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Political Extremism in the Wake of Charlottesville:
The Motivations and Ideologies of the White Power Movement

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Introduction

1.1 Issue Description

Hate groups and the visibility of extremist groups in the United States have reached record highs. The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) defines hate groups as organizations that “based on its official statements or principles, the statements of its leaders, or its activities – has beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics” (SPLC, 2019). There are currently 1,020 hate groups operating in the United States organized under several categories: Neo-Nazi, Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Muslim, Anti-LGBT, Christian Identity, Racist Skinhead, Ku Klux Klan, etc. After the 2008 election of former President Barack Obama, hate groups have risen to 755 percent. Since the 2016 election of Donald Trump, there has been a 30 percent increase nationwide (SPLC, 2019). As the United States becomes increasingly diverse (Vespa, Armstrong, & Medina, 2018; US Census, 2020), public resentment over immigration patterns has grown. America continues to endure a crisis of political legitimacy (e.g., distrust in existing democratic institutions), with political parties polarized, democratic processes paralyzed, and an American public increasingly divided over issues of race, gender, and class (Foa & Mounk, 2016).

Although the SPLC defines extremist groups under specific categories, a more holistic way of understanding extremism is under the framework of the White Power Movement (WPM). The WPM has been conceptualized by American historian Kathleen Belew as the progression of an international social movement premised on White nationalism¹ and White supremacy² with deep historical roots uniting “members of the Klan, militias, radical tax resisters, White separatists, neo-Nazism and Dualism between 1975 and 1995” (Belew, 2018). It strongly opposes a centralized government, globalism, immigration, and multiculturalism. The WPM provides an effective framework for understanding how extremist groups act in concert and how they are unified by a coherent ideology. Although discussing all of these groups is beyond the scope of this chapter, this chapter will reference one modern outgrowth of the WPM as a primary example - the most visible extremist group in recent years, the Alternative Right (“Alt-Right”).

The Alt-Right came to prominence in late 2015 and spearheaded the largest White supremacist rallies and race riots in recent history: the 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. The events of Charlottesville have been considered a major turning point in American history as it not only followed in the footsteps of the 2016 presidential election of Donald Trump³ but also involved widespread media coverage due to the unification of hundreds of White power activists and their open expressions of racism and violence.⁴ Moreover, the visibility of the WPM in mainstream America stood in stark contrast to

¹ White nationalism is one component of White supremacy that advocates for racial segregation, racial purity, and racial nationalism (Daniels, 2009).

² White supremacy is the ideology that Whites are superior to those of all other races and should dominate society across all institutional and social settings (Ansley, 1997).

³ Some factions in the Alt-Right termed Trump their symbolic leader.

⁴ Trump’s remarks following Charlottesville also generated negative responses from the public; he stated that there were “very fine people on both sides” (Lombroso, 2016).

long-standing narratives of racial progress and the achievements of a colorblind society in a post-Civil Rights era. In fact, the Alt-Right has coined Charlottesville “the beginning of the White Civil Rights movement.”

1.2 Purpose of Chapter

In understanding the scope of the WPM, it is important to first define extremism. Firstly, extremism is not limited to a particular race, religion, nationality or political party. Extremist movements, for example, have occurred during the Spanish Inquisition and Nazi Germany. Secondly, although hate crimes are tied to extremism, violence itself is not inherently extremist; hate crimes are one tactic out of many that extremist groups can endorse (Berger, 2018). An essential characteristic of extremism is the transmission of ideologies which clearly differentiate ingroups from outgroups through common narratives or rationales. Moreover, extremist groups must seek to obtain legitimacy or to change society in some fundamental way (Berger, 2018). Thus, extremism is, above all, rooted in a belief system or an ideology.⁵ Finally, extremist movements use polarized narratives about how the outgroup’s existence is inherently harmful to the ingroup, eventually leading to the dogmatic belief that eradicating the outgroup remains the only and final solution.

The rise of political extremism is a serious social concern that is in urgent need of analysis by social scientists and intervention by policymakers. According to a study by the Department of Homeland Security from 2000 to 2016: “White supremacists killed more people in the United States than any other group of domestic extremists” (Monaco, 2017, p. 23). In less than a decade, right-wing and anti-establishment groups have achieved institutional success comparable to the New Deal left-wing in the 1930s. The Alt-Right has achieved mainstream recognition through their shared goals with the Freedom Caucus and Trumpism in the Conservative party. To that end, this chapter seeks to better understand the psychological mechanisms underlying the WPM and the factors that have led individuals to believe in and adhere to the movement’s dangerous ideologies. As White power ideologies continue to enter mainstream discourse, understanding the mechanisms that lead individuals to identify with the movement in the first place is the urgent task of our time.

1.3 Charlottesville

On August 11-12th 2017, a crowd of predominantly White men began to march towards the University of Virginia campus. Adorned in polo shirts and khaki pants, they had organized a march to stop protestors from taking down the statue of Robert E. Lee, a commander of the Confederate State Army during the American Civil War.⁶ Beginning in 2016, Charlottesville city

⁵ FBI defines a hate crime as a criminal offense motivated in whole or in part by an offender’s bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity (SPLC, 2019). Personal bias is not necessarily motivated by an ideology, although it may be indirectly shaped by one.

⁶ Sculptor Henry Shrady created the statue in 1917 after philanthropist Paul McIntire commissioned it as a gift to the city; upon Shrady’s death, it was completed by Leo Lentelli. The statue has remained in Charlottesville since 1924.

officials and residents requested that the statue be removed due to the commander's role in defending the Confederacy.⁷

As the primary organizer of the rally, the Alt-Right managed to successfully unite a range of right-wing extremist groups including the Rise Above Movement, Vanguard America, Nationalist Front, Klansmen, Proud Boys, neo-Nazis, neo-fascists, and more. While bearing "Make America Great Again" (MAGA)⁸ caps and holding lit torches, the crowd angrily chanted "Jews will not replace us," "blood and soil,"⁹ and "White lives matter" (Nelson, 2017).

Tragically, the confrontation between protestors and counter-protestors culminated in the violent death of Heather Heyer, a 32-year old White female counterprotestor, and the injuries of many others when a car driven by an extremist crashed into a crowd of people.

History of Issue

2.1 Racial Classifications

Group-based hierarchies have been justified since the days of Ancient Greece, when philosopher Aristotle argued that humanity is divided into masters and slaves: "those who have the right to command and those who are born to obey" (Kendi, 2016, p. 17). Aristotle created a theory of evolution to justify Greece's rule over the Mediterranean alongside notions of racial superiority, arguing that extreme climates had produced intellectually, physically, and morally inferior people (Kendi, 2016).

Although Aristotle's theory helped to justify racial hierarchies across different eras and societies, race as a social concept has also been formed, defined and contested through both collective action and personal practices (Omi & Winant, 1994). Much of racial formation and categories have thus been determined by the social, economic, and political forces in a given historical moment or period. In America, citizenship has been shaped against the concept of Whiteness, with populations and perceptions of groups shaped by immigration policies and by definitions of who is White (DeGenova, 2006). The evolution of the Census serves as one illustration of how identity and race have been continually redefined (Hattam, 2005). In the 1800s, for instance, the Census did not differentiate between Whites and Mexicans; the latter was legally classified as White until 1930 when states passed laws applying *Plessy v. Ferguson's*

⁷ In 2017, Charlottesville city council voted in favor of the statue's removal, along with Stonewall Jackson's statue. In response, conservative organizations and descendants of the statue's donor filed a lawsuit to block the removals, seeking a temporary injunction and arguing that the council's decision violated a state law protecting Civil War memorials. On April 25th 2019, Judge Richard Moore of Charlottesville Circuit Court ruled that local authorities could not remove the statues because they were considered war memorials protected by state law.

⁸ MAGA was a politically contentious slogan used by Donald Trump during his 2016 presidential campaign, referencing prior policies that largely resulted in benefits to White American men. Former Republican president Ronald Reagan used a similar slogan in his 1980 presidential campaign: "Let's make America great again."

⁹ "Blood and Soil" is an ideology created in 1930 by Nazi theorist Richard Darré. This phrase espoused the notion that race/ethnicity was solely derived from blood descent and that only native inhabitants can be national citizens.

one-drop rule, requiring anyone with African ancestry to be classified as Black and further distinguishing between race and color (Gross, 2003). The unique histories of non-White minority groups and their respective paths to or their exclusions from citizenship have been critical not only to the real experiences of these groups but also for the groups' perceptions around their sense of national belonging (Suleiman, 1999). The presence of immigrants naturally challenges a nation's established racial order and, in many ways, highlights the rigidity of the White-Black divide. Overall, public perceptions of non-White minority groups have been shaped by policies around citizenship and immigration, establishing certain social constructs as accepted knowledge (Swidler & Ardit, 1994).

Despite shifting standards of race and the dearth of sound biological evidence regarding racial differences, the WPM deeply adheres to an ideology that all White people face an existential crisis due to growing diversity. The belief in an existential threat to the ingroup and the necessity of acting to prevent these threats are central characteristics of extremist movements (Berger, 2018). In the WPM, the ingroup is categorized as the pure Aryan race while the outgroup is any non-Aryan individual. Alt-Right founder, Richard Spencer, expressed his vision in the unification of a pan-European race resembling the Roman Empire:

“It would be an empire that would be welcome to Italians, to Scots, to Russians, to White Americans, to Fins, etc. To have a safe space for all Europeans around the world.”
(Lombroso, 2016)

2.2 Societal Threat

Studies have shown that when the public experiences high societal threat (e.g., war, economic decline), it tends to move towards authoritarian populism (Costello & Hodson, 2010; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Populism refers to public reactions juxtaposing the interests of the majority population against the elite. It is combined with other ideologies, such as nationalism, liberalism, or socialism. In authoritarian populism, political leaders can come to symbolize a group's distrust or loss of trust in democratic institutions¹⁰ (Altemeyer, 2006; Feldman & Stenner, 1997). Furthermore, group status threat has been shown to lead to greater identification with conservative ideologies and political beliefs (Craig & Richeson, 2014b). Scapegoating of minority groups is further used to generate support for populist leaders.¹¹ The recent populist movements of both the left and right have been united in their contempt for crony capitalism, corporate welfare, big pharma, and the Supreme Court decision of *Citizens United v.*

¹⁰ Przeworski (2019) argues that it is the hope of regaining entitlements and power for constituents in the near future that allows democratic institutions to endure. If Przeworski is correct, then the loss of trust in democratic institutions carries serious implications for the future of democracy in Western society.

¹¹ 2016 and 2020 presidential candidate Bernie Sanders represents left-wing populism while Donald Trump represents right-wing populism.

Federal Election Commission.¹² As public faith in democratic institutions has plummeted over the past few decades, Reich (2015) has predicted that America will likely move towards authoritarian populism or engage in fundamental democratic change in the long term.

The loss of trust in democratic institutions is a major reason that extremist movements primarily operate outside of mainstream politics. Political scientists and legal scholars have debated that, other than the appearance of being socially liberal, the economic policies of the Democratic and Republican Parties have essentially been the same since the Bill Clinton administration. While the Democratic Party used to represent the middle and working class, it has largely abandoned that identity and has worked for the financial interests of its major donors (e.g., Wall Street banks). In 1999, for example, the Clinton administration repealed the Glass-Steagall Act,¹³ which Congress enacted following the Great Depression of 1929 in order to regulate the big banks and to prevent another depression; the repeal of Glass-Steagall later led to the disastrous 2008 financial crisis.

2.3 Economic Crises

Beyond ideological divisions, America and countries around the world have suffered a prolonged period of low economic growth and high income inequality spurred by the 2008 global financial crises (Lindsey & Teles, 2017; OECD). After the financial crisis, there was widespread debate on the issue of wealth and resource distribution as well as anti-immigration sentiment surrounding job security.¹⁴ While the ultra-conservative Tea Party has remained in mainstream conservatism, promoting fiscal conservatism and constitutional government, WPM groups like the Alt-Right¹⁵ have targeted ethnic minorities for the national problems of unequal wealth disparities, oftentimes encouraging an emotional discharge of White rage to be displaced and providing an effective outlet by promoting the status of dominant groups (Anderson, 2016).

The enduring coexistence of low economic growth and high income inequality have raised doubts around the conventional economic principle: that economic growth necessarily entails a “tradeoff” between development and inequality (Okun & Summers, 2015). Political

¹² *Citizens United* allowed political campaigns to accept unlimited monetary contributions from corporations, unions, and other groups. It also spawned the creation of super PACS and triggered a boom in political influence by tax-exempt, right-wing, dark money organizations (Mayer, 2016).

¹³ The Glass-Steagall Act made it illegal for the same bank to both issue mortgages to homebuyers and to turn around to sell those mortgages as bonds to investors. Rather, it required that a commercial bank (a bank that takes deposits from you and me and issues mortgages and commercial loans) be separated from an investment bank (a bank that issues bonds/derivatives/any other types of risky ventures). When financial experts talk about “breaking up the big banks,” this is what they refer to.

¹⁴ During the 2008 Great Recession, 9 millions jobs were lost and the salaries of remaining jobs were cut. The stock market fell by 50% (most people put their retirement savings in the stock market, so they lost their funds); home prices fell by 30% on a nation-wide average. Yet, taxpayers were forced to pay over \$100 billion dollars to bailout AIG. In the midst of the government bailout, the big banks still had money to pay out millions in bonuses to executives and received billions in their bank accounts through derivatives. In other words, it became a massive transfer of wealth from the middle/working class to the top 0.1% wealthiest individuals.

¹⁵ The Alt-Right is partly an outgrowth of the Tea Party (Hawley, 2017).

scientists have explained this paradox as the result of either regulatory capture (e.g., wealthy individuals or corporations influencing the government to reduce business competition to rig the market in their favor) or globalization and technological advancement (e.g., automation). Regardless of its causes, the combination of low growth and high inequality historically results in political instability and increases the likelihood of insurrection, rebellion, and reactionary political forces (Valenzuela & Valenzuela, 1978; Geddes, 1999). Moreover, low economic growth, a shrinking middle class, and authoritarian populism are factors associated with increased political polarization and the rise of extremism (Moghaddam, 2018).

This rise also reflects populations that have experienced the lowest levels of economic growth in the 21st century (Lindsey & Teles, 2017). Market reforms have increasingly redistributed wealth away from the middle class (Skocpol, 2019). This may be one reason that members of extremist groups are predominantly from the middle rather than the working class. As the economy has struggled, and as unemployment and underemployed have remained high, American nationalism has appealed to a larger demographic and, most saliently, to college-educated White men (Hawley, 2017). Although a college degree was once considered a road to the middle-class, it is now the equivalent of a high school degree. Furthermore, a generation of young Americans are graduating with enormous school debt. In 2019, for instance, 42 million student borrowers collectively owed \$1.5 trillion dollars (Friedman, 2019). Disenchanted by the false promise of a college degree, public resentment and anger against American policies have grown. According to *Counter-Currents Publishing*, a White nationalist publishing house:

They are intelligent, educated, and ambitious. They are also unemployed, idle, angry, and searching for answers. For White Nationalists, they are a vast, increasingly receptive audience, for they are the only ones offering honest explanations of what is happening to them. (Hawley, 2017, p. 79)

The White Power Movement

From the late 1970s to early 1980s, Belew (2018) describes the Vietnam War as the main cultural framework uniting different factions of the WPM. Movement members often served in the military. Louis Beam, author of *Essays of a Klansman*, served in Vietnam. His essays describe a culture of stymied grief and betrayal by the American government among war veterans. Similar narratives played a role in structuring paramilitary activists in the WPM and generating new groups like the Alt-Right. Unlike World War II, which centered around moral narratives against the rise of Nazism, Vietnam symbolized a morally ambiguous war. Antiwar protests were widely held against the government's imperialistic policies, intensified by public fears of rising globalism and communism (Belew, 2018).

Following the Vietnam War, the WPM experienced a profound shift at the 1983 Aryan Nations World Congress conference when movement leaders formally declared war on the federal government. At the conference, different factions and ideological camps affirmed their

shared commitment to undermining the American government (Belew, 2018). Unlike earlier groups, such as the K.K.K., which adhered to and fought on behalf of the state, the WPM now rejected major premises of the conservative movement (e.g., moral traditionalism, economic liberty, strong national defense) and began to construct a new national identity within the movement (Hawley, 2017).

3.1 National Identity

National identity is a socially constructed category based on subjective feelings one shares with a group about one's nation (Huddy & Khatib, 2007). Americans generally share a strong national identity based on the idea that the nation is an egalitarian, moral, and democratic superpower (Huntington, 2004). Unlike patriotism, which is a benign attachment to one's country, nationalism encompasses an orientation towards superiority and dominance over other nations (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Nevitt, 1950; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). American identity has further been portrayed as the successful assimilation to Anglo-Protestant values, and White identity has been positively correlated with American identity (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Huntington, 2004).

When nationalism focuses on ethnicity, studies reveal greater prejudice towards immigrant groups (Mukherjee, Molina, & Adams, 2012). Since Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1990, anti-immigrant hate groups have been at their most extreme (SPLC, 2019). For over 150 years, the U.S.-Mexico border has been rooted in White power vigilante groups and Border Patrol agents collaborating to detain immigrants (Devereaux, 2019). From 1910 to 1920, hundreds of Mexicans were murdered and lynched at the Texas borders. Following the Vietnam War, paramilitary training camps (e.g., Klan Border Watch) trained activists to capture migrants in South Texas (Belew, 2018). In 2019, the WPM captured hundreds of immigrants along the border and publicized the event online (Devereaux, 2019).

The WPM has strongly advocated for anti-immigration policies. During Charlottesville, K.K.K. leader David Duke expressed: "We are determined to take our country back. Fulfill the promises of Donald Trump. That's why we voted for Trump." (Nelson, 2017, p. 1). The Trump administration has vowed to remove "millions of illegal aliens" using Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Customs and Border Protection (CBP), portraying immigrants as economic and cultural threats (Miroff & Sacchetti, 2019). Furthermore, rather than understanding the fluctuation of economic opportunities as the result of either regulatory capture, global or technological advancements, almost twice as many Americans believe that immigrants take away job opportunities rather than helping to improve the national economy (US Gallup Polls, 2019). Yet, evidence shows that immigrants stimulate the economy by creating new jobs, spending income on American goods and services, paying taxes, and raising the overall productivity of businesses (ACLU, 2019). Undocumented immigrants also pay an estimated \$11.6 billion a year in taxes and take on jobs that boost the economy (Frazee, 2018).

In addition to anti-immigrant sentiment, national identity can also be "constructed as a masculine space, which may exclude and devalue non-stereotypically masculine ideas and ways

of being” (Van Berkel, Molina, & Mukherjee, 2017, p. 360). Both men and women were found to consider male-associated traits more American than female traits (Van Berkel et al., 2017). As men have greater access to political power, they likely experience greater ownership over national material and symbolic resources.

3.2 Toxic Masculinity

The anthropological, sociological, and psychological literature converge on the finding that masculinity requires constant differentiation from femininity (Weaver & Vescio, 2015; Kimmel, 2008). Unlike femininity, masculinity must be earned through rituals and life stages (Thompson & Pleck, 1995). Gender norms are initially learned in the context of family or school life, and gender socialization continues into adulthood where men who identify with hegemonic norms believe they must engage in “compensatory manhood acts” when their masculinity or gender identity is threatened (Cassino, 2018, p. 50). The WPM effectively draws on the men’s rights movement, premised on the idea that White men are the true victims of neo-liberal and government policies. The men’s rights movement attracts religious extremists, Tea Party advocates, and anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists (Thompson, 2018). The ultra-conservative Tea Party often uses scapegoating tactics against minorities and women who they accuse of “gaming” the system to gain undeserved advantages (Belew, 2018).

Conforming to masculine norms has been associated with greater psychological distress and less willingness to seek psychological help (Mahalik et al., 2003). WPM factions have provided an effective response to such distress through the notion that “advances in equality by women and minorities are a violation for White masculinity and demand a violent response” (Thompson, 2018, p. 2). SPLC reported how “the first Alt-Right killer” voiced his hatred of women in a manifesto before murdering six people in the 2014 Isla Vista massacre (Cai & Landon, 2019). Attackers who fit similar profiles followed in subsequent years.

Toxic masculinity refers to this “dark side” of masculinity with complex dimensions such as dominance, self-reliance, exclusion of outgroups, pursuit of status, and violence. Experimentally-induced threats to masculinity have been shown to lead to aggressive cognitions (Vandello, Cohen, & Ransom, 2008), physical aggression (Bosson & Vandello, 2011), and aggression towards competitors (Cohn, Selbert, & Zeichner, 2009). One study demonstrated that when men were told they scored more like women on a masculine knowledge test, the men derogated the women by rating them as less competent (Hitlan, Pryor, Hesson-McInnis, & Olson, 2009). Jason Kessler, an Alt-Right organizer, was originally a Democrat who voted for Barack Obama in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections but became a firm Trump supporter during a long period of unemployment. Although Kessler wanted to work for a social services agency, he reportedly lost out to female candidates and began to form political views against affirmative action, women, and minorities.¹⁶

¹⁶ Kessler also self-published a book of poems with themes of existential angst, describing how he spent his 20s searching for a mission he could call his own, revealing the extent to which he wanted to achieve success and validation from the world.

3.3 Ethnic-Racial Identity

Identity is a sort of person one believes oneself to be based on information obtained from the external world (Moghaddam, 2018). Yet, no matter how distinctive one may be, Helms (1990) argues that all individuals share a sense of historical experience with their racial groups. Moreover, individuals are more likely to align themselves with their ingroups and differentiate against outgroups when they need to create a strong sense of identity (Hogg, Kruglanski, & Van den Bos, 2013).

Richard Spencer describes himself as an identitarian, in that where people come from ultimately defines who they are (Hawley, 2017). According to Spencer:

To be White is to be a striver, a crusader, an explorer, and a conqueror. We don't exploit other groups. They need us and not the other way around. (Lombroso, 2016)

Ethnic-racial identity is a core part of the movement's political philosophy. The WPM believes that race is the most important issue of our time and should be the foundation for all policy-making decisions. Although factions diverge on how to implement specific policy ideas, they share a racial animus against non-White minorities and an unwavering belief in their perceived loss of power in society (Hawley, 2017). The primacy of race in the movement's philosophy is further evidenced in their rejection of the major premises of the mainstream conservative party, subversion of the Constitution and federal government, and endorsement of ethnic cleansing by its most radical factions. For White power activists, nothing could be less self-evident than the notion that all people are created equal.

Multiculturalism is also branded as a failed social experiment imposed by political elites (Johnson, 2014). Extremist members, like Jason Kessler, who choose to leave mainstream political parties likely experienced cognitive dissonance between the societal messages they heard about their ingroups' privileges and the rise of progressive social movements (e.g., Black Lives Matter, #MeToo). Helms (1990) further describes racial dissonance as the moment when one's schema for making meaning of racial interactions no longer makes sense or violates a moral principle. For WPM members, that moral violation has been the rise of outgroups at the expense of their own.

However, this logic inverts the history of the world and blames non-White minorities for the perceived grievances of Whites. It rationalizes extremism by claiming that minorities are the true instigators of social ills. In reality, there has been a long history of state-sanctioned violence implemented against non-White populations: Black codes, Jim Crow, Massive Southern Resistance, public school segregation, housing segregation, internment camps, anti-immigration policies, anti-miscegenation laws, public lynchings, laws against citizenship and voting rights, employment discrimination, gerrymandering, police brutality, and mass incarceration (Alexander, 2010; Paradies et al., 2015; Hoggard, Jones, & Sellers, 2016; Rothstein, 2017).

Identity politics was originally a mode of organizing groups that were most vulnerable to state-sanctioned violence. Although identity politics is still used to protect the rights of these groups, its rhetoric has also morphed into a tool for political bait and expediency, with some politicians exploiting it to respond to White Americans' anxieties over changing demographics. Identification with dominant or cohesive groups has been shown to regulate feelings of anxiety and distress (Hogg, 2007). For Black Americans, strong identification with their racial groups has been shown to be a protective factor against the negative psychological effects of discrimination (Seller, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Likewise, for Whites, strong identification with their racial group may act as a protective buffer against perceived discrimination.

According to Greg Johnson, editor-in-chief of *Counter-Currents Publishing*, once the WPM dominates mainstream politics, it will be easy to implement race separation policies and to achieve the dream of Whitopia or an all-White nation (SPLC, 2019). Until then, *Counter-Currents* creates a metapolitics for White political identity (SPLC, 2019). In one article, Johnson writes:

The White race is threatened with simple biological extinction, compared to which all other political issues are trivial distractions...The only tenable solution to the threat of White extinction is White Nationalism: the creation of homogeneously White homelands for all White people, which will require the alteration of political borders and the mass resettlement of non-Whites. (Johnson, 2014)

The existential threat of the White race is a long-standing narrative that is circulated within the WPM. The movement's collective fear is exemplified in *The Turner Diaries*, a 1974 utopian novel written by William Pierce who was leader of the National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group. *The Turner Diaries* describes a future all-White utopia where people of color are forced out of North America and individuals in interracial relationships are publicly lynched for committing "White genocide" (Belew, 2018). The necessity of mass violence is rooted in the belief that the outgroup's existence impedes the ingroup's ability to survive (Berger, 2018). Furthermore, White women play critical roles as organizers, caretakers, and the mothers of future White power activists.¹⁷ To maintain a majority-White state, the WPM strongly emphasizes their duty to reproduce White children¹⁸ (e.g., "fourteen words" is a popular slogan/propaganda). Reproduction of the race is also one reason polygamy is encouraged among its members. Different WPM factions focus on a range of social issues, including abortion and marriage.

The Turner Diaries is the bible of the WPM, providing a rough roadmap for implementing and executing terrorist attacks (Belew, 2018). The book was discovered in the collection of Timothy McVeigh, bomber of the 1995 Oklahoma City building. Additionally, the 2019 El Paso, Texas shooter posted a manifesto on the online platform 8chan titled "An

¹⁷ In the 2016 presidential election, the majority of White women voters supported Trump.

¹⁸ In order to not advertise the slogan, it is not explicitly stated here.

Inconvenient Truth” which ranted about a “Hispanic invasion” and the extinction of the White race (Arango, Bogel-Burroughs, & Benner, 2019). The Christchurch mosque shooter in New Zealand also published conspiratorial theories about the replacement of the White race on 8chan.

Underlying the motive of these manifestos is a relentless, shared belief that mass public violence will “wake” all White people up to the reality that their race faces imminent annihilation (Belew, 2018). The WPM believes that Whites must be saved from the dangers of multiculturalism and rising globalism. Thus, publicly circulating these manifestos is one strategy to recruit the Aryan race on a global scale.

Civil Rights Revisited

4.1 Racial Progress and Racist Progress

The progression of mainstream narratives about race relations in America has followed one linear timeline. The original narrative described the nation as a racist, oppressive society that freed all its slaves and transformed into a “colorblind” nation after the Civil Rights era. During this period, Kim (1999) argues that racialized stereotypes merely became coded in language, particularly in the liberal parts of the urban North where racist beliefs manifested in subtler and more insidious forms than in the South. For instance, “criminals” became synonymous with “dangerous Black men.” The disavowment of racism by liberal Whites further allowed their Whiteness to become more invisible, legitimizing them as the standard group and defining “Others” as exotic and different (Frankenberg, 1993; Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

As a result, rather than focusing on the effects of decades of discriminatory policies, references to “cultural differences” or “economic problems” for the prevalence of social inequality disguised racist attitudes and beliefs. American policies were also redefined as race-neutral (e.g., housing, gerrymandering). In recent years, the explanation of cultural differences has changed into narratives about implicit bias. Implicit bias, or prejudice that is outside of one’s conscious awareness, has frequently been used to explain the continuing prevalence of racism and discrimination today (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

Bonilla-Silva (2004) explains that narratives are important as they can become the foundation for new ideologies which can reinforce the status quo or reproduce power relations. As much as we have been taught and have come to believe in a history of racial progress in America, there has always been a parallel history of racist ideologies propelled by the WPM that have submerged and re-emerged over time (Belew, 2018). In fact, Anderson (2016) argues that political elites have always pushed back against Black progress. Furthermore, when studying the baseline structure of White power in America, it is important to understand that Black subjugation has always been a necessary foundation in maintaining White power and privilege across generations. While all non-Black groups experience varying racialization processes, such experiences are primarily shaped around a narrow definition of “Whiteness” and “Blackness,” symbolizing a dichotomy of power and subjugation. Non-Black minorities are thus positioned to either fit or maintain this Black-White binary (Kim, 1999). For instance, if new immigrants are

perceived as economic or political threats, they are positioned more towards “Blackness” and conferred less privilege.

Kendi (2016) further argues that racist ideologies have never been the result of implicit bias or ignorance. Rather, they have been used to justify discriminatory policies rooted in economic, political, and cultural self-interest.¹⁹ Myths about racial superiority have thus been necessary foundations to sustain the ways in which self-interested actors operate in this world (O’Neal, 2017).

4.2 Public Perception

Even with the rise of non-White minorities and projections of a majority-minority nation by 2042, racialized attitudes among the public have not changed significantly since the Civil Rights era (Craig & Richeson, 2014b). Although the Civil Rights movement led to significant policy changes at the state and national levels,²⁰ resentment around these gains led to the scapegoating of minorities by the political right. Dehumanizing descriptions of minorities translated to powerful right-wing propaganda in response to the national stresses of war, farm foreclosure crisis, stagflation, and job loss. Consistent with group threat theory (Blumer, 1958), studies have revealed that the larger a minority population, the more negative the racial attitudes of the White population (Nadeau, Niemi, & Levine, 1993). According to group threat theory, members of dominant groups use their perception of the size of minority groups to examine if they are threats to existing social arrangements and thus threats to informal and formal social controls (Tolnay, Deane, & Beck, 1996; Jacobs & Carmichael, 2002). Paradoxically, interracial contact and globalism may also strengthen intergroup hostilities. Kim (1999) further argues that negative perceptions between and against non-White minorities persist while the understanding of racial power and White supremacy largely go unnoticed and unchallenged by the public.

The public may perceive the WPM as a fringe movement that has little chance of succeeding in mainstream politics and thus not to be taken seriously. However, this would be a serious misunderstanding of the movement’s efficacy. Although factions like the Alt-Right are fringe groups, the ability of the larger movement to organize on a grand scale and to carry out mass violence through leaderless resistance or cell-style terrorism are highly sophisticated (Belew, 2018). Leaderless resistance is a strategy in which small, independent groups or lone-wolf individuals act without centralized leadership; such strategy allows the WPM to remain invisible to government prosecution as well as unaccountable to the public. We also see the movement’s efficacy in the visible rise of terrorist attacks. Belew (2018) warns that it would be inaccurate to gauge the impact and capacity of the WPM by the mere size of its factions.

What has not been fully brought to light in public discourse are the narratives of social and historical forces deeply rooted in White power ideology. The WPM is not only ethnocentric and intolerant but it is also fundamentally antidemocratic. This movement aims to overthrow the

¹⁹ For example, eugenics policies in the early 20th century were driven by scientific consensus that non-Whites were biologically inferior.

²⁰ For instance, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

current American government and to create a radically different future (Belew, 2018). Inspired by *The Turner Diaries*, White power activists intentionally use incremental direct action to foster conditions that could potentially lead to a revolutionary race war (Berger, 2018). In *Eugenics and Other Evils*, Chesterton (1922) reminds us that “sound historians know that most tyrannies have been possible because [people] moved too late” (p. 3). However tempting it may be to disbelieve the dangers inherent in the WPM and the possibility that it could become a legitimate force in society, we ignore understanding the movement at our own peril and that of our world’s future.

Obstacles To Stop This Movement

5.1 Internet as a Breeding Ground

Polarization between the left and right is sharpened by the tendency of political parties to communicate in echo chambers, in which exposure to information and ideas serve to reinforce preexisting worldviews (Garrett, 2009; Iyengar & Hahn, 2009). These echo chambers are exacerbated on the internet where entirely new and intangible communities can be created (Bennett, 2016). Political groups use online platforms to organize rallies, create virtual communities, and engage with public figures as well as political opponents. The WPM operates under clandestine, decentralized networks (e.g., the dark web) and spreads its ideologies through blogs, podcasts, forums, and webzines. The Alt-Right has recruited members and gained media attention through legions of Twitter users using the hashtag #AltRight, proliferating their ideas and successfully pushing them into mainstream discourse. While the literature on media effects discusses the ways in which media has reconstituted social interactions, privacy, presentation of identities and civil discourse (Dill-Shackleford, Vinney, & Hopper-Losenicky, 2016), little has been written on how mechanisms specific to the internet may normalize extremist views. To that end, there is a need for the creation of internet-specific principles regarding media literacy and the understanding of the internet as a potential breeding ground for extremist ideologies.

The scope and depth of the WPM can be witnessed on a global scale online. The international far-right community utilizes online subcultures to organize and share their strategies (Hussain, 2019; Mujanovic, 2019). Extremists have been inspired by the Holocaust, Bosnian genocide, and apartheid regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Hussain, 2019). A manifesto published by the 2019 New Zealand mosque shooter revealed his idolization for Radovan Karadzic, a Serbian politician and convicted war criminal who led the 1990s Bosnian genocide; the manifesto expressed fears of a Muslim demographic shift and the necessity of enacting violence against non-White invaders.²¹ Anders Breivik was a Norwegian terrorist who killed 77 people in 2011; his 1,500-page manifesto referred to Karadzic as a hero (Mujanovic, 2019). The WPM claimed that Breivik “inspired young Aryan men to action” by showing the massive scale of violence that could be accomplished by one White power activist (Cai & Landon, 2019).

²¹ The New Zealand shooter tweeted and live streamed his “internet activism” before killing 49 people at a mosque (Cai & Landon, 2019). His video was promoted on 8chan, broadcast live on Facebook, and replayed on YouTube, Twitter, and Reddit.

5.2 Government Programs and Resources

In the United States, domestic terrorism²² has not been taken as seriously as the threat of international terrorism; greater funding has been provided for Islamic terrorism, left-wing extremism, and immigration activism.²³ Furthermore, there is no federal criminal charge for domestic terrorism; extremists are generally charged under hate crimes, gun or conspiracy statutes (Tavernise, Benner, Apuzzo, & Perlroth, 2019). Since the Trump administration, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Office of Intelligence and Analysis has been significantly less active, disbanding its domestic terrorism unit in 2018 (Benner, 2019). The administration has also downplayed the role of White supremacy, focusing public discourse on immigrants and falsely arguing that domestic terrorism is a fringe issue perpetuated by the left and the mentally ill.

In 2009, the DHS Extremism and Radicalization Branch published a report titled “Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment.” The report warned that the 2008 Obama presidential election and economic crises would make White nationalism a greater security problem²⁴ and predicted that Americans suffering economically would be most vulnerable to recruitment.²⁵ However, political backlash followed alongside public pressure to minimize the discourse on domestic terrorism as many believed it was a diversion from international terrorism efforts. In particular, the report raised civil liberties concerns about American extremists, whose freedom of speech and expression, unlike international terrorists, is still protected by the First Amendment. Concerns about the surveillance of citizens were raised by both political parties, and there was no strong constituency pushing to address domestic terrorism efforts (Benner, 2019). The overall lack of public support meant the withdrawal of many programs and partnerships that focused on preventing extremism.

Actions Underway to Mobilize Change

6.1 The Anti-Fascist Movement

The Anti-Fascists (“Anti-Fa”) represent the movement opposed to the Alt-Right during Charlottesville. Anti-Fa is a network of groups that believe in aggressive and sometimes violent opposition to right-wing movements. Although Anti-Fa may have a propensity towards violence, SPLC (2019) does not consider it a hate group since it does not promote hatred based on race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation or gender. Moreover, unlike the murder rate for the Alt-Right, the death count for Anti-Fa remains at zero. Left-wing extremism accounts for 3

²² U.S. Department of State defines domestic terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience” (Jackson, 2012, p. 235).

²³ A humanitarian aid volunteer faced 20 years in prison for providing food and shelter to undocumented immigrants along the U.S.-Mexico border in 2018.

²⁴ White nationalist websites like *Stormfront* experienced higher traffic rates; online users also discussed launching a potential race war if Obama was elected.

²⁵ A 2008 FBI report revealed that 203 individuals with military experience joined extremist groups (Benner, 2019).

percent of murders compared to 73 percent by right-wing extremism (SPLC, 2019). Thus, it would be deeply inaccurate to equivocate the two groups in terms of their levels of violence.²⁶

Anti-Fa's political platform encompasses anti-capitalism, anti-racism, pro-immigration, and equal rights for all. The movement has antecedents in Europe where its early followers fought Nazis in the 1930s and against Benito Mussolini's Blackshirts. Its ideology is partially based on the belief that Nazism and fascism would never have risen to power if citizens had aggressively opposed them. Anti-Fa reached America by the 1970s and has roots in the straight-edge punk rock music scene, 1990s anti-globalization protests, and 2011 Occupy Wall Street movement. Rather than depending on government authorities or mainstream politics to enact change, Anti-Fa believes that there must be an extreme left using direct action to counter the WPM. The Anti-Fa movement strongly believes that fascists ideas cannot be reasoned with and will never go away on its own.

To that end, Anti-Fa members are willing to use violence as a defense tactic against White power activists, as long as such violence is used in the name of eradicating hate. Both Anti-Fa and the Alt-Right train in physical combat to prepare for confrontations during protests and rallies. One Anti-Fa member explained:

You have to put your body in the way, and you have to make it speak in the language that they understand. And sometimes that is violence. (Suerth, 2017)

6.2 What Can The Public Do?

After World War II, political theorist Hannah Arendt published a report on the Nuremberg trial of German Nazi leader, Eichmann, where she sought to understand how individuals could come to commit the most extreme crimes against humanity. Contrary to her assumptions, Arendt found that Eichmann was a low-ranked colonel who diligently worked to the top of a well-organized bureaucracy. Psychological assessments further revealed that Eichmann did not have strong anti-Semitic views; at most, he was indifferent to minorities. In *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Arendt (1963) concludes that, in any other era, Eichmann would have been considered a law-abiding citizen who merely took advantage of his political and economic opportunities by obeying orders from his state.

It was precisely this diffusion of personal responsibility, lack of critical questioning, and acceptance of societal norms which led to Eichmann's crimes. Diffused from individual principles, Arendt reveals that our tendency to accept group norms and our complacency to achieve personal success at the expense of others are factors that can lead anyone to become an Eichmann. Through his story, Arendt states that we not only better understand ourselves but also come to understand the interplay of social forces, political bureaucracy, and group pressure in shaping core parts of our identities and choices.

²⁶ Despite this contrast, the Trump administration diverted funds away from addressing White nationalist violence, emphasizing the violence of "Black nationalists" and the "alt-left." In 2019, Trump tweeted a demand to place Anti-Fa on the terror list. *The Daily Stormer*, a neo-Nazi site, publicly praised his tweet.

The story of Eichmann is a timeless warning on how the banality of evil can permeate any society. The American public, mainstream media, law enforcement, and government have failed to take the consequences of White supremacy and political extremism seriously. What started off as a fringe movement has become a central social issue of our time. A major goal of the WPM is to become a dominant force in mainstream politics. Thus, public awareness, education, and the dissemination of accurate information about the WPM are critical first steps in bringing about change. Unlike the traditional conservative party,²⁷ the WPM does not believe in the principles of the Constitution or the government. It thus represents a threat to all political parties and the basic tenets of democracy (Hawley, 2017). Moreover, a race war or nuclear arms catastrophe no longer seems nonsensical in the face of impending climate change, international wars, refugee and immigrant crises, and the rise of authoritarianism. In fact, FBI investigations document that the WPM has sought opportunities to take over the state and to enact violence in its goal to catalyze social and civil unrest.

The following list some ways that the public can engage in mobilizing change: 1) Advocating for the creation of public programs that prevent the formation of extremist groups. 2) Increased outreach with individuals and communities that are vulnerable to recruitment by extremist organizations. 3) Advocating for governmental resources to be directed toward domestic terrorism efforts. 4) Placing pressure on online platforms to vigilantly monitor and censor hate groups or divesting from companies that refuse to do so. 5) Placing pressure on the mainstream media to investigate and report on the causes of extremism, rather than myopically portraying public violence as the irrational choices of lone-wolf actors.

The events of Charlottesville have reflected a profound shift in mainstream media coverage and public awareness of the WPM. Since 2017, there has been a rapid rise in mass shootings and acts of domestic terrorism. In prior years, the media portrayed these events as the result of lone-wolf actors suffering from mental illness. Muslim-perpetrated attacks were also covered by the media 4.5 times more than non-Muslim attacks, and perpetrator religion was the largest predictor of news coverage (Kearns, Betus, & Lemieux, 2017). Yet, the frequency of gun shootings tied to extremist ideologies, political polarization, and open expressions of racial hatred have also allowed the media to become more bold in its coverage. The renewed use of terms such as “White nationalist” and “domestic terrorism” in the mainstream media can arguably be traced back to Charlottesville, when the world witnessed the stark rage of hundreds of White Americans at the rally. Undoubtedly, investigative journalism and media coverage will continue to play critical roles in uncovering extremist ideologies.

6.3 What Can Scholars Do?

In the field of psychology, Grzanka, Gonazalez, and Spanierman (2019) state that professionals must confront Whiteness as a moral issue and an ethical imperative. Specifically, rather than conceptualizing racism and White supremacy as interpersonal problems based on

²⁷ The mainstream conservative party had kept extremists, such as anti-Semites and conspiracy theorists, out of its party in the 1950s (Hawley, 2017).

“cultural differences” or “poor judgment,” there is a need for research and training on how they manifest as systemic issues (Grzanka et al., 2019). In a nation strongly defined by racialized hierarchies, rarely is the playing field level among the races. Therefore, framing remains important because the understanding of racism as an interpersonal process fails to underscore the cyclical nature of oppression and the systemic effects of White supremacy on individuals. To that end, psychologists may want to engage in interdisciplinary work with fields such as sociology, politics, history, law, and philosophy in order to have a broader framework and to become attuned to system dynamics.

One of the most fundamental ways that psychologists can foster change is to actively turn White students, clinicians, and educators away from a lifelong, self-absorbed experience of Whiteness. Decentralizing attitudes about supremacy and learning that our emotions are sociologically inherited can be fostered in institutions. For instance, what if the history of White supremacy was visibly placed at the conceptual center to be actively dismantled by students? (Grzanka et al., 2019). Psychologists must also be willing to challenge the political apathy within the field and the notion that empathy alone is sufficient for allyship and antiracist work (Alexander, 2010). Most importantly, decentralizing Whiteness requires delving deep into learning about the true history of America as well as the painful and often violent ways that our government has continuously kept minority groups down.

As White nationalist organizations gain legitimacy, it is critical that social justice scholars take the rise of right-wing academia seriously. Greg Johnson, who holds a PhD in philosophy, has published over 40 books including *The White Nationalist Manifesto*. Richard Spencer left his PhD studies in European intellectual studies at Duke University where he became radicalized by reading White nationalist literature in order “to pursue a life of thought-crime”; he founded the Alt-Right a few years later (Williams, 2017). In their attempt to rebrand after Charlottesville, extremist groups have recruited in ways that are more palatable to the public (SPLC, 2019). Organizations and think tanks, such as the National Policy Institute²⁸ and New Century Foundation, regularly hold conferences and lobby for White supremacy ideologies (Hawley, 2017). To that end, social justice scholars must understand how to effectively assess and counter the pretextual arguments being put forth by WPM leaders.

The ideologies of the WPM and our phenomenon of subhumanizing are not new. We have a gory history showing us the consequences of racism and racialized domination as well as parallels between our current movements and the destructive ones of our past. The line that separates our daily prejudices from those of extremists is one of scale and scope but not of content. Although the WPM remains a threat to the future of democracy, we should never forget that there have been other social movements fighting for equality and the principles of democracy. Narratives about racial progress are therefore not inevitable but neither are those about racial inequity. Which pathway we now take depends on how we choose to organize and mobilize as a collective society.

²⁸ NPI was founded by Spencer and promotes academic racism through pseudo-scientific arguments about Black inferiority and White superiority (Weiland, 2017).

Resources: For More Information

Associations and Organizations

- *Southern Poverty Law Center*: nonprofit legal advocacy organization specializing in civil rights and public interest litigation.
- *American Civil Liberties Union*: nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that works through litigation and lobbying to support civil liberties.
- *Showing Up For Racial Justice*: national network that aims to undermine White supremacy and to work towards racial justice.
- *Equal Justice Initiative*: nonprofit organization committed to ending mass incarceration and challenging racial/economic injustice.
- *Anti-Defamation League*: organization that focuses on fighting extremism.
- *Center for Democratic Renewal (Anti-Klan Network)*: multiracial organization that combats movements and government practices promoting bigotry.
- *John Brown Anti-Klan Committee*: anti-racist organization that protested against the KKK and other White supremacist organizations.
- *Veterans For Peace*: international organization of military veterans, family members, and allies who are dedicated to building a culture of peace, exposing the true costs of war, and healing the wounds of war.
- *Life After Hate*: Nonprofit consultancy of reformed extremists who provide long-term solutions to combat all types of violent extremism; works in collaboration with several sectors, including the military, international security/intelligence, policymakers, etc.
- *Against Violent Extremism*: Global organization made up of former extremists and survivors of extremism that counter extremist narratives and prevent the recruitment of at-risk youth.
- *Century for Security Policy*: non-partisan, educational public policy organization that focuses on national security.
- *Council on American-Islamic Relations*: Muslim civil rights and advocacy group that promotes social, legal, and political activism among Muslims in America.
- *Antiracist White Educators Group*: affinity group for White educators to support each other in confronting and working to undo racism in schools.
- *Educators for Justice*: White leaders committed to dismantling systems of oppression in schools through reading groups, convenings, and collective action.
- *Gifford Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence*: policy organization dedicated to researching, enacting, and defending laws and programs to save lives from gun violence.
- *National Immigration Forum*: advances immigration solutions through outreach, partnerships, and policy expertise.
- *Human Rights Watch*: works on behalf of refugees, migrants, political prisoners, and others who are subject to human rights abuse.
- *Brennan Center for Justice*: non-partisan law and policy institute that fosters democratic participation, voting rights, campaign finance reform, and ending mass incarceration.
- *Indivisible*: grassroots organization to resist the policies of the Trump administration.
- *Democratic Socialists of America*: the largest socialist and grassroots organization in America that works on transforming government structures in order to achieve greater economic and social democracy for all.
- *ProPublica*: independent, nonprofit investigative journalism that exposes abuses of power, informs the public about complex issues, and uses journalism to spur reform.

Books

- *Stamped From The Beginning* by Ibram X. Kendi
- *Bring The War Home* by Kathleen Belew
- *Racecraft* by Karen and Barbara Fields
- *Making Sense of the Alt-Right* by George Hawley
- *Understanding Racist Activism: Theory, Methods, and Research* by Kathleen M. Blee
- *Dangerous Crossings: Race, Species, and Nature in a Multicultural Age* by Claire J. Kim
- *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* by Hannah Arendt
- *Race, Rage, and Resistance: Philosophy, Psychology, and the Perils of Individualism* by David M. Goodman, Eric R. Severson, and Heather Macdonald
- *Eugenics and Other Evils* by G.K. Chesterton
- *Race Matters* by Cornel West
- *On Western Terrorism* by Noam Chomsky
- *Marx, Race, and Neoliberalism* by Adolph Reed Jr.
- *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic* by Alexander Saxton
- *Dark Money* by Jane Mayer
- *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* by Ira Katznelson
- *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide* by Carol Anderson
- *Feminism for the 99%: A Manifesto* by Cinzia Arruzza, Tithi Bhattacharya, Nancy Fraser
- *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals* by Saul D. Alinsky
- *The Undercommons* by Stefano Harney, Fred Moten

Articles

- *The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House* by Audre Lorde
- *Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy* by Andrea Smith
- *Facism: What It Is and How To Fight It* by Leon Trotsky
- *Identity Politics and Class Struggle* by Robin D.G. Kelley
- *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex* by Kimberle Crenshaw
- *Intersections, Locations, and Capitalist Class Relations: Intersectionality from a Marxist Perspective* by Joanna Brenner
- *Feminism and the Politics of The Commons* by Silvia Federici
- *Social Reproduction, Surplus Populations, and the Role of Migrant Women* by Sara Farris
- *But Some of Us Are Brave: A History of Black Feminism in the U.S.* by Hanna Bechtle
- *Dig Deep: Beyond Lean In* by Bell Hooks

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