Fascism's Spatial Imaginary at the Threshold

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The specter of fascism has returned with a vengeance in the form of multiple, interconnected, highly militant, overtly violent, extremist movements not only on the peripheries of the Western world but also in its centers. Upheavals caused by a series of global crises and the weakening influence of democratic institutions have created conditions conducive to the fomentation of fascist movements in the United States, Hungary, Italy, Brazil, and other countries. These movements often claim their Aryan heritage is under attack by a cabal of powerful Jewish families they call ZOG (Zionist-occupied government) that secretly controls the culture industry, financial networks, and nation-state governments with the hidden agenda to eradicate the white race. They draw upon a host of symbols from Nazi propaganda, pagan rituals, and Judeo-Christian imagery while valorizing fascist leaders such as Hitler. And they actively pursue acts of homegrown terror. In the United States alone, these groups have engaged in murder, the planned kidnapping of government officials, and attempted sabotage of urban infrastructure, all to "accelerate" an impending race war. Indeed, in 2020 the US Department of Homeland Security ranked domestic violent extremist movements fueled by racism and nativism as the single most dangerous terrorist threat facing the country. In fact, more or less mainstream political figures such as Madeleine Albright have issued warnings against the rising tide of fascism,[1] and Mark Milley, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated, "This is a Reichstag moment,"[2] fearing a coup by extremist groups to overturn the 2020 election results. Bearing this in mind, we cannot reduce the return of the discourse of fascism to leftist alarmism.

Yet fascism is notoriously difficult to define, often turning into an empty signifier that merely refers to any political position that one does not agree with. To ward against such overgeneralization and to give specificity to the concept, scholars have once again attempted to define the set of features that, when brought together, form the basis of fascist social psychology. One of the earliest starting points for answering this question is Theodor Adorno's infamous F-scale (where *F* stands for fascist) first published in 1950 to measure potential antidemocratic sentiment in America. According to the F-scale there are certain traits that define the "authoritarian personality," such as leadership adoration, superstition, power and toughness, projectivity, conventionalism, destructiveness, stereotypy, and sexual obsession, to name a few.[3] Since its controversial publication, Adorno's study has sparked an ongoing debate concerning the nature of the social psychology of fascism.[4] For instance, Bob Altemeyer's Right-Wing Authoritarian scale came out of critical engagement with Adorno's work, producing a slightly different cluster of tendencies that include a high degree of submission to authority, aggression perceived to be sanctioned by authorities, and conventionalism.[5] William Connolly makes it clear that the current "aspirational fascism" is not an exact replica of historical variants from the mid-twentieth century, yet he continues to find value in Adorno's original social psychological list of traits, arguing that the aspirational fascist "pursues crowd adulation, hyperaggressive nationalism, white triumphalism, a law-and-order regime giving unaccountable power to the police" and is "a militarist, and a practitioner of a rhetorical style that regularly creates fake news."[6]

While such diagnoses of fascist social psychology proliferate (growing and shrinking based on the various philosophical, sociological, and psychological frameworks deployed), what is most striking is a lack of attention to the spatial imagination of fascism in such lists. This is peculiar, given the overt connections between blood and soil, as well as key distinctions between rural and urban populations, found in most manifestations of fascism, old and new. As Pete Simi and Robert Futrell have argued, one of the major factors that has enabled fascist extremism in the United States to endure is the persistence of what they call "Aryan free spaces": spaces in which small cells of fascist extremists can overcome feelings of isolation and stigmatization for their beliefs to connect with like-minded others.[7] Thus Simi and Futrell highlight the centrality of space within fascist collectives, while also gesturing toward the importance of the theme of spatiality within fascist thinking and fascist ways of perceiving the world.

This article addresses this oversight in the literature concerning the authoritarian personality, focusing explicitly on the fascist spatial imagi-

nary. Central to the thesis is the assumption that this spatial imaginary is copious enough to accommodate multiple manifestations of fascism. As a case study, I turn to the compound, a particular concretization of such an imaginary, and chart its vicissitudes to demonstrate both continuities and differences within spatializing logics of fascism in relation to certain historical transformations in the composition of capital. While fascist discourses on the level of nation-states often conceal themselves behind rhetoric of multiculturalism and democratic expansion,[8] I focus on more extremist separatist groups because they offer the most distilled and ideologically direct depiction of fascist spatial tactics.[9] Starting with the neo-Nazi compound of the Aryan Nations and then pivoting to the more recent manifestation of the flexible, mobile sleeper cell model (or hate camps) of the infamous neo-Nazi group the Base, I argue that the authoritarian personality's fixation on certain spatial models is, in the last instance, mediated through capitalist understandings of borders and boundaries.

To help explicate the spatial imaginary that informs both the compound and the later hate camps, I return to several texts in the Frankfurt school tradition that are now more relevant than ever.[10] While Adorno's F-scale has been much commented on, much undervalued are Leo Löwenthal and Norbert Guterman's studies of fascist ideology based on the analysis of pamphlets and speeches by American fascists in the early 1930s and the end of World War II, as well as Löwenthal's study of anti-Semitism in the American labor force from the mid-1940s. Both studies reveal the workings of a spatial imaginary operating in conjunction with the more infamous aspects of the fascist personality. Although Löwenthal and Guterman never list spatiality as one of the themes organizing their analysis of fascism, spatial categories run throughout their varied analyses. Indeed, one could argue that space is not reducible to a theme per se but, rather, is an underlying condition of possibility for all themes, indirectly revealing the centrality of fascist spatiality.

After outlining the logic of the fascist spatial imaginary informing the compound, I conclude with recent fascist spatial formations such as the hate camp to argue that it indicates a crisis in the fascist spatial imaginary that accompanies shifts toward neoliberal capitalism's reconfiguration of global space. Referencing Walter Benjamin and Giorgio Agamben, I argue that the rise of the hate camp exposes a persistent problem with how fascism deals with the question of the threshold. Movements such as the Base thus demonstrate a precipice poised between either (a) further radicalization and entrenchment in a fascist denial of the predominance of the threshold or (b) possible political transformation in how the existence of the threshold is lived beyond fascist horizons.

The Spaces of Fascism in the United States

Although it is much more common to think of fascist space in terms of concentration camps (or their various historical antecedents, such as American plantations), perhaps the most crystalized, contemporary manifestation of the fascist spatial imaginary is none other than the American white-separatist compound, which acts as a spatialization of the hard-core center of fascist identity. Take, for instance, the Aryan Nations' compound near Hayden Lake in northern Idaho, a well-known meeting place for neo-Nazis, racist skinheads, Klansmen, and white nationalists throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The founder, Richard Butler, hoped to begin an Aryan homeland in the Pacific Northwest with his pastoral twenty-acre compound. The idea of establishing an armed reservation for the besieged Aryan race was nothing new. In the 1970s, the head of the Christian Soldiers, Donald Clerkin, had called for the erection of a "Europolis," and John Harrell and Gordon Mohr had already started building "defense outposts" marking "survival areas" based on Clerkin's model.[11] Butler's compound was meant to be the most advanced embodiment of the Europolis, a physical manifestation of Aryan supremacy and territorial sovereignty, as stated on the organization's website: "We are a worldwide Pan-Aryan crusade dedicated to the preservation and advancement of our Race—Our Race is Our Nation! Racial Purity is our Nations Security! Our Motto: Violence Solves Everything!"[12] Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt summarize Butler's basic ideology: "'Race' to Butler meant 'nation,' and he told his followers that no race of people could survive without a territory of its own."[13] According to this twisted line of reasoning, the idea of America as a white homeland has been continually blocked by a Jewish-infiltrated federal government and multicultural, pluralist policies. Against the betrayal of white people by the Jewish deep state, Butler imagined taking back the Pacific Northwest from his control center at Hayden Lake. The importance of developing a white utopian, separatist nation was clearly present in the Aryan Nations' initiation oath "never to betray my Aryan brothers, never to rest on this earth until there is created a national state for my Aryan brothers, one God, one Nation, one Race."[14] Several features of Aryan Nations' propaganda are important to highlight. First, the compound was the embodiment of a *worldwide* crusade or holy mission to preserve the purity of the white race, which is perpetually under siege. Butler even invited the West Berlin neo-Nazi and one-time Hitler Youth Manfred Roeder, whom Butler called "the truly Great Aryan Leader of Europe this day," to visit his compound in an effort to internationalize the movement. Second, this global movement saw race, nation, and homeland as co-constituting. Indeed, Butler saw each race as having its own "territorial imperative" to sustain racial purity.[15] Importantly, race

as a biological and biblical category for Butler became fully spatialized, linked directly to an innate imperative to manifest itself in relation to land holdings. The nation was no longer the nation-state, which had been taken over by ZOG and could not be trusted by whites. Butler's nation transcended any given nation-state, any given set of constitutional laws, and any divisions in class or religious affiliation. If there was a law here, it was a divine law guiding crusaders (or "Kinsmen," as Butler would say) toward a promised Adamic, white homeland. And finally, purity was the security that maintained the nation. The nation's divine law, in this case, was to be written in and through blood—both the blood of the white chosen race and the blood that must be spilled of the nonwhite immigrants, Jewish elites, and multicultural traitors to whiteness. Purity had to be maintained against those outside the compound but also through rules constituting the space inside the compound, such as no alcohol, drugs, littering, or dirty language. Purity of blood demanded purity of space.

The heavily fortified compound itself contained a neo-Nazi church, barracks buildings, Butler's home, a school, and a twenty-nine-foot guard tower with railed catwalk. It was surrounded by fencing with signs reading "Whites Only" and threats of violence against trespassers. Robert W. Balch described the decorations of the Aryan Hall at the heart of the compound as follows: "Posters depicting Storm Troopers mingled with paintings representing [Aryan Nations'] vision of the future: the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, Aryan Warriors battling apelike mud people, and a youth, sword in hand, standing triumphantly over the corpse of a Jewish dragon while rays of light beamed down from Heaven."[16] Such imagery was a concoction originating in Christian Identity (in which mud people are a pre-Adamic subspecies of nonwhite humans), neopaganism (Viking-like warriors, swords, dragons), and classic anti-Semitism (in which Jews are depicted as subhuman). Similar imagery was reiterated in the various speeches given by fascist leaders during the annual Aryan World Congress, a gathering that brought together some of the infamous fascist leaders from around the world—including the fire-and-brimstone sermon of Pastor Neuman Britton, who warned his audience, "The Jews are bloodsuckers! They must die! We need to fill the streets with their blood," followed by a rousing round of "White power! Sieg heil! Hail victory!"[17] These moments of furious outrage and hate were essential to establish a unified white front against the world. Balch reported that during an Aryan World Congress the most galvanizing moment was when Nazis, Odinists, Christians, and atheists all stood together against protestors as "Aryan warriors."[18] Similarly, those directly and indirectly connected to Butler and the compound regularly terrorized local residents in surrounding towns, spray-painting swastikas and racial slurs on Jewish-owned res-

taurants, threatening mixed-race children, and posting "Running Nig-ger" targets in public places.[19] The compound thus simultaneously acted as a hub (a) to reassert white identity and its purity and (b) to reinvigorate hate directed at the racialized other. The feedback loop between the two was central as the purity of the white race was asserted against a backdrop of perceived threats.

Although the Aryan Nations ultimately suffered from internal frac-turing, various legal entanglements, and the death of their charismatic leader, the idea of constructing a compound as a stand-in for a white homeland remained a galvanizing and motivational symbol. For instance, Butler's protégé Shaun Patrick Winkler attempted to resurrect an Aryan-style compound by purchasing seventeen acres of property in the Hoodoo Mountains of Bonner County, Idaho, in 2011.[20] Around the same time, Paul Mullet, leader of an Aryan Nations offshoot, was trying to raise funds to purchase fifteen acres of land in southern Tennessee to erect a "new Aryan Republic Homeland."[21] Perhaps most notoriously, Robert Mathews, leader of the Order and an associate of Butler, conceived of a "White American Bastion," which would transform the Northwest into a territory exclusively for white families. In a brochure encouraging white migration to the Pacific Northwest, Mathews drew upon mythic imagery of a pure, unsullied natural landscape harkening back to ancient Viking roots: "Look into the window of your mind and picture a vast expanse of mist-shrouded, heavily forested valleys and mountains. It is early morning, and stand at the edge of a large meadow. Suddenly, the powerful double notes of an ancient horn shatter the quiet, and before your eyes many people start to assemble in the meadow. Your heart leaps with joy because every face in the meadow is kindred to yours. You see an elderly white woman holding the hand of an inquisitive little boy, his dark brown hair the color of the rich earth and his green eyes the color of the grass."[22] In this imagery, it is almost as if whites take the place of an Indigenous population, and there is an immediate identification of land and whiteness, totally erasing the pres-ence of non-European peoples. Indeed, the connection between territory and identity is so intimate that, in Mathews's image, the land is literally written on and through the body of an Aryan child.

These are just a few examples of the white-power, fascist, antigov-ernment, extremist movements that became dominant during the 1980s and 1990s. These movements often comprised people who believed the American government was being controlled by a global conspiracy (some version of the "New World Order") and that America was under imminent threat of being taken over by Jews and their co-conspirators. As argued in the fascist *Inter-Klan Newsletter and Survival Alert*, "The Greater White Racialist Movement intends to establish for our White Aryan Race what every other Race on Earth has: A racial homeland. . . . Our order intends

to take part in the physical and spiritual racial purification of ALL those countries which have traditionally been considered White Lands in Modern Times. . . . We intend to purge this land-areas of every Non-White person, idea and influence."[23] The white race must be protected from contamination by the dangerous and filthy invaders who have taken over the government and the media, polluting the dream of a white nation. In this context, the compound can be seen as a walled-off, exclusive, and fortified territory for white, Christian Americans to train for a coming race war while also enjoying the comforts of a perverse utopia predicated on cleansing the land in order to repopulate it with a chosen people.

Since the 1990s, militant sleeper cells have emerged that increasingly seem to break with the traditional notion of the fascist compound as an epicenter for launching a white separatist nation defined by blood ties. Importantly, these cells indicate a subtle but important shift in the fascist spatial imaginary. This can be seen in the white supremacist Louis Beam's interest in creating training camps instead of investing in a compound. In 1977, Beam purchased fifty acres of swampland in Texas for Vietnam War–style paramilitary training. The camps exercised "violent community formation" focused on intensifying racial hatred, suspicion toward the federal government, military rituals, and weapons training through boot-camp-like immersion.[24] While some of the camps were more or less permanent installations, others were mobile and thus harder to locate and regulate by federal agents. Graduates of programs like those offered at Camp Puller went on to perform a number of violent and illegal actions, such as intimidating undocumented immigrants along the Texas and Mexico border. But perhaps most notorious was the harassment of Vietnam War refugees, who were perpetually demonized by Klan and neo-Nazi groups as dirty, lazy, sexually threatening, and freeloaders taking advantage of American wealth and opportunities.[25]

These various localized actions were ultimately based on a larger spatial imaginary that conceived of world space as a space of intractable struggles between races. Beam foresaw a global war between the United States and Russia that would have catastrophic effects. In the apocalyptic aftermath, the American federal government would be drastically weakened, creating the preconditions for fascist paramilitary forces to take control of certain areas, such as Texas and the Pacific Northwest, enabling them to finally actualize their long-lost white homeland and expel all nonwhite residents. In the name of cleansing the land and closing off borders, Beam once said, "We'll set up our own state here and announce that all non-whites have 24 hours to leave. Lots of them won't believe it or won't believe us when we say we'll get rid of them, so we'll have to exterminate a lot of them the first time around."[26] Each of the paramilitary training camps was ultimately oriented toward this larger historical narrative and spatial horizon.

Most important, Beam shifted gears from founding stable, secure, and permanent settlements or compounds toward more flexible and mobile training camps catering to the local needs of specific terrorist cells. Such camps have become more and more dominant in fascist circles. A case in point is the neo-Nazi group the Base, founded in 2018. I conclude this section with an analysis of the Base as representing a crisis in the spatial imagination of the fascist. Importantly, the Base accelerates certain aspects of fascist space to the point of dissolve.

To begin, the Base is directly inspired by a similar strategy to occupy the Pacific Northwest as a white ethnostate. Rinaldo Nazzaro, founder of the Base, is openly a neo-Nazi fascist who aspires to true separation from the United States through guerrilla warfare. Although the Base lacks a clear leader (as with traditional fascism), it is important to note the centrality of the charismatic founder, as well as the hero adoration of figures such as Charles Manson, Timothy McVeigh, and James Mason within these decentralized, networked fascist cells. Writing to a prospective recruit, Nazzaro clearly embodies the paranoid hate mongering of these fascist icons: "Most of our members are National Socialists and/or fascists, although we also have some run-of-the-mill white nationalists. . . . We have a strong revolutionary and militant current running through the Base. Most of our members are pretty hardcore in that sense. You're going to be stepping into probably the most extreme group of pro-white people that you can probably come across."[27]

Images and video of training inside hate camps conducted by cells of the Base show armed men dressed in military fatigues engaged in target practice in largely wooded, highly secluded locations.[28] Most hate camps are located on rural private property, to avoid entanglements with police, park rangers, and passersby, yet others are occupations of remote public lands and/or suburban backyards/garages whose very normalcy masks more insidious designs. The camps are essential to the Base's long-term goal: training for a global race war. Nazzaro is clear that the actual space of the hate camps—though never formalized into compounds—is important for cultivating the physical discipline and tactical skills needed to survive a race war. Also, such camps are places where white men can gather in secret to support and reinforce their collective investments in anti-Semitism, misogyny, and racism and thus reinforce allegiance to the perpetual hunt for their political, economic, and biological enemies. While the compound was a space of defense and perhaps refuge (against contamination from the corrupted outside), the hate camp has become a guerrilla space of tactical "accelerationism"[29] in which training and comradery catalyze an inevitable confrontation between races.

The fact that the Base is both the name of a movement and of a spatial location (a center, a foundation, a hub of insurrection) reveals

the inherent connections between fascism and its spatial imaginary. The movement *is* the territory/base that it defends. For the fascist, blood and soil (territoriality) rest at the very heart of the project: identity (blood) is territorialized (soil) so that there is no gap between the two. This is a fortified and territorialized sense of indentitarian thinking in which difference is absolutely externalized. At the same time, with the rise of neoliberalism, the material space occupied by fascist extremists in the United States has shifted. No longer is the compound a fixed space with clear boundaries demarking an inside and outside. The hate camps of the Base are mobile and flexible and can appear and disappear overnight to avoid detection. In this sense, space as movement and movement as space represent a significant shift toward a nimble, more guerrilla-style understanding of spatiality. No longer constrained to a specific geolocation, the camp is simultaneously everywhere and nowhere. Likewise, the outside can become the inside and vice versa, intensifying alertness to the perpetual threat of the outside, *which is never outside enough*. The Base has no permanent base, no absolute center to be resolutely defended. Instead, this is a baseless base or centerless center that is always on the move, adaptable to conditions as they arise. Nomadic cells are a homeless form of fascism.

The implications of this shift are important to highlight. Fascist camps can appear anywhere, even in *your* backyard, thus increasing the scope of their terror. In this sense, the intersection of territorialization and deterritorialization is a fugitive power—small, covert, and, for these very reasons, all the more deadly. Any point can become a point of separation (a territorial boundary separating inside from outside) but also of potential contamination (a deterritorialized zone of unexpected encounters with the outside), heightening the need for increased secrecy and vigilance against unwelcome intruders who may accidently happen upon a hate camp (while camping or hiking, for instance). Once territory becomes deterritorialized, the very idea of separatism upon which the Base is based is in jeopardy. This means that the fascist sense of space is perhaps entering a crisis period. On the one hand, this crisis can produce fascist, reactionary politics, as with the Base. On the other hand, there is an opportunity to intervene precisely because of the fragility of the identitarian thinking at the heart of the fascist spatial imaginary which is increasingly destabilized as inside and outside implode.

The Fascist Spatial Imaginary of the Compound

Intervention into this crisis necessitates a more rigorous theoretical unpacking of the underlying spatial imaginary at stake in fascist movements and how this imaginary shifts over time. In what follows, I turn to Leo Löwenthal's various studies of American fascism (including those coauthored

with Norbert Guterman) and read them through a spatial lens in order to understand how the American fascist spatial imaginary through the 1990s exemplified a certain spatial strategy tied to the race- and class-based contradictions emanating from within industrial capitalism. Indeed, a central reason Löwenthal's work is important to this project is precisely because his studies focused on the latent authoritarian personality present in the American labor force in the mid-1940s. From Löwenthal and Guterman's empirical work, I describe the components of the fascist spatial imaginary in terms of world space, internal versus external spatial binaries, mythic space, spatial mood, and finally, the overarching psychological function of spatial projection. I also demonstrate how each of these components of the spatial imaginary are internally unstable, producing dialectical inversions that compromise the internal logic of fascist space, ultimately paving the way for a series of implosions that have only become more and more apparent with more recent turns toward hate camps under neoliberalism.

The Global Scale of Race War

Implicit in a history of liberalism's expansionist, colonialist impulse (on the frontier, in the colony, and on the reservation) is a spatial theory that was made explicit in democracy's supposed "other": Nazism.[30] Indeed, Nazis traveled to the United States in the 1930s to learn from the country's racist legislation (including segregationist policies, immigration reform, and anti-miscegenation laws).[31] Formulating US racialized practices of expansion and containment into a philosophical system, Carl Schmitt and Walter Christaller outlined the tenants of fascist geography, which can be described as the spatialization of reactionary modernism, combining in equal measure romantic, premodern, nostalgic, mythic beliefs in racial purity and "blood and soil" with modern rationalization, bureaucratization, and technology.[32] First and foremost, fascist space is constituted by emptying out space by the forced removal of existing non-Aryan populations. Cleansing space meant placing non-Aryans in pogroms, ghettos, and concentration camps outside the empty space. Thus, the need to produce an empty, cleansed, racially and ethnically pure space necessitated policies and practices of expulsion, encampment, and ultimately extermination. Once emptied, the resulting space needed to be repopulated by the *Volk* so as to constitute *Volksgemeinschaften* (people's communities). These communities represented a balance between bucolic longing for premodern living and rationalized and instrumentalized urban planning. Beyond the nation-state, Schmitt in particular theorized the possibility of expanded territorial control. He posited the possibility of an international space ruled by a hierarchy of Reichs or empires that would be connected,

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unified, and stabilized through a structure of global domination. In short, one can see the emergence of several important themes underlying the fascist spatial theory: space must be purified of contaminants; the outside must be colonized and subjugated while the inside must be rationally ordered, policed, and unified according to a mix of rational planning and romantic myth; and global spatial stability is ensured through racial and ethnic homogenization and various levels of hierarchy.

For Löwenthal and Guterman, the world space conceptualized by the American fascist agitator of the 1940s was likewise viewed as fundamentally "split between two irreconcilable camps" and "there is no possibility of working out a solution acceptable to all, or even a solution in which everyone will find a satisfying place."[33] World space was therefore a conflictual space in which there will inevitably be winners and losers, victors and defeated. The result was an "either-or world"[34] or, as Schmitt might say, a space that was codified in terms of the friend/enemy binary. There was no escape from the conflict, which was global in nature: while there was an outside (the enemy), there was no outside to the conflict itself. As such, the overarching spatial imaginary of the world was decisively Manichaean, black and white. Underlying this dichotomy was an insistence on identitarian thinking. There was no room for the nonidentical within the identical, or internally constituting difference, that would undermine (or at least problematize) fascist either/or spatial imaginaries.

The global scale of the race war was, as outlined above, reimagined by Butler, Beam, Mathews, and others as the outcome of the collapse of nation-states and an impending war between Russia and the West. In the vacuum opened up by this war, Aryan movements hoped to reclaim their lands as white territories, as envisioned in William Luther Pierce's classic 1978 Aryan novel *The Turner Diaries*, which presents a dystopian image of a postapocalyptic future in which Aryans engage in a crusade against nonwhites and Jews. For fascists and neofascists alike, the world was cut into two camps, white and nonwhite, whose eternal (biblically sanctioned) struggle for racial superiority overlaid the more regional and historically specific political conflicts existing between nation-states. Fascist compounds in the United States were a miniature experiment in imagining this future possibility, a dark utopian embodiment today of spatial planning that would eventually overtake the world in an apocalyptic tomorrow.

Purity of the Inside

In their study of American fascism, Löwenthal and Guterman repeatedly encountered statements and imagery that coded world space as belonging to an "exclusive community" composed of "we old fashioned Ameri-

cans" or "individualists who still believe in Constitutional government and the American way of life" and "Christian Nationalists" who were part of the "Nordic race."[35] This was an unstable mixture of cultural, political, religious, and racist beliefs that coalesced into a vague notion of "old-fashioned Americans"—not unlike the mixture of Nazi, Odinist, and Christian identity extremist groups later found at the Aryan Nations' congress. The cultural, political, religious, and racist identity of old-fashioned America was coded as strong, pure, defiant, and capable of overcoming internal differences in the name of a universal struggle against racial genocide of besieged whites. As Ray Weinell, an elderly disciple of Butler's, stated in an interview, the white race was "going to have to cleanse the land, to remove the things that create filth brought in by the heathens that have entered the country and mixed with the [white] people."[36] Weinell's sentiments resonate strongly with manifest destiny, as well as fascist plans to cleanse and repopulate world space with Aryans. Significantly, Weinell utilized people as a synecdoche for *white* people, indicating that he did not even consider people of color to be people at all. Instead, people of color were reduced to the apparent filth they embodied. At stake here was defining a biopolitical threat against the survival of the white race and the purity of the "inside" space of their homeland.

"Aryan warriors"—white men dedicated to the cause—were needed to (a) physically embody the idea of "old-fashioned Americans" and (b) protect this ideal through self-sacrifice, if necessary. As Löwenthal and Guterman point out, the inside had to be protected by a special group of "Spartan elite" who were without notable wealth or happiness.[37] Their reward came from their proximity to the center of power (the fascist agitator). In relation to the agitator, Löwenthal and Guterman wrote, "By permitting his followers to indulge in acts of violence against the enemy group, the agitator offers them the prospect of serving as semiprivileged agents of a social domination actually exercised by others."[38] Although they had little to no power, compensation for these "Aryan warriors" came from closeness to the epicenter of power. For instance, far from charismatic, Butler gained his authority and loyalty from his Spartan elite by living up to his own creed as a model Aryan, military man, family man, and religious zealot. Because Butler formed the hub of the inner circle of the inside space of the compound, protecting him came to be synonymous with protecting the very idea of an Aryan homeland. Always under attack by the outside, his Spartans had to protect him as a proxy for the territorial claims of whiteness as such.

Within an American context, the imagined Spartan elite manifested the strength and dedication of the true believers. They were supposed to be consummate "watchdogs," embodying patriotism, which was defined in terms of "endogamic seclusion" from outsiders.[39] One agitator called

for "a line of fortifications built on land and water and in the air around the United States, that can be pierced by no alien forces."[40] As such, borders and fortifications were signs of strength and force. At the same time, these excessive precautions and displays of ritualistic and performative strength belied the frailty of the inside. The Spartans exposed the fear that the inside was always at risk of being overrun by the rising tide of the those on the racialized outside.

Such frailty exposed itself in multiple ways in the actual running of the Aryan Nations' compound. Although surrounded by fencing, guarded by a watch tower, demarcated by "whites only" signs, and policed by uniformed guards, the displays of such power were, in the end, fronts concealing internal strife, disorganization, laziness, a frail and aging leader, and delinquency within the ranks of the Aryan Nations—all of which undermined its image.[41] Furthermore, the guards themselves were often observed sloppily dressed, drunk, or delinquent and were characterized by infighting over proximity to Butler. Thus, the purity and strength of the inside sphere of the white compound were an ideological smokescreen preventing confrontation with its own internal deterioration.

Decay of the Outside

To uphold the strong dualism at the heart of the fascist spatial imaginary, external space had to be dismissed as a dirty "underground," a "cesspool," a "stinking corpse," or "full of junk."[42] The enemy living in the outside space was depicted as irreducibly foreign and threatening—in terms of both actions and biological contamination.[43] According to Löwenthal and Guterman, these threats were symbolically embodied in refugees, international secret groups, and "oversea gangs"—all of which were "unassimilatable foreigner[s]" lurking on the borders, waiting for a moment to slip under the radar of border security and infiltrate.[44] Stereotypes of foreignness were predicated on racist projections onto the other as "organically inferior" and characterized by an innate biological and cultural "laziness."[45] This laziness was typified by Jewish financiers and bankers who supposedly made a profit from others' labors without actually laboring themselves. The foreign other was seen as a "parasite" who must be "exterminated" before sucking American resources dry, leaving only scraps for the silent majority of honest workers.[46] Informing much of this spatial imaginary was an investment into the "hygienic metaphor" in which infiltration by foreign agents was interpreted as an act of biological warfare against purity (and by extension, genetic superiority).[47]

Not only was the outside a contaminated space, but it was also totally inaccessible to those on the inside. In relation to the Jew, Löwenthal observed that white American industrial workers proffered racist ste-

reotypes. "The Jews," Löwenthal reported, "are seen as creating a sphere of their own, a living space within—or rather outside—the genuine living space of their community."[48] This exclusive and secretive space offended the moral and hygienic sanitation of the inside, collective, public space. Ironically enough, while the outside was deemed inaccessible, opaque, and riddled with esoteric, hidden, cabalistic secrets that portend political, economic, and even sexual plots for world domination, the inside space was upheld as a model of inclusivity and openness, thus misrecognizing its own investment in the construction of invisible yet powerful boundaries and borders preventing "outsider" access.

The groups hegemonically linked together under the empty signifier *Aryan* were defined less by a stable ideology and more in terms of their opposition to the filthy outside and the diseased and secretive racial other. Indeed, because of the Manichaean notion of world space, the in-group was dependent on the existence of an equally vague out-group. Outsiders gave consistency and unity to what might otherwise have deteriorated into various conflicts over political rights, religious freedoms, and conflicting racist mythologies. Indeed, this was historically the case. The fragile alliances defining the Aryan Nations were due as much to white identification as they were to the perceived threat to the purity of the inside, hence the need for continual anti-Semitic and anti-Black propaganda, sermons, acts of intimidation, and confrontations with protestors. The irony was precisely that the purity of white space revolved around the continual production and reinscription of an identity that was parasitically dependent on those perceived as filthy parasites.

Mythic Space

Strangely, Löwenthal observed that in the spatial imagination of the white industrial worker, Americans often took the place of Indians and Jews became the "ruthless conquerors," thus rewriting history such that the victors became perpetual victims immunized against any attempt to reflect critically on their own complacency with settler colonialism.[49] Internally, the watchdogs had to engage in a purge to cleanse America of foreign actors who were seen as conquerors on the verge of stealing land from the new indigenous population of white settlers. This substitution is evident in Mathews's Viking mythology, in which whiteness is equated with a return to a pastoral American "prehistory." There was a fascination with indigeneity in this formulation, a longing for a homeland, that ultimately erased actually existing Indigenous populations, generating fertile terrain for the entanglement of fascist spatiality with that of white settler colonialism. American fascists have long dreamed of the Pacific Northwest as

a whites-only utopia that, temporally speaking, projects the mythic past into the future and nostalgically encircles the future within the bounds of an idealized history. While the Nazi spatial imaginary was predicated on a dual logic of cleansing and closing, the Viking mythology offered by Mathews seems to avoid the ethical and political responsibility that might haunt the act of cleansing (in the form of genocidal removal of peoples from the land) precisely by taking the place of Indigenous populations.

Spatial Mood

This set of antagonistic spatial coordinates was accompanied by a spatial mood or affective atmosphere of extreme paranoia[50]—one was always under threat by secret forces that were invading; therefore, the fascist must be perpetually on guard and vigilant. Because of the universal state of struggle, lived space of the friend—the space of the inside, of *real* American citizens—was always on the verge of doom. The space of the friend was perpetually being terrorized (even if such terror was invisible).[51] Purity of the inside community demanded a constant "hunt" by the Spartan watchdogs for hidden parasites attempting to infiltrate the inside and, by extension, contaminate its purity and compromise its virtues.[52] As Löwenthal and Guterman speculated, "Followers are allowed no rest, they must constantly ward off enemy attacks that never occur, they are called to most heroic and self-sacrificing acts of violence that never take place [until they do!]."[53] For the Aryan Nations, paranoia of perceived threats, both internal (in the form of informants) and external (in the form of undercover FBI agents), ultimately was a major cause of both its escalating radicalization and its ultimate collapse.[54] Paranoid vigilance resulted in radicalized splinter groups such as the Order, which engaged in assassination, theft, and counterfeiting to accelerate the race war. Simultaneously, the "hypnotic alertness" of paranoia ate the organization from the inside out, turning vigilance into seeds of self-destruction by fostering a culture of mistrust, suspicion, and accusations among the rank and file.

Space and Psychological Projection

Given the overwhelming psychological stress of paranoia, one might begin to question why anyone would continue to invest in fascism. Like many other members of the Frankfurt school, Löwenthal turned to psychoanalysis for insight into the paradoxical benefits of the fascist spatial imaginary. First and foremost, as already hinted at above, spatializing dichotomies that set up Manichean binaries allowed for easy psychological displacement of internal social, political, and economic antagonisms so as to maintain the self-sameness or identitarian thinking at the heart of fas-

cism. For Löwenthal, the violence of capitalist exploitation, class struggle, and colonialist expansion was projected outward onto a vague "foreign" cabal or Jewish secret society.[55] For example, this imagery enabled quick projection outward of American clannishness, elitism, and exclusiveness onto the other, so that good old-fashioned Americans like Butler could retain the fantasy of their imagined white homeland as perpetually open, welcoming, and pluralistic (to the degree allowed by race).[56] And perhaps most important, the construction of the foreign, dirty, filthy, debased outside (Jew) offered the Spartan American the "jealous participation in pleasures that [were] taboo for the community" yet could be vicariously experienced by imagining the other.[57] Dangerously, readiness for violence against minorities was psychologically fostered through such acts of projection. The other could be both feared and desired by the good old-fashioned Americans who failed to see how they themselves were responsible for the stereotypical thinking and conspiratorial orientation that they blamed on the behaviors of others.

In relation to the Aryan Nations and its kin, projection of their own internal contradictions and aporias onto the space of the outside was essential for maintaining the myth of purity. Through opposition to the other, whiteness defined itself most vividly. Indeed, purity of the inside could be sustained only by the production of an outside as irreducibly other—foreign, unknowable, monstrous, and dirty. The outside was a container for all the characteristics that Butler and his followers refused to see in themselves. One clear sign of such projection was (and still is) the continued readiness of those on the far Right to label "social justice warriors" as "fascists," thus misrecognizing their own political tendencies toward authoritarianism while also absolving themselves of any potential ethical responsibilities for violence—hence the ubiquity of the discourses of victimhood and justifications for territorial self-defense in the Aryan Nations' literature. The threat of white genocide legitimated the construction of the compound as a necessary form of racial self-defense. Butler and others were merely protecting "real" America from liberal fascists and immigrant usurpers and thus could proudly claim to be patriots. All the while, the ritualization of inflamed and passionate criticisms of liberal fascists, dirty Blacks, and Jewish cabals—often accompanied by imitation and mockery—offered perverse enjoyment of the tabooed vices in socially acceptable forms. On my reading, complex relations between projection and introjection were intimately tied up with a certain spatial imaginary that produced the illusion of strong boundaries capable of sustaining differences even in the face of overwhelming contradictions.

The Collapse of the Fascist Spatial Imaginary
and the Question of the Threshold

The central problem that the fascist spatial imagination cannot seem to manage is the existence of thresholds. While wanting to maintain friend/enemy, purity/contamination, inside/outside dichotomies, realities confronting the Aryan Nations and its spatial inscription in the form of the compound constantly undermined such dichotomies. Here I return to the intimidation of local residents by Butler's fascist followers. On the one hand, this can be read as nothing more than harassment of minorities, or a perverse form of "public relations" between the compound and its neighbors. On the other hand, we can also read such acts as creating a buffer zone around the camp in order to secure its already fragile and insecure boundaries. In this sense, the boundary must be bounded by yet another ring of protection so that the boundary itself (the physical walls and gates of the compound) would not come in direct contact with the other. In this sense, the boundary and the threshold could be symbolically decoupled—the threshold being projected outward onto the periphery beyond the boundary. The boundary must be protected from the outside, further demonstrating the weakness of the physical boundaries of the compound, which were incapable of bounding its own inside against the outside. Such precautions were necessary because thresholds potentially subvert the existence of strict boundaries defining either/or spatial configurations, offering instead a porous space that is neither inside nor outside. Traditionally, fascist space is poor in thresholds, opting instead for guarded barriers, encampments, and closures that surround "cleansed spaces" with buffers of various kinds to ensure extra distance from contamination. Paranoia concerning the very existence of thresholds, let alone crossing them, can be found in Butler's critique of integrated school initiatives. On desegregation laws and potential race mixing, Butler once warned: "That is why the government is spending hundreds of millions of dollars to bus [to integrate schools] white girls to be mauled by black apes."[58] Transgressing certain thresholds (once upheld by segregated schools) put whiteness, as embodied by the fertility of white girls, at risk. In this final section, I turn to Walter Benjamin and Giorgio Agamben—himself a close reader and translator of Benjamin's work—to illustrate how the threshold is becoming increasingly problematic for contemporary fascist movements such as the Base and, consequently, how the threshold is becoming an increasingly important site for antifascist struggle.

For Benjamin, the contemporary world has "grown very poor in threshold experiences."[59] The threshold is a state of indistinction in which inside and outside blur or are rendered inoperative. This state of ambiguity, in which the outside of the inside is exposed, is antithetical to the

boundary. "The threshold must be carefully distinguished from the boundary. A *Schwelle* [threshold] is a zone. Transformation, passage."[60] While the boundary produces dichotomies that are fixed and permanent, the threshold is equal parts zone of contact across fixed dichotomies and a zone of transformation or passage. When Benjamin warns we have become poor in threshold experiences, he is also gesturing toward a rigidification or reification of space into bounded, separate spaces. Indeed, the underlying worry seems to be that space will become compartmentalized into discretized units that fortify boundaries in order to prevent zones of contact.

Giorgio Agamben takes up the theme of the threshold and develops it further. In a short aphorism titled "Outside," in *The Coming Community*, Agamben highlights how *outside* is expressed in many European languages by a word meaning "at the door."[61] Thus, the outside is not a radical exteriority to an inside. Rather, it is the inside at its limit, at the point of passage, or point of indifference, between itself and otherness. As Agamben summarizes, the threshold is "the experience of the limit itself, the experience of being-*within* an *outside*."[62] The threshold is the outside within or the inside outside itself. It is therefore always in excess of the inside that claims it as its limit without thereby passing permanently into an outside. The threshold is, for Agamben, a space of "pure exposure" or pure vulnerability, as there can no longer be a definitive boundary or border that separates.[63] Biopolitically, this is an indeterminate space of contamination, a zone of contact with difference that exceeds binary thinking.

Agamben returns to the question of the threshold in the later book titled *When the House Burns Down*. In this text, Agamben distinguishes two ways of conceptualizing a door. On the one hand, a door can be thought of as a structure that closes off and separates, as a barrier, but on the other hand, a door can also be thought of as a threshold, opening, or entrance. The two doors come together: "In the entrance-door the essential thing is the crossing of a threshold, while in the panel-door it is the possibility of closing or opening a passage. We can therefore say that the panel-door is a device invented to control threshold-doors, to limit the unconditional opening that these represent."[64] As such, there is an interdependence between crossing and closing at stake in the architectural space of the doorway. The law, which separates and divides, is embodied by the panel-door, and the entrance-door represents the potentiality of passage or crossing beyond that which separates. At this point, Agamben does not simply opt for negating the panel-door. Importantly, the entrance-door is just as problematic as the panel-door. To cross a threshold essentially reinstates the inside/outside dialectic. The threshold moves us from point A to point B and thus maintains the functionality of separa-

tion. In this sense, both crossing and closing are either/or spaces that incur certain costs/tolls—something must be split off, sacrificed, abandoned for closing and crossing to happen.

Instead of merely championing the right of passage of the entrance-door, Agamben turns toward the possibility of neutralizing the dialectic that exists between the two. He finds a material manifestation of this state of radical inoperativity in Carlo Scarpa's installation at the entrance to the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia, in which he laid a door flat on the floor, immersed in water. Here, the two functions of the door as crossing and closure are left idle. In this way, the entrance becomes an "area" or, as Benjamin might say, a zone of contact. Commenting on Benjamin, Agamben writes, "The character of the threshold as a place (zone, which indicates a wide band-like portion of space) is forcefully asserted here: suggesting a relation to the verb *schwellen* (which etymologists reject), the threshold becomes a space in which transformations, passages and even phenomena of ebb and flow as in the sea can occur."[65] The threshold no longer serves as a border to cross, which would indicate a dialectical relationship with the boundary or territory, but is a zone of possibilities in itself. The threshold becomes a place wherein things can take place, not simply an instrumental waystation from point A to point B. Stated differently, the inoperative threshold becomes a place where things can take place that is not an either/or space but a neither/nor space. It is neither a closing nor a crossing.

Clearly, living within the limbo of the threshold subverts fascist insistence on any Machiavellian division of space into the inside space of the friend and the outside space of the enemy. The fascist insists on erecting and locking the panel-door so that only a select few can enter. The space between the inside and outside must be continually policed for transgressions by the Spartan warrior class, which hunts along the periphery for any trespassers. It is a space of surveillance and paranoia in which strangers are viewed with suspicion as always lurking in the shadows waiting to take what is rightfully the inheritance of the white master race. The compound (as the concrete embodiment of the panel-door), in other words, is sealed off from the outside by the door as barrier. On this account, the threshold is a problem because it always indicates the possibility of contamination of the inside by the outside, thus undermining the identitarian thinking of the purified collective ("real" Americans as white Americans). In sum, in fascist space, the panel-door dominates the dialectic between closure and crossing. Crossing must be minimized and closure must be maximized so as to maintain the Aryan racialized identity.

On the other hand, one can argue that the highly decentralized, deterritorialized space of neoliberalism represents the intensification of the entrance-door on a global scale. David Harvey argues that the turn toward

neoliberalism in the 1980s had the goal of "liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong property rights, free markets, low tariffs and taxes, deregulation of industries, gutted welfare states, and free trade."[66] Neoliberalism "invites" others to join as "entrepreneurial" selves whose economic activity is completely inseparable from their freedoms of self-production and self-actualization. The economy lifts any territorial restrictions on the flow of capital and labor characteristic of industrial capital (bounded by factory and state) so as to maximize movement and flow across boundaries. No longer centered on territorial expansion, neoliberalism conceptualizes world space as an open frontier for capitalist exchange unbound by state regulation. Within this context, a central subject of emergent internationalism and neoliberal universalism is the migrant as both symptom and insurgent power. The migrant's movements disregard barriers and indicate a potential insurrection against the border regimes of nation-states and spatial hierarchies.[67] The command of neoliberalism to actively submit to the demands of a flexible economy is masked as an invitation to become your own boss, determine your own hours, make your own schedule, and thus embrace freedoms that are unfettered by institutional oversight or government regulations. Yet this insistence on entering, on participating, on including the other has resulted in its own form of violence: one either produces or one is left behind as incapable of the adaptive forms of self-regulation that the "freedoms" of the neoliberal, unstable gig economy necessitate.

In both cases, fascism and neoliberalism operate in terms of the dialectic of closure and crossing. They concern the operation of panel-doors and entrance-doors. Fascism and neoliberalism are thus spatially intertwined, two flipsides of the same dialectic, as the Frankfurt school never tired of emphasizing. Either one is excluded (fascist space) or one is included (neoliberal space), but both demand a sacrifice. There is an underlying violence of the dialectic between crossing and closing: fascism is the violence of closure (only a select few can be admitted), while neoliberalism is the violence of crossing (all are welcome as long as they submit entirely to economization of their lives). Spatial forms such as the hate camp proposed by the Base indicate a crisis in the functioning of the door: the desire to retain boundaries (closure) while tactically forced to become nomadic (open). As the boundaries separating inside from outside dissolve, the desire to erect walls and locked doors only becomes more acute, and the paranoia of contamination becomes more pervasive. If walls are built, they appear increasingly fragile and temporary in the face of the seemingly infinite flows of various "invaders" across these boundaries. As reflected in the Base, this state of dialectical flux means that violence

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redoubles itself, that the inside of the compound can instantaneously pass into the space of the outside, and vice versa, in the form of violent outbursts and confrontations. Ironically, the inability to deal with thresholds produces another implosion: the negative stereotype of the wandering Jew as a perpetual immigrant and unassimilable foreigner has become the identity of the fascist militia itself—perpetually homeless and wandering through a country that is no longer their home, a secretive clan that can never rest and must parasitically live on the margins, waiting for the coming race war. The perceived powers and weaknesses of this eternal enemy of the Aryan race have become fully absorbed into their identity. The lesson has been learned: to fight the Jew, one must become the embodiment of the very stereotypes one projected onto the Jew in the first place. In its resistance to the forces of global cabals, the Base expresses the very same implosions, accelerations, and flexible logics of perceived neoliberal globalists. This means that the fascist sense of space is increasingly unstable, unable to project its own internal contradictions outward, deconstructing the firm boundaries upon which it was built.

In this sense, the Base comes to embody a desperate and paranoid attempt to maintain a dialectic that is no longer functioning. It is the limit case for the kind of spatial imaginary described by Löwenthal and Guterman and embodied in the history of American fascist compounds. To resist the reality that surrounds them, members of the Base have resorted to increasingly fanatical levels of fundamentalist extremism. Here, it is not that we are poor in thresholds, as Benjamin speculated, but rather that thresholds are everywhere—everywhere the differences between crossing and closing essential to the either/or spatial imaginary are at risk of imploding. It is now a question of how such thresholds are conceptualized and engaged with. Instead of the fascist response to the ubiquity of thresholds—one that intensifies and accelerates paranoia concerning the need for minimal crossing and maximal closure—perhaps we can side with Agamben and see the threshold as the space of the open, or the space of events in the wake of crossing and closing, or the space that makes space for the nonidentical within the identical. Such spatial imaginaries would suspend the rigidification of spatial segregation underlying the broader cluster of traits defining the authoritarian personality. Of course, this ambiguous and indeterminate space is also the state in which neoliberalism and fascism find themselves (one quickly turning into the other as the door swings back and forth between opening and closing), but as both Benjamin and Agamben would argue, there is also a weak messianic power in this paradoxical space that neutralizes the desire to reinstitute doors. Benjamin writes that when the Messiah comes, "Everything will be the same as here—only a little bit different . . . nothing remains and

nothing disappears."[68] I end with this speculation: if we stand on a threshold without crossing or closing, all we have to do is let go of the spatial imaginary that refuses to let go of the violence of separation, division, and exclusion in order to open up an antifascist spatial possibility.

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Notes

1. Albright, *Fascism*.
2. Thebault, "Joint Chiefs Chairman Feared Potential 'Reichstag Moment' Aimed at Keeping Trump in Power."
3. Adorno et al., *Authoritarian Personality*.
4. One such debate concerns the primacy of psychology itself in defining fascism. While Adorno's contributions to *Authoritarian Personality* clearly situate the various psychological types described by the study within the contradictions of capitalist production, Peter Gordon has more recently emphasized the importance of recognizing how such typologies need to be understood as the introjection of certain social, political, and economic factors. As such, the social psychology of fascism I discuss in this article emphasizes the social in this formulation and how psychological states—including the spatial imaginary—are conditional upon historical factors shaping and animating them. See Gordon, "Authoritarian Personality Revisited."
5. Altemeyer, *Rightwing Authoritarianism*, 148.
6. Connolly, *Aspirational Fascism*, 7.
7. Simi and Futrell, *American Swastika*, 4. For studies centered on questions of space and fascism, also see Gökariskel and Smith, "' Making America Great Again'?"; and Ince, "Fragments of an Anti-fascist Geography." The present study differs from these examples by (a) focusing on compounds and the later hate camps and (b) drawing theoretical insights from the Frankfurt school concerning the social psychology of fascism.
8. For an overview of this thesis, see Singh, "Afterlife of Fascism." I make a similar claim below in this article in relation to the "inclusivity" of neoliberal economic discourses.
9. On this level, I agree with Adorno's methodological point that the truth is often found in the most exaggerated phenomena.
10. As Jeremiah Morelock wrote, "One of the most famous messages from the Institute for Social Research is that liberal-democratic societies tend to move toward fascism. With the recent surge of far-Right populism throughout the West, this Frankfurt School warning reveals its prescience" ("Introduction," xiii).
11. Aho, *Politics of Righteousness*, 57–58.
12. Southern Poverty Law Center, "Aryan Nations."
13. Flynn and Gerhardt, *Silent Brotherhood*, 55.
14. Flynn and Gerhardt, *Silent Brotherhood*, 57.
15. Balch, "Rise and Fall," 86.

16. Balch, "Rise and Fall," 86.

17. Simi and Futrell, *American Swastika*, 118.

18. Balch, "Rise and Fall," 91.

19. Flynn and Gerhardt, *Silent Brotherhood*, 86.

20. Southern Poverty Law Center, "Neo-Nazi Builds North Idaho Compound."

21. Southern Poverty Law Center, "Aryan Nations."

22. Flynn and Gerhardt, *Silent Brotherhood*, 86.

23. Quoted in Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 88.

24. Belew, *Bring the War Home*, 34.

25. Belew, *Bring the War Home*, 43.

26. Belew, *Bring the War Home*, 40.

27. Southern Poverty Law Center, "Base."

28. Thorp, "Homegrown Hate."

29. Thorp, "Homegrown Hate."

30. Singh, "Afterlife of Fascism."

31. For details concerning the influences of American racist policies and practices on the formation of Nazi ideologies, see Whitman, *Hitler's American Model*; and Miller, "Nazi Germany's Race Laws."

32. Barnes and Minca, "Nazi Spatial Theory."

33. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 104.

34. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 104.

35. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 119, 121.

36. Quoted in Barker, *Aryan America*, 21.

37. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 127.

38. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 127.

39. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 127, 108.

40. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 111.

41. Balch, "Rise and Fall."

42. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 58, 116; Löwenthal, *False Prophets*, 199.

43. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 52.

44. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 53, 51, 57, 41.

45. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 59; Löwenthal, *False Prophets*, 201.

46. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 191, 61.

47. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 113.

48. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 229.

49. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 201.

50. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 26, 58.

51. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 34.

52. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 66.

53. Löwenthal and Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit*, 130.

54. Balch, "Rise and Fall."

55. Löwenthal, *False Prophets*, 194.

56. Löwenthal, *False Prophets*, 219.

57. Löwenthal, *False Prophets*, 229.

58. Quoted in Barker, *Aryan America*, 21.

59. Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 494.

60. Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 494.

61. This analysis of fascist politics in relation to the imagery of the door is itself often used in far-Right political speeches. Take, for instance, Marine Le Pen's

ultranationalist "France for the French" campaign, in which she argued, "We must have the keys to open the house of France, to open it halfway [or] to close the door" (see Collins, "Can the Center Hold?").

62. Agamben, *Coming Community*, 68.
63. Agamben, *Coming Community*, 67.
64. Agamben, *When the House Burns Down*, 21.
65. Agamben, *When the House Burns Down*, 26.
66. Harvey, *Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 2.
67. Hardt and Negri, *Empire*.
68. Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, 664.

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