the early twentieth-century – outside courthouses and on capital building lawns – as immovable signs of a chosen history and an idealized past.[256] Paid for largely by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, these monuments to the Confederacy were erected throughout the country from Florida to Maryland.[257] The commemoration of the Confederacy, coupled with post-Reconstruction civil rights rollbacks and Jim Crow segregation, integrated and implemented Lost Cause and white supremacist ethos into the fabrics of American history, society, and politics; consequently, this mentality effectively justified the elimination and suppression of Black and IPOC rights from Reconstruction to today.

Concerned with the idealized lost past, 'reactionism' differs from conventional 'conservativism' in that the latter prioritizes traditional values that are 'still in existence', while the former believes that the 'liberty' and 'privileges' of the past have been lost.[258] Driven to restore what is lost, reactionaries are motivated by the dual perceptions of the past as 'good' and change as 'threatening'. In exploring the motivations of reactionism, Till examined whether reactionism was purely 'perceptual' – where the perception of a positive past is enough to inspire reactionary behavior and attitudes – or 'motivated' – where the perception and experience of change as

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[255] Ibid., 13–14.
[256] Ibid., 15.
[257] Roberts, "The Great-Granddaddy of White Nationalism," 138.
[258] Till, "Reactionism: Resurrecting the Past," 8.

threating fuels reactionism.[259] Till's findings suggest that reactionary behavior and attitudes are motivated by the perception of a threat only when the past is positively framed.[260]

In alt-right and white supremacist messaging, deep and recent idealized pasts serve to illustrate the alleged 'historic dominance' of the white Aryan race and codify the righteous values of 'white culture'.[261] Claims of the great humanitarian and intellectual achievements of white people throughout history color the idealized construction of white superiority with accolades of benevolence, bestowed intelligence and reasoning, pioneering spirit, technological innovation, and innocence.[262] Assertions of white innocence tend to exonerate white people for their historic and contemporary misdeeds by implicating non-white populations for decidedly comparable immoral acts. One example of this deflective tactic is the white supremacist argument that white people cannot be held morally accountable for slavery and the slave trade – the same kinds of arguments are made about white imperialism and expansionism – because non-white people also engaged in those practices. Further claims argue that white people were the only race to put an end to the practice of slavery.[263] Emphasis on the Arab slave trade is popular in present-day alt-right commentary as a claim for white innocence as well as Islamophobia.[264] Brosnan found that Reconstruction era Black school textbooks indicted the African people for the Transatlantic Slave Trade and slavery in America. Still circulated among Black and white children throughout America, the 1854 textbook "*An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography: Designed for the Instruction of Children in Schools and Families*" states that, "Africa, for more than three hundred years past, has furnished slaves to the people of various parts of the earth. Millions of these

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[259] Ibid., 29.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Ma, "What Is the 'Lite' in 'Alt-Lite?' The Discourse of White Vulnerability and Dominance among YouTube's Reactionaries," 1.
[262] Ibid., 2.
[263] Ibid, 9.
[264] Ibid.

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unhappy beings have been carried away from their country and friends and doomed to laborious servitude in foreign lands".[265]

The reflex of white Americans to insist on adhering to their righteous Lost Cause version of history, and to reactively combat all policies and practices teaching a critical version of American and world history, is blindingly visible in the present-day conflicts over 'Critical Race Theory' (CRT). Established in 1989 by Black lawyer and scholar, professor Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1959-present), during a workshop with students looking into persisting racial inequality despite the legislative gains of the Civil Rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s, CRT was designed as a 'new academic framework' that could root-out racial disparity in America and transform academic institutions into 'truly egalitarian spaces'.[266] CRT theorists acknowledge – and advocate for the educational emphasis on – the social and structural racial hierarchies effectively implemented and integrated in the American past and present.[267] CRT opponents insist and assert that CRT 'endorses racial segregation', 'race-based guilt', and 'racial humiliation'.

Appropriating civil rights language, CRT opponent and conservative activist, Christopher Rufo, exclaimed in his 2021 op-ed "*Standing Against Critical Race Theory*" that "[Americans] must not succumb to the pernicious contemporary tendency to subsume individuals to their immutable characteristics, or to reject the sacred notion of equality under the law in pursuit of socially-engineered 'equity'".[268] Rufo even cites the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in his referencing to the September 2020 executive order signed by President Trump which banned training sessions of CRT in federal agencies on the basis that CRT endorses 'race or sex stereotyping' of white people

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[265] Brosnan, "Representations of Race and Racism in the Textbooks Used in Southern Black Schools during the American Civil War and Reconstruction Era, 1861–1876," 732.

[266] Jacey Fortin, "Critical Race Theory: A Brief History," *The New York Times*, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-critical-race-theory.html.

[267] See, Ibid..

[268] Christopher Rufo, "Standing Against Critical Race Theory," *The American Mind*, April 21, 2021, https://americanmind.org/salvo/standing-against-critical-race-theory/.

and teaches that "[…] an individual's moral character is necessarily determined by his or her race or sex".[269] Designating CRT as 'essentialist' propaganda, Rufo rejects assertions that history should include curriculum on notions of 'whiteness', 'white privilege', and 'internalized racial superiority'. Rufo asserts that CRT is a radical leftist tool designed to 'convert' schools into 'centers of indoctrination' that push a factional divisive ideology that is "[…] contrary to the American ideal and way of life".[270] To the CRT opponent, the replacement of the Lost Cause narrative with CRT in school curriculum represents the active rejection of – and threat to – the 'liberal legal order', 'Enlightenment rationalism', 'capitalism', 'property rights', and 'our founding American principles'.[271] Intentionally divisive and ambiguous, this wide selection of potential dire threats arising from the teaching of CRT in public education can excite and attract more opponents to CRT by triggering their reactionary reflexes. Threatening their perceived positive past with fears of change corners CRT opponents into believing that the country is sure to fall into chaos and despair if they do not prevent its implementation. At a 2021 Proud Boys demonstration in Miami, one sign read, "CRT=Marxism. Marxism → genocide every time".[272] The call to action, supercharged by warnings of existential threat, is clear in Rufo's declaration, "Fail to recognize this scourge, mislabel or downplay it as so much post-modern argle-bargle that will fade in the dust like an old deconstructionist, and you accept that America as we know her will cease to exist. She will likely do so not with a whimper, but with a bang."[273] Rufo's warning of 'America as we know her' ceasing to exist calls to the enduring white supremacist conspiracy

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[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibram Kendi, "The Mantra of White Supremacy: The Idea That Anti-Racist Is a Code Word for 'Anti-White' Is the Claim of Avowed Extremists," *The Atlantic*, November 30, 2021, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/11/white-supremacy-mantra-anti-racism/620832/.
[273] Rufo, "Standing Against Critical Race Theory."

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that has long succeeded in fueling reactionism and radicalism in Post-Civil War America: Replacement Theory.

2.3 Replacement Theory & Fears of White Genocide

"We live by lies. And not only, for example, about race – whatever, by this time, in this country, or, indeed, in the world, this word may mean- buy about our own very natures. The lie has penetrated to our most private moments, and the most secret chambers of our hearts".[274]

The effects of European imperialism, globalization, racial and national identification, evolutionary biology, statistical anthropology, and eugenic philosophies culminated today in the extant and modified manifestations of white supremacy in the United States. Adjusted to fit the present circumstances of a globalized world coming to terms with its colonial and racial past, contemporary white supremacy employs the old tricks of Replacement Theory and an impending white genocide to combat the present-day threats to traditional white power structures. 'White genocide' implements notions of 'Black Criminality' to drive its theory that the 'dangerous' Black population acts as an inferior 'beast' or parasite that feeds on white society as their 'superior' 'host' organism.[275] This naturalistic metaphor indicates that the presence of the 'dangerous' Black race means possible extinction or 'suicidal course'[276] for the white race. Psychologists Hui Bai and Christopher M. Federico, in their 2021 study "*White and minority demographic shifts, intergroup threat, and right-wing extremism*", cite the theory of 'collective existential threat', or 'extinction threat', activated when "[…] a perception that the group that one identifies with will cease to exist, or a fear that the ingroup's population will dwindle to the point that the group no longer exists".[277] Bai and Federico found support for research that suggested that concerns of in-group extinction

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[274] Baldwin, *Nothing Personal*, 23.
[275] Brown, "WWW.HATE.COM: White Supremacist Discourse on the Internet and the Construction of Whiteness Ideology," 201–2.
[276] Ibid., 202.
[277] Hui Bai and Christopher M. Fredrico, "White and Minority Demographic Shifts, Intergroup Threat, and Right-Wing Extremism," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 94 (2021): 2.

motivate individuals to adopt behaviors and attitudes that will 'preserve' the in-group's 'future vitality'.[278] Their findings indicate that collective existential threat serves to mediate the relationship between perceived white population decline and variables pertaining to 'defensive reactions'.[279]

Cited in a 'sizable portion' of far-right and white supremacist mass-shooter manifestos, the 'Great Replacement Theory' rests on the idea that white Europeans are being existentially threatened and replaced – culturally and demographically – by non-whites.[280] The manifesto of the Christchurch shooter, who killed over fifty people in two New Zealand churches in 2019, was named after 'The Great Replacement'.[281] Most recently, Replacement Theory was cited as the main motivation behind the May 14, 2022 mass shooting of a Buffalo, New York supermarket in a majority-Black community that resulted in the deaths of ten Black individuals.[282] In the self-radicalized eighteen-year-old shooter's 180-page manifesto, he informs that he carried out the attack, "To show to the replacers that as long as the White man lives, our land will never be theirs and they will never be safe from us".[283] He goes on to say that he doesn't hate Black people who live 'in their homelands', but that he hates Black people who 'invade' 'our lands', and 'attack and replace our people'. He implicates 'converts' in those who he hates; converts being "[…] those

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[278] Ibid., 2.

[279] Ibid., 13.

[280] Tasos Kokkinidis, "The White Supremacy Manifesto of the 18-Year-Old Shooter in Buffalo," *The Greek Reporter*, May 16, 2022, https://greekreporter.com/2022/05/16/the-white-supremacy-manifesto-of-the-18-year-old-shooter-in-buffalo/#:~:text=Buffalo%20shooter%20endorsed%20white%20supremacy%20%E2%80%9CGreat%20Replaceme nt%20Theory%E2%80%9D,being%20%E2%80%9Creplaced%2C%E2%80%9D%20both%20demographically%20 and%20culturally%2C%20by%20non-whites.

[281] "The Threat Landscape: White Supremacy and Anti-Government Violence" (The MacCain Institute, 2021), 3, https://www.mccaininstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/white-supremacy-and-anti-government-groups-read-ahead-materials.pdf.

[282] See, Victoria Bekiempis, "Buffalo Shooting: What We Know about the Victims so Far," *The Guardian*, May 16, 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/may/15/buffalo-shooting-what-we-know-about-the-victims.

[283] Moustafa Bayoumi, "The Alleged Buffalo Shooter Was Also Inspired by Islamophobia. That's Telling," *The Guardian*, May 22, 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/may/22/buffalo-shooter-islamophobia-replacement-theory.

from our own people that turn their backs on their heritage, […] cultures, […] traditions and become blood traitors to their own race".[284] Similarly, in May of 2021, One America News Network (OANN) endorsed the mass execution of Joe Biden supporters and those who are 'Trump's enemies'; further, they romanticized the 'very good solutions' America once employed for 'such traitors' – executions.[285] Referencing the accelerationist motives for social cleaning and race war, the Buffalo shooter and OANN identify the enemies of the white race and American nation to be *all* those who stand in the way of white supremacy and the white ethnostate.

The SPLC identified two primary strategies employed in the pursuit of a white ethnostate: 1. 'Mainstreaming' – obtaining power by the infiltration or subversion of political institutions and enacting policies (such as immigration restriction or welfare program elimination) aimed at weakening non-whites; and 2. 'Vanguarding' – the revolutionary approach relying on radical actions, public demonstrations, and 'accelerationism' to achieve total power.[286] Accelerationism is the intentional breeding of civil disorder and polarization in the effort to accelerate the inevitable collapse of the American political order and society.[287] Accelerationists believe that setting off a chain reaction of violence will trigger a race war and push the white majority to their side. This tactic is widely circulated among white supremacists and far-right terrorists.[288] In their 'kill or be killed' worldview, contemporary American white supremacists perpetuate the centuries-old ideals of racial hierarchy and its implied rights to power and existence.

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[284] Ibid.

[285] Devega, "Tucker Carlson Prepares White Nationalists for War: Don't Ignore the Power of His Rhetoric."

[286] "White Nationalist."

[287] Daniel Byman, "Riots, White Supremacy, and Accelerationism," *Brookings*, June 2, 2020, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/06/02/riots-white-supremacy-and-accelerationism/.

[288] Including Neo-Nazi ideologue James Mason who argued, "that the goal is not just to kill minorities but, rather, 'to FAN THE FLAMES!'", Brenton Tarrant who massacred 51 worshippers at mosques in New Zealand in 2019, and John Earnest who shot up a Poway synagogue in 2019. Byman.

With warnings and fantasies of an impending race war perpetually floating in right-wing and white supremacist rhetoric, preparations are recommended as well. The desired result of this second civil war is for white people to, "[…] subjugate and then exterminate or exile Black and brown people, 'cleansing' North America and Europe, and driving such perceived outsiders back to their 'homelands'".[289] The Anti-Defamation League identified the types of white supremacist conceptions of a possible race war as 'passive preparation' (the belief that preparation for an inevitable future race war is enough), 'closing window of opportunity' (the argument that white people are presently in the best position to win the race war and should initiate it themselves), and 'embracing race war' (the radical approach of 'eagerly' embracing the engagement in a race war so to create a 'new white-dominated' society).[290]

Fears of an impending race war circulated during and after the Civil War, with white people convinced that peaceful coexistence with the newly freed Black population was impossible.[291] The fundamental white nationalist text, The Turner Diaries (1978),[292] depicts a romanticized war against people of color in the pursuit of a white state.[293] By 'cleansing' North America and Europe of identified 'outsiders' and enemies, the presumed white victory of the race war will result in the establishment of 'white nation[s]' and a 'white global empire'.[294] Communications professor and expert on rhetoric, Jennifer Mercieca, explained to Salon reporters that 'war rhetoric' combines threats of force (ad baculum), treating humans as inhuman objects (reification), personal attacks

[289] Devega, "Tucker Carlson Prepares White Nationalists for War: Don't Ignore the Power of His Rhetoric."
[290] "White Supremacists Embrace 'Race War,'" *Extremism, Terrorism, & Bigotry* (blog), January 8, 2020, https://www.adl.org/blog/white-supremacists-embrace-race-war.
[291] Ibid,
[292] See, "The Turner Diaries' Ties to Extremists" (Counter Extremism Project, 2020), https://www.counterextremism.com/themes/custom/cep/templates/reports/turner_diaries/files/Turner_Diaries_Ties_to_Extremists.pdf.
[293] Collins, "Trump Once Flirted with White Nationalism. Now It's a Centerpiece of His White House: Modern Presidents Have Rejected White Nationalism, but Trump Has Advanced Its Agenda."
[294] Devega, "Tucker Carlson Prepares White Nationalists for War: Don't Ignore the Power of His Rhetoric."

and name calling (ad hominem), blaming problems on the dehumanized 'other' (scapegoating), and claiming both innocence and victimage. She warned that such propagated rhetoric serves to prepare a group or nation to hate and fear an enemy to the point of being motivated towards war.[295] While the hysteria of The Great Replacement sung loudly from the 1870s to the 1960s – when the racial distribution of America remained at around ninety-percent white – the shouts of conspiratorial white genocide echo vociferously today when the white demographic makes up seventy-six-percent of the nation.[296]

One of the central messages espoused by white supremacists, historically and today, is that the economic, legal, governmental, regional, national, demographic, and other progress of racial 'others' will result in the replacement – and even extinction – of white people, culture, and values. In the wake of the BLM protests in 2020, President Donald Trump echoed the trendy white supremacist ethos of Replacement Theory by warning his supporters that BLM sought to destroy the nuclear family, Christianity, capitalism, the suburbs, and America itself.[297] Replacement Theory asserts, historically and presently, that Jews, non-whites, and immigrants seek to intentionally 'replace' the white race through violence, war, reproduction, race-mixing, and other tactics[298] to establish a 'New World Order'.[299] Replacement Theory conspiracies flourished in recent years, with debunked fliers falsely attributed to BLM stating, "White men, women and children, you are the enemy",[300] and outrageous theories that liberal Jewish billionaire George Soros paid to populate BLM protests as part of the Jewish-run global cabal using Black people and

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[295] Ibid.

[296] Serwer, "The Next Reconstruction."

[297] Hutchinson, "Turning Point: Black Lives Matter Organizers Say Right-Wing Backlash Was Expected as Movement Grew."

[298] Elle Reeve, "How White 'replacement Theory' Evolved from Elderly Racists to Teens Online to the Alleged Inspiration for Another Racist Mass Homicide," *CNN*, May 21, 2022, https://edition.cnn.com/2022/05/20/us/replacement-theory-white-supremacist-buffalo-shooter/index.html.

[299] See, "The Threat Landscape: White Supremacy and Anti-Government Violence," 7.

[300] "Far-Right US Facebook Groups Pivot to Attacks on Black Lives Matter."

POC to carry out their bidding.[301] This conspiratorial theory has expanded in recent years to include the theory of 'Eurabia' which suggests that Muslim elites are plotting to expand the caliphate – via immigration and demographic changes – over the whole of the world; eventually converting or enslaving the Christian population.[302]

Historically white and in power, the radical right in America continually demonstrates its determination and dedication to protecting and maintaining a white cultural hegemony that appropriates rightist concepts of 'law and order', 'family values', and 'cultural identity' to enact and justify actions and policies that simultaneously benefit white Americans and repress racial and social 'others'.[303] Much of the harmful exclusionary and repressive measures employed by white supremacists and the radical right take the form of political and legal policy.[304]Policies restricting immigration and asylum from non-white countries are a beloved tool of the radical right and white supremacists. Anti-immigration narratives insist that 'American identity' is threated by immigration, and that immigration bans are critical for the 'cultural preservation' of the nation.[305] A favorite source cited by anti-immigration proponents is former White House Communications Director, Pat Buchanan's, 2001 book "The Death of the West". In this text, which too is responsible for the presently-popular 'red pill' rhetoric of the radical right,[306] Buchanan insists that the 'immigrant invasion' and declining white birth rates will deteriorate America into a third world

[301] Devega, "Tucker Carlson Prepares White Nationalists for War: Don't Ignore the Power of His Rhetoric."

[302] Cynthia Miller-Idriss, "The Racist Theory That Allegedly Motivated the Buffalo Shooter Suspect, Explained," *MSNBC*, May 16, 2022, https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/racist-theory-allegedly-motivated-buffalo-shooter-suspect-explained-n1295432.

[303] Jens Rydgren, "The Radical Right: An Introduction," *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, 2018, 1–2.

[304] See, "Brown v. Board at Fifty: 'With an Even Hand' - A Century of Racial Segregation, 1849–1950."

[305] "The Threat Landscape: White Supremacy and Anti-Government Violence," 4.

[306] The "Red Pill" trope in the contemporary radical right refers to The Matrix movie where the main character takes a red pill that awakens him to the sinister truth about his society. In the radical right, this truth reveals the subjugation of the white race through "white genocide" and Replacement Theory. See, Samantha Kutner, "Take the Redpill: Understanding the Allure of Conspiratorial Thinking Among Proud Boys," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (blog), September 7, 2020, https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2020/09/07/take-the-redpill-understanding-the-allure-of-conspiratorial-thinking-among-proud-boys/.

nation by 2050.[307] Anti-immigrant rhetoric served as fuel for President Trump's base and helped him to implement over 400 immigration policy changes in his four years as president.[308] Muñoz Martinez noted that these types of immigration policies aimed at 'racially undesirable' populations were not only designed by eugenicists, but were favored by both the KKK and Adolf Hitler.[309]

The summer of 2020 saw a record number of white supremacist and anti-Black internet searches including 'how to kill Black people', 'Black lives don't matter', 'BLM is evil', 'Zionist Occupation Government', and searches for white supremacist groups seeking recruits.[310] Not long after BLM gained traction did white supremacist reactionaries form the group 'White Lives Matter' (WLM), "[…] dedicated to promotion of the white race and taking positive action as a united voice against issues facing [the white race]".[311] WLM claimed that its nation's integrity was being unraveled by the threats of illegal immigration, racially-mixed relationships, homosexuality, welfare, and other issues 'the white way of life holds dear'.[312] According to white supremacists and the radical right, another population answerable to the issue of the perceived declining white race are those within the LGBTQIA+ population. Same-sex couples are charged with seeking to erode traditional America and Christianity through the 'homosexual agenda' and 'brainwashing' of children into 'sick' and 'degenerate' homosexual behavior.[313] Fox News's Laura Ingram said on her program, "Massive demographic changes have been foisted on the American people, and they are changes that none of us ever voted for, and most of us don't like. The America

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[307] "White Nationalist."

[308] "Anti-Immigrant," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2021, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/anti-immigrant.

[309] Collins, "Trump Once Flirted with White Nationalism. Now It's a Centerpiece of His White House: Modern Presidents Have Rejected White Nationalism, but Trump Has Advanced Its Agenda."

[310] Pel and Conroy, "What White Supremacists Are Saying Online and Doing Offline."

[311] Renaud, "Black Lives Matter in a Haven for White Supremacists: The inside Story of a Historic Protest March in a Small Town in Arkansas."

[312] Ibid.

[313] "The Threat Landscape: White Supremacy and Anti-Government Violence," 4.

we know and love doesn't exist anymore".[314] 'Alt-light' voices occupying spaces such as Facebook and YouTube voice concerns of an 'apocalyptic future of alienation' where white people are all but erased from existence.[315]

Common tropes in Replacement Theory discourses are the fears and implications of race-mixing, or 'miscegenation'. Miscegenation laws began to appear in America to prevent the crossbreeding of the 'natural' categories of race through marriage and consequent reproduction since before the Civil War.[316] Reconstruction era – or 'Victorian-era' – 'Antimiscegenation laws' used the rationales of 'science', religion, and 'history' to argue that race-mixing was 'unnatural' and, therefore, needed to be prevented by law.[317] Researcher Richard Allan Bolar, in his 2014 Doctor's thesis "*There's Power in the Blood: Religion, White Supremacy, and the Politics of Darwinism in America*", claimed that miscegenation laws dually-functioned to support the social, legal, and economic subjugation of Black Americans and to act as the 'legal foundation' – constitutive of constitutional, scientific, and popular 'animating fictions' – of white supremacy.[318] When challenged by opponents of the new miscegenation laws for violating the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, Reconstruction era courts reasoned their constitutionality under the pretense that the laws effect Black and white American equally. Bolar found that Reconstruction era miscegenation laws were reasoned by the courts to be in the interest of 'racial health' and 'purity'. These ethos are represented in Georgia's 1869 Supreme Court argumentation which asserted that race-mixing was always 'productive of deplorable results'; resulting offspring

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[314] Roberts, "The Great-Granddaddy of White Nationalism," 150.
[315] Ma, "What Is the 'Lite' in 'Alt-Lite?' The Discourse of White Vulnerability and Dominance among YouTube's Reactionaries," 8.
[316] Richard Allan Bolar, "There's Power in the Blood: Religion, White Supremacy, and the Politics of Darwinism in America" (Doctor of Philosophy, San Diego, University of California, San Diego, 2014), 303.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid., 303–4.

were described to be less healthy, fertile, and strong compared to 'pure race children'.[319] Here too the insistence of white men to protect white womanhood serves as an implied rhetorical device in the justifications for official and unofficial forms of white domination over BIPOC Americans.

All these assertions, theories, and constructions are in concordance with the well-established beliefs of the various reactionary white supremacist groups operating in America for centuries. The construction of ideas, – from 'Whiteness' and 'Blackness' to 'race' and biological determination, the past, Replacement Theory, and so on – which serve to crystalize and cement the white Cristian hegemony in America, have sought to preserve a national order and racial distribution constructed around the promotion and defense of white supremacy on the biological, social, political, and economic levels.

3. <u>White Supremacist Group Formation - Case Studies</u>

3.1 Case Studies: Reconstruction Era Reactionary White Supremacist Groups

3.1a Ku Klux Klan

Originating in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1865, the KKK was established by six original members: John C. Lester, John B. Kennedy, James R. Crowe, Frank O. McCord, Richard R. Reed, and J. Calvin Jones.[320] The oldest and most notorious hate group in the United States, and still in existence today, – with seventy-two active groups operating under at least four main branches[321] – the KKK has had numerous 'waves'[322] of activity. Following the first wave from 1865-1877, the organization's second wave lasted from 1915 to 1929.[323] This second wave represents the peak of

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[319] Ibid., 304–5.
[320] "KKK (Ku Klux Klan)," 1.
[321] Ibid.
[322] KKK wave theory. See, Paul D. Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns" (Doctor of Philosophy in Security Studies, Montery, California, Naval Postgraduate School, 2011).
[323] Ibid., 93–105.

the Klan's power in its nearly-one-hundred-and-sixty-year existence; the mid-1920s era KKK's membership reaching approximately four to five-million strong. A significant influence for the second rising of the Klan, following its 'forty-year sleep'[324] was the release of the first ever 'feature-length motion picture', *Birth of a Nation*,[325] in 1915. The three-hour film tells the Lost Cause story of the Civil War and Reconstruction era South; depicting African Americans as 'dangerous', 'morally degenerate', 'brutish', and 'lazy', while the KKK was portrayed as a heroic and necessary defensive force in the protection of 'American values', white supremacy, and white women.[326] Beloved by white and Southern Americans, the depiction of the 'evil' and 'crazed' freedmen attacking peaceful white communities and raping white women fueled the wide-ranging public support and enlistment for the Klan.[327] The third wave of Klan activity can be identified during the 1950s and 1960s Civil Rights era in response to the growing scale and success of the Civil Rights movement.[328] According to security studies researcher, Paul D. Brister, "The first and second wave Klans favored attacks that were up close and deeply personal—relying almost exclusively on lynchings, beatings, hangings, shootings, and burnings. The third wave Klan, in contrast, often chose more long-range tactics"; third wave Klansmen demonstrated an affinity for explosives and bombings.[329] Brister's dissertation looking at the KKK's waves of activity was written in 2011 and would not be able to comment on whether the present-day would constitute a fourth wave. Though some believe we are currently witnessing a fourth (or even the sixth)[330]

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[324] Ibid., 95.
[325] See, Lee Pfeiffer, "The Birth of a Nation Film by Griffith [1915]," Britannica, March 23, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Birth-of-a-Nation.
[326] "'The Birth of A Nation' Opens, Glorifying the KKK," History, February 7, 2022, https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/birth-of-a-nation-opens.
[327] Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 96.
[328] See, Ibid., chap. 5.
[329] At least 142 Klan bombings took place between January 1956 and May 1963. Brister, 124.
[330] Bloggers of the website and blog, Ku Klux Klan History, asserted in 2014 that they were in a sixth wave, while the fifth took place in the 1990s. "Eras of the Ku Klux Klan," Ku Klux Klan History: True History of the Ku Klux

wave,[331] the Klan's membership and activity declined 'dramatically'[332] in the past decades and even more in 2020 and 2021.[333] For this reason, the case studies of this thesis will maintain its dialectic comparison by only looking at the reconstruction era KKK, while focusing on two present-day reactionary white-nationalist groups that formed in the BLM era and grew considerably following the murder of George Floyd.

The KKK's first wave began with its founding by six Confederate veterans in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1865. They were driven by the fears of the increasing political involvement and control by Northern 'Reconstructionist' Republicans and the potential 'electoral power' of freedmen.[334] Under the watchful eyes of federal troops and Northern Republicans, the KKK developed into an underground, highly secretive terror group that relied on the tactics of physical and psychological intimidation to protect white supremacy. The white-hooded costumes adorned by members of the Reconstruction era KKK were meant to evoke the spirits of fallen Confederate soldiers; the resurrection of these Southern soldiers was used to exploit the Black population's fears and superstitions.[335] The disguises also provided members anonymity while engaging in illegal Klan-related 'violent alternatives to the political system'.[336] Following the 1867 passage of the First and Second Reconstruction Acts, the KKK began its most violent terror campaign.[337] The Klan professed themselves to be the 'tool needed to prevent' Congress and military control of the South and other feared changes resultant from these Acts.[338] Acting as the 'trigger point' of the

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Klan, *What Is Ku Klux Klan History* (blog), 2014, https://kukluxklanhistoryblog.wordpress.com/eras-of-the-ku-klux-klan/.

[331] See, for example, William Spivey, "The Fourth Wave of the Ku Klux Klan Back with a Vengeance.," *The Good Men Project*, April 5, 2022, https://goodmenproject.com/featured-content/the-fourth-wave-of-the-ku-klux-klan/.

[332] "KKK (Ku Klux Klan)," 1.

[333] "Ku Klux Klan."

[334] "KKK (Ku Klux Klan)," 1–2.

[335] Ibid., 2.

[336] Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 84.

[337] Ibid., 196.

[338] Ibid., 196.

Klan's widespread growth, glorification, and terrorist activity, the social and political threats of Black integration and civil rights – as was the case in all waves of reactionary white supremacist activity in America – drove white supremacist throughout the country to take up arms and ropes against their new fellow citizens.

Proliferating from its original Pulaski cell, – which is said to have begun initially as a 'social club'[339] – KKK dens began to propagate from "[…] the ether of popular culture, untethered from a local context", and were able to – according to historian of manhood, race, and violence in nineteenth-century America, Elaine Frantz Parsons, in 2015 – "[…] take root in specific southern communities […] if some group there found it a desirable identity and tool". [340] The awareness and curiosity around this mysterious Pulaski Klan spread to neighboring towns, attracting new recruits.[341] The original six were supposedly inundated with requests for permission to open Klan 'franchises' in other Tennessee localities.[342] This expansion was 'broad and disorderly', as the original founders had not yet developed an organizational mechanism to control its new branches. By 1867, the Pulaski Klan leaders organized a Klan meeting in Nashville to "[…] reorganize the Klan on a plan corresponding to its size and present purposes…to secure unity of purpose and concert of action" and "to distribute the authority among prudent men at local centers and exact from them a close supervision of those under their charge".[343] It was decided to establish strict organization of the Tennessee cells under state leadership. The elected leader, or Grand Master, of the first organized Klan was the 'charismatic' and 'authoritative' former Confederate 'hero' and

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[339] Ibid., 81.
[340] Bradley D Proctor, "The K. K. Alphabet: Secret Communication and Coordination of the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 8, no. 3 (2018): 460; It has been said - in jest and in truth - that "[...] if Pulaski had had an Elk's Club, the Klan would have never been born". Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 82.
[341] Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 81–82.
[342] Ibid., 82.
[343] Ibid.

entrepreneur, Nathan Bedford.[344] In this meeting, the Klan sought to support and elect Klan members to surrounding states and national government offices. This hardening of the KKK into an organized group crystalized its purpose to expand towards the eventual national scope of control and white supremacist hierarchy.[345]

As Grand Wizard, Bedford travelled throughout the former Confederate states to recruit and build new member cells, or 'Klan Dens'. In order to maximize organization, control, and secrecy, the Klan developed an intricate internal hierarchy of ranks who all were supported by appointed staffs. The 'Empire' of the Klan's reach throughout the United States was subdivided into state-level 'Realms' overseen by a 'Grand Dragon'. The 'Grand Dragon' was to also oversee the 'Grand Titans of a Dominion' (i.e., congressional district) who commanded their respective 'Provinces' (i.e., counties). Groups of Dens (i.e., local communities) were under the orders of a 'Grand Cyclops'. At the bottom of the KKK chain of command were the Ghouls (i.e., foot soldiers).[346] The recruitment of members was done by the group's 'Kleagle'[347] Through the decades, the Klan has uniquely managed to shift recruitment techniques that cater to and attract contemporaries through a combination of manipulating people's 'social sympathy' and 'outright hostility' particular to the given moment(s).[348] Recruitment messages, Brister claimed, are designed to resonate with the 'pre-existing dominant social narrative[s]' based on 'mythologized' histories. Brister identified how the Klan historically 'tries be all things to all people' while simultaneously offering those people remedies to their perceived ills through the violent activities and tactics of the KKK.[349] Target recruits, according to a North Carolina Klan member, were "[…]

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[344] Ibid., 83.
[345] Ibid., 82.
[346] Ibid., 83.
[347] "KKK (Ku Klux Klan)," 4.
[348] Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 11.
[349] Ibid., 11.

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gentlemen of fine education, struggling manfully to retain and sustain their manhood, and give to their children as a heritage of the war a higher civilization than perhaps they themselves had enjoyed".[350] When initiated into the ranks of the KKK, recruits would be made to wear a blindfold and swear – with one hand on a bible and the other on a human skull – their oaths of allegiance and secrecy to the Klan.[351]

Ideologically, the Reconstruction era recruitment pitch resonated widely with their target audiences who were attracted to its 'noble-sounding' cause.[352] In its 1865 Klan Prescript, the Klan decreed itself "[…] an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy, and Patriotism; embodying in its genius and its principles all that is chivalric in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose".[353] Its three stated purposes were:

> *"(1) to protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal;*
> *(2) to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and to protect the States and the people thereof from all invasion from any source whatsoever; and*
> *(3) to aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws and to protect the people from unlawful seizure".[354]*

A major organizational tool employed by the early generations of the KKK – comparable to the use of the internet today – was the coordination and communication permitted through the collaboration with Southern Democratic newspapers, who painted the Klan to be 'mysterious' and 'fabulous'.[355] Coordination messages resembled, "Make ready! Make ready! Make ready! The mighty hobgoblins of the Confederate dead assemble. Mr. X will soon meet a painful fate at the Hideous Hour of Crimson… beware, beware, beware".[356] This message would be passed over as

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[350] Bradley D Proctor, "Whip, Pistol, and Hood: Ku Klux Klan Violence in the Carolinas during Reconstruction" (Doctor of Philosophy in History, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina, 2013), 99.
[351] Ibid., 47.
[352] Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 83.
[353] Ibid., 83.
[354] Ibid., 83–84.
[355] Ibid., 85.
[356] Ibid., 84.

gibberish by most, but to Klansmen, it would inform of a non-lethal attack on a targeted individual (Mr. X) at seven p.m. that Saturday. Helping to propagate and coordinate Klan activity, these newspapers were critical tools in the KKK's terrorist activities.[357] Combining the efficacious means of communication via newspapers with their strong strategies for organization and recruitment, the Klan's power and infamy was quick won. Strengthened by the particular 'internal cohesion' and 'sense of loyalty' within the KKK, the Klan was primed for longevity. Additionally, the secrecy of the group determined that descent and violations of their vow of secrecy would ensure 'violent reprisal', and proactively, obedience.[358] Secret sayings and passwords were established for the stated purpose of security; new recruits, or Ghouls, were made to vow "[…] to never reveal to anyone not a member of the Order of the *** [KKK],[359] by any intimation, sign, symbol, word or act, or in any other manner whatever, any of the secrets, signs, grips, pass-words or mysteries of the Order".[360] During attacks, involved Klansmen were each made to pass around and use the 'whipping stick' so to ensure that no one member would be able to go to law enforcement without they themselves being implicated in the crime.[361]

The KKK was sponsored and supported by the Southern Democrats and Democratic Party, who served as organization 'safe havens' for the Klan. For 'perfect storm' of the Reconstruction era KKK, according to Brister, the combination of factors – e.g., Southern economic turmoil, ideological competition with the Northern Republicans, the 'mass return of war veterans', white supremacist constructions of the 'other', Democratic support, sponsorship and networking with Southern elites, a well-established hierarchical organization, effective and charismatic leadership,

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[357] Ibid, 84.
[358] Ibid., 85.
[359] "*** was used to hide the words Ku Klux Klan in any internal document". Ibid., 85.
[360] Ibid., 85.
[361] Ibid., 86.

etc. – allowed the KKK to seize upon the social, economic, political, and racialized concerns of white and Southern Americans and to recruit and control its members.[362] The Klan was a "[…] calibrated instrument of Democratic resistance to Reconstruction",[363] that staged highly targeted and orchestrated violence and attacks.[364] As stated previously, their reactionary violence was very often in response to fears of freedmen 'prowling' and raping or sexually assaulting white women; the Klan identified itself as the defenders and protectors of 'white womanhood'. The power of these rape-narratives made it so that any gesture made by a freedman towards a white woman was believed to be a 'sexual transgression' deserving mass outrage and 'violent reprisal'.[365] Reconstruction era KKK ideology insisted that Radical Reconstruction left the 'courageous' Confederate vets unemployed while allowing newly freedmen to flood the job market and 'sexually terrorize' white women.[366] Another justification for extralegal Klan violence was African American citizenship and voting; worse yet, these new rights were to be given to freedmen and white people 'equally'.[367] The vigilante justice style of KKK violence was seen as 'indispensable'[368] by members and supporters who perceived the criminal justice system to not be effective enough at dealing with the 'dangers' and 'threats' of Black Americans. The Klan would target citizens and political actors alike. The hallmark violent methods employed by the Reconstruction era KKK included lynchings, tar-and-featherings, rapes, massacres, arson,

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[362] Ibid., 86.

[363] Proctor, "The K. K. Alphabet: Secret Communication and Coordination of the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas," 461.

[364] Ibid., 471.

[365] Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 84.

[366] Ibid, 72.

[367] The 1865 Louisiana Democratic Party proclaimed, "[...] we hold this to be a Government of white people, made and to be perpetrated for the exclusive benefit of the white race; and…that people of African descent cannot be considered as citizens of the United States, and that there can be, in no event, nor under any circumstances, equality between the white and other races". Ibid., 58–59.

[368] Sarah Sullivan, "Extralegal Violence: The Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction Era," *Elements*, 2016, 42.

intimidation, and terror.[369] Though not all attributable to the organized lynchings of the KKK, at least two-thousand 'racial terror lynchings' took place between 1865 and 1876.[370]

The group effectively weakened and went into hibernation by 1877, following the atomizing effects of Ku Klux Klan Act in 1871.[371] Fortunately for white supremacists, the North's withdrawal of federal troops from the South following the Compromise of 1877, "[…] social life in the post-war South reverted to antebellum conditions". The Southern Redemption at the close of the Reconstruction era was so effective that Brister stated that "The Klan can be said to have waged an effective domestic insurgency in the United States".[372] Proud white Americans during Reconstruction grew resentful and distrustful of the United States government for its provision of the rights of freedmen to American citizenship and government participation. The KKK was just one Reconstruction era group that formed with the purpose and objective of eliminating "[…] the Negro as a factor in the politics of the South".[373] The KKK – and other Reconstruction era reactionary white supremacist groups and individuals – claimed to act under the pretexts of service to 'race', 'justice', and 'tradition'.[374]

3.1b The Red Shirts

In the latter years of reconstruction, various communities and counties in the South turned into Black majorities; forming what was considered the 'Black Belt'.[375] Focused on restoring the

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[369] "KKK (Ku Klux Klan)," 11.

[370] "Reconstruction in America: Racial Violence after the Civil War, 1865-1876"; For accounts and examples of instances of Reconstruction era KKK violence, See, Proctor, "Whip, Pistol, and Hood: Ku Klux Klan Violence in the Carolinas during Reconstruction."

[371] "KKK (Ku Klux Klan)," 2; In the years between the 1871 KKK Act and the initial collapse of the Klan in 1877, Klan Dens operated cellularly in accordance with the needs and permissions od their localities. Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns."

[372] Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 71.

[373] John Edward Bruce, *The Blood Red Record: A Review of the Horrible Lynchings and Burning of Negroes by Civilized White Men in the United States, as Taken from the Records* (Albany: The Argus Company, 1901), 20.

[374] Sullivan, "Extralegal Violence: The Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction Era," 42.

[375] H. Leon Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900," *The Journal of Negro History* 62, no. 2 (1977): 174.

Southern Democrats to power, pushing out the Republicans, and preventing freedmen from voting and attaining civil rights, the Red Shirts used intimidation, violence, terror, and spectacle to successfully rig local, and even national, elections. The idea for the Red Shirts originated in 1874 Mississippi as part of the plan to inspire 'enthusiasm among the Democratic masses'.[376] Sported as 'the red-shirt badge of Southern manhood', wearing red shirts and other red attire was a 'symbol of Southern terrorism' and allowed the Southern whites to communicate their support for white supremacy and the Democratic party.[377] The adoption of the red uniform was used to make Red Shirts more visible and threatening to freedmen and Republicans. The most 'important feature' of Red Shirt gatherings – the display of thousands of armed Red Shirts on horseback – was intended to terrify and 'impress the negro mind' with its 'terrific display of force'.[378] The name is said to have been adopted from a popular idiom among white Southern Democrats which told of how Northern Democrat Benjamin Franklin Butler waved a bloody shirt over his head during a speech which he proudly claimed to be stained with the blood of a 'carpetbagger'[379] whipped by the KKK.[380] The symbol of the red shirt stained in enemy blood became a symbol throughout the south, and was adopted as the official uniform for the Democratic election in 1876 when South Carolina Democrat, Martin Gary, mandated his supporters wear red.[381]

The goal of South Carolina Democrats was to restore white supremacy and democratic rule through intimidation and violence that was measured just enough to avoid 'pretext for the

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[376] Ibid., 175.
[377] Ibid., 175.
[378] W. W. Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: Kosmos Club, 1911), 20.
[379] "Carpetbagger" is a term applied to political candidates running for office in regions they have just arrived to. This term was commonly used as a slur by Southerners against the Republicans who came in during Reconstruction. See, Robert McNamara, "Carpetbagger: Definition and Origin of the Political Term," ThoughtCo., 2020, https://www.thoughtco.com/carpetbagger-definition-4774772.
[380] Stephen Budiansky, *The Bloody Shirt: Terror After Appomattox* (Viking Adult, 2008), 1–5.
[381] William Watts Ball, *The State That Forgot: South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy* (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merril Company, 1932), 158.

declaration of martial law'[382] and federal intervention. Organized in a manner that prioritized slow violence to fast violence, the Red Shirt movements preached intimidation and terror over massacres. In a 1911 paper by a Mr. W.W. Ball, titled, "*A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*", Ball nostalgically recalls the activities, participants, and white supremacist ethos of the Red Shirts in his town Laurens, South Carolina. Insisting on the importance of Democrats to "[…] rest their case solely on the assertion of the natural right of the superior [white] race to rule",[383] Ball celebrated the actions, conduct, and success of the local Red Shirts he witnessed in 1876. The actions by Red Shirts at this time included intimidating and assassinating Black leaders, preventing and suppressing Black voting, and disrupting Republican rallies. Ball remarked on the 'perfect' organization of the county and the Red Shirts, whose plan was to 'make and maintain' – prevent freedmen and Republicans from political participation – until the end of the local and presidential elections through the use of intimidation, and occasional violence when 'actually necessary'.[384] Using the tools of spectacle and intimidation, State Democrats organized Red Shirt rallies and parades throughout the Carolinas, where mounted and armed men dressed in red participated en masse.

The first appearance made by an organized Red Shirts procession – following the South Carolina Red Shirt campaigns of 1876 – was at a Fayetteville, North Carolina rally and speech by Democrat Benjamin Tillman in October of 1898.[385] As the leader of the 1876 South Carolina Red Shirts movement, Tillman spoke of the 'flavor of wholesome country life' and the pride of South Carolina for rising up against 'negro rule' in 1876.[386] Between seven to ten-thousand people are

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[382] Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*, 9.
[383] Ibid., 23.
[384] Ibid., 9.
[385] Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900," 175.
[386] Ibid.

said to have enthusiastically stood in the rain to hear Tillman's speech, followed by a parade procession of over two-hundred Red Shirts.[387] Introduced as the 'Liberator of South Carolina', Tillman's 1898 North Carolina rally fueled the fires of the Red Shirt movement across the Black Belt counties. Given that federal troops were responsible with protecting freedmen and Republicans engaging in the Southern political process, their removal was momentous for the success of restoring white supremacy in the South and the 'redemption' of the Southern Democrats. Due to the political and economic success of the Freedmen in proximity to the Black Belt,[388] in combination with frustrations over Northern Republican and federal influence in the South, Southern Democrats in Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina created the community-driven 'quasi-paramilitary organization'[389] the 'Red Shirts'. The Red Shirts became active again in the Carolinas during the 1896 and 1898 elections when the approximately twenty-year rule of the Southern Democrats was toppled by the 'Fusion' ticket – a combination of Republican and Populist interests – in 1894 and 1896.[390] Under Fusionism, Black men and 'poor whites' reemerged as a 'potential political force' and threats to the upper and middle-class Southern Democrats and white supremacy.[391] Using the radicalizing and racializing power of white supremacy, Southern pride, and Lost Cause narratives, Democratic leaders recruited 'poor whites' to support and join the Democrats and the reemerged Red Shirts.[392] Additionally, the Red Shirts

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[387] Ibid.

[388] The "Black Belt" was primarily a region in Alabama and Mississippi. See, "Black Belt: Region, United States," Britannica, 2017, https://www.britannica.com/place/Black-Belt.

[389] James M. Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 85, no. 1 (2008): 7.

[390] In Mississippi and the Carolinas at this time, "[...] black voters were able for a time to unite politically with a large segment of the poor white agriculturists; together they revived the Reconstruction experiment" under the ticket of Fusionism. Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900," 174.

[391] Ibid., 174–75.

[392] Ibid., 174.

returned in response to the increase in the election of Black officials to local and state governments.[393]

The Red Shirts were the 'military arm of the Democratic Party'[394] in the South who rode throughout the rural towns of the Carolinas, armed and on horseback, to depress Black, Republican – Southern Democrats called them 'Radicals' at this time because "[…] no white person used the word 'Republican' in those days"[395] –, and Fusionist (Populist) voting during the 1896 and 1898 elections. Arguably, the most distinctive feature of the Red Shirt movement is the wholly localized nature of their activity and participation. The activities of these Red Shirt factions were highly organized, coordinated through the Democratic Party, local officials, and white elites.[396] Neighboring Red Shirt factions were said to have been able to coordinate communication and events over hundreds of miles.[397] Unlike the KKK, Red Shirts did not hide their identity, but rather, operated openly, proudly, and with the legal support of government officials.[398] Confederate veterans and "[…] the generation of young men who were born too late to serve in the War Between the States"[399] composed the two main classes of the 1876 Red Shirts movement. Red Shirt movements consisted of nearly all Southern white Democrats, including 'wealthy farmers',

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[393] Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900."

[394] George C. Rable, *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 132.

[395] Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*, 5.

[396] Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," 12.

[397] Ball asserted, "The summoning of Red Shirts over an area of seven-hundred square miles and sometimes from neighboring counties, when there were no telephones or telegraph lines, called for lads not strangers to the saddle". Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*, 11.

[398] Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," 12.

[399] Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*, 21.

'bankers', 'schoolteachers', 'hoodlums', 'young and old',[400] white women,[401] grandmothers,[402] 'young men',[403] and 'young factory girls'.[404] Ball Recalled of the Laurens 1876 Red Shirt movement that "Every man and youth, it seems to me now, must have been on horseback, galloping day and night".[405] Young men, according to Ball, were attracted to the ranks of the Red Shirts because – for these boys who were too young to have served as soldiers during the war – the organization presented an opportunity to "[…] prove their mettle to their fathers and brothers was not to be lost" and to help 'redeem the commonwealth'.[406] A sort of social-cultural phenomenon among white populations in its localities, the efforts, participation, support, and celebration of the Red Shirts was shared among the young and old, male and female. It proved to be a powerful bonding and activating force between these communities; fueled further by the attractiveness and efficacy of white supremacy.

The rhetoric of visceral fear and othering saturated the justifications for Red Shirt activity. Ball recalls how he, seven-years-old at the time, and his family responded to what sounded like 'the rebel yell' – the supposed battle cry of rioting freedmen –, "I was sure that at last the "Rads" were upon us and that massacre was imminent. I ran frightened to the house and found my mother and the family terrified too".[407] The perception Ball had of 'negros' was that they were "[…] trifling, lazy, and careless fellows, who lived by tips from their white friends rather than by

[400] Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900," 175.

[401] Ibid., 179; Ball recalls the "Hampton meeting" having an estimates five-thousand attendees, including "some hundreds of women". Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*; The red garments worn by the Red Shirts were said to be crafted by the "enthusiasm of his womankind". Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900," 175.

[402] Ball told how his grandmother sewed him his first red shirt in preparation for the "Hampton meeting" event - with the Confederate General Hampton - when he was seven years-old. Ibid. 11.

[403] Ibid., 21.

[404] Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," 181.

[405] Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*, 8.

[406] Ibid., 21.

[407] Ibid., 8.

labor".[408] He insisted on the 'inevitableness' of white supremacy in the South because of the superior 'courage', 'intelligence', and 'morale' of white people, who were justified in the domination of African Americans on the basis of, "[…] the ancient ground that it is legitimate to fight the devil with fire".[409]

Recalling the Compromise of 1877, – in which the presidential election was given over to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes over Democrat Samuel Tilden with the agreement that President Hayes remove federal troops from the Southern states – post-Reconstruction Southern states used their freedom from federal supervision to reclaim the South from freedmen and Republicans through intimidation, violence, and political measures. The politically-supported reign of Red Shirt campaigns across the Black Belt maintained the use of intentional – and vigilante – violence to terrorize, suppress, and drive out Black and Republican peoples. So entrenched, the Red Shirts of the Carolinas put them 'under a kind of martial law'.[410] They weaponized 'staged torchlight processions', 'nocturnal raids', 'fiery speeches', racial cartoons,[411] effigies,[412] intimidation[413] and beatings of Republican and Populist speakers and politicians,[414] demoralizing Black leaders,[415]

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[408] Ibid., 15.
[409] Ibid., 23.
[410] Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900," 175.
[411] Ibid., 175.
[412] Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*, 9.
[413] Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," 3.
[414] A 1900 New York Times article depicts Red Shirts dragging Populist speaker from his stand, destroying the stand, and dragging and beating the speaker. Other populists were dragged, beaten, cut with knives, and told to leave town. Later that night, the Populist speaker was met by armed Red Shirts in his room who threw him in a buggy and drove him out of town. See, "Red Shirts Drive Off Populist Speakers and Destroy Stand," *New York Times*, August 2, 1900, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1900/08/02/102424924.pdf.
[415] "Pasteboard coffin" effigies were commonly placed on Black leaders' and Republicans' lawns to intimidate them and their constituents. See, Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," 14.

'rustic pageantry' parades,[416] massive rallies,[417] breaking up Republican meetings,[418] shootings,[419] murder,[420] and race riots.[421] With the goal of restoring full power to the Southern Democrats and white supremacy, the Red Shirts successfully disenfranchised Black voters and 'killed' the Populist Party in the Carolinas by 1902,[422] reduced the Black voter turnout to nearly zero from 1896-1904, destroyed the Black middle class that had developed during Reconstruction,[423] and took back political power from the still-Black majority; being able to make declarations such as, "It was a white man's county which is black still,"[424] and "The North may have won the War, but the South had now won the peace".[425] Unfortunately, most Red Shirt and KKK – and other white supremacist group and individual – violence and killing went unreported and unpunished;

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[416] Red Shirt parades were a common feature and dual-practice of white Southern pride and Black intimidation where thousands of white townspeople would gather to watch parade processions of thousands dressed in all white clothing marched alongside massive white parade floats, bands, and hundreds of armed Red Shirts on horseback. Float banners read: "White Supremacy," "Protect Us", "No Negro Rule", "Our Women Shall Be Protected", and "White Rule for Tarheels". See, Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900," 181–82.

[417] Prather, 175; Ball, *A Boy's Recollections of the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876 in South Carolina*, 13; Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," 28.

[418] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1988), 574.

[419] Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," 13.

[420] During the 1876 South Carolina Red Shirt campaign, an estimated 150 African Americans were murdered. Nicholas Lemann, *Redemption: The Last Battle of the Civil War* (New York, NY: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2007), 174.

[421] The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 was a politically-motivated attack by white North Carolinians against the city's African American leaders and citizens. On Thursday, November 10, a former Confederate officer led a group of over five-hundred white supremacist townsmen to the black-majority city of Wilmington - the largest metropolis in the state - where they broke windows, set fires, and murdered at least fourteen African Americans. The riot concluded with the forced-removal of the Republican city officials and mayor, who they replaced with Democrats. They then enacted the "grandfather clause" to limit African American voting rights. See, Tekla Ali Johnson, "Wilmington Race Riot of 1898," *Black Past*, January 11, 2008, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/wilmington-race-riot-1898/.

[422] Beeby, "Red Shirt Violence, Election Fraud, and the Demise of the Populist Party in North Carolina's Third Congressional District, 1900," 27.

[423] Richard H. Pildes, "Democracy, Anti-Democracy, and the Canon," *Constitutional Commentary* 17 (2013): 12.

[424] Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900," 180.

[425] Brister, "Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns," 70.

resultantly, the true scale of Reconstruction era white supremacist reactionary violence cannot be determined.[426]

3.2 Case Studies: BLM Era Reactionary White Supremacist Groups

3.2a Patriot Front

Patriot Front is a white nationalist group which seeks to 'seize control' of the United States and establish a 'fascist' 'white ethno-state'.[427] Patriot Front's manifesto, available on its website,[428] begins by stating, "America stands at the crossroads of an era. An uncertain future lies in the hands of a new generation which has been given a simple choice between sovereignty and subjugation. America suffers under the rule of an occupied government […] Democracy has failed this once great nation. The resurgence of the American Spirit will bring with it the death of tyranny. The torch of revolution has been lit".[429] The manifesto goes on to reference the 'civilizing' of the American continent with colonization, stating that, "To be an American is to be a descendant of conquerors, pioneers, visionaries, and explorers". Being above all a white nationalist group, Patriot Front claims that the 'degeneration' of the Republic of the United States is resultant of "[…] the globally minded system ruling over a nationally rooted people".[430] This perception aligns with the group's anti-globalist[431] and anti-immigrant messaging employed throughout its propaganda and

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[426] Ibid., 70.

[427] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front," *Middleburry Institute of International Studies* (blog), May 31, 2022, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/dangerous-organizations-and-bad-actors-patriot.

[428] See, "Patriot Front Manifesto," Patriot Front, 2022, https://patriotfront.us/manifesto/.

[429] "Patriot Front Manifesto."

[430] Stated in the Patriot Front manifesto: "Our people must learn to internalize their natural identities and come to connect that re-emerging identity with their homeland. Americans are descendants of Europeans, but at the same time they are not European. This nation is unique in its newly realized pan-European identity which has allowed it to succeed. A nation without its people realizing a common identity is no nation at all". "Patriot Front Manifesto."

[431] Tennessee Patriot Front member said, ""At the core of my position are these principles: The categorical rejection of the notion of equality. The categorical rejection of universal democracy. Explicit In-Group preference". Jane Lytvynenko, "The White Extremist Group Patriot Front Is Preparing For A World After Donald Trump," *BuzzFeedNews*, October 27, 2020, https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/janelytvynenko/patriot-front-preparing-after-trump.

demonstration narratives calling for the ban of immigration and the 'deportation' and 'marginalization' of non-whites. Nationalist rhetoric and messaging include, 'Strong Nations, Strong Boarders",[432] 'America First', 'Not Stolen, Conquered', 'One Nation Against Invasion', 'America Is Not For Sale', and 'Life, Liberty, Victory'.[433] Patriot Front ideology and rhetoric is rife with Replacement Theory[434] rhetoric;[435] considering all non-white Americans to be 'replacement populations'.[436]

The manifesto cries for the need to 'reset' the nation and 'return' to the 'virtues' and 'traditions' of the true 'national spirit'. Patriot Front makes calls for 'unity' and 'strength' in order to prevent the 'annihilation' of '*our* culture and heritage'. The manifesto is sure to not use the word 'white' so as to avoid being categorized as a white supremacist group; rather, they use the identifier 'European' in its place.[437] The manifesto warns that, "Americans are on the threshold of becoming a conquered people" at the mercy of globalization, immigration, government control, race-mixing, and so on. Calling upon brave American men descendent from Europe, Patriot Front proclaims that they must band together and rise against the threats to their collective interests and form a 'new' and 'just' nation.[438] The rhetoric, ideologies, grievances, and aims of Patriot Front are

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[432] "Patriot Front," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2022, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/patriot-front.

[433] "Patriot Front / Vanguard America," Counter Extremism Project, 2022, https://www.counterextremism.com/supremacy/patriot-front-vanguard-america.

[434] When asked what beliefs led him to join Patriot Front, an Illinois member answered, "In short: I cannot stand by idly while my people fall into despair, degeneracy, and ethnic replacement". Lytvynenko, "The White Extremist Group Patriot Front Is Preparing For A World After Donald Trump." Ibid.

[435] A Kentucky Patriot Front member stated, "I feel like jews immigrants and Muslims are a malicious threat to the united States and its economy that's why the people are in current state of civil unrest these n!##3π'$ are causing themselves to be shot by the police and Making the split even bigger I feel as if there's going to be a huge race war and us whites will come out on top. How do you feel about this statement?". Ibid.

[436] Ibid.

[437] Stated in the Patriot Front manifesto, "Those of foreign birth may occupy civil status within the lands occupied by the state, and they may even be dutiful citizens, yet they may not be American. Membership within the American nation is inherited through blood, not ink. Even those born in America may yet be foreign. Nationhood cannot be bestowed upon those who are not of the founding stock of our people, and those who do not share the common spirit that permeates our greater civilization, and the European diaspora". " "Patriot Front Manifesto."

[438] Ibid.

purposefully ambiguous on its website and in all public communications as to attract mainstream recruits, while not inspiring unwanted police and government attention.

Patriot Front was a splinter organization founded by Thomas Ryan Rousseau – leader of the father group (2014-present), Vanguard America's (VA) Texas chapter – who abandoned the VA to form Patriot Front in 2017 over 'disagreements with leaders'.[439] Rousseau and his loyalists detached from VA eighteen days after the deadly incidents which took place when he organized VA participation in the August 12, 2017 Charlottesville, Virginia 'Unite the Right' rally in which VA member, Alex Fields, drove his car into a crowd of anti-racist counter protesters, and killed thirty-two-year-old Heather Heyer.[440] The world-wide public backlash following the unrestrained deadly violence of white supremacist groups and VA, a 'movement-wide' debate resulted surrounding the efficacy of public demonstrations.[441] Rousseau felt the VA failed to control the 'presentation' of the Unite the Right rally; therefrom formed Rousseau's design for Patriot Front's 'top-down'[442] organization, disciplining, and messaging. By maintaining 'strict control' of Patriot Front's narrative, publicity, imaging, communications, recruitment, and organization, Rousseau sought to avoid legal repercussion, government involvement, bad public imaging, and perceptions of illegitimacy and disorderliness. At a 2017 speech to approximately thirty Patriot Front members at the University of Austin, Texas, Rousseau began to spread the new ethos of Patriot Front, stating:

> *"America, our nation stands before an existential threat. The lives of your children, and your children's children, and your prosperity beyond that, dangle above a den of vipers.*

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[439] Vanguard America is a white nationalist, neo-Nazi group that was founded in 2014 on principles opposing multiculturalism in America. VA spread propaganda and organized white supremacist public rallies across the country. "Patriot Front / Vanguard America," Counter Extremism Project, 2022, https://www.counterextremism.com/supremacy/patriot-front-vanguard-america; VA is described by the SPLC as "explicitly fascist". "Patriot Front," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2022, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/patriot-front.
[440] "Patriot Front / Vanguard America"; "Patriot Front."
[441] Ibid.
[442] Ibid.

A corrupt, rootless, global, and tyrannical elite has usurped your democracy and turned it into a weapon, first to enslave and then to replace you.”[443]

As opposed to the tactics of VA, Patriot Front aims to focus on 'spectacle' as "[…] the most effective kind of propaganda they *can* engage in";[444] emphasizing the word 'can', this thesis wants to highlight the ways in which the organization, activity, and membership of Patriot Front is limited and adapted for the social, legal, and practical barriers that radically repress domestic organizational terrorism and violent extremism in present-day America. Unlike the nearly lawless freedom with which Reconstruction era reactionary white supremacist groups were able to act, national security today is far less willing to allow domestic terrorism and hate crimes to flourish whilst under the watchful eyes of the national and international media and public. Consequently, Rousseau's Patriot Front relies on intimidation and radicalization tactics through public demonstrations and the spread of physical and online propaganda.

Patriot Front's public appearances tend to occur during protests around the nation; whether they arrive to protest in support or to counter-protest and intimidate. The group attends right-wing protests – such as anti-abortion, anti-immigrant, anti-LGBTQIA+, guns rights, etc. – to make their presence known and to seek new recruits. When attending as counter-protestors to anti-racist, BLM, and other progressive demonstrations – considering the group's reason for splintering off from VA over VA's inability and unwillingness to control members from committing violent crimes –, Patriot Front choreographically disrupts and intimidates protestors while maintaining non-violence.[445] On June 11, 2022, thirty-one Patriot Front members were arrested and charges

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[443] Rousseau in a November 3, 2017 speech to thirty Patriot Front members at the University of Austin, Texas. "Patriot Front / Vanguard America."

[444] Jane Lytvynenko, "The White Extremist Group Patriot Front Is Preparing For A World After Donald Trump," *BuzzFeed News*, October 27, 2020, https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/janelytvynenko/patriot-front-preparing-after-trump.

[445] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."

with 'conspiracy to riot' in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Local police received tips and reports warning of the group's plans to disrupt LGBTQIA+ Pride events and found the thirty-one members all packed into the back of a U-Haul and adorned in riot gear.[446] In a press conference the next day, the Coeur d'Alene Police Chief stated that the department received approximately seventy calls from white supremacists making hate and death threats for having arrested Patriot Front members.

Since the 'historic wave' of anti-racist movements in America following George Floyd's murder and the BLM movement's global rise, Patriot Front has grown increasingly 'agitated' by the recharged civil rights movement.[447] Patriot Front directs acts of vandalism against symbols of BLM and civil rights; frequently vandalizing murals resurrected to memorialize Black Americans killed by police – including countless attacks on memorials of George Floyd – and other BLM or anti-racist symbols.[448] A February 2022 article by the Huffington Post identified that Patriot Front has turned its focus towards targeting the BLM movement since it reached such notoriety in the summer of 2020.[449] Between August 2020 and August 2021, Patriot Front 'defaced', 'destroyed', or 'disappeared' at least forty BLM symbols; though, the Huffington Post insists that even more had been targeted in the months since.[450] Leaked audio from Patriot Front meetings reveal that Rousseau uses these anti-BLM actions as part of his coordinated campaign of 'racial terror' to strike fear in 'the heart' of targeted communities.[451] Through the apparent restraint of organized racist violence and palatable versions of white supremacist rhetoric, - combined with nation-wide

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[446] Andre Ellington, "Idaho Police Receive Death Threats After Arresting Patriot Front Members," *The Huffington Post*, June 14, 2022, https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/us/idaho-police-receive-death-threats-after-arresting-patriot-front-members/ar-AAYqaOi?ocid=BingNewsSearch.

[447] Christopher Mathias and Winston, "Inside Patriot Front: The Masked White Supremacists on a Nationwide Hate Crime Spree," *Fuffington Post*, February 10, 2022, Inside Patriot Front: The Masked White Supremacists On A Nationwide Hate Crime Spree | HuffPost Latest News.

[448] Ibid.

[449] Ibid.

[450] Ibid.

[451] Ibid.

chapter distribution and the aid of social media and other communication hubs[452] – Patriot Front has managed to avoid the irrelevance and alienation from the mainstream public that many present-day radical rights groups earn.
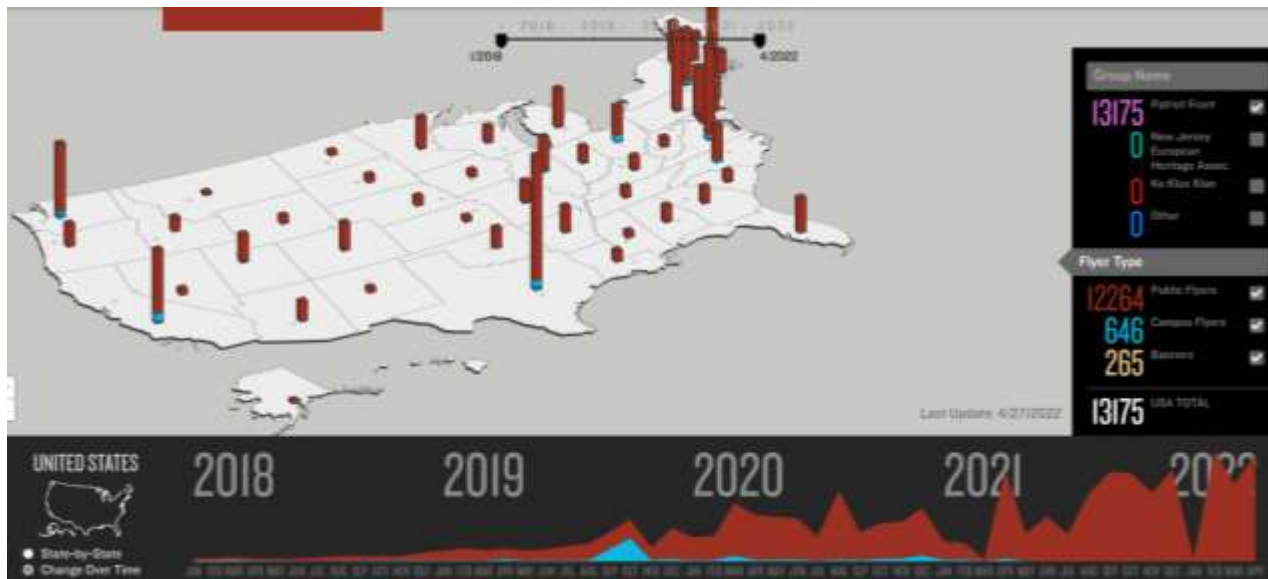

Figure 4: Map of Patriot Front's White Supremacist flyering activity across the United States from 2018-2022[453]

Most Patriot Front activity is done in the form of posting racist propaganda flyers across the country. Acting as 'visual propaganda' and 'self-promotion' materials, [454] these seemingly harmless stickers and posters also serve to intimidate local minorities. As Figure 4 above illustrates, Patriot Front posted at least 13,175 racist flyers and banners between 2018 and 2022, with a noted increase beginning in 2020. In 2021, Patriot Front spread the most hate propaganda – nearly 5,000 racist flyers – out of any other hate group that year. Self-reported numbers by the group boast of posting over one-thousand-seven-hundred 'propaganda acts' during just March and

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[452] "Patriot Front."
[453] See, "Map of White Supremacist Flyering in the U.S.," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2022, https://www.splcenter.org/flyering-map.
[454] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."

April of 2022.[455] Additionally, Patriot Front members are 'required' to achieve a certain flyering quota per month and are demanded to travel up to one-hundred miles to do so.[456] Unicorn Riot was able to reveal that members, when placing Patriot Front 'promat' (promotional materials), often travel to distant towns and cities to create the illusion of wide-spread local presence.[457] In 2022, nonprofit journalist collective, Unicorn Riot, obtained leaked archives of Patriot Front private chats which revealed that the group was consciously aiming to increase its flyering in order to make themselves appear more active and larger than they really were and to increase fear and intimidation.[458]

In 2019, the group's Vermont chapter posted a Patriot Front poster to the doors of a synagogue – only months after the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting – as well as vandalizing an LGBTQIA+ canter and a local newspaper that had been reporting on the group. In response to the Patriot Front intimidation of journalists and Jewish and queer peoples, the community organized a small rally of love and support. One attendee recalled, "All of a sudden, this big pickup truck came loudly down the street honking. It had Patriot Front signs all over it. I saw all the officers that had been standing right near where I was go running toward it, but by then it tore away […] This was just raw intimidation".[459] 'Symbolic vandalism',[460] banners, posters, flyers, stickers, and graffiti have included phrases such as "THE UNITED STATES IS NO LONGER OF AMERICA. NOW WE ARE ON OUR OWN"[461] – posted on a BLM billboard on a Texas highway –, 'Reclaim

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[455] Ibid.
[456] "Map of White Supremacist Flyering in the U.S."
[457] Chris Schiano and Dan Feidt, "Patriot Front Meetings Spell Out Racist Network's Plans & Hateful Operations," Unicorn Riot, May 13, 2022, https://unicornriot.ninja/2022/patriot-front-meetings-spell-out-racist-networks-plans-hateful-operations/.
[458] "Map of White Supremacist Flyering in the U.S."
[459] Lytvynenko, "The White Extremist Group Patriot Front Is Preparing For A World After Donald Trump."
[460] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."
[461] Mathias and Winston, "Inside Patriot Front: The Masked White Supremacists on a Nationwide Hate Crime Spree."

America', 'Revolution is Tradition', 'Not Stolen, Conquered', 'One Nation Against Invasion', and 'For the Nation, Against the State'.[462]

According to the seventeen hours of leaked Patriot Front meetings audio shared and analyzed by Unicorn Riot, Patriot Front's 'centrally-directed campaign of intimidation' operates under a 'local chapter Network model' which requires all Patriot Front cells across the country to directly go to Rousseau and the 'Network Directors' for 'instruction', 'timing', and 'clearance'.[463] Increasingly organized and disciplined, Patriot Front seeks to distance itself from the terms 'white supremacist' and 'neo-Nazi' due to the law enforcement scrutiny these labels ensure.[464] The 'terms of association' for members forbids them to publicly use gestures or slurs that "[…] may be suggestive or otherwise morally degrading";[465] violations of such result in loss of privileges or suspension. Leaked audio revealed a 'clear' and 'cultivated' comradery that existed between members who strengthened their sense of a shared identity through group activities, such as group 'activism' – flyering and vandalism –, camping trips, 'hate hikes' – meant to encourage physical fitness, 'brotherhood', and practical logistical training –, and hate crimes.[466]

Tending towards 'clandestine' operations and 'underground' patterns of activities, Patriot Front can be categorized as a 'criminal organization'.[467] Further, its preference for flyering and vandalism targeting BLM monuments and racial justice murals resembles street gang 'tagging' behavior.[468] Still, recruits are heavily vetted before being granted membership to Patriot Front. Largely due to white supremacist and violent extremist groups regularly being infiltrated by police

[462] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."
[463] Schiano and Feidt, "Patriot Front Meetings Spell Out Racist Network's Plans & Hateful Operations."
[464] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."
[465] Ibid.
[466] Schiano and Feidt, "Patriot Front Meetings Spell Out Racist Network's Plans & Hateful Operations."
[467] Ibid.
[468] Sergio Olmos, "'We Are Desperate for New People': Inside a Hate Group's Leaked Online Chats," *The Guardian*, January 28, 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jan/28/leaked-online-chats-white-nationalist-patriot-front.

and journalists, the new recruit process is rigorous and selective. Candidate must first pass a line of questioning by senior members who decide if the candidate can advance to the next interview stage. Candidates have been turned away for "[…] incompatible ideological views, presumed insincere white nationalist beliefs, suspicious or vague backgrounds, and lack of intelligence".[469] Other disqualifiers include recent charges for violent crimes and any history of employment by law enforcement.[470] Fearful of law enforcement, Patriot Front is not suspicious of military servicemen; on the contrary, they actively recruit veterans and ask interviewees if they have any military, combat, tactical, firearm, weapons, martial arts, or security experience. Further, twenty-percent of Patriot Front applicants are former U.S. military servicemen.[471]

Rules are in place which ensure the maintenance of conspicuousness and lower risk of attracting law enforcement attention.[472] Rules for General Conduct were leaked[473] to reveal nine primary rules: (1) 'No vulgar communications or actions', (2) 'No conduct under the influence', (3) 'No coded communications or dishonest actions', (4) 'No abuse of communications platforms in violation of the productive atmosphere', (5) 'No promotion or suggestion of violent or illegal actions', (6) 'No purposeful and improper conflicts with organizational functions or strategy', (7) 'No participation in parallel extra-organizational activities', (8) 'No confrontational or inflammatory conduct directed towards other members', and (9) 'No discussion or reference to the use, ownership, or acquisition of firearms'.[474] The group's dedication to sobriety and Men's health

[469] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."
[470] Patriot Front recruiters reject those with significant criminal records because "Multiple felonies place the interviewee at greater risk of law enforcement pressure". Ibid.
[471] See, Rina Torchinsky, "1 in 5 Patriot Front Applicants Say They Have Ties to the Military," *National Public Radio*, February 2, 2022, https://www.npr.org/2022/02/09/1079700404/1-in-5-patriot-front-applicants-say-they-have-ties-to-the-military; Ibid.
[472] Ibid.
[473] See, "General Conduct" (Patriot Front, n.d.),
https://vault.unicornriot.ninja/patriotfrontleaks/2021/Organizational%20Documents%20and%20Notes/Patriot%20Front%20Member%20Guides/1%20-%20General%20Conduct.png.
[474] See, "General Conduct."

prompted the group to develop and offer the Lifestyle Recovery Program to help members get off drugs, alcohol, nicotine, and or lose weight.[475] A common formal and private – though, often filmed and leaked or published as propaganda[476] – practice of Patriot Front members is to engage in military and combat training. Members practice battle and marching formation drills, using shields, boxing, and intimidation tactics;[477] all while adorned in their signature uniform of Patriot Front patches, face coverings, tan hats, khakis, and military boots.[478] Possibly most important for recruiters is that candidates be at least seventy-five-percent ethnically European.[479] Recruitment is a constant because members frequently quit the group over frustration with the many strict rules, pressures to maintain physical fitness, and mandatory organization fees.[480]

The exact scale of Patriot Front's membership through the years is 'undetermined' due to their proclivity for being kicked off social media and online platforms – e.g., its YouTube and Twitter accounts and content – for violating hate speech and false information guidelines.[481] Metrics of their channel traffic and subscribers to their platforms on less regulated websites – such as Gab, Telegram, Minds, and BitChute – revealed heavy fluctuation, with general growth trends since 2020.[482] This growth on these alternative platforms is illustrated in Patriot Front's main

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[475] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."
[476] See, Jeff Burlew, "Leaked Video: Purported White Supremacists Conduct Paramilitary Drills in Tallahassee," *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 3, 2022, https://www.tallahassee.com/story/news/local/2022/02/03/leaked-videos-show-white-supremacists-paramilitary-drills-tallahassee-florida-patriot-front/9315855002/; See, Graeme Massie, "White Supremacist Group Training for Violence in Case Donald Trump Loses Election, Says Report," *The Independent*, October 28, 2020, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-election-2020/trump-white-supremacist-group-patriot-front-violence-b1380695.html.
[477] Schiano and Feidt, "Patriot Front Meetings Spell Out Racist Network's Plans & Hateful Operations"; "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."
[478] Ibid.
[479] "Single-generation assimilation is possible with Canadians or other similar post-colonial nations, but this must be decided on a case-by-case basis. Maintaining a strong foreign accent or claiming to be another nationality but American is an example of non-assimilation and is not to be tolerated". Ibid.
[480] Schiano and Feidt, "Patriot Front Meetings Spell Out Racist Network's Plans & Hateful Operations"; Olmos, "'We Are Desperate for New People': Inside a Hate Group's Leaked Online Chats."
[481] "Patriot Front / Vanguard America."
[482] Ibid.

telegram channel's two-thousand-five-hundred followers in June 2020 to the fourteen-thousand followers it had by May 2022.[483] Discussed in a January 2022 The Guardian article on Patriot Front's tactics to appear larger than it is, more than four-hundred gigabytes of leaked Patriot Front chats revealed that official membership of the organization stood at around two-hundred members by the end of 2021.[484] Rousseau was heard in one leaked recording saying, "We are absolutely desperate for new people. We've been in the two-twenties to two-thirties membership rut for nearly a full year".[485]

Though leaked materials suggest that the group is weakening, it is important to recognize the survivability of white supremacist groups in addition to Patriot Front's highly intentional 'growth-based' radicalization, recruitment, and 'activist' organizational style. The aspiration of Patriot Front is less so about overt terrorism – as was the case with the KKK –, but aims at establishing itself as a rooted, nation-wide, underground movement that readily waits for its numbers and strength to align with a right moment in history for white Americans to 'Reclaim America'.[486] This 'growth mindset' is found in Patriot Front's manifesto[487] which highlights the group's 'multi-generational effort'. Every messaging, communication, demonstration, and leaked media demonstrate that Rousseau's Patriot Front is intentionally designed to survive, maintain prepared and dedicated members, and avoid unwanted judicial attention. It appears comfortable with existing as a sparse nation-wide underground network, and ready to escalate once the group's leadership deems the moment to be right. Like the Reconstruction era reactionary white supremacist groups, Patriot Front is playing the long-game towards the goal of a white supremacist

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[483] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."
[484] Olmos, "'We Are Desperate for New People': Inside a Hate Group's Leaked Online Chats."
[485] Ibid.
[486] "Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front."
[487] You will need to be in the U.S. or use a VPN connected to the U.S. to view the Patriot Front website. "Patriot Front Manifesto."

ethnostate; unlike its nineteenth-century predecessors, Patriot Front is forced to operate with a fraction of the social, legal, and political freedoms for racist violent action that white supremacists anarchically wielded in the aftermath of the Civil War. Though the ideologies, fears, and goals are shared between these groups of these differing eras, the actions, efforts, tactics, communication methods, organizational structure, and variety of grievances differ. Though Patriot Front's activity, recruitment, and membership have increased – and started to specifically target anti-racist and BLM symbols and events at an increasing rate – since the 2020 global rise of BLM, the 'enemy' group of white supremacist Americans has expanded since Reconstruction to include (beyond Black Americans) Muslim people, Jewish people, non-whites, immigrants, the LGBTQIA+ community, and liberals.

3.2b The Base

Formed in 2018 by Rinaldo Nazzaro, (whose pseudonyms are Norman Spear and Roman Wolf) The Base has since operated as an accelerationist, white supremacist, white nationalist, antisemitic, neo-Nazi[488] network spanning across North America (including Canada), Europe, South Africa, and Australia. Self-described as an 'international survivalist and self-defense network'[489] preparing for a race war, The Base operates primarily in the United States, but is organized to have 'small' 'terroristic' cells[490] spread across white supremacist populations around the world who have committed themselves to the accelerationist and race war motivations of The Base.[491] Due to its sparsity, secrecy, and wide underground reach, the scale of The Base

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[488] The Base's emblem is comprised of a black background and three white 'Eihwaz' symbols. The Nazis adopted the Eihwaz symbol to memorialize soldiers who died in the 1923 Beer Hall Uprising. "The Base," Counter Extremism Project, 2022, https://www.counterextremism.com/supremacy/base.
[489] Ibid.
[490] "The Base," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2022, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/base.
[491] The Base seeks to create two-to-three-man cells throughout North America, Europe, Australia, and South Africa. Ibid.

internationally and in the United States is unknown. By the end of 2018, The Base had collected a membership of fifty dedicated members,[492] and Nazzaro claimed in June of 2021 that The Base had seventy active members worldwide.[493] In 2021, the Canadian, British, and Australian governments all designated The Base as a terrorist organization.

Born and raised in New Jersey, Nazzaro began cultivating his presence as a figurehead and active participant in online white supremacist circles by 2012, when he moved with his Russian wife and two daughters to St. Petersburg, Russia. Since then, he has spread his beliefs of an 'inevitable' race war and fears arising from 'declining white birthrates' and immigrants 'systematically' replacing white populations.[494] When Nazzaro formed The Base in 2018 from his residence in Russia, he focused on recruiting white supremacists and neo-Nazis through social media. He envisaged that The Base serve as a platform which connected 'likeminded' individuals wanting to be active in preparations for a race war.[495] Leaked audio of recruit interviews revealed recruits came from all walks of life; including the highly educated, 'dropouts', the wealthy, and those with criminal records. The group most targeted by The Base's propaganda and online recruitment efforts are young white men – over the age of eighteen – in high school and college. Analysis of the leaked audio meetings found that eighty-eight-percent of the mentioned ages of recruits were under thirty years old.[496] According to Nazzaro, The Base's members are made up of National Socialists, fascists, and 'run-of-the-mill' white nationalists. Nazzaro has boasted about the 'strong revolutionary and militant current' within the group, bragging about how, "Most of our members are pretty hard core in that sense. You're going to be stepping into probably the most

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[492] "The Base" (Center for International Security and Cooperation, 2021), https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/the-base#text_block_26733.
[493] "The Base," 2022.
[494] Ibid.
[495] "The Base."
[496] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Baseless: Part I by the Sounds Like Hate Podcast," n.d., https://soundslikehate.org/season-one/baseless/transcript-baseless-i/.

extreme group of pro-white people that you can probably come across".[497] Due to constant information leaks and infiltrations by law enforcement and journalists, The Base has developed a rigorous 'multi-tiered vetting process' designed to eliminate and reduce the risk of the recruit's dishonesty about their race – members must be ethnically white –, their commitment to white supremacist ideologies, their background, their intentions, or anything else which could potentially put the group at risk.[498]

The first leak of The Base's data occurred in November of 2018 when antifascists leaked chats revealing some of the members' identities.[499] The Base then adopted anonymizing tactics – such as encrypted messaging and websites – and more rigorous recruitment protocols. Nazzaro ran The Base's operations and recruitment until his resignation in March of 2021. Though resigned, Nazzaro has continued to show support for The Base's continuing mission, its new leadership, and the values of accelerationism.[500] Despite being arrested in 2020 for plotting to murder a married couple supposedly tied to the far-left group Antifa, The Base's Michigan cell leader and organizer of the Battle Axe 'hate camp',[501] Justen Watkins, claimed that he had been appointed to be the next leader of The Base by Nazzaro after Watkins' arrest. Regardless of these claims, Watkins was sentenced to a minimum of thirty-two months in prison in May of 2022,[502] and The Base has affirmed that it maintains a leaderless organizational structure. Since Nazzaro's resignation, The Base has claimed to be a 'leaderless resistance group' made up of a network of dispersed small cells of dedicated members, across the United States and the world, who all share goals and ideologies, but are not so strongly connected that infiltration of any given cell would cause damage

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[497] "The Base," 2022.
[498] "The Base."
[499] "The Base," 2021.
[500] "The Base," 2022.
[501] "The Base," 2021.
[502] "The Base," 2022.

to the organization as a whole. The Base believes it is engaged in the decades-long battle to save the white race in America and around the world and has consequently organized itself to survive long-term.

The primary driving force and central idea in The Base's messaging and activities is accelerationism. In order for the necessary and inevitable race war – and the assumed result of white domination[503] – to lead to the establishment of a white ethnostate, Nazzaro has insisted for a decade now that societal collapse must be accelerated and prepared for. According to The Base, they only need one-hundred members to "[…] train and prepare for societal collapse and counter 'adversaries', such as Black Lives Matter and Antifa, who would also seek to fill power vacuums".[504] Self-described as a 'white protection league', the acceleration tactics preferred by The Base, according to leaked 2022 audio of Nazzaro, include networking, planning, and implementing accelerationist acts amongst other accelerationist groups,[505] 'terroristic acts of violence',[506] destroying and vandalizing the property of Black and Jewish people,[507] and 'non-attributable actions that destabilize society'.[508] On December 21, 2020, Nazzaro told followers in a post on Telegram that there may come a time where they will need to kill American citizens, stating, "By no later than the ninety-day mark, plan to go on the offensive by clearing and holding the nearest town. You will commandeer the town and this will serve as your new base of operations," before telling if their insurgency is challenged".[509] The Base's ideology is heavily

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[503] A member of The Base stated in a 2019 social media post that, "After the collapse, social media will be a wonderful record for figuring out what surviving whites will get the rope in the new state". "The Base."
[504] "The Base," 2022.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Ibid.
[507] "The Base," Anti-Defamation League, 2022, https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/base.
[508] "The Base," 2022.
[509] "The Base."

rooted in antisemitism[510] and neo-Nazism and considers itself to be a successor of the German Nazi Party, pledging to finish what Hitler started and to free "[…] our people from [the Zionist-occupied government] oppression".[511]

Since around 2018,[512] The Base has insisted that it does not promote any specific ideology and that it is not a neo-Nazi organization.[513] This communication decision came in the wake of the 2017 Unite the Right rally when accelerationist and white supremacist groups began to question traditional political channels of revolutionary action. While some – like Patriot Front – reformed their whole system of operations away from violent and illegal actions, The Base insisted that revolution was needed, and violence was the key to achieving it.[514] Content analysis of the leaked audio from the SPLC found that Nazzaro, recruits, and members spoke about the 'white race' for seventy-percent of the eighty-three hours of recording. The word 'white' was mentioned four-hundred-and-forty-nine times while the word 'Black' was said one-hundred-and-one times and 'Jew' seventy-five times. These trends can suggest a number of things. This thesis theorized that The Base's ideology of white supremacy resonates more with sentiments of white superiority than it does with themes of non-white inferiority. This may be a result of present-day American white supremacy being overwhelmed by identified 'enemies', 'others', and perceived threats. Future research would benefit from exploring the potential for 'grievance fatigue' – a term invented in

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[510] A member of The Base posted on Telegram in April of 2022, "We Aryan men and women have a common heritage united by our blood and a common enemy of world Jewry. Our only chance of survival as a distinct species or race is if we, as a fölk, unite in our commonalities in self-defense to protect against the onslaught of terror and subjugation brought upon our kith and kin by the Jewish menace". "The Base."

[511] "The Base," 2021.

[512] A Telegram post by The Base on April 4, 2021 stated, "The Base is a survivalism & self-defense network. It is not a terrorist organization or a neo-Nazi group. We are not involved in political advocacy or activism and, therefore, we don't promote any particular ideology. Rather, our day-to-day focus is entirely practical—Linking up individuals who are eager to improve their survivalism & self-defense knowledge, skills, and abilities. We are training and preparing for a hypothetical time in the future when law & order breaks down to such an extreme degree (whether it be due to civil unrest, natural disaster, or some combination of the two) that the authorities are unable or unwilling to restore it". "The Base," 2022.

[513] Ibid.

[514] "The Base."

this thesis – among present-day white supremacists and white nationalists in the United States and around the world.

In late 2017, following the Unite the Right rally, Nazzaro stated on the white supremacist podcast, Lone Wolf Radio, that he did not 'espouse violence', while moments later asserting, "[…] if the 14 Words[515] really mean something to you, as much as people say it does, then sacrifice is gonna be required one way or the other".[516] In 2020, the SPLC released audio and findings – including the production of a three-part podcast series released in October of 2020 called 'Baseless' for its podcast Sounds Like Hate[517] – from over eighty hours of secretly-obtained recordings of conversations and interviews between Nazzaro and over one-hundred prospective recruits to The Base over a two-year period starting in February of 2018. In these recordings, Nazzaro is heard saying, "What people decide to do outside the Base with that training and contacts they make is their business. You know, and we don't really need to know about it. I mean, sure, it's kind of better that we don't for everyone's sake and for everyone's success".[518] Still, the degree to which The Base publicly communicates its ideologies has been radically reduced and safe-guarded.

In the SPLC's cache of leaked recordings of conversations between Nazzaro and recruits, Nazzaro responded to an interviewee's question on if there were any insurances and precautions in place to prevent members being 'doxxed' or arrested, answering, "Well, I mean, the first line of defense is the vetting process […] You know, our security philosophy is essentially that the vetting

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[515] The "14 Words" are, 'We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.' It was coined by David Lane, a late member of the white supremacist terrorist group known as The Order. See, "14 Words," Anti-Defamation League, October 20, 2016, https://www.adl.org/resources/hate-symbol/14-words.
[516] "The Base," 2022.
[517] See, "Baseless," Sounds Like Hate, October 2020, https://soundslikehate.org/season-one/baseless/.
[518] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Baseless: Part I by the Sounds Like Hate Podcast."

never stops. I mean, we always need to be kind of monitoring. Using common sense".[519] Despite

their best efforts, The Base has been infiltrated and had its content leaked in various impactful

cases. In October of 2020, Vice News released a report – sourced by a cache of tens-of-thousands

of internal communications records, FBI investigation and court documents, published reporting,

and secret sources – that revealed the fantasies shared by members of The Base related more often

to 'executing' Black people 'race traitors', conducting 'paramilitary' style raids, and killing

journalists. One member was recorded saying, "I daydream about killing so much that I frequently

walk in the wrong directions for extended periods of time at work".[520]

In 2019, a Winnipeg Free Press reporter infiltrated the group and was able to identify one

of the organizational members, Army Reserve Master Cpl. Patrik Mathews, to be a twenty-six-

year-old Canadian Armed Forces combat engineer.[521] Matthews fled the country and went into

hiding once the story was released in August of 2019 and was arrested in January 2020.[522] One

finding of this report by the SPLC found in its examination of the leaked audio recordings from

The Base was that – like Patriot Front – twenty-percent of recruits to The Base were military

veterans.[523] The Base primarily seeks recruits with experience in military combat, survivalism, and

self-defense.[524] According to Congresswoman Jackie Speier, at the 'House subcommittee hearing

on incidents of white supremacy in the military in early 2020', stated that "White supremacist

terror groups and communities value military skills that would enable them to commit terrorism

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[519] "Doxxing" is when private information about someone is publicly shared on the internet with the intent to do the person harm. Southern Poverty Law Center.

[520] Mack Lamoureux, "How One Man Built a Neo-Nazi Insurgency in Trump's America," *Vice News*, October 7, 2020, https://www.vice.com/en/article/v7g9kb/how-one-man-built-a-neo-nazi-insurgency-in-trumps-america.

[521] "The Base," 2022.

[522] "The Base," 2021.

[523] Samantha Springer, "Secret Tapes Show Neo-Nazi Group The Base Recruiting Former Members of the Military," *NBC News*, October 15, 2020, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/secret-tapes-show-neo-nazi-group-base-recruiting-former-members-n1243395.

[524] "The Base," 2022.

or fight a race war". Speier want on to remark that the practice of terror groups recruiting military peoples is a global practice shared by groups such as Al-Qaeda.[525]

A key feature of The Base's behavior is the organization of military training camps across the United States; according to The Base, it is focused on 'practical training' and 'networking' rather than 'indoctrination'. Rather than prioritizing radicalization programs and procedures, The Base prefers recruits who have already been radicalized and are ready to prepare for a race war by training and engaging in accelerationism.[526] In 2018, Nazzaro informed that The Base was 'focused on meeting and training' and building a network of trainers across the country. Nazzaro reportedly purchased 'off-the-grid' land in Washington state in 2018 to set up a 'survivalist' camp.[527] The Base began offering in-person survival training courses in 2019, a weapons training camp was set up in Bad Axe, Michigan in 2019 and another in rural Pennsylvania. Three members were arrested in 2020 for "[…] stockpiling weapons and training for an assault on a pro-Second Amendment rally in Virginia that month". Two men were even arrested in the Netherlands for suspicion of being affiliated with The Base and of "[…] right-wing extremist incitement and crimes with a terrorist aim".[528] The Base began to hold 'tactical communications training' and courses on 'electronic warfare' in 2021, and The Base organized a winter survival training event in 2022 in coordination with its allied accelerationist white nationalist group Atomwaffen Division.[529]

Group cohesion and the sense of a shared identity are strengthened among members of The Base who train together; one member stating after a training event that, "In this excursion we

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[525] Al Qaeda happens to mean "The Base" in Arabic, though The Base insists there is no connection or reference to the Islamist terror group. Southern Poverty Law Center, "Baseless: Part I by the Sounds Like Hate Podcast."
[526] "The Base," 2022.
[527] He registered the thirty acres of land under "Base Global, LLC". "The Base," 2021.
[528] "The Base."
[529] "The Base," 2022.

shared our knowledge of bushcraft and lifted one another up to new heights ultimately increasing our capabilities as a cohesive unit and as brothers in arms".[530] Videos of training camps are used as recruitment materials for The Base and other militia and terror movements. Ideally, these training events would effectively prime members of The Base for a race war. Though official comments on The Base's accelerationist goals are coded and watered down, a 2020 leaked comment by a member illustrates the group's expectations for the commencement of the race war: "Basically buckle in tight for the first few months, set up a shitload of security precautions and patrols etc. have the lemmings do your farming. After a while start picking targets and gathering intel for a month or two, maybe more, then start running psyops, raids, ambushes, sabotage runs, etc.".[531]

Despite its violent urges and aims, The Base has yet to claim responsibility for any instances of violent acts.[532] In its four-plus years of operation, The Base has only successfully carried out acts of vandalism, but have been prevented from achieving any of their planned attacks and accelerationist actions due to law enforcement always foiling plans before they were implemented.[533] Since its inception, The Base has experienced many 'high-profile' arrests of its members and leadership. A member of The Base was arrested in November of 2019 for orchestrating the vandalism of two synagogues and plotting a violent attack aimed at Black shoppers at a mall in New Jersey. Eight members total were arrested in 2020 for crimes ranging from a murder plot and plans to spark a race war and intimidating a podcast host.[534] Despite the constant setbacks of infiltration, leaks, and arrests, The Base remains loyal to its strategy of small,

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[530] "The Base."
[531] Lamoureux, "How One Man Built a Neo-Nazi Insurgency in Trump's America."
[532] "The Base," 2022.
[533] "The Base," 2021.
[534] "The Base," 2022.

independent cells dedicated to online recruitment and in-person training. Its existing system appears to seek to inspire radicalized white supremacist members through the internet towards forming their own small clandestine cells, engaging in training, and eventually carrying out accelerationist 'lone actor' attacks on their own.[535] Utilizing a decentralized and leaderless network of hard-to-track small underground cells allows members a high degree of autonomy.

3.3 Findings & Analysis of Case Studies

Table 1: Case Studies

Group	Years of Operation	Ideology	Grievances & Fears	Aims	Recruitment	Members	Actions & Activities
KKK (19th c.)	1865-1877, 1915-1929, 1950s/1960s -present	White supremacy; Masculinity; Christianity; Loyalty; Traditionalism; 'Chivalry'; 'Humanity'; 'Mercy'; 'Patriotism'; Social Darwinism; etc.	Electoral power of Freedmen; Republican control and involvement; the 'lawless' 'brutal' freedmen; Race-mixing; Rape and assault of white women; etc.	Southern Redemption; Prevent Northern control of the South; Protect 'States' rights'; Protect white women; Vigilante justice; Accelerationist; Race war; etc.	Secret; Social; Charismatic leadership; educated white men; Confederate veterans; Government officials; etc.	Anonymity and secrecy; Strong hierarchical organization and ranks; Kleagles (recruiters); educated white men; government officials; Confederate veterans; etc.	Secrecy; Terrorism; Intimidation; Lynchings; Beatings; Hangings; Shootings; Burnings; Rapes; Government infiltration; Propaganda; etc.
The Red Shirts (19th c.)	1876-1896-1898-1900, present	White Supremacy; Southern pride; Social Darwinism; Christianity; Masculinity; Traditionalism; etc.	Black majority districts and communities; Black voting; Black leadership and politicians; Civil rights; Race-mixing; etc.	Reassert Democratic control; Southern Redemption Push out Republicans and 'carpetbaggers'; Prevent Black participation in politics and voting; intimidate Black people and Republicans to leave; etc.	Local; Familial; Social; etc.	Community-wide; Public (non-secretive); Primarily young men and Confederate veterans; supported by white women of the community; etc.	Voting intimidation; Assassinations and threats of assassinations; Beatings and Assault; Shootings; Organizing and participating in rallies, parades, and events; etc.

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[535] Ibid.

Patriot Front	2017 - present	White nationalist; Neo-Nazi; Fascist; National Socialist; Anti-government; Anti-Immigrant; Antisemitic: Racial identity; National identity; Traditionalism; Masculinity; etc.	Multi-culturalism; African Americans, immigrants, Jews, LGBTQIA+ peoples, and other minorities; BLM; White genocide; Replacement theory; Race-mixing; Collapse of American power; Globalization; Antifa; etc.	'Reclaim' America; White ethnostate; Accelerationist; Immigration bans; Restriction of LGBTQIA+ rights; Achieve mainstream approval; etc.	Online; University recruitment and propaganda; Military veterans; Social media; Highly vetted; etc.	Secrecy; Controlled (top-down) by Rousseau; Members pledge total loyalty to Patriot Front; Military veterans; Physically fit men; etc.	Secrecy; Propaganda distribution; Self-promotion; Tightly scripted protests and public appearances; Vandalism; Intimidation; etc.
The Base	2018-present	Accelerationist; White supremacist; White nationalist; Neo-Nazi; Antisemitic; Accelerationism; Race War; Traditionalism; Masculinity; etc.	Multi-culturalism; Globalization; BLM; The Zionist Occupation Government and Jewish conspiracies; Replacement Theory; White genocide; Race-mixing; Police and government intervention; Antifa; etc.	Race war; Accelerationist; Societal and governmental collapse; White ethnostate; Immigration bans; etc.	'Multi-tiered' vetting process; Online; International; Military veterans; High school and college students; Radicalized white men; small-cell social recruitment; etc.	Leaderless resistance; Decentralized; Network of small cells; Online recruitment; International; Wide-ranging across socio-economic and education levels; Cross-membership with other active white supremacist groups; Military veterans; University students; etc.	In-person race-war training camps, events, and courses; Vandalism; Intimidation; Murder, assassination, hate crime, and terrorist plots; Disruption of BLM and other progressive demonstrations; Online propaganda content; etc.

This thesis chose to diachronically compare four reactionary American white supremacist groups which formed or significantly grew in the aftermath of two major triggering events which shifted the structurally racist power structures in America: The Reconstruction era – the KKK and the Red Shirts – (1863-1877) and the BLM era – Patriot Front and The Base – (May 25, 2020-present). This thesis identified and selected the two groups for each era that demonstrated a

recognized increase in activity and membership following the triggering event(s), and that had sufficient sourcing available for engaging in a case study.

Results indicate a general overlap in all four groups' ideologies (i.e., white supremacy, white nationalism, anti-government, national and racial identity, accelerationism, race war, masculinity, and traditionalism), while Reconstruction era groups had ideologies more rooted in Lost Cause narratives and Southern Redemption.

Grievances and fears strongly overlapped between eras around ideas of government control and interference, race-mixing, Replacement Theory, white genocide, civil rights, the Left and far-Left white woman rape narratives, Black people, and non-whites. The BLM era had a number of distinct grievances such as globalization, the BLM movement, Jewish people and the Zionist Occupation Government conspiracies, LGBTQIA+ peoples, liberals, Asian people (in response to the Covid-19 pandemic), Antifa, Muslims, and immigrants.

The aims of these four groups also overlapped with mutual goals for a white ethnostate, accelerationism, white racial purity, and race war. Reconstruction era groups had a stronger emphasis on the objectives of Southern Redemption and pride, states' rights, and reducing Black and IPOC voting rights, while BLM era groups uniquely prioritized immigration bans.

Recruitment tactics varied between eras. The KKK had a particular dedication to secrecy (in recruitment, membership, communications, and documentation) and sought to secretly recruit high-achieving and powerful white men to join the secret organization. Like the Red Shirts, the KKK sought to recruit young white men, government officials, and Confederate veterans. Unlike the KKK, The Red Shirts recruited and operated in highly-localized and personal settings; recruitment primarily occurring as a community-wide social phenomenon rather than an active effort. In the BLM era, Patriot Front and The Base recruit at schools, college campuses, and white

supremacist demonstrations and use online recruitment strategies and communications; recruiting primarily radicalized white men and military veterans. All four groups sought military veterans, while the BLM era groups distinctively had to rely on heavy vetting procedures to prevent infiltration.

Membership of the KKK, Patriot Front, and The Base were all dedicated to secrecy and anonymity, while the Red Shirts operated publicly without the threat of legal action. Both the KKK and Patriot Front were designed with strict 'top-down' hierarchical chains of command, while the Red Shirts and The Base had a more decentralized and cell-based network organizational structure. Patriot Front members are disallowed from holding membership with other hate groups, compared to The Base which actively encourages cross-membership, alliances, coalition, and coordination with adjacent white supremacist groups.

The starkest differences between reactionary white supremacist groups in the Reconstruction and BLM eras are in the actions and activities of groups. Reconstruction era groups had far more agency in committing violent racist acts due to a weak State and support from law enforcement and political parties. BLM era groups, on the other hand, are effectively prevented from successfully forming white supremacist terror organizations, freely spreading propaganda and racist rhetoric, organizing attacks, evading arrests and prosecutions, and committing violent accelerationist acts. Consequently, BLM era reactionary white supremacist groups appear to engage in little to no violent activities, and are limited to distributing propaganda, recruiting, vandalizing, non-violent public demonstrations, and training. Reconstruction era groups relied on a combination of violent activities (i.e., lynching, burning, mass murder, massacres, beatings and assaults, assassination, rape, terrorism, shootings, and public white supremacist parades). All four groups shared the tactic of intimidation.

Conclusion

"The inertness of [Plymouth Rock] meant death for the Indians, enslavement for the Blacks, and spiritual disaster for those homeless Europeans who now call themselves Americans and who have never been able to resolve their relationship either to the continent they fled or the continent they conquered."[536]

With the conclusion of this thesis, I would like to leave you with an arousing sentiment shared in Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 1964 "*Latter from Birmingham Jail*". Seeking to communicate to non-Black Americans the urgency Black – and IPOC – Americans are generationally faced with under the violence resulting from white supremacism in America. I hope King's waxing poetic on the African American experience inspires recognition of the perpetual and timely necessity of people – especially white and white-presenting people – to recognize and internalize the realities of harmful and deadly effects of white supremacy, and to be inspired to intentionally and actively engage in the study and combat of white supremacy, structural racism, and violent extremism in America and around the world:

"We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, 'Wait.' But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six year old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five year old son who is asking: 'Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?'; when you take a cross county drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading 'white' and 'colored'; when your first name becomes 'ni***r,' your middle name becomes 'boy' (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never

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[536] Baldwin, *Nothing Personal*, 8.

given the respected title 'Mrs.'; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of 'nobodiness'--then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience".[537]

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[537] See, Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," 1963,
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