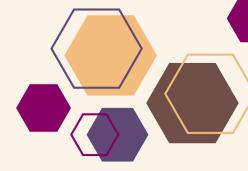


RECOGNIZING, UNDERSTANDING, AND DEFINING SYSTEMIC AND INDIVIDUAL WHITE SUPREMACY

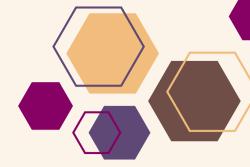


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ABOUT



The Organizations

<u>Women of Color Advancing Peace, Security, and Conflict Transformation (WCAPS)</u> is a platform devoted to women of color that cultivates a strong voice and network for its members while encouraging dialogue and strategies for engaging in policy discussions on an international scale. Through our dedication to mentorship and partnerships and our passion for changing the global community landscape, we remain committed to achieving our vision of advancing the leadership and professional development of women of color in the fields of international peace, security, and conflict transformation.

OrgsinSolidarty (OiS) is a partnership formed among more than 300 organizations and individuals who are signatories to the WCAPS United States or United Kingdom Standing Together Against Racism and Discrimination Statements. Our mission is to combat racist beliefs, attitudes, and acts of discrimination, and integrate diversity within all levels of our organizations and as individuals in the peace and security, foreign policy and national security fields. We evaluate the current state of affairs, educate, elevate and support diverse voices and perspectives and the individuals who hold them, giving due recognition and credit to achievements of Black people and people of color, and creating a world where all people are treated fairly, equitably, and with respect.

Please connect with us!

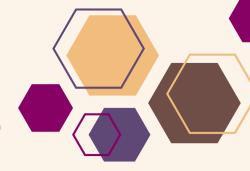






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ABOUT



The Working Group

The core commitment of <u>OiS' Confronting Racism and White Supremacy Working Group</u> is to call out racism and share the burden of dismantling white supremacy.

The Author

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Gratitude

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INTRODUCTION



White supremacist culture is a widespread ideology baked into the beliefs, norms, and standards of groups, communities, towns, states, and nations that teaches people both overtly and covertly that whiteness holds intrinsic value. This culture is reflected in the current disproportionate and systemic harm and violence directed toward communities and people of color (POC) in all aspects of life. This includes health, employment, education, policing, and environment, among many other issues.

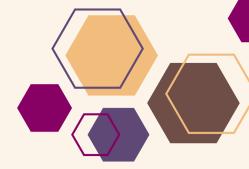
White supremacy and racism are often mentioned in unison, with their definitions being intertwined. While white supremacy and racism are different concepts, there must be an understanding of both to fully grasp the intricacy of white supremacy.

Roy L. Brooks, who is credited as one of the early contributors to Critical Race Theory, stated that the definition of racism is an operational one, meaning it must be based upon the way people actually behave rather than upon logical consistency or pure science. Racism may be viewed as an attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or her color.¹

The concept of white supremacy is similar, as white supremacy stems from overt or subconscious racism. The difference between racism and white supremacy is subtle. The two concepts and the actions of those who project these ideas in the world rely on both concepts in order to manifest one or the other. White supremacy is part of the foundation of western society, and racism is the way in which white supremacy survives. This institutional ideology and its structural manifestation and personal belief systems that white people are superior to other races, has long given white people greater access to resources and power.

¹ Brooks, R. L., & Newborn, M. J. (1994). Critical race theory and classical-liberal civil rights scholarship: A distinction without a difference? California Law Review, 82(4), 787. https://doi.org/10.2307/3480932

INTRODUCTION



As the term, "white supremacist" has surfaced in the popular consciousness in recent years, questions as to who a white supremacist might be, what constitutes white supremacy, and how both concepts work have been central questions. Interestingly, many may claim they can recognize white supremacy, but most cannot clearly state what it exactly is. Overt examples include the Unite the Right rally held in Charlottesville, VA in 2017, anti-immigration rhetoric and laws, and attacks based on religious phobias.

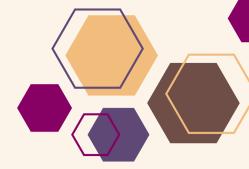
More covert examples are difficult to pen, as white supremacy has been falsely presented as something that only manifests itself in far-right societies, and extremist actions. however, white supremacy also presents itself in hidden ways such as the prevalent idea that we live in a nondiscriminatory social system.² Other examples include acts that subvert, distort, restrict, and deny racial communities access to societal privileges and benefits or the denial that actions are race-driven when, in fact, they are. This paints whiteness as the moral norm, making it invisible and justifying associated beliefs, structures, and actions.

There are various definitions for white supremacy. The dictionary definition is, "the belief that the white race is inherently superior to other races and that white people should have control over people of other races. Further, it is defined as the social, economic, and political systems that collectively enable white people to maintain power over people of other races." While this is an exact descriptor of the concept of white supremacy it does not embody all aspects of the issue, and thus may give people an incomplete understanding of it and render them unable to accurately identify white supremacy and the actions that often accompany it.

² Cross, K. J. (2020, October 6). Racism is the manifestation of white supremacy and antiracism is the answer. Wiley Online Library. Retrieved October 15, 2021, from https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/jee.20362.

³ Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). White supremacy. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved October 16, 2021, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/white%20supremacy

INTRODUCTION



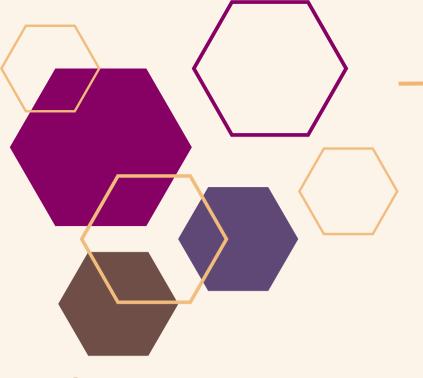
Even in previously conducted research and literature about white supremacy, white supremacists, and their actions very rarely is a definition given for white supremacy nor is there a concrete definition for a white supremacist. However, historical and present-day analysis of white supremacy and the actions that result from it will prove that the best definition of white supremacy is one that addresses the differences between the ideology of white supremacy, the actions of white supremacists, and also includes more subtle instances of white supremacy.

The definition we propose is the following: White supremacy is a social and systemic manifestation of the belief that white people hold a level of superiority over other races, thus granting them the right to exert dominion over people of other racial groups, by use of both social and systemic structures. This may result in the perpetuation of this ideology, by use of violence, passive, or covert acts with these exertions being exhibited exclusively or in unison with other such actions.

The goal of this paper is to examine white supremacy through a lens that aims to better define it systemically and individually. Each section of this paper explores the diverse social and policy implications that influence the creation and sustenance of white supremacy in human culture, systems, and social settings.



4 For further information about White Supremacy please see the resource section.







Because of the vagueness surrounding the concept of white supremacy and white supremacist culture, it is difficult for those fighting against both systemic and individual white supremacy to succeed in dismantling one or the other. In order to truly analyze white supremacist systems and individuals, one must first look to the sub issues and theories that influence discussions of these behaviors that have plagued people of color historically and in the present day.

Scientific Racism as a Justification for White Supremacy

Scientific racism is the belief that scientific evidence justifies racism in an attempt to rationalize social and economic domination of people of color. This belief has died and resurfaced many times in multiple forms through history, but in every incarnation, it contributes to racist and white supremacist beliefs.

Thomas Jefferson was not only a drafter of the declaration of independence, but also a man who believed in and utilized scientific racism in the formation of the United States. Jefferson, who penned that "all men are created equal," had an interesting outlook on race relations both in his political and personal life. Outside of his personal relationships with Sally Hemmings, whom Jefferson enslaved and impregnated, he justified his lack of inclusion of enslaved Africans in the freeing of the colonies from the British by arguing that there was a level of inferiority due to physical features, differences in music, and mental agility as a reason to maintain the subjugation of black people to whites. Jefferson argued that Black people could never be educated to the level of white people. By consistently attempting to distinguish the intellectual achievement of enslaved Africans, and politicizing education, he obscured his racism and use of pseudo-science as a justification.

⁵ Ruane, M. E. (2019, April 30). A brief history of the enduring phony science that perpetuates white supremacy. The Washington Post. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/a-brief-history-of-the-enduring-phony-science-that-perpetuates-white-supremacy/2019/04/29/20e6aef0-5aeb-11e9-a00e-050dc7b82693_story.html

⁶ Magnis, N. E. (1999). Thomas Jefferson and slavery. Journal of Black Studies, 29(4), 491-509. https://doi.org/10.1177/002193479902900402



Thomas Jefferson's used scientific racism to, in part, shape the core of the United States. There remains a direct connection between that foundation and the systems that stand in the modern day, and those individuals and groups that benefit from white supremacy and the social injustices that occur in the United States today.

Another key example of the role scientific racism has played in history is the widely known Rwandan genocide that stemmed from 1994 Rwandan Civil War.

The first country to colonize Rwanda was Germany in 1884. Once they gained control they began differentiating the Tutsi and Hutus, the largest ethnic groups in Rwanda, identifying the Tutsi people to be racially superior to the Hutu people due to their taller frame, narrower noses, and lighter complexions. Thus, the Germans extended their ideology of white superiority to the Tutsi peopledeading to major conflict and tension. The Hutu people were considered second class citizens and were denied access to positions of power in Rwanda. This ideology remained even when control of Rwanda passed to other countries, of which Belgium was the last. Once Rwanda gained its independence from Belgium, this racialized power structure persisted, and the Tutsi remained in power. This tension culminated in the Rwandan civil war in 1962 and the Rwandan genocide in 1994.

White Supremacists continue to utilize historical events rooted in and perpetuated by supposed science to justify their ideals, beliefs, and actions. A more contemporary evolution of scientific racism is Social Darwinism.

⁷ Rwandan genocide. History Crunch. (n.d.). Retrieved November 8, 2021, from https://www.historycrunch.com/rwandan-genocide.html#/.

⁸ Rwandan genocide. History Crunch. (n.d.). Retrieved November 8, 2021, from https://www.historycrunch.com/rwandan-genocide.html#/.

⁹ *Id*

¹⁰ *Id*.

¹¹ Magnarella, P., & About The Author(s) Paul J. Magnarella holds a J.D. with Honors. (2014, April 20). *The 1994 Rwandan genocide*. E. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.e-ir.info/2014/04/14/the-1994-rwandan-genocide/.

¹² Rwandan genocide. History Crunch. (n.d.). Retrieved November 8, 2021, from https://www.historycrunch.com/rwandan-genocide.html#/.

¹³ *I*a

¹⁴ Scientific racism. Harvard Library. (n.d.). Retrieved October 10, 2021, from https://library.harvard.edu/confronting-anti-black-racism/scientific-racism.



Social Darwinism and Eugenics as Modern-day White Supremacy

Following the disproving of scientific racism, social Darwinism became a popular theory used to justify racism and white supremacy. Charles Darwin's, The Origin of Species, while being focused on the biological evolution of animals, was seen by some as a theory that could be applied to human societies.

Social Darwinism can be best described as a philosophical ideology that utilizes Darwinian laws of natural selection to advocate for political conservatism, imperialism, and racism while also discouraging intervention and reform. One of many examples of Social Darwinism being used as a justification for white supremacist actions is American imperialism in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines following the Spanish-American War. Imperial control was seen as a way of enforcing civilization upon those America saw as backward. In reality, it was only enforcing white supremacy and American imperial interests.

From Social Darwinism stemmed a theory, created by British scholar Sir Francis Galton, called eugenics. Eugenics is the practice or advocacy of controlled selective breeding of human populations to improve the population's genetic composition.²⁰

¹⁵ Scientific racism. Harvard Library. (n.d.). Retrieved October 10, 2021, from https://library.harvard.edu/confronting-anti-black-racism/scientific-racism.

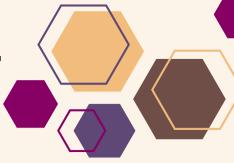
¹⁶ Dennis, R. M. (1995). Social Darwinism, scientific racism, and the metaphysics of Race. The Journal of Negro Education, 64(3), 243. https://doi.org/10.2307/2967206

¹⁷ Dennis, R. M. (1995). Social Darwinism, Scientific Racism, and the Metaphysics of Race. The Journal of Negro Education, 64(3), 243–252. https://doi.org/10.2307/2967206

¹⁸ Oxford Languages. (n.d.). Social Darwinism. Oxford Languages.

¹⁹ Khan Academy. (n.d.). Social Darwinism in the gilded age (article). Khan Academy. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/the-gilded-age/gilded-age/a/social-darwinism-in-the-gilded-age.

²⁰ Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Eugenics. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/eugenics



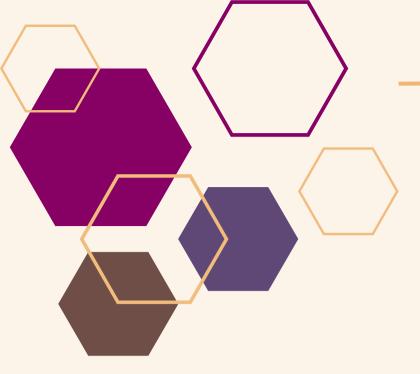
Hitler read about eugenics and Social Darwinism and adopted the ideology of survival of the fittest. He believed the German master race had grown weak due to the influence of non-Aryans in Germany. To Hitler, survival of the German "Aryan" race depended on its ability to maintain the purity of its gene pool, a clearly eugenic notion. Under these ideas, Nazi Germany began to cleanse the German society of those considered to be biological threats to the nation's health. Those in power enlisted the services of physicians, scientists, geneticists, psychiatrists, and anthropologists to carry out the genocide of the Roma people, those with disabilities, homosexuals, those who identified, or were branded, as Jewish, and many other communities under the thin justification of "science." Though the extremes of violence the Nazi's went to were ultimately unconscionable, it is worthy of note that the white supremacist ideals at their core were neither unknown, or abhorrent to much of Europe, and the United States.

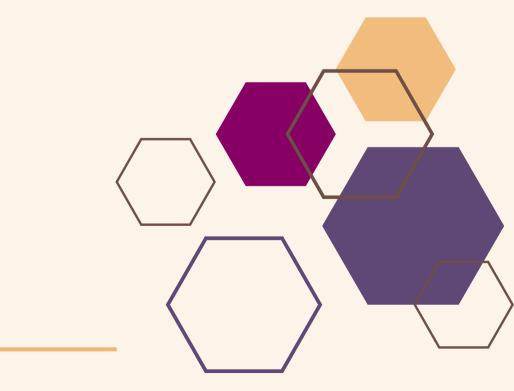
It would seem that social Darwinism and eugenics are not relevant to the racism and white supremacy projected today, but there is a direct correlation to the use of science to justify racism and modern-day white supremacy, especially as it relates to the colonization and stripping of resources in other countries.



²¹ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. (n.d.). Nazi Racial Science. United States holocaust memorial museum. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from https://www.ushmm.org/collections/bibliography/nazi-racial-science.

²² What Did the World Know? (2017, August 29). Facing History and Ourselves. https://www.facinghistory.org/holocaust-and-human-behavior/chapter-9/what-did-world-know







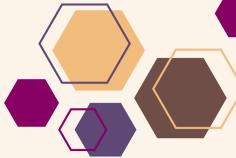
The use of scientific racism, Social Darwinism, and eugenics laid the groundwork for the development of the western world. Former US First Lady, Michelle Obama, when speaking about how America could be made great again spoke of the legacy she created as someone who wakes up in a house built by slaves. Historians celebrated this acknowledgment that hundreds of enslaved people built many of the historic landmarks that are representative of the American dream, like the White House, and the US Capitol building. Across the world, countries have been historically stripped of resources by white supremacy and colonization, which has left many slowly recovering from the prolonged presence of dominating forces in their nations and regions. The following represents a few prime examples of this but is only a very small sample.

United States

There is a long-standing argument that the United States became a developed nation by utilizing white supremacist ideology and theories. Prior to the colonization of the Americas, a vast number of diverse peoples were already inhabitants of the land. Through a series of invasions, European nations established settlements. While Native Americans resisted, disease and plight created colonization, over time they began being pushed off their lands and onto reservations. These were the first steps that led to the creation of what is the United States today. These actions marked the beginning of the continuous historical oppression of groups in America based on their identities which continues to manifest and enable those that may be defined as white supremacists today.

²³ Waxman, O. B. (2016, July 26). Michelle Obama DNC speech-history of a house built by slaves. Time. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from https://time.com/4423691/michelle-obama-dnc-speech-history/.

²⁴ Society, N. G. (2021). European colonization of North America. National Geographic Society. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from https://www.nationalgeographic.org/topics/european-colonization-north-america/?q=&page=1&per_page=25.



According to Roy L. Brooks, the nation's first civil rights policy arose from the institution of slavery. This is the policy which allowed enslaved Africans, and later African Americans no legal rights in interactions with white Americans.²⁵ Even those African Americans who were emancipated were still considered to be "beings of inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights to which the white man was bound to respect."²⁶ A perfect example is *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.²⁷ Dred Scott was a slave in Missouri, but resided in Illinois, a free state, and in the Louisiana Territory, where slavery was forbidden by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. After returning to Missouri, Scott filed suit in Missouri court for his freedom, claiming that his residence in free territory made him a free man.

Scott's master maintained that a descendant of slaves could not be a citizen by utilizing Article III of the Constitution. The majority held that "a negro, whose ancestors were imported into the United States and sold could not be an American citizen and therefore did not have the standing to sue in federal court." Justice Taney, the fifth chief justice of the United States, ruled that slaves were property under the Fifth Amendment and that any law that would deprive a slave owner of that property was unconstitutional.

These overtly oppressive policies were eventually replaced by more subtle forms of oppression such as the "separate but equal doctrine," ²⁸ determined in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which gave African Americans some rights, but less than White Americans. Cases like *Dred Scott* and *Plessy*, paved the way in the creation of a United States that protects white supremacy and upholds it as a valuable asset even though it fundamentally harms people of color.

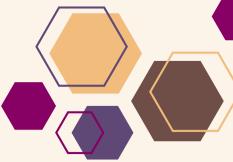
²⁵ Brooks, R. L., & Newborn, M. J. (1994). Critical race theory and classical-liberal civil rights scholarship: A distinction without a difference? California Law Review, 82(4), 787. https://doi.org/10.2307/3480932

²⁶ Dred Scott v. Sandford, 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393 (1856).

²⁷ Dred Scott v. Sandford, 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393 (1856).

²⁸ Brooks, R. L., & Newborn, M. J. (1994). Critical race theory and classical-liberal civil rights scholarship: A distinction without a difference? California Law Review, 82(4), 787. https://doi.org/10.2307/3480932

²⁹ Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).



South Africa

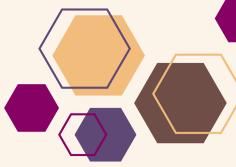
n the 1600s, European trading companies began strategically entering South Africa, interested in conducting trade in the East Indies. They set up colonies to ensure that their ships would have a source of fresh provisions. Soon after the region also attracted Dutch slave traders, who began their work, which sowed the seed of white supremacy deeply in South Africa. The most well-known manifestation is the formal apartheid system which governed the country and its people for over 40 years. Apartheid, meaning apartness, is an ideology that was introduced in South Africa in 1948. This ideology paid lip service to separate, but equal development, but actually created laws that forced the different racial groups to live separately and develop separately and unequally. This institution oppressed and brutalized the black population and consolidated political, economic, and judicial power in white hands only.

Apartheid laws required that people be registered according to their racial group, physical separation between races, and removal of some groups to other areas because of their race, and essentially left a small percentage of South Africa for black people.

After the fall of the apartheid, race relations have continued to be a fraught topic, and the white population of South Africa continues to hold much of the economic power.³¹

³⁰ The impact of colonialism. South African History Online. (n.d.). Retrieved November 17, 2021, from https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/impact-colonialism.

³¹ Anwar, M. A. (2021, June 3). White people in South Africa still hold the lion's share of all forms of capital. The Conversation. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://theconversation.com/white-people-in-south-africa-still-hold-the-lions-share-of-all-forms-of-capital-75510.



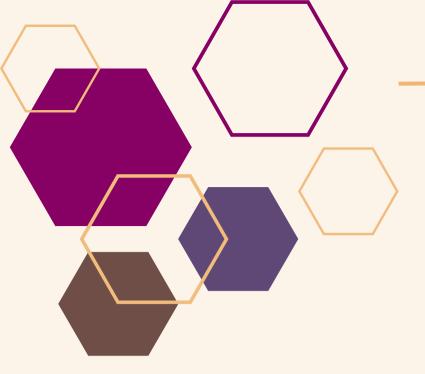
Australia

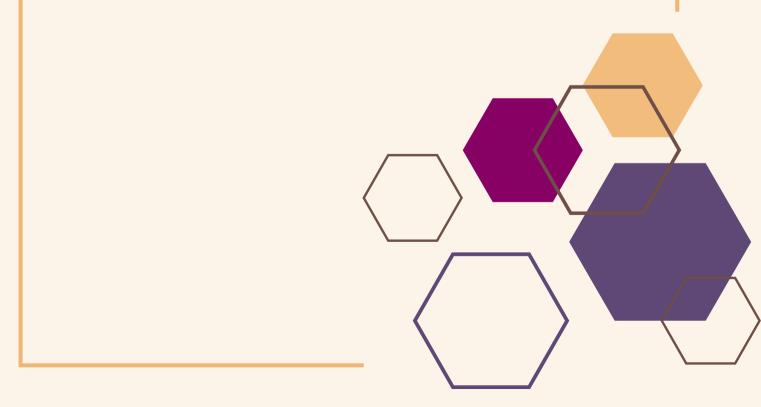
The Indigenous peoples of Australia were dispossessed of their land in 1788 by Britain when it claimed Eastern Australia as its own on the basis of a doctrine called *terra nullius*. These indigenous persons were denied the rights of full citizenship within the new nation created by Britain on the grounds of their race, and immigration laws were introduced to favor European immigrants. While Aboriginal persons became citizens in 1948, under the Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1948, they were not counted in the population until the 1967 referendum.

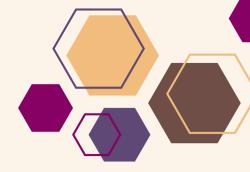
While legal reforms began in the 1970s, 200 years after the British settlers began inhabiting the land, discriminatory policies around race, religion, and origin still exist in Australian society to this day.³²



32 HISTORICAL TRENDS IN AUSTRALIAN LAW REFORM. (n.d.).







The definition of white supremacy is important when developing plans of action to combat the issues that are created by and stem from it. Without an accurate definition, there will be continued confusion and obscurity surrounding the behaviors of white supremacists and the ideology that embodies white supremacy. Also, without differentiation between the systems that are built around white supremacist ideology, whether historically or present day, and the persons who knowingly or unknowingly escape accountability due to them there will be continued perpetuation and sustenance of all variations of white supremacy.

Systemic White Supremacy

Elizabeth Martinez, community organizer, activist, and educator, defined white supremacy³³ as a historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege.³⁴

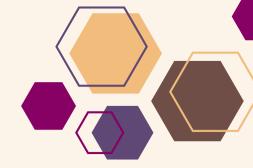
Systemic racism is racism that exists across a society within and between institutions and organizations.³⁵ Examples of systemic racism can be found in housing discrimination, government surveillance, social segregation, racial profiling, access to healthcare, and hiring or promotion practices.

Both of these entities are distinct from the actions of individual people who may commit heinous crimes due to their idea of superiority, e.g. terrorist actions taken in the name of white supremacy. Systemic white supremacy and racism are difficult to identify because often they are more subtle than similar ideologies held by individuals, but they are woven into the foundation of nations, states, towns, and cities. In short, they are invisible because they are everywhere.

³³ This definition should be amended to highlight the fact that the United States, along with other nations, is not a European nation, although its history lends to its participation and perpetuation of white supremacy. Because the United States was formed on the basis of European colonization, it is best that there is an inclusion of this fact.

³⁴ What is white supremacy, Elizabeth Martinez, 1998

³⁵ Anti-racism resources: Levels of racism: Systemic vs individual. Research Help. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://fitchburgstate.libguides.com/c.php?q=1046516&p=7602969.



Perpetual White Supremacy in the United States

While there is an understanding that the United States was built and developed economically on slave labor and the advantageous taking of land from American Natives, today many are in denial of how deep the roots of white supremacy and racism have grown into modern day America.

A contemporary systemic manifestation of white supremacy in the US can be found in its approach to hate crimes and counter-extremism efforts. Representative Raskin of Maryland stated, during the Confronting White Supremacy House Hearing, that there is a lack of accuracy in the statistics that surround race-based hate crimes in the United States. According to Raskin, when hate crimes are reported to law enforcement, those crimes are rarely, in turn, reported to the FBI, because reporting is voluntary.³⁷ In 2016, only 12 percent of local law enforcement participated. Additionally, when discussing systemic white supremacy, the FBI failed to include its own internal hate crime statistics into its official numbers, stating that it had technical limitations until the year of 2021. Yet according to the anti-defamation league, Far-right extremism, which is theoretically classified as domestic terrorism by the FBI, was responsible for 73 percent of fatalities caused by extremist violence between 2009 and 2020. In contrast Islamic extremism, which is classified as a form of international terrorism, was responsible for only 23 percent of extremist killings seen in the United States in that same time window. In other words, in the United States, far-right extremism has accounted for the vast majority of terrorist attacks over the past decade.³⁹ Yet the FBI spends 80 percent of its counter terrorism resources, such as FBI field agents and analysts, on addressing international terrorism and only 20 percent addressing domestic terrorism.

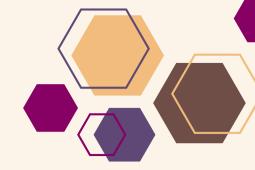
³⁶ Committee on Oversight and Reform., & U.S. Government Publishing Office. [Document], CONFRONTING VIOLENT WHITE SUPREMACY (PART I) (2019). Retrieved 2021, from https://www.congress.gov

³⁷ Committee on Oversight and Reform., & U.S. Government Publishing Office. [Document], CONFRONTING VIOLENT WHITE SUPREMACY (PART I) (2019). Retrieved 2021, from https://www.congress.gov.

³⁸ Committee on Oversight and Reform., & U.S. Government Publishing Office. [Document], CONFRONTING VIOLENT WHITE SUPREMACY (PART I) (2019). Retrieved 2021, from https://www.congress.gov.

³⁹ Greg Barton Chair in Global Islamic Politics. (2021, October 13). To shut down far-right extremism in Australia, we must confront the ecosystem of Hate. The Conversation. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://theconversation.com/to-shut-down-far-right-extremism-in-australia-we-must-confront-the-ecosystem-of-hate-154269.

⁴⁰ Strickler, L., Ainsley, J., & Dilanian, K. (2019, August 6). 'we have a problem': Federal Agencies Scramble to fight domestic terror with limited resources. NBCNews.com. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/we-have-problem-federal-agencies-scramble-fight-domestic-terror-limited-n1039441.



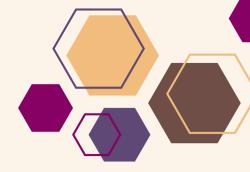
There are myriad other examples of systematization of white supremacy in America. In post 9/11, United States people of Arabic and South Asian descent became targets of not only individual racism but also government practices that resulted in racial profiling. In 2002, the Attorney General announced a special registration requirement that all men from certain middle eastern countries be fingerprinted and report to the government.⁴¹

In May 2011, the Obama Administration's Department of Homeland Security indefinitely suspended the aforementioned program, but a Countering Violent Extremism program was created, which focused exclusively on American-Muslim communities. This program flourished under the Trump administration, compounding pre-existing problems from the prior administrations by perpetuating anti-Muslim prejudice and hate instead of working to solve them. When asked about racial profiling, former president Donald Trump stated that he felt that profiling was something that he thought the United States was going to have to start thinking about. In an executive order, citizens of seven predominantly Muslim countries were banned from visiting the United States and prohibited Syrian refugees indefinitely, followed by blocking all other refugees for 120 days. This policy was rescinded by the Biden administration.



- 41 Crawford, N., Graves, II. S. A., & Katzenstein, J. (n.d.). Racial profiling and Islamophobia. The Costs of War. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from
- https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/costs/social/rights/profiling.

 42 Obeidallah, D. (2020, December 12). Anti-Muslim policies forged under obama flourished under Trump. what will happen under Biden? MSNBC. Retrieved 2021, from https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/anti-muslim-policies-forged-under-obama-flourished-under-trump-what-n1250966.
- 43 Crawford, N., Graves, II. S. A., & Katzenstein, J. (n.d.). *Racial profiling and Islamophobia*. The Costs of War. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/costs/social/rights/profiling.
- 44 Executive Order 13769 (2017).



American white supremacist policies permeate well beyond national counterterrorism efforts. In the United States prisons and policing have plagued populations of color for decades. When slavery was abolished, and that abolition was solidified and enforced by the 13th amendment, history classes in the United States would like to have students think that the era of ownership over people based on race ended. This is not the case, it simply morphed into something more palatable for white Americans. Overseers of enslaved persons turned into the modern-day police force, and plantations morphed into prisons.

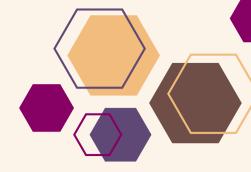
The Louisiana State Penitentiary, commonly referred to as Angola, is the United States largest maximum-security prison. This prison is named after the slave plantation that used to sit on the 18,000 acres that now houses inmates, with 80 percent of them being Black in 2015. Most of the people who oversee this mostly black population are white. This, combined with the images found of these white corrections officers on horses overseeing black inmates as they complete farm work that mimics the images of convict leasing which occurred in the post-civil war, Jim Crow, south draws a strong correlation between the past use of the land and the present day usage of the land.

⁴⁵ Golden, T., Rubin, A., & Webster, R. (n.d.). Inside the U.S.'s largest maximum-security prison, covid-19 raged. outside, officials called their fight a success. ProPublica. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.propublica.org/article/inside-the-uss-largest-maximum-security-prison-covid-19-raged.

⁴⁶ T Misick, B.-J. (2021, October 25). This Louisiana prisoner thought he'd only have to serve a decade. 57 years later, he's free. WWNO. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.wwno.org/news/2021-10-25/this-louisiana-prisoner-thought-hed-only-have-to-serve-a-decade-57-years-later-hes-free.

⁴⁷ Goldberg, J. (2015, September 9). A rare look inside Angola prison. The Atlantic. Retrieved November 2021, from https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/09/a-look-inside-angola-prison/404377/.

⁴⁸ Our Views: Louisiana prison populations are too black with leadership that is too white. that must change. The Advocate. (2021, June 10). Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/opinion/our_views/article_9d24da50-c8a3-11eb-8278-eb39fe66d8f3.html.



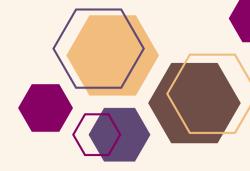
The images from Angola are extreme but not shocking when the United States prison population is evaluated by race. In the United States, Black Americans are incarcerated at a state average of 1,240 per 100,000 residents, and Latinx individuals are incarcerated at a rate of 349 per 100,000 residents, while white people are incarcerated at a rate of 261 per 100,000 residents. More than half the prison population is Black in at least twelve states. With America's legacy of white supremacy over people of color taking many forms throughout history, mass incarceration is the current iteration. Another modern mechanism of this legacy is policing, which shows clear racial disparities in its approach that often impacts the criminal records, and therefore the prospect for future opportunities, of people of color even if a prison sentence does not result. That is of course assuming that a person of color survives the encounter with police.

On May 25, 2021, protests erupted surrounding the murder of George Floyd at the hands of former Minneapolis police offer Derek Chauvin. This incident, which has historically mimicked many others before and since, led people around the world to call for the United States to eradicate policies that prioritize the rights of police officers over the communities they serve, which too often empowers police violence with impunity. There are more overt connections between policing and white supremacy in America. In 2006, the FBI released an intelligence assessment warning of white supremacist infiltration of law enforcement, identifying two distinct problems. The first of which was that there is evidence that officers have been dismissed for active membership in the Klu Klux Klan and other similar groups, calling into question the protocols that are in place to prevent these issues. The second identified problem is law enforcement officers who have no formal affiliation with racist groups but sympathize with their racist ideology.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Nellis, A. (2017), (publication), The Color of Justice: Racial and Ethnic Disparity in State Prisons. Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project.

⁵⁰ Nellis, A. (2017). (publication). The Color of Justice: Racial and Ethnic Disparity in State Prisons. Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project.

⁵¹ Committee on Oversight and Reform. [Document], Confronting white supremacy: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties of the Committee on Oversight and Reform, House of Representatives (2020). Washington, D.C; U.S. Government Publishing Office.



Anti-Muslim Policies in France

Modern-day white supremacist policies are in no way unique to the United States. Historically France has maintained a color-blind model of public policy. The country has been progressive in its development of extensive anti-racist policy since the 1970s and focuses on issues of hate speech and discrimination. However, more recently, similar to the United States, France has become no stranger to anti-Muslim discriminatory laws.

In 2020, the French president began discussions to boost support for measures intended to regulate how Islam as a religion is practiced in France. In 2021, the French Parliament's lower house approved a bill to strengthen oversight of mosques, schools, and sports clubs to safeguard France from radical Islamists and promote respect for French values. An amendment to this law was added as an extension, banning girls under 18 and university students from wearing hijabs, as well as implementing a ban on the wearing of religious symbols by parents on school trips.

This law has been deemed to substantially transform France's secularist principle of laicite, which was intended to ensure freedom of religion for individuals.⁵⁶

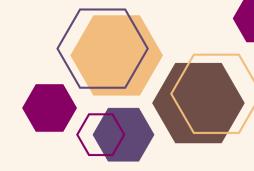
⁵² Bleich, E. (2016, July 28). Race policy in France. Brookings. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.brookings.edu/articles/race-policy-in-france/.

⁵³ Yeung, P. (2021, November 16). 'French Muslims will suffer' under separatism rules, critics say. Politics News | Al Jazeera. Retrieved October 2021, from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/2/11/french-muslims-will-suffer-under-separatism-bill-critics-say.

⁵⁴ Ganley, E. (2021, February 16). France passes anti-radicalism bill that worries Muslims. AP NEWS. Retrieved October 2, 2021, from https://annews.com/article/polygamy-radicalism-secularism-elections-france-cbee2c916aa8c35380562277f0025c2b.

⁵⁵ Al Jazeera. (2021, April 9). 'law against Islam': French vote in favour of hijab ban condemned. Religion News | Al Jazeera. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/9/a-law-against-islam.

⁵⁶ Yeung, P. (2021, November 16). 'French Muslims will suffer' under separatism rules, critics say. Politics News | Al Jazeera. Retrieved October 2021, from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/2/11/french-muslims-will-suffer-under-separatism-bill-critics-say.



Systemic Racism outside of the "Western" World

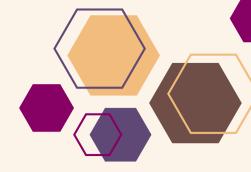
To be clear, systemic white supremacy does not simply exist in the modern European dominated world but shows itself in many other societies despite attempts to leave white supremacy and imperialism in the past. In their article, Augusta Dell'Omo, depicts a scene of white supremacists storming a building holding government officials as they met. Once the building was infiltrated the group wandered the building freely, disrupting a transfer of power following a national election. The authors ensure that the reader does not come away thinking that this is a description of what happened at the US Capitol on January 6th, 2021 but instead that this is what happened at South Africa's World Trade Center in June of 1993. 57

Similar to the United States, in some African countries, many practices are historically rooted and currently based in white supremacy. While many believe that colonization has been left in the past, others argue that White Supremacy is engrained in the fabric of the creation of these countries just like European dominated nations. In several African countries, the police forces were founded on white supremacist ideas. Uganda's Police force was established in 1899 by the British to suppress resistance to the colonial government policies. In Nigeria, the police force was established to stifle dissent to colonial rule, and in Kenya, it was established to protect colonists and their business interests in the country. ⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Khan, S. (2021, April 6). Parallels between white supremacy in South Africa and the US. Inkstick. Retrieved October 6, 2021, from https://inkstickmedia.com/parallels-between-white-supremacy-in-south-africa-and-the-us/.

⁵⁸ See note 7 for the application of colonizers interpretation of clan affiliation and physical attributes

⁵⁹ Khan, S. (2021, April 6). Parallels between white supremacy in South Africa and the US. Inkstick. Retrieved October 6, 2021, from https://inkstickmedia.com/parallels-between-white-supremacy-in-south-africa-and-the-us/.



In South Africa, police brutality like that which resulted in the death of activist, Steve Biko, was said to have been eradicated along with the apartheid that separated the country. While an attempt was made there are still instances of police brutality, even with the police force being predominantly Black. By one estimate, each day a South African dies in police action.⁶⁰ While some may claim that the police violence that occurs in South Africa can be attributed to poor training, much like in the United State, police brutality, white supremacy, and institutional racism go hand in hand especially since policing in most nations is tied to the historical and present-day protection of white supremacy.⁶¹

Nonviolent Manifestations of White Supremacy

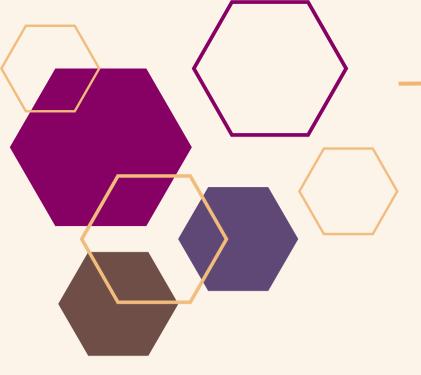
It is important when analyzing the impacts of white supremacy, especially in countries harboring the legacy of European presence, that there be an evaluation of the inheritance of nonviolent standards. Eurocentric white supremacist values and ideals have been perpetuated and rooted in non-western societies and western societies, in many non-violent forms to this day. One remnant of this is colorism, which is the prejudice or discrimination, especially within a racial or ethnic groups, against individuals with darker skin and in favor of people with a lighter skin tone. Colorism takes its form in many ways and disadvantages people with darker skin tones, even leading to racial microaggressions, and denial of opportunities. In some countries, colorism has resulted in an epidemic of potentially harmful skin bleaching.

^{60 &}quot;Chutel, L. (2020, September 21). 'coloured lives matter': A South African police shooting like no other. The New York Times. Retrieved November 4, 2021, from https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/21/world/africa/south-africa-police-brutality.html.

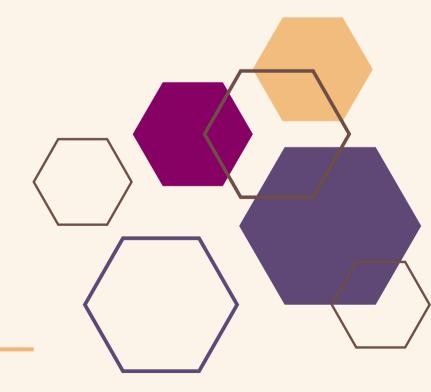
⁶¹ Okereke, C. (2020, September 17). From Africa to the US, policing has its roots in white supremacy. Police | Al Jazeera. Retrieved November 10, 2021, from https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/9/17/from-africa-to-the-us-policing-has-its-roots-in-white-supremacy.

⁶² Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Colorism. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved December 8, 2021, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/colorism

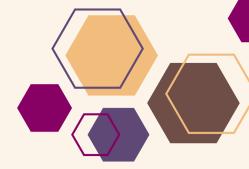
⁶³ Bankhead, C. (2021, May 25). Unhealthy quest for lighter skin fuels bleaching epidemic. Medical News. Retrieved December 9, 2021, from https://www.medpagetoday.com/dermatology/generaldermatology/92786.



INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP-BASED WHITE SUPREMACY



INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP-BASED WHITE SUPREMACY



While systemic white supremacy and the white supremacy of individual persons are different issues they are intrinsically linked. Discussing them together shines a light on the influence of systems on individual and group based white supremacy.

As the name would suggest, individual white supremacy is limited to individual people. However, many belong to groups and may be inspired by systems that cater to white supremacist ideologies and actions. A historic group that comes to mind is the Klu Klux Klan, an organization that has become synonymous with white supremacy since its inception following the civil war. In the 1950s, after a decline in power, the group took the acts of their organization to another level by going to war against the civil rights movement. They bombed homes, used physical violence and intimidation, and disenfranchised black people across the American south. Most of this went unpunished, due to biased all-white juries. This group continues to be present in American culture and inspires white supremacists around the world. This has a reverberating and rebounding effect. The actions of the Klu Klux Klan are not unique. They inspire other domestic and international white supremacist groups.

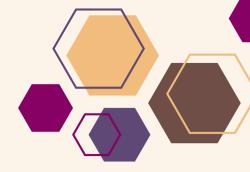
Extremist white supremacy dominates what little media coverage white supremacy receives as well as most discussions between those working to combat its presence around the world. However, of equal importance and impact are the subtle ways white supremacy manifests that covertly plague the world.



^{64 &}quot;Chutel, L. (2020, September 21). 'coloured lives matter': A South African police shooting like no other. The New York Times. Retrieved November 4, 2021, from https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/21/world/africa/south-africa-police-brutality.html.

⁶⁵ Okereke, C. (2020, September 17). From Africa to the US, policing has its roots in white supremacy. Police | Al Jazeera. Retrieved November 10, 2021, from https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/9/17/from-africa-to-the-us-policing-has-its-roots-in-white-supremacy.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP-BASED WHITE SUPREMACY

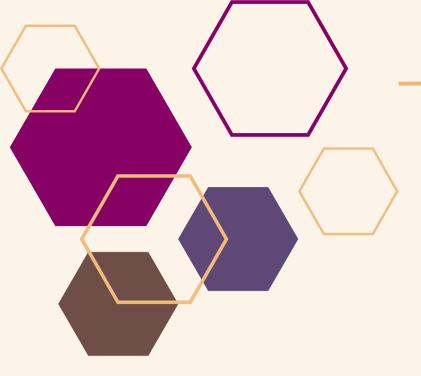


An area impacted by individual white supremacy is employment. Monica Harwell began a program in New York thinking that she would live out her dream of working outdoors, but as one of the sole black employees working with crews that were almost all male and white, she quickly realized that this would not be easy.66 Harwell took jobs that assisted her in moving up, earned a number of degrees and a certificate in electrical engineering, but still had applications rejected in favor of White men who were less qualified. Harwell's journey is not unique, as the problem of workplace discrimination is that it often doesn't amount to racial slurs or threats, but instead manifests in more subtle ways such as the assignments given, the pay and benefits received, and the ways performance is judged and rewarded.⁶⁷ From 1997 to 2018, there were 1,889,631 discrimination complaints filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), with 34% of them being based on race. Race claims are commonly filed and have the lowest percentage of success at only 15%. Racially motivated ideologies and actions that deprive individuals of equal rights, are and should be labeled as white supremacy as they ensure that white supremacists are able to maintain their power, and place others that they see deserving in similar positions of power.

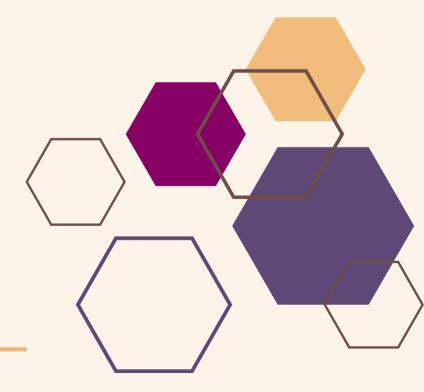
In some cases, workplace discrimination and racial profiling can take an unexpected turn, as was the case for Sherry Chen. She was accused of spying for the Chinese government by her employer. After the U.S. Attorney General dismissed the charges it was found that the suspicion against Chen was based on racial profiling. Her employer asserted that she was a Chinese national even though she is an American citizen. Here, it is clear, that the manifestation of white supremacy in the workplace can have direct impacts on national security, thus making it an issue that alters the common usage of microaggressions and employment discrimination.

⁶⁶ Vega, T. (n.d.). Working while brown: What discrimination looks like now. CNNMoney. Retrieved November 11, 2021, from https://money.cnn.com/2015/11/25/news/economy/racial-discrimination-work/index.html.

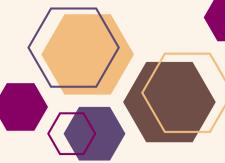
⁶⁷ Jameel, M., & Yerardi, J. (2019, February 28). Workplace discrimination is illegal. but our data shows it's still a huge problem. Vox. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/2/28/18241973/workplace-discrimination-cpi-investigation-eeoc.



RESULTS OF WHITE SUPREMACY: INSECURITY AND LONG-LASTING PROBLEMS



RESULTS OF WHITE SUPREMACY: INSECURITY AND LONG-LASTING PROBLEMS



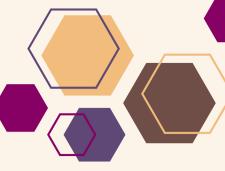
Systemic and individual white supremacy are obviously an issue for those directly impacted by them, but the dangers of white supremacy cascade beyond the directly affected. When one country doesn't have a grasp on white supremacy within its borders, of its citizens, or the white supremacy of its systems, it can cause issues for its population, regardless of race, and even cause security issues in other countries.

National and Worldwide Insecurity

Dylan Roof, who fatally shot nine people at a historic African American church in Charleston, SC, is an example of systemic white supremacy grooming individuals. Roof was inspired by the South African Apartheid, wearing the white and blue flag on his jacket. At trial, Roof's attorney stated that "every bit of motivation came from things he saw on the internet" in defense of Roof's actions, starting with a google search about the murder of Trayvon Martin leaving Roof to decide that Martin was at fault. These google searches led to Roof's publishing of his white supremacist manifesto on his website. Roof's actions correlate with the aforementioned lack of resources directed toward domestic and white supremacist terrorism by the United States. Although Roof received a harsh sentence, life in prison without parole, he is not classified as a terrorist likely due to the confusion about government definitions of terrorism.

⁶⁸ Norris, Jesse J. and Norris, Jesse J., Why Dylann Roof is a Terrorist Under Federal Law, and Why it Matters (March 21, 2016). 54 Harvard Journal on Legislation __ (Forthcoming).

RESULTS OF WHITE SUPREMACY: INSECURITY AND LONG-LASTING PROBLEMS

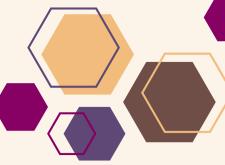


In similar fashion, a fully radicalized Brenton Tarrant arrived in New Zealand from Australia in 2019. Much like Dylan Roof, he frequented extremist chat forums further developing his hatred and white supremacist ideas. Prior to carrying out his mass shooting, Tarrant had traveled extensively overseas, connecting with like-minded people who shared his white supremacist views. These connections led Tarrant to become radicalized, causing him to commit the act of terrorism that took 51 lives and injured 40. In order for there to be a better grasp on the growth of white supremacy in individuals and groups internationally, there must be a sweeping desire and application of resources to more fully understand and respond to these concepts. This will be challenging because white supremacists often fly under the radar due to systemic white supremacy. This lack of monitoring not only affects the individual targets of these white supremacists' actions but also citizens of other countries and even continents. Following this attack questions arose as to what could have been done to prevent the attack. It is possible that, with more attention, his actions could have been identified and interrupted. There is no properly resourced and maintained open registry of hate crimes and incidents that currently exists in Australia or New Zealand. Adding to the dilemma of identifying and disrupting acts of white supremacy, many incidents in Australia and New Zealand do not reach the threshold of criminality, only 21 people have ever been convicted of hate crime in Australia. 69



69 Greg Barton Chair in Global Islamic Politics. (2021, October 13). To shut down far-right extremism in Australia, we must confront the ecosystem of Hate. The Conversation. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://theconversation.com/to-shut-down-far-right-extremism-in-australia-we-must-confront-the-ecosystem-of-hate-154269.

RESULTS OF WHITE SUPREMACY: INSECURITY AND LONG-LASTING PROBLEMS



Barriers to Development for Previously Colonized Countries

Another negative impact of white supremacy is the historical economic impact of Western Colonialism and the instability that results from its dominating presence. These impacts on some countries have likely been a contributing factor to present-day struggles, which may make them susceptible to political and economic instability, and in some cases violence.

Europe and the United States have had a long-standing role in what they called the development of countries they previously colonized. An example of the consequences of this colonial approach is Haiti which was occupied by France until the rebellion in 1804 which resulted in its independence. Today, Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, with more than half the population living under the poverty line. It has faced difficulty in its development for several reasons, but one major factor has been France's refusal to recognize an independent Haiti if its former colony did not agree to pay reparations. As a direct result of white supremacy, Haiti has had to use as much as 80 percent of its national revenues to pay off this debt over the last 120 years.

Another contributing factor to Haiti's difficult road to self-determination came in 1862. The United States finally recognized Haiti as a country but following worries of German influence in the Caribbean US marines were sent to enforce political stability. The United States occupied Haiti for 20 years, controlling finances, creating security imposed racial segregation, and forced labor. The US withdrawal was followed by several unstable governments culminated by the establishment of an almost 30-year dictatorship. Haiti is a clear example of a nation being destabilized by white supremacist practices internationally, and it is not unique.

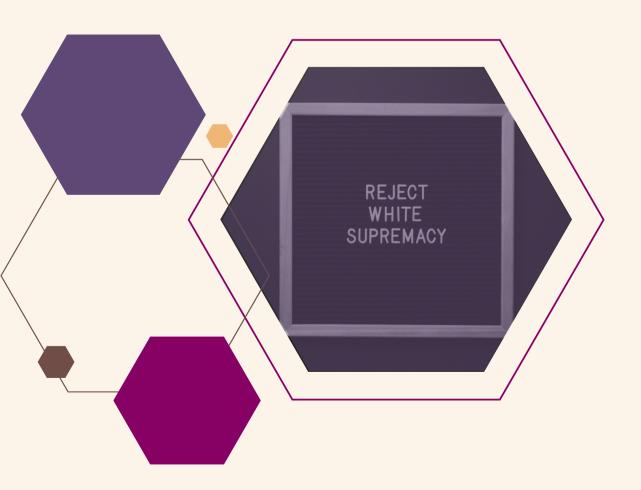
⁷⁰ Labrador, R., & Roy, D. (2021). Haiti's troubled path to development. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved November 10, 2021, from https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/haitis-troubled-path-development.

⁷¹ Labrador, R., & Roy , D. (2021). Haiti's troubled path to development. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved November 10, 2021, from https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/haitis-troubled-path-development.

RESULTS OF WHITE SUPREMACY: INSECURITY AND LONG-LASTING PROBLEMS

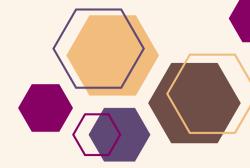


Much like Haiti, many of the nations in Africa have seen issues related to economics and development, rooted in white supremacist occupation. Prior to the "Scramble for Africa" and the partition of the continent by European nations, African economies were advanced in many areas. In the process of invading Africa, European governments built an infrastructure that changed the standards of wealth and status and implemented euro-centric state systems. This infrastructure was designed exploitatively and continued to fail African countries after western colonial powers were long gone. Colonialism ensured that post-colonial leaders would struggle to assert their authority, and societies were continually, and often arbitrarily, divided. The long-standing issues of nations impacted by white supremacy will continue if white supremacy is not addressed as a root cause.





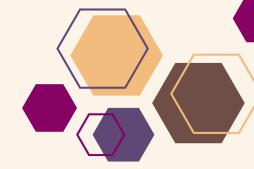
CONCLUSION



The fight against white supremacy is difficult when people do not have a full grasp of the historical and present-day aspects of white supremacy. White supremacy shows itself in many forms, whether it be systemic or individually and group based. In order for white supremacy to even begin to be eradicated or addressed, there must be an accurate definition that differentiates the actions of white supremacists from white supremacist ideology.

It is recommended that a more detailed definition, which reflects the historic and present-day impacts of white supremacy be adopted. The suggested definition is: White supremacy is a social and systemic manifestation of the belief that white people hold a level of superiority over other races, thus granting them the right to exert dominion over people of other racial groups, both socially and systemically. This may result in the perpetuation of this ideology, by use of violence, passive, or covert acts with these exertions being exhibited exclusively or in unison with other such actions.

While this recommended definition will help recognize the white supremacy that is built and engrained within many societies, it is imperative that systems better protect people of color and the fabric of nations by using it to create policies and that address the inequities and violence created by white supremacy along with recognizing radical individual behavior and how nations play a part in its development.



Additional Learning Resources

White Supremacy-General

State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance, and the United States - Moon-Kie Jung, João H.

Costa Vargas, & Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (Editors)

10 Ways White Liberals Perpetuate Racism-George Sachs

Why are all the black kids sitting together in the cafeteria- Beverly Tatum

Stamped from the Beginning-Ibram X. Kendi

The Invention of the White Race-Theodore W. Allen

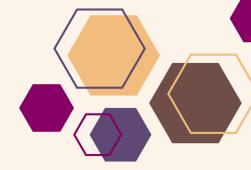
The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness- Michelle Alexander

Me and White Supremacy: Combat Racism, Change the World, and Become a Good Ancestor - Layla Saad

State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance, and the United States - Moon-Kie Jung, João H.

Costa Vargas, & Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (Editors)

White by Law - Ian Haney López



White Privilege: Essential Readings on the Other Side of Racism - Paula J. Rothenberg

White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism - Robin DiAngelo

White Supremacy Culture - Tema Okun

What Happened When My School Started to Dismantle White Supremacy Culture

The 1619 Project: A New Origin Story-Nikole Hanna-Jones

Critical Race Theory

"Who's Afraid of Critical Race Theory?" University of Illinois Law Review- Derrick Bell

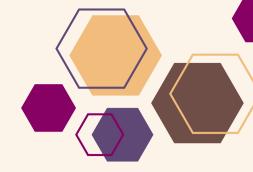
Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement- Kimberlé Crenshaw

"Law as Microaggression." Yale Law Journal - Peggy Davis

The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African American Literary Criticism-Henry Louis Gates

"Whiteness as Property." Harvard Law Review- Cheryl Harris

The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics-George Lipsitz



Seeing a Color-Blind Future: The Paradox of Race-Patricia Williams

Critical Race Theory- Richard Delgado

Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge-Richard Delgado

Scientific Racism, Eugenics, and Social Darwinism

<u>The Ideology of Racism: Misusing Science to Justify Racial Discrimination</u>-William H. Tucker

<u>The Disturbing Resilience of Scientific Racism | Science | Smithsonian Magazine-</u> Ramin Skibba

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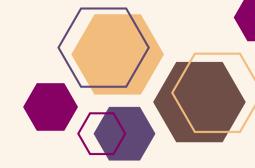
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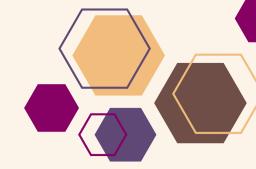
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The Death and Life of Marsha P. Johnson



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When they See Us

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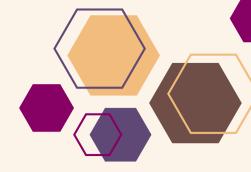
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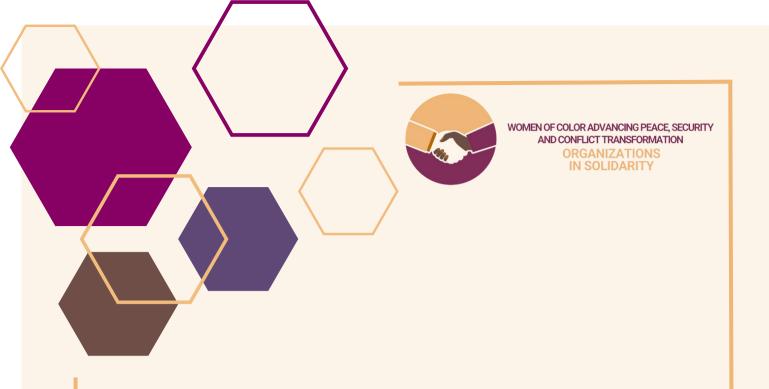
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