

WHITE LIES: THE EMPTY SIGNIFIER IN WHITE SUPREMACY AND THE ALT.RIGHT

The Phenomenology of Whiteness: A Genealogy

We begin in darkness. The narrative of whiteness begins in a void, an absence, and myth. In many creation myths, including *Genesis* and Hesiod's *Theogony*, order is wrested from undifferentiated chaos and darkness, and order is imposed by a divine enlightenment, a god/monarch who creates light by fiat. "In the beginning . . . the earth was without form and void and darkness was on the face of the deep." And by creating light, the god/monarch gives meaning and hierarchy to the world. Whiteness, when it is used to describe skin color, emerges in the language from the Dark Ages and from a multiplicity of ethnicities. A "white race" emerges into a proto-enlightenment and a proto-capitalism and into the uses of pigment. One way to deconstruct the notion of white supremacy is to parse the signification of the word "white." In order to interrogate the politics of melanin we must confront what James Baldwin called "the lie that is whiteness." We need to situate this signifier, this whiteness, in myth, ontology, aesthetics, metaphor, and ideology.

In a more mundane physical description, white enters the world as light which is parsed by a prism that fractures white light into a spectrum – the colors of the rainbow.

Each color of the spectrum vibrates on a different wavelength from infrared to ultraviolet. White and black have no wavelength. White contains and reflects all the colors; black absorbs all light and color. Thus, we can say that white is a non-color, an empty signifier that indicates an absence. As an adjective, it indicates the absence of color. When man-made objects are designated white, it means that they have been bleached using acid and thus devoid of color. White is the most frequent (non-) color found in nature: from snow to clouds to sunlight and moonlight. White reflects light, but it remains an indication of absence. To refer to something as "white" we are reifying light absent pigment. When we talk about "white supremacy" we are actually referring to a reification of this non-color as a non-identity – a social construction, and thus a reification of a reification.

To analyze the meaning of white skin we need to examine the colors of the

body. The vast majority of the cells in the human body are clear because the molecules they are made of reflect all wavelengths of visible light. Certain cells do contain color like blood which contains iron and appears red. The cells in your eyes have melanin and therefore color. So far, the redness of blood and the colors of the eye are not meaningful in themselves. (We do not segregate or apply meaning to people's eye color.) Skin cells also contain melanin to a greater or lesser degree, and here is where meaning attaches, here is the place of social construction. And, as we shall see later, here is where culture and biology are violently fused into a tragic alliance. Color supersedes ethnicity and becomes a political entity. And this entity I am calling the politics of melanin.

But let us return to the world of non-color. Humans produce many objects that lack color for specific purposes. Most obvious is parchment, the ancestor of today's foolscap, stationery, printing paper. Used for writing and printing, white is ubiquitous. Indeed, the poets of the last century, and Mallarme in particular, called attention to the whiteness of the page that foregrounds words. William Carlos Williams referred to the poet as a "satyr chasing a white-skinned dryad across the page." Furthermore, artists of the last century have in many ways called attention to the material of their art and, in particular, the white canvas, primed and ready for the application of line and color.

The Russian Suprematist artist, Kazimir Malevich, is a case in point. His work was recently showcased at MOMA's exhibition of Revolutionary Russian art in celebration of the centenary of the Russian Revolution. His painting, known as the 'white square' or 'white on white,' questions the materiality of the canvas and the status of the non-color, white. Painted in 1918, it is one of the masterpieces of Suprematist Art. The white canvas is a square painted white on which background a slightly cooler white square appears, tilted right and appearing to float on the barely warmer white background. As an exercise in minimalism, absent of representation except for the geometry of the shapes, the painting is a statement about the limits of art. Malevich has said that he was attempting to paint degree zero – to paint without pigment.

To be a human without pigment is to be albino, lacking even the pink and tan tints of most human skin. It carries various connotations depending on where it is historically and geographically located. In Europe and North America being without pigment is also to be without stigma. Sometime around the 16th and 17th centuries the genealogy or archeology of white as skin color changes drastically. To begin with, white indicates brightness, radiance, light hair and pale skin. No particular meaning besides descriptive is attached. Later around the 15th century white as metaphor begins to mean moral superiority as well as without

stigma. In England, around the time of exploration of the Americas and Africa, white begins to refer to race and Europeans begin to distinguish themselves from the people of newly discovered lands via skin color and race. At the same time that the slave trade and Capitalism begin peoples formerly indicated only ethnically begin to be defined within the parameters of race and limited to “black” and “white.” These are reifications as well as social constructions.

The use of the word, “black,” to describe specific peoples has a rockier entrance. People once described as “Moors” take the designation, “black,” as an insult. Black has a very interesting etymology. As far back as proto Indo-European origins “blac” meant pale, wan, colorless or albino. Around 1051 ‘blaec’ becomes spelled as the modern ‘black,’ still meant fair skin or a ‘white person.’ It is possible that this ‘blaec’ was cognate with bleach, and perhaps – this is perhaps pure speculation – became cognate with modern ‘black’ because of the bleaching process which may have involved burning. Nevertheless, both medieval and modern words indicate something lacking color. ‘Black’ undergoes several semantic shifts acquiring negative connotations such as ‘having malignant purposes’ as in ‘The Black Death.’ Black then became defined as the opposite of white and applied to socially constructed races. ‘Moor’ as a designation for black is cognate in several languages including Greek (mohr, mauros), Latin (morus), German (mor), Old French (more), and Anglo-Saxon (mor). But moor only refers to color in these languages. Strangers or people of other ethnicities are designated by the language they speak. The abandonment of this ethnic indication in favor of pure color designations followed the European slave trade and offered a rationale for human beings as commodities.

The Phenomenology of Otherness

The so-called white race emerges dialectically with contact with an Other who is designated by color as ‘black.’ In phenomenology, the terms ‘Other’ and ‘Constitutive Other’ identify a human being in terms of differences from the Self and thus it becomes a constituting factor in the self-image of a person. The Other is the opposite of the Self, of Us, and of the Same. Derrida proposed that this “absolute alterity of the Other” is compromised because the Other is denied priority in anthropological discourse. It misrepresents non-Western cultures (e.g. Orientalism) in “a dominator-dominated discourse of hegemony.” Nevertheless, I shall continue discussion of the West’s encounter with the Other in order to locate the emergence of a “white race.”

There is no identification of race as white in antiquity. Ancient peoples such as the Greeks and Romans were more likely to identify populations culturally, geographically and historically rather than by skin color. The European

encounter with the Other, unfamiliar people at first continues these designations. During the Crusades, roughly from the 11th to the 13th centuries and from the fall of Jerusalem and ending in the fall of Tripoli, the seven crusades ranged over Europe, Turkey, Palestine and Syria. Encounters with diverse populations from these lands represented the “Other” to the European papal mercenaries. It was natural for them to designate the enemy in terms of belief as “the Infidel.” The Muslims gradually acquired the nomination, “Moor,” which was considered insulting to some Muslims, but preferable to the more blatant reference to skin color: black.

Gradually, in these encounters with other peoples, there is a pan-ethnic merging of European populations into a single “white” race. This intensifies during the age of European exploration, colonialization, and the African slave trade. In short, it is by encounter with the Other, with peoples designated by their color, that hegemonic Europeans begin to call themselves “white.” (The groundbreaking work of Theodore W. Allen is essential to the topic of this paper.) We can place the emergence of the so-called white race in the early 17th century. But even earlier we find ambivalence in the poetry and plays of William Shakespeare, which problematizes race and a racialization of the Other.

Let’s take an obvious example from Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* (ca.1564-1616) Sonnet 130

“My mistress’ eyes are nothing like the sun;
Coral is far more red than her lips’ red;
If snow be wires, black wires grow on her head.
I have seen roses damasked, red and white,
But no such roses see I in her cheeks;
And in some perfumes is there more delight
Than in the breath that from my mistress reeks.”

The closing couplet turns the mockery into a surprising conclusion:

“And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
As any she belied with false compare.”

Shakespeare is doing many things there. He is having fun with the genre’s clichés and the humorous images that might in another age be called racist. In the twist provided by the closing couplet, Shakespeare is pleading for a more truthful description of what we may call, for different reasons, “the dark lady of his sonnets.” There is a problematizing of race and Other, and truth resides in the African mistress.

This meditation on race intensifies in Shakespeare’s *Othello* (1603), the essential Other, the “Moor,” as he is called in the title. And yet the focus of the

play is not so much the noble and heroic soldier who has hired himself and his army to the protection of the Italian Doge. What fascinates and eludes description in the play is his ensign, Iago. Iago is a good candidate for Shakespeare's most evil villain. He is traditionally described as Machiavellian, a jealous and ambitious soldier, even a thwarted desirer of Othello himself in his homoerotic speeches. Iago is also a racist. Shakespeare gives us our first well-rounded depiction of racism and its consequences. In Act I Iago introduces bestiality, the animal imagery that is the stock and trade of the racist. Othello and Desdemona, the Doge's daughter have eloped, and Iago shouts outside the Doge's palace.

“Even now, now, very now, an old black ram
Is tupping your white ewe. Arise, arise!
Awake the snorting citizens with the bell,
Or else the devil will make a grandsire of you.
Arise, I say!” (1.1.86-88)

The racist slurs are obvious, even to the modern ear. And central to the alarm is the fear of miscegenation. The allusion to the hyper-sexuality of black men is a belief that persists to this day.

The Atlantic slave trade is beginning and the emergence of a “white race,” coincides with the racialization of slavery. One more Shakespearean work illustrates how hegemony, skin color, Otherness, and exploration boil up into a pernicious colonialism. Shakespeare's last play, *The Tempest*, involves exile, colonized peoples, and whiteness associated with a supernatural wisdom and sorcery and the enslavement of the native population. With Caliban, we have an essentialist's depiction of “the white man's burden.” Caliban is pure id, wild, and immoral. He curses his enslavement and chains, ascribing his ability to curse to his captors. Shakespeare alludes to Caliban's knowledge of the island's terrain and the flora and fauna therein; however, true to the colonialists' myth of superiority, Caliban is led to believe that his survival depends on the superior intellect and power of the white man, Prospero, the exiled Duke of Milan. White femininity is the foil to the colonized beast, and Caliban is accused of trying to rape Miranda, Prospero's daughter. In the play Caliban is depicted as transhuman: part beast and part human. The enslaved and colonized peoples must be dehumanized in order to be ethically commodified. It also represents the merging of biology and culture. *The Tempest* is a play about colonialism and primitive accumulation. “O brave new world that has such people in it!” Miranda exclaims. But she is not referring to the Calibans, but the shipwrecked sailors – the first ‘white’ Europeans she has seen besides her father. In the mirror of the Other, one's self, one's skin, one's culture becomes miraculous and “brave.”

White supremacy is now fully hatched, and although it remains an empty signifier, a non-color of a non-people, it is about to become a rallying cry of racists. The first appearance of the phrase “white man” to indicate a person of the “white race” occurs around 1670 and becomes part of the vernacular by 1690. The slave trade is at full throttle and the scene shifts from Shakespeare’s London to the American colonies. In the ‘brave new world’ the word ‘white’ referring to skin in a federal law appears in 1789 to restrict who could become a naturalized citizen. In the centuries that follow the word ‘white’ is used to restrict access to practically every right and privilege afforded U.S. citizens: marriage, voting, schools, jobs and housing. And in the centuries that follow there will be a battle on the territorial stage of Capitalism to decide who, indeed, has the right to be called “white.” And because it is an empty signifier, it is a sliding signifier of power. James Baldwin, a writer well-acquainted with the uses of power, reminds us: “The world is not white. It never was white. It cannot be white. White is a metaphor for power, and that is simply a way of describing Chase Manhattan Bank.”

Birth of a Nation

The founding of the United States was based on the colonial expropriation of natural resources and the displacement by war and murder of the subaltern native population. The Founding Fathers were steeped in the gospel of the Enlightenment which placed reason above all faiths combining English Empiricism and French political theory with the praxis of Capitalism. Ethics were based on a categorical subjectivity and science of physical measurement. Citizenship and enfranchisement depended on the color of your skin and ownership of property. Thus conferring ‘whiteness’ was not simply European identity.

The true repository of white power was the Anglo Saxons who first arrived from England and who owned property. Indeed, property and humanness were conflated in the Constitution by a calculus that designated an African slave as 3/5 human being for purposes of taxation (property) and representation (human). Such was the calculus of Capitalism brought to the New World under the guise of Enlightenment.

Later the Scots-Irish Protestant settlers settled as tenant farmers and later rose to roles in government. Between 1820-1870 half a million Germans immigrated, doubling the U.S. population. Germans were the first non-Anglo-Saxons allowed to buy land in the Mohawk Valley. Restricted at first to Anglo-Saxons white identity was slowly and grudgingly bestowed on the waves of ethnics immigrating to America. European lineage did not automatically confer white identity as some contemporary white Supremacists and white Nationalists claim. Under the doctrines of scientific racism anti-Irish Catholic racism was

justified demonstrating via phrenology the metric similarity of the “Irish-Iberian” man and the “Negro” man as proof that each man is racially inferior to the Anglo-Teutonic man whose body offered the cranial ideal. Often the Irish were depicted as drunkards and prostitutes, usually a result of the poverty that came from racism. As dictated by scientific racism a process of “Othering” attached to the ethnicities entering our “teeming shores.” Irish Catholics, Poles, Italians, Jews, Asians, European Hispanics, and Austrians were designated individual “races” and thus not part of the white race. These various ethnics settled inland (those with financial means) and in urban centers along the coast. They worked in mines, factories, slaughterhouses, construction of bridges and railroads, and many died in mining disasters, the bends building bridges, and factories like the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in New York where many young Jewish women died along with their racialized sisters. Whiteness is a privilege which was gradually conferred on these working-class groups in exchange for loyalty to America’s oppressive social order. Racism and privilege alike were the domain of the Capitalists. Thus, it is clearly quite inaccurate to conflate white race with European identity. The history of the “white” working class clearly contradicts this and further calls into question the white identity proclaimed so vociferously by contemporary racists and nationalists. Again, a parsing of “white” leads us to an empty signifier – a position of power and privilege or the lack of same. Furthermore, in 1951 the United Nations officially declared that the differences among the races were insignificant in relation to the anthropological sameness among the peoples who are the human race.

However, there is another ‘birth of a nation’ that occurs after the Civil War and the emancipation of slavery in the South. The freed slaves were feared by the white residents. No longer needed to work the land for free or to be free household labor, the freed slave was a walking accusation to their former owners who could no longer pretend that treating humans as a commodity was ethical. The solution often took the form of violent and sudden intimidation: white sheets to hide their identities, burning crosses to conflate piety and terror. And lynching: the attack and murder of black men by a criminal mob without due process. This was a campaign of terror designed to kill or intimidate African Americans from becoming true citizens of this country. Black men and women were denied the right to vote, to own property in many communities, and due process when accused of a crime. The list is long and familiar because many of the acts of injustice continue until today.

D. W. Griffith memorialized the myths, rituals and narratives in 1915 in his film, *The Birth of a Nation*. It takes place during and after the Civil War and depicts the people of color, mainly men, as wildly libidinous, criminal, and subhuman – the same stereotypes that existed in the 17th century. Once more hyper-sexuality is ascribed to the black man while the white woman

(his natural prey according to the myth) is a symbol of purity, innocence and kindness. The fear of the freed slave is the fear of so-called miscegenation, the loss of white identity. The members of the Klu Klux Klan are depicted as medieval knights fighting to save civilization.

They hunt down, attack and murder black men. Rough justice is administered by the mob and the victim is lynched. Between 1882 and 1968 there were reports of 4,742 lynchings. Lynching was outlawed as a federal law only recently in 2018, but, as chronicled by Black Lives Matter, black men are still routinely murdered by police. Like lynching, shootings by police and white vigilantes today are justified as self-defense. It remains to be seen what role fear plays in these killings. From the KKK to police brutality, whiteness is a violently upheld dream that safety is real.

Fear of a Black Planet

When Donald Trump announced his intention to run for President he emphasized his position on immigration which has become central to his presidential platform. “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best . . . They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with [them]. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.” This announcement was a herald of an intention to return to a white nation, a nostalgia for a white supremacy that never really existed. MAGA (Make America Great Again) hats pointed to an empty signifier, to an America that had power and exemplified white nationalism. It spoke to a powerless white working class that had been stripped of its economic power by decades of neoliberalism. White identity means very little, a poor basis for an identity movement to rival other movements. It promised a restoration of agency to white Americans. By referring to Mexico, Trump was joining neo-fascist movements that railed against immigration from the global south. This immigration is political in origin, a reaction to the expropriation of land and resources and the machinations of regime change which left entire native populations without agency. The other causal factor is climate change which is making certain regions of our planet uninhabitable.

The groundwork for Trump’s white nationalism was spread in cyber-space by the alt.right: a Gramscian approach through a war of position that connected to the racism of the far right. The ideology of white nationalism was joined by fear – fear of a Black Planet. In terms of demographics the far right might be justified in their fear. You can’t promote White Nationalism in a world where so-called people of color far outnumber their brothers and sisters who have been designated “white.” Moreover, countries with a majority white popula-

tion face steeply declining birthrates and need immigrants to work in agriculture and menial jobs to prop up the GDP that is used to care for the elderly. So, who or what is this far right, which I shall call the alt.right which ushered Trump into the presidency?

Members of the alt.right have found prominent places in the Trump administration, at least temporarily. They include Stephen Miller, as well as former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn and White House Chief Strategist Steve Bannon. Bannon is editor and publisher of the flagship of the alt.right ideological generator Breitbart News. Bannon described Breitbart, an online news organization, as “the platform for the alt.right,” with the goal of promoting the ideology. Members of the Republican establishment have condemned the alt.right, but their constituencies are declining and their economic and old guard gospel is falling on deaf ears.

The alt.right, or alternative right is a loosely connected and somewhat ill-defined grouping of American white supremacists, white nationalists, white separatists, anti-Semites, neo-Nazis, neo fascists, neo-Confederates, and Holocaust deniers.

Richard Spencer, white supremacist and neo-Nazi, has taken credit for coining the term, alt.right, but he has been discredited. What may be more interesting is that the alt.right intersects with and partially emerges from the ideas and rhetoric of the men’s rights activists (briefly conspicuous during the Kavanaugh hearings) many but not all of whom have come to embrace the alt.right’s platform. In addition to targeting racial groups and women’s groups, the alt.right attacks the vulnerable: LGBTQ groups are a favorite target, as well as people with disabilities, the poor, and the “criminal,” and a wide swathe of the immiserated and luckless.

As befits its decimal-included name, the alt.right was born online in the murky labyrinths of 4chan, gamer channels, listservs, and Reddit chatrooms. Sometimes pornography was shared, as were grievances young men expressed at difficulties finding female sexual partners. They named their entitlement and frustration “incels” (involuntary celibates). One such incel, Elliott Rodgers, the pioneer of the movement killed 11 people and injured 14. He left a manifesto condemning women as sluts and indicating his intention to kill as many women as possible. After killing himself his manifesto and vlog went viral sparking a movement. However, this was just a small part of alt.right violence. According to a Southern Poverty Law Center report published in February 2018 over 100 people have been killed and injured in 13 attacks by alt.right-influenced perpetrators since 2014. The perpetrators, by and large, young suburban white males are recruited to alt.right ideologies

NAME	AGE	DATE OF INCIDENT	KILLED	INJURED	TOTALS
Elliot Rodger	22	March, 23, 2014	7	14	21
Dylann Storm Roof	21	June 17, 2015	9	1	10
Christopher Sean Harper-Mercer	26	October 1, 2015	9	9	18
Alexandre Bissonnette	27	January 9, 2017	6	19	25
James Harris Jackson	28	March 20, 2017	1	0	1
Sean Urbanski	22	May 20, 2017	1	0	1
Jeremy Joseph Christian	36	May 26, 2017	2	1	3
Lane Maurice Davis	33	July 14, 2017	1	0	1
James Alex Fields	20	August 12, 2017	1	19	20
William Edward Atchison	21	December 7, 2017	2	0	2
Nicholas Giampa	17	December 22, 2017	2	1	3
Matthew Riehl	37	Decembren 31, 2017	1	4	5
Samuel Woodward	20	January 2, 2018	1	0	1
TOTALS (2014-2017)	25.75 (Avg)		43	67	110
TOTALS (2017 alone)	26.667 (Avg)		17	43	60
% OF TOTAL CASUALTIES DURING 2017			39.53	64.18	54.55

courtesy of *The Southern Poverty Law Center*

and inspired by previous perpetrators.

Some include Dylann Roof (who read the *Daily Stormer*, a neo-Nazi online news blog, as well as white supremacy sites) who murdered 9 African American members of a prayer group in a Charleston church, and James Alex Fields' murder of Heather Heyer during the alt.right "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville. One thing was noticeable in this rally: the racists have dropped the sheets and replaced them with khakis and Polo shirts in an attempt to go mainstream, despite their white supremacist agenda.

However, it is clear that the alt.right's white nationalist agenda will not be achieved by means of lone white supremacist jihadis. A sweeping ethnic cleansing agenda has turned its focus to immigration as the greatest threat to a "white Christian nation." *Fear of a Black Planet* (as the hip hop group, Public Enemy, put it in an album title) has to be ginned up by rhetoric from Trump's Oval Office. From his announcement of his intention to run for president to the recent manufactured "border crises," a terrorist scenario is being created to make ordinary, non-political Americans frightened of an invasion from the global south. While Europe wages its own immigration battles, the alt.right and the White House espouses a European racial ancestry that was laughed at in many European countries when white nationalist Richard Spencer announced it.

True to its Gramscian strategy the far right has begun to claim and proselytize "white culture" (as if such a chimera could exist whole cloth) as Christian and European. It appropriates to itself such cultural commodities as Beethoven,

Michelangelo, French cuisine and other readily identifiable artifacts. The far right dabbles in such crackpot theories as the claim that aliens from “outer space” built the pyramids, Cleopatra was white as was Jesus Christ and Santa Claus. The alt.right believes culture is like race: pure, that is, uncontaminated by any other culture and that it can be owned by one race. They thus warn of the loss of an American culture despoiled by invading immigrants. It is important to situate this anti-immigrant agenda.

Throughout the 19th century the invading immigrants were European and they were often unwelcome and objects of discrimination by nativist groups. Today’s far right conveniently forgets this. One hundred years ago Emma Lazarus wrote the lines: “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.”

Perhaps Lazarus’ poem was a response to the Nativist white nationalism of the time. Nevertheless, the irony of her words is lost on today’s far right, when she writes “the wretched refuse of your teeming shore.” Once it was the native population that was dehumanized while Europe was colonizing the Americas. Shakespeare reveals the settler’s racism in depicting the native Caliban, part human, part beast, as the challenge to the proto-nationalist first colonizing fleets to reach our shores. The Calibans were displaced – “deterritorialized” – where they faced the only choice of expropriation: servitude or banishment. The Calibans that chose banishment entered a “state of exception” where no agreement, no treaty, no border or boundary was observed or long instated. They were subject to expropriation and exploitation and their cultures repurposed by the colonizers’ entertainment needs. Each age of immigration revisits and rediscovers Shakespeare’s “*Tempest*,” and each ‘invader’ has to renegotiate his options: servitude like Ariel or banishment like Caliban. Unlike Caliban, Ariel chose the path of collaboration with the master and – to shift to more modern terms – entered into the wages of Capitalism. Part of the bargain is to forget the past and the oppression and blot out class consciousness. Last century’s immigrants are quite often the ancestral legacy of the alt.right, perhaps even the part that claims to be members of the “European race.”

No one, I think, understood this rite of passage better than Edward Said, cultural critic and, as Palestinian, liminal ambassador for the displaced: “No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental.”

What colonizer, immigrant and, I would add, culture, share is the experience of liminality. We are all becoming nomad subjectivities, becoming reterritorialized, renegotiating our place in this world. It is time we appreciated our liminality instead of fearing it in the faces of the Other.

APPENDIX

White supremacist groups in the United States: (*Courtesy of the Southern Poverty Law Center*)

AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, is a “race realist and white advocacy website”, formerly a monthly magazine, published by the *New Century Foundation*.

AMERICAN FREEDOM PARTY, formerly known as the *American Third Position Party*, is an American political party which promotes white supremacy. It was founded in 2010, and defines its principal mission as representing the political interests of white Americans.

AMERICAN NAZI PARTY, is an antisemitic, neo-Nazi organization based largely upon the ideals and policies of Adolf Hitler’s NSDAP in Germany during the Third Reich but claims that it is in conformance with the Constitutional principles of the U.S.’s Founding Fathers. It also supports Holocaust denial.

ARYAN BROTHERHOOD OF TEXAS is, according to the Anti-Defamation League and Southern Poverty Law Center, one of the largest and most violent white supremacist prison gangs in the United States, responsible for murders and other violent crimes.

ARYAN NATIONS, is a white supremacist neo-Nazi organization founded in the 1970s by Richard Girnt Butler as an arm of the Christian Identity group known as the *Church of Jesus Christ—Christian*. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has called Aryan Nations a “terrorist threat”, and the RAND Corporation has called it the “first truly nationwide terrorist network” in the US.

COUNCIL OF CONSERVATIVE CITIZENS, is an American political organization that supports a large variety of conservative and paleoconservative causes in addition to white separatism.

CREATIVITY ALLIANCE, (formerly known as the *World Church of the Creator*) is a white supremacist politico organization that advocates the racialist religion, *Creativity*. Mainly religious rather than political, the radical Creativity Alliance or Church of Creativity, founded by Ben Klassen in 1973, worships the white race itself rather than any deity, and advocates a radical form of white supremacism known as *RAHOWA*.

EURO, is a white separatist organization in the United States. Led by former Loui-

siana state representative and presidential primary candidate David Duke, it was founded in 2000.

HAMMERSKINS, also known as *Hammerskin Nation*, are a white supremacist group formed in 1988 in Dallas, Texas. Their primary focus is the production and promotion of white power rock music, and many white power bands have been affiliated with the group.

KU KLUX KLAN, often abbreviated *KKK* and informally known as *The Klan*, is the name of three distinct past and present right-wing organizations in the United States, which have advocated extremist reactionary currents such as white supremacy and nationalism. The Klan is classified as a hate group by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center. It is estimated to have between 5,000 and 8,000 members, split among dozens of different organizations that use the Klan name as of 2012.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE, is a white supremacist political organization. It was founded by William Luther Pierce, and is based in the Pierce family's compound in Hillsboro, West Virginia.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE, is a white supremacist organization in the United States incorporated on December 14, 1953 in Delaware by Bryant Bowles which presents itself as a civil rights organization such as the NAACP.

NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE, is a think tank based in Augusta, Georgia in the United States. It describes itself as the right's answer to the Southern Poverty Law Center.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT (UNITED STATES), a party founded in 1974. Since 2005 the party has become very active, staging many marches and demonstrations.

NATIONAL VANGUARD, was an *American National Socialist* organization based in Charlottesville, Virginia, founded by Kevin Alfred Strom and former members of the *National Alliance*.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, is a Mississippi-based, white supremacist organization that advocates what it calls a "pro-majority" position. It has been called white supremacist by the Associated Press and Anti-Defamation League, among others.

OCCIDENTAL QUARTERLY, is a printed far-right quarterly journal with a web segment, TOQ Online, including interviews, essays and reviews on the website.

THE ORDER, or BRÜDER SCHWEIGEN ("SILENT BROTHERHOOD") was a white supremacist Revolutionary organization founded by Robert Jay Mathews, active 1983-1984, probably best known for the 1984 murder of talk show host Alan Berg. Berg's killing was to be the first in a planned series of assassinations, followed by attacks on the United States government, all meant to bring about a race war which would result in fulfillment of White Separatist ideals (see Northwest Territorial Imperative).

PACIFICA FORUM, is a controversial discussion group in Eugene, Oregon, United States. It has been listed as a white nationalist hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center(SPLC).

PHINEAS PRIESTHOOD, is a Christian Identity movement that opposes interracial intercourse, the mixing of races, homosexuality, and abortion. It is also marked by its anti-Semitism, anti-multiculturalism, and opposition to taxation.

VOLKSFRONT, describes itself as an international fraternal organization for persons of European descent. It has been called “neo-Nazi” and a “racist-skinhead group” in press reports. The Anti-Defamation League has called the group “one of the most active skinhead groups in the United States.”The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has added Volksfront to its list of hate groups.

WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE, is a neo-Nazi white supremacist organization founded and led by former Ku Klux Klan leader Tom Metzger.

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