

**MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF WHITE
NATIONALIST TERRORISM AT HOME AND ABROAD**

JOINT HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
THE MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA, AND
INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

WITH THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTELLIGENCE AND CONTERTERRORISM

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY
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**MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF WHITE
NATIONALIST TERRORISM AT HOME AND
ABROAD**

**Wednesday, September 18, 2019
House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and
International Terrorism,
Committee on Foreign Affairs, joint with the
Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism,
Committee on Homeland Security,**

Washington, DC

The subcommittees met, pursuant to notice, at 2:14 p.m., in room 310, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Theodore E. Deutch (chairman of the Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and International Terrorism) presiding.

Mr. DEUTCH. This hearing will come to order.

Welcome, everyone.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs' Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and International Terrorism is meeting today together with the House Committee on Homeland Security's Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism to hear testimony on the domestic and global threat of white nationalist terrorism.

I want to thank my co-chair of today's hearing, Intelligence and Counterterrorism Subcommittee Chair Max Rose. Thanks also to our ranking members, Joe Wilson and Mark Walker. And I also want to thank the Homeland Security Chairman Benny Thompson and Ranking Member Mike Rogers for hosting us in this really beautiful Homeland Security Committee hearing room. And I especially want to thank our witnesses for being here with us today.

I hope this will be a serious examination of the threats that we face here in the United States and overseas and the interconnectivity of these threats.

I will now recognize myself for the purpose of making an opening statement. And I will try to be brief, as we have a lot to cover.

In recent months and years, it has become apparent that white nationalist terrorism is a growing threat, both here and abroad.

In order to solve this problem, we must first identify it. Our government, intelligence services, and law enforcement agencies use multiple terms for white nationalist terrorism, including "racially motivated extremists" and "white supremacist extremists," among others. But when my subcommittee held a hearing with the State Department's Counterterrorism Coordinator in July, he was unable to call this challenge by its name: white nationalist terrorism.

Tragically, this mounting threat reared its ugly head only 3 days later in the horrific attack in El Paso, Texas, that killed 22 people.

In the last year, it led to other attacks at the Chabad Synagogue of Poway just north of San Diego; the Al Noor Mosque in the Linwood Islamic Centre in Christchurch, New Zealand; and the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh.

These attacks were preceded by, among others, a 2017 white nationalist terrorist attack at the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec City that killed 6, the 2015 terrorist attack at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston that killed 9, and the 2011 attacks by Anders Breivik that killed 77 people principally at a political youth camp in Norway.

While these acts of violence may appear disparate and random, the terrorists allegedly responsible for them demonstrably drew inspiration from one another. They share an ideology that asserts, among other beliefs, that white people and white identity in Western countries are under siege by massive waves of immigration from non-white countries. White nationalists also perpetuate conspiracy theories that claim that Jews control industries, governments, and other organizations through shadow groups which allegedly pose a threat to white civilization.

White nationalists claim they are protecting the white race and will use any means necessary to defend it against this supposed dispossession. This ideology helps explain why their targets include a wide array of people, from Latinx in Texas to Jews in Pennsylvania, to Muslims in New Zealand, to African-Americans in South Carolina and teenagers in Scandinavia.

The internet serves as a platform for white nationalists to disseminate this twisted ideology and even to broadcast these attacks. Technology enables interconnectivity between decentralized white nationalist terrorists, organizations, and networks and presents challenges to law enforcement efforts to track, monitor, and disrupt planned violence.

White nationalist terrorism is a clear challenge to democratic governance, and its adherents espouse principles antithetical to both pluralistic values and to American ideals.

It is also clear that the U.S. Government, including the State Department, is not doing enough to counter white nationalist terrorism and to track the global nature of this threat. We must learn more about how these movements recruit and radicalize and how they share ideas across networks, just as we seek to understand the interconnectivity of other threats.

If we are to marginalize and isolate white nationalist terrorism, a whole-of-society effort is required, one that encompasses civil society and the private sector as well as government. This hearing is a chance for our subcommittee to gain a greater understanding of how the domestic and international dimensions of white nationalist terrorism overlap, especially regarding ideology, motivations, uses of technology, radicalization, and recruitment.

White nationalist terrorism is not a Democratic or Republican problem. It is not just a domestic threat or solely an international challenge. I know we all take seriously the need to combat white nationalist terrorism, and I hope that our discussion today will help inform future efforts to meet this growing global challenge. And I am working on legislation to address our strategy to combat this threat that I hope and am confident can be bipartisan.

I believe the insight and expertise of our witnesses will be an important contribution to our discussion going forward. I thank you for being here.

And it is now my honor to recognize Ranking Member Wilson for the purpose of making an opening statement.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Chairman Ted Deutch, Chairman Max Rose, and Ranking Member Mark Walker, for calling this joint subcommittee hearing today.

There is no doubt that white supremacy extremism is a dangerous and hateful ideology which must be addressed. In my capacity as ranking member of the International Terrorism Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I am particularly interested in hearing more about the international dimension of this troubling phenomenon.

Personally, I would like to learn more about the nature of this threat from our witnesses. How big of an international presence do white supremacy extremist groups have? How many international attacks have these kinds of groups claimed?

Another important question is the organizational structure of the threat. The Islamic extremist terrorist threat that we have faced since September 11, 2001, appears to be much more organized in nature than the one that we are discussing today.

While lone-wolf attacks carried out by individuals radicalized by the ideology of Islamic extremist terrorist groups have increased in recent years, this is still the exception to the more traditional model of attacks directed by a terrorist group.

However, when we look at international white supremacy extremism attacks, they appear to be lone wolves inspired by perverted ideology. The terrorist who massacred 51 civilians at the mosque at Christchurch, New Zealand, in March claimed to be inspired by the Norwegian attacker who killed 77 people in Oslo in 2011. The shooter who killed 22 people in August at the Walmart in El Paso, Texas, allegedly claimed to have been inspired by the manifesto of the Christchurch shooter.

Additionally, in some cases, it appears that the perpetrators of these attacks are inspired by a variety of hateful ideologies, not just white supremacy extremism. For example, the murderers in New Zealand and El Paso also were described as eco-fascists.

With these murderous acts, are there bona fide linkages between the international white supremacist extremist attackers? Is this a real, united movement or deranged and dangerous individuals inspired by toxic hate on the internet?

And, last, is this phenomenon different enough in nature and structure from the current well-financed and organized Islamic extremist terrorism threat that we face? Should we be approaching it in the same ways? Should we be using the same policy tools on a problem set that could be fundamentally different?

We are faced with these critical questions. I look forward to hearing from the witnesses today.

And, with that, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Wilson.

I now recognize Chairman Rose for the purpose of making an opening statement.

Mr. ROSE. Thank you, Chairman Deutch. And it is really great to have these subcommittees together today, because we cannot afford to really deal with this issue in a silo anymore. So thank you again for setting this up.

I want to also thank our great partners and witnesses here today. I look forward to hearing from you. Your work and the work that we have seen thus far shows us that this white nationalist threat is a threat that cannot be ignored.

White nationalist terrorists have killed more people in recent years than any other type of domestic extremist. We also know that 78 percent of extremist-related murders in the United States last year were attributed to those adhering to a white nationalist ideology.

On a larger scale, you know, we consider things as most likely threat and most dangerous threat, and the most likely threat from a terrorist perspective in America today is that of a self-radicalized lone gunman, lone gunwoman. And I think I speak for all of us today that we do not care which ideology they ascribe to; we just care whether it is an extremist one and a global one or not.

We have seen that this is also a problem spreading abroad to our allies. In April, The New York Times published an analysis showing that since 2011 approximately one-third of white extremist killers were inspired by attacks globally. We saw how an attack in Norway inspired one at Christchurch, which inspired several here at home.

Unsurprisingly, all of this has also shed a light on the world of social media companies as a catalyst for the spread of white nationalist propaganda both here and abroad. No longer can we look at these companies as exciting, new, unicorn companies started by teenagers in hoodies. They are large, global firms akin to General Motors. And I am sick and tired of hearing them brag about success rates in and around 60 percent, 70 percent, 80 percent as it pertains to removing extremist content. If an auto company bragged about 70 percent of their airbags deploying, we would not think that that was satisfactory.

This threat knows no boundaries. It does not end at traditional borders, and it tears across continents. As elected officials, I think our number-one priority is public safety, and that is why I am so proud that we are all focusing on this today.

We have to make sure that the Federal Government is working better at data provision. Right now, the capacity of the Federal Government to provide high-level analytics on the white nationalist threat, the white extremist threat, and domestic terrorism is not nearly satisfactory.

We also have to take into account that local law enforcement is now in the intelligence-gathering business and the terrorism-prevention business. I believe that the NYPD has done an extraordinary job in this regard, and we have to make sure that those lessons learned are supported for other law enforcement agencies throughout the country.

Last, as I have said before, we have got to hold technology companies to a standard. And I look forward to hearing your thoughts about how, through public-private partnerships, we can hold them to a standard and do that in a constitutional manner.

You know, we have set a framework for the last 20 years or so about what we should do in regards to jihadist-inspired global extremism. And now it is time for us to apply that framework in a responsible manner to this new threat that we face. We have got to consider how the State Department should expand foreign terrorist organization lists to include these violent international white supremacist groups.

Today, if an American citizen swears allegiance to ISIS or another FTO and spreads their message of terror, there are several and significant resources available to the Federal Government and there are significant consequences for those actions. However, if that same American citizen swears allegiance to a white supremacist group based overseas and spreads their message of terror, the Federal Government does not have access to those same tools. And that is just, plain and simple, wrong.

So I look forward to hearing your opinions today in regards to the issues that I brought up.

And, with that, I thank the witnesses and the members for being here today, and I look forward to making progress on this important issue.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Chairman Rose.

I will now recognize Ranking Member Walker for the purpose of making an opening statement.

Mr. WALKER. Thank you much, Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to participate in today's hearing.

This week marks 56 years since the vicious murders of Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Morris Wesley, Carole Robertson, and Carol Denise McNair at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, a place where I was there earlier this year honoring those lives. Over half a century later, we are still dealing with hatred, racism, and violence. There is no doubt that we must do more to counter these threats.

The unfortunate reality is that no city in the United States is immune. On August 3d, the country was horrified by a domestic attack at a Walmart store in El Paso, Texas, where the killer was directly targeting immigrants and killed 22 innocent people and wounding 24 more. The very next day, a young man obsessed with violence and reportedly fueled by drugs carried out a deadly attack on a public street in Dayton, Ohio, killing 9 people and wounding another 27 others. Several other attacks were reportedly disrupted through good police work and alert family members reporting these concerns.

We must not forget the other domestic terror attacks over the past few years targeting radical and religious groups, including the Tree of Life Synagogue, the Chabad of Poway Synagogue, and the Emanuel African-American Methodist Episcopal Church.

In June, we passed the 3-year anniversary of the attack on the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida, and December will be 4 years since the San Bernardino attack. Also this past June, at least 11 people were injured during an Antifa rally in Portland, Oregon. And, the next month, an inherent to the same ideology targeted a Department of Homeland Security facility in Washington State.

The broad range of ideology-based hatred and societal obsession with violence has left scars across our country. I fully support an

open and bipartisan discussion about domestic terrorism, hateful ideologies, and recommendations for addressing such threats.

I am concerned about reports of global interconnectedness of United States-based domestic extremists and those overseas who share the same views. The far-reaching ability of jihadists to inspire and radicalize from their overseas safe havens have resulted in several hundred Americans going overseas to join their ranks or seek to carry out their attack in our homeland.

Are we seeing these same trends develop with domestic extremists? While current data is not showing the same threat level, there are dangerous similarities between jihadist propaganda and the manifestos posted by domestic extremists. I think it is important to hear from the intelligence community and Federal law enforcement to get a full picture of the threat stream.

Before closing, I do want to raise a concern that today's hearing was scheduled with very little advance notice to the minority side. That is not how the Committee on Homeland Security has worked in the past, especially this subcommittee. And I hope this is an anomaly and, going forward, the majority will work in good faith to provide more notice, particularly on hearings and roundtables related to such important things like threats to our homeland.

I look forward to the testimony today, and I yield back.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Walker.

Without objection, all members may have 5 days to submit statements, questions, and extraneous materials for the record, subject to the length limitations in the rules.

It is now my pleasure to introduce our witnesses.

Dr. Cynthia Miller-Idriss is Professor of Education and Sociology and the director of research at the Center for University Excellence at the American University in Washington, DC. She has spent two decades researching radical and extreme youth culture in Europe and the U.S. She also writes widely on school-based responses to rising hate. She is a prolific author and researcher and is a senior fellow at the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right. Previously, she taught at New York University, the University of Maryland, and the University of Michigan, where she also received her Ph.D. and two master's degrees.

Mr. Christian Picciolini is an award-winning television producer, a public speaker, author, peace advocate, and a former violent extremist. Christian's involvement in and exit from the American white supremacist skinhead movement is chronicled in his memoir, "White American Youth." He now leads the Free Radicals Project, a global extremism prevention and disengagement network, and has helped hundreds of individuals leave hate behind. He also has a forthcoming book, "Breaking Hate: Confronting the New Culture of Extremism."

And, finally, Dr. Sharon Nazarian is Senior Vice President of International Affairs at the Anti-Defamation League, where she heads the ADL's work fighting anti-Semitism and racial hatred globally, including overseeing ADL's Israel Office. She is also the president of the philanthropic Y&S Nazarian Family Foundation, the founder of the Y&S Nazarian Center for Israel Studies at UCLA and chair of its advisory board, and a member of the Council

on Foreign Relations. She received her B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from the University of Southern California.

Thanks to all of you for being here today.

Let me remind the witnesses to please limit your testimony to 5 minutes.

And, without objection, your prepared written statements will be made part of the hearing record.

Thank you so much for being here today.

And, Dr. Miller-Idriss, we would start with you because of where you are sitting and because you hold so many degrees from the University of Michigan. You are recognized.

**STATEMENT OF DR. CYNTHIA MILLER-IDRISS, DIRECTOR,
INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND EDUCATION PROGRAM,
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY**

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Thank you.

Chairman Rose, Chairman Deutch, Ranking Member Walker, Ranking Member Wilson, members of the committee, I would like to thank you for your service to this country and for calling attention to the critical threat from global white nationalist terrorism. I am honored to be here.

Today's focus is on white nationalist terrorism, which I view as a subset of the broader phenomenon of white supremacist extremism. I will use both terms interchangeably to refer to an ideology that calls for lethal and mass violence as a solution to a supposed existential threat posed to whites from demographic change and immigration.

The growing global threat of white nationalist terrorism and white supremacist extremism is well-documented. White supremacist extremism is currently the most lethal form of extremism in the U.S., causing at least 50 deaths in 2018.

My written testimony documents rising trends in several areas: numbers of hate groups, propaganda, recruiting efforts, hate crimes, domestic terrorism arrests, and mass shooting plots. In my oral remarks, I would like to focus on how we should understand white nationalist ideology, its growing global interconnections, and what kinds of strategies might help address it.

White nationalism is a global ideology. It integrates racist and exclusionary beliefs with two core ideas which both rely on mass violence as a solution.

The first is the idea of a great replacement, or white genocide, which is based on a paranoid belief in an orchestrated invasion of immigrants, Muslims, or Jews who will eradicate or replace whites. These scenarios call whites to urgent action with appeals to protect and defend against a shared global threat of immigration and demographic change. They have inspired mass terrorist violence in recent years in Oslo, Pittsburgh, Christchurch, Poway, El Paso, and more.

White nationalist terrorists believe that the only way to prevent the ultimate genocide of white populations by non-whites is through an apocalyptic race war which will result in a restored white civilizational rebirth.

Although there are important differences between Islamist and white supremacist extremisms, there are striking similarities to

the Islamist extremist effort to restore the caliphate. In this sense, Islamist and white nationalist terrorists share a similar apocalyptic vision and use similar violent strategies to get there.

White nationalist terrorists not only believe that a violent apocalypse is coming but also that the fastest way to reach the phase of racial rebirth is to accelerate the path to a new white civilization by speeding up polarization and undermining social stability.

Violence is foundational to this approach because violent acts create immediate societal panic, inspire copycat actors, and encourage reciprocal or revenge terror attacks. For this reason, each violent act of terror is viewed as heroic, celebrated globally, and is understood to bring the movement one step further toward societal collapse and a new white civilization.

Youth are attracted to this ideology in part for how it channels grievances and personal trauma into anger, blame, and resistance but also because it offers a sense of meaning, purpose, and a way to engage heroically with a brotherhood of warriors who seek to save the white race from an imminent threat.

White nationalists are globally interconnected in at least five expanding areas: increasing crowdsourcing online, enabling more fundraising and growing financial interconnections; increasing sharing of tactics, techniques, and procedures, or TTPs, for attacks and other support activities, potentially contributing to more attacks; increased cross-national recruitment for combat—so Ali Soufan testified earlier this month that over 17,000 fighters from Western countries, including many from the U.S., have traveled to Ukraine to fight, mostly for white supremacist groups; increased sharing of manifestos and live-streamed attacks, driving more inspiration from terrorist attacks globally; and increased global gateways to extremist youth scenes that help build more networked relationships.

Social media and online relationships and modes of communication are key to supporting all five of these global strategies and are essential to the radicalization pathways of youth.

White nationalist terrorism will almost certainly continue to get worse. We face a highly contested election season, growing disinformation campaigns, increasing migration flows, and a social media landscape that enables hate to grow and thrive.

There are steps that Congress can take to address this growing threat. We need improved interagency coordination, a rethinking of the division between international and domestic terrorism, and paths for cross-national collaboration with our allies.

Federal and local law enforcement need resources and direction. We need improved national research capacity and expertise. And we need pathways to support local community engagement, communication, and preventative education.

For the safety and security of our Nation but also for the well-being of all the youth, families, and local communities you represent, I urge this Congress to act to prevent violent terrorist attacks and help interrupt radicalization pathways before they begin.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Miller-Idriss follows:]

Statement of Dr. Cynthia Miller-Idriss

Professor of Education and Sociology, American University, Washington, DC

Senior Fellow and Director of Outreach, Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right (U.K.)

HEARING

“MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF WHITE NATIONALIST TERRORISM

AT HOME AND ABROAD”

**The Committee on Foreign Affairs’ Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and
International Terrorism and the Committee on Homeland Security’s Subcommittee on
Intelligence and Counterterrorism**

U.S. House of Representatives

310 Cannon House Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20515

Wednesday, September 18, 2019

Chairman Rose, Chairman Deutch, Chairman Thompson, Ranking Member Walker, Ranking Member Wilson, and Members of the Committee: I would like to thank you for your service to our country and for calling attention to the critical threat from global white nationalist terrorism. I am honored to be here.

My name is Cynthia Miller-Idriss, and I am Professor of Education and Sociology at the American University here in Washington, D.C. I am also Director of Outreach and Senior Fellow at the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR) in the United Kingdom. I have been studying the dynamics of global white supremacist extremism for over twenty years. I have written two books focused on Germany (*Blood and Culture* and *The Extreme Gone Mainstream*). My remarks today on the global rise of white supremacist extremism draw on those years of empirical research in Germany as well as from my new book, *Hate in the Homeland*, which focuses primarily on the U.S.¹ I want to acknowledge the support of several research assistants for this work, most notably Mr. Brian Hughes, whose assistance was invaluable in preparing my testimony today.

Today's focus is on white nationalist terrorism, which I view as a subset of the broader phenomenon of white supremacist extremism. I will use both terms interchangeably to refer to an ideology that calls for lethal and mass violence as a solution to a supposed existential threat posed to whites from demographic change and immigration. White supremacist extremism is currently at a record high, in terms of recognized hate organizations, number of violent attacks, and the spread of its propaganda. The pace of all these dangers is provably increasing. I urge this Congress to take seriously this clear and pressing danger to the safety of the American public and the harmony of our nation.

White supremacist extremism is currently the most lethal form of extremism in the U.S. White supremacist extremists were responsible for at least 50 deaths in 2018—the fourth-deadliest year since 1970 in terms of domestic extremist deaths—with the majority of those deaths linked to white supremacy specifically.² There have been over 100 deaths in the U.S. and Canada at the hands of white supremacist extremists since 2014.³ White supremacist extremism has grown dramatically in terms of its organization. The number of hate groups in the U.S. is currently at a record high. White nationalist groups alone increased by 50% in 2018, increasing from 100 to 148.⁴

The pace of white nationalist terror attacks is also rapidly increasing. In the four weeks after the El Paso shooting that killed 22 people, 40 individuals were arrested for plotting mass shootings, a dozen of which were definitively linked to white supremacist ideology.⁵ Even before El Paso, domestic terrorism incidents were outpacing numbers from previous years. FBI Director Christopher Wray testified in July 2019 that his agency had made about 100 arrests related to domestic terrorism in the first three-quarters of the 2019 fiscal year, noting that a majority of those arrests were related to white supremacy.⁶

The U.S. has also seen a significant rise in white supremacist propaganda, recruiting, and activism. The Anti-Defamation League reported a rise in white supremacist recruiting over the first five months of 2019, along with a steady rise in propaganda tactics and increasing hate crimes.⁷ This comes on the heels of a 182% increase in white supremacist propaganda incidents from 2017 to 2018, when 1,187 cases were reported.⁸ This propaganda is not limited to any single group. The hundreds of documented instances of white supremacist and white nationalist propaganda documented in 2018 came from at least ten separate national ‘alt-right,’ white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups.⁹

U.S. resources in the fight against terrorism have not been adjusted sufficiently to meet this challenge. In recent Congressional testimony, FBI officials noted that 80% of their counterterrorism field agents focus on international terrorism cases and 20% focus on domestic terrorism. The imbalance in resources is consequential. While the FBI was able to stop 70% of terrorist activities from Islamist groups or individuals in 2018, over 71% of white supremacist extremists have been able to carry out their plans for violent attacks during the same period.¹⁰ We are also hampered by definitional challenges. The FBI now uses the term 'racially-motivated violent extremism' to encompass both white supremacist groups as well as what they previously labeled 'black identity extremists.'¹¹ This is also complicated by a distinction that the US federal government currently draws between international and domestic terrorism. The category of international terrorism includes a sub-category of 'homegrown violent extremists' inside the United States who are understood to be radicalized by a global ideology. But there is currently no such category for domestic terrorism, which is understood as comprised of "individuals who commit violent criminal acts in furtherance of ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as racial bias and anti-government sentiment."¹² This distinction runs the risk of overlooking the many ways that white nationalist terrorism, especially today, is globally networked and intertwined.

Understanding the Ideology. White supremacist extremism is a global ideology that espouses norms, values and beliefs that are fundamentally counter to the principles and health of our nation, including aims like the establishment of white ethno-states, the re-migration and deportation of non-whites or non-Europeans, and the reduction of rights for ethnic minorities. It is hierarchical and exclusionary, establishing clear lines of superiority and inferiority according

to race, ethnicity, and nationality, and de-humanizing groups of people who are deemed to be inferior. These beliefs are used to justify violence by individuals or groups who hold a sense of perceived superiority over other groups of people.¹³ Many of these exclusionary ideologies are tied to changing patterns of immigration and demographic transformation, meaning that white identity and the need for its protection and defense is a common thread across white supremacist and white nationalist beliefs and practices.

White supremacist extremists do not only express exclusionary and de-humanizing ideologies, but also embed those ideologies within a racist framework of existential threat to whites as a dominant group. White nationalist terrorists rely on three overlapping dystopian fantasy theories: the 'Great Replacement' (used globally), white genocide (used predominantly in the U.S.) and Eurabia (used predominantly in Europe). All three theories are based on a paranoid belief in an invasion of immigrants, Muslims, or Jews who will eradicate or replace white, Christians, Americans or Europeans. These scenarios rely on a sense of white victimhood and are frequently tied to emotional appeals to protect, defend, and take heroic action to restore sacred national space, territory, and homelands.

The Great Replacement is a white supremacist conspiracy theory about demographic change. It claims that there is an intentional, global plan orchestrated by national and global elites to replace white, Christian, European populations with non-white, non-Christian ones.¹⁴ Great Replacement-type theories seek to create a sense of urgency and call whites to action. They foster transnational inspiration and a sense of shared mission among global white nationalists and white supremacists, who see themselves as facing a common demographic threat. They have already inspired mass terrorist violence by white supremacist extremists,

including the 2011 mass shooting in Norway¹⁵, the murder of 51 Muslim worshippers in Christchurch, the El Paso shooting¹⁶ and the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting.

White nationalist terrorists believe that the only way to prevent the ultimate genocide of white populations by non-white immigrants is through an apocalyptic race war which will result in a rebirth into a new world order and a restored white civilization.¹⁷ This is a strikingly similar ideology to the Islamist extremist effort to restore the Caliphate—in this sense, Islamist and white nationalist terrorists share a similar apocalyptic vision and use the same kinds of violent terrorist strategies in an effort to accelerate the process toward the end times. This becomes particularly relevant for what is known as reciprocal radicalization or cumulative extremism—acts of terror committed as revenge or in response to terrorist acts from the ‘other side.’¹⁸

White nationalist terrorists not only believe that a violent apocalypse is coming, but also that the best and fastest way to reach the phase of racial rebirth is to accelerate the path to the apocalypse and eventual new civilization by speeding up polarization and societal discord as a way of undermining social stability overall. Violence is foundational to this approach, because violent acts create immediate societal panic, inspire copycat actors, and encourage reciprocal or revenge terror attacks from affected groups. For this reason, each violent act of terror is viewed as heroic, celebrated in the name of the global cause, and is understood to bring white supremacists one step further toward the end-times collapse and subsequent restoration of a new white civilization.¹⁹ This principle—acceleration—is a key aspect motivating terrorist violence from white supremacist extremists and white nationalist terrorists globally.

Youth Radicalization. Youth are attracted to this ideology in part for how it channels grievances and personal trauma into anger, blame, and resistance, but also because it offers a

sense of meaning, purpose, and a way to engage heroically with a brotherhood of warriors who seek to save the white race from an imminent threat. The radicalization process is complex, often taking part to a large extent online. Exposure to exclusionary and dehumanizing ideologies is only part of the story. People are drawn to those beliefs because of how they feel. Research has shown that white nationalist and white supremacist extremist ideologies are especially attractive to people who have experienced some form of personal trauma or economic instability and the set of emotions that surround that experience—including anger, resentment, humiliation, a desire for change, nostalgia for the past, a wish to belong to something bigger than oneself and the chance to enact a sense of purpose. There is some evidence that a sense of betrayal by the government or mainstream society can also play a role.²⁰ Structural inequalities like poverty do not typically motivate white nationalist terrorist engagement directly, but structural inequality is an indirect cause of radicalization, as it becomes articulated into grievances against the state, ethnic minorities, women or others. One common expression is when individuals experience what is called relative deprivation, feeling deprived of the successes they had anticipated achieving. This can lead to what scholars call aggrieved entitlement, referring to the individual's sense that they deserve something better than their current lot, that someone else is to blame for their own perceived inequality, and that violence is an acceptable response to this experience of personal harm.²¹

White supremacist extremists were early adopters of the internet and have quickly capitalized on new media's ability to broaden recruitment and exposure to political ideologies beyond physical spaces and published materials.²² New social media platforms created a sudden ease with which propaganda and marketing materials could be distributed, circulated, re-tweeted, shared, and connected with the mainstream.²³ Today there is a broad new tech and media

ecosystem for white nationalist and white supremacist communication, dissemination, and mobilization. Unmoderated, fringe platforms pose a particular problem, where the concentration of extreme views (combined with a lack of moderate ones), along with the kind of heightened polarization brought on by the relative anonymity of social media and the lack of oversight on unregulated sites make them especially ideal places to incubate and radicalize individuals.²⁴

Global Connections. White nationalists are globally interconnected in at least five expanding areas:

- Increased crowdsourcing online, enabling more fundraising and growing financial interconnections²⁵;
- Increased sharing of tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs) for attacks and other support activities, potentially contributing to more attacks as well as greater lethality and propaganda promotion;
- Increased cross-national recruitment for combat. For example, Ali Soufan testified before the House Committee on Homeland Security on September 10, 2019 that over 17,000 fighters from Western countries- including many from the U.S.- have traveled to Ukraine to fight, mostly for white supremacist groups²⁶;
- Increased sharing of manifestos and livestreamed attacks, driving more inspiration from terrorist attacks globally; and
- Increased global gateways to extremist youth scenes in cultural realms like music festivals and combat sports tournaments, which contribute to more networked relationships.

Social media and online modes of communication are key to supporting all five of these global strategies, and are essential to the radicalization pathways of youth in particular. As the Southern Poverty Law Center's Lecia Brooks testified before Congress in June 2019, "entire online spaces ... exist solely to provide training and advice" for global audiences of white supremacist extremists, along with source material to intensify ideology and places to celebrate violent attacks.²⁷ Subcultural scenes enhance these online global interconnections by bringing together youth across borders in-person to meet up at music festivals, conferences, mixed martial arts tournaments, and festivals associated with or linked to white supremacist scenes. Importantly, while online spaces and modes of communication facilitate these cooperative engagements and have significantly reduced burdens to transnational collaboration, they are not the root cause of the collaboration—rather, those collaborations are motivated by shared, global ideologies based in common understandings about a threat to white civilizations from immigration and demographic change.

Conclusion

White supremacist extremism is a growing and evolving global threat. The trends I describe above—which clearly document an escalation in murders, violent attacks, hate crimes, increases in the number of arrests and thwarted attacks, rising propaganda and increased recruiting from white supremacist groups, along with evidence of multiple strategies enhancing cross-national collaboration and transnational terrorist inspiration—provide the best indication of the rising threat of white nationalist terrorism and white supremacist extremism in the U.S. and globally. We also know that white supremacist extremism will almost certainly continue to get worse in the years to come, as we face an unstable and highly-contested election season,

disinformation campaigns, and the insufficiency of single-platform bans to curtail hate clusters from re-forming on alternative social media sites. We can also anticipate increasing migration from ongoing international instability and climate-driven refugees, making the issue of immigration and demographic change an ongoing theme for white nationalists and white supremacist extremists.

There are steps that Congress can take to address this growing threat. We need improved interagency coordination, a rethinking of the division between international and domestic terrorism, and paths for cross-national collaboration with our allies. Federal and local law enforcement need resources and direction. We need improved national research capacity and expertise. And we need pathways to support local community engagement, communication, and preventative education.

Young people need a pathway to make a difference and become heroes, ways to enact meaning in their lives and have a meaningful sense of purpose. If we don't find ways to offer that to them, others will. We need proactive, preventative approaches that involve local communities at all levels. This cannot be only the purview of national security but also of local and community engagement. We need collaborative ways of working with governors, mayors, local law enforcement, local educators, parents, and religious leaders. We need strategies that will combat polarization and improve co-existence among young people so that we reduce vulnerabilities to extremist rhetoric that blames others and channels their grievances into violent action.

For the safety and security of our nation but also for the well-being of all of the youth, families and local communities you represent, I urge this Congress to act to not only prevent violent terrorist attacks but also to interrupt radicalization pathways before they begin.

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- ⁸ As noted in George Selim's May 15, 2019 Congressional testimony before the Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Subcommittee of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee, at a hearing on "Confronting White Supremacy (Part I): The Consequences of Inaction," citing the ADL report "White Supremacists Step Up Off-Campus Propaganda Efforts in 2018." Available at: <https://www.adl.org/resources/reports/white-supremacists-step-up-off-campus-propaganda-efforts-in-2018>. See George Selim's full written testimony at <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/GO/GO02/20190515/109478/HHRG-116-GO02-Wstate-SeliumG-20190515.pdf>
- ⁹ Propaganda was linked in 2018 to Identity Evropa (which regrouped in 2019 as the American Identity Movement, AIM), Patriot Front, Loyal White Nights, Ku Klux Klan, Daily Stormer, Atomwaffen Division, National Alliance, National Socialist Legion, National Socialist Movement, and Vanguard America. See the May 15, 2019 Congressional testimony of George Selim.
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²⁷ See Lecia Brooks' June 4, 2019 Congressional testimony.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Dr. Miller-Idriss.
Mr. Picciolini.

STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI, FOUNDER, FREE RADICALS PROJECT, AUTHOR, "BREAKING HATE: CONFRONTING THE NEW CULTURE OF EXTREMISM"

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Thank you, Chairman Deutch, Chairman Rose, Ranking Members Wilson and Walker, and distinguished members of this vital committee—both vital committees and institution.

I am honored by your invitation to testify today. I also want to acknowledge that I am privileged to be here, considering my past.

I am a former extremist. In 1987, I was recruited into America's first neo-Nazi skinhead group and, at 14 years old, became one of the youngest and earliest members of what was then a fringe hate movement.

For the next 8 years, I recruited other vulnerable youth, acted as a mouthpiece for hate, and wrote racist music that I performed for thousands of white supremacists across the United States and Europe.

I rose quickly through the ranks to become a leader of the same white nationalist movement that, 30 years later, on August 12, 2017, marched in Charlottesville, chanting, "The Jews will not replace us," and killed a young woman named Heather Heyer.

I escaped extremism in 1996 through the compassion of people I least deserved it from. Black and Latinx Americans, Jews, people from the LGBTQ community, and Muslims brought me back to humanity.

After disengaging, I obsessed over how a typical, middle-class, teenage son of Italian-American immigrant parents could become a violent white supremacist who forged alliances overseas. To better understand my own radicalization, I went back in, this time to prevent others from venturing down the same dark path.

The number of former extremists I have helped disengage—"formers," as we are called—is now in the hundreds from around the world, including a returned foreign fighter of the so-called Islamic State.

What I have learned over 30 years is that the United States is losing vital ground in a battle we have yet to acknowledge exists on some levels. Violence by white supremacists has skyrocketed in America. Data from the FBI and groups like the Anti-Defamation League clearly document this disturbing trend.

But the greater threat that has gone largely unnoticed and unchallenged for decades is how the tentacles of American white nationalism extend far beyond our borders and into a deep network of global terror.

American white nationalists have spent decades building alliances with their counterparts overseas. They have developed a sophisticated online presence and receive material support from foreign allies through digital influence campaigns that directly bolster their narratives and propaganda and extend their reach.

Like ISIS, white nationalists also distribute glossy print and electronic propaganda and produce high-quality recruitment videos. They trade in digital cryptocurrency, use social media on encrypted platforms to communicate, share ideas and resources, lure new

sympathizers, and plan attacks. This is just what is occurring on-line.

In 2018, the FBI reported white supremacists from Scandinavia, Northern Europe, and the United States were training as foreign fighters with foreign paramilitary groups like the neo-Nazi Azov Battalion in Ukraine and in far-right partisan training camps in Russia.

They inflict terror the same way as foreign terrorist groups: bombing government facilities, planned interruption of critical infrastructure, using high-capacity military-style assault weapons against soft civilian targets, assassinations, and the use of vehicles to target crowds.

We tend to view white nationalist attacks, like those in Charleston or El Paso, as isolated hate crimes, but I cannot stress enough that this view is naive and dangerous and will continue to expose Americans until we acknowledge that this threat is persistent and pervasive.

White nationalism is a fast-growing global movement whose members are preparing for a coming race war while simultaneously trying to initiate one.

The shooter in the attacks on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, earlier this year posted a manifesto online deeply aligned with the core ideas of American white supremacist leaders. Though he was a 28-year-old Australian, in a video of the attack a Ukrainian Azov Battalion patch was visible on his body armor.

This is just one example of how international cooperation leads to a body count. There are dozens more deadly incidents that have occurred recently right here at home. When we think of terrorism by the so-called Islamic State, we acknowledge the international dimensionality and the foreign special interests that allow it to exist and grow. We must do the same when it comes to white nationalist terrorism as a matter of national security.

Adequate terrorism laws already exist to thwart and prosecute terrorists, as do plenty of capable and talented people who are ready to defend us from the threat of harm. But the current counterterrorism mandate does not provide for the proper focus, resources, funding, or, in some cases, the correct holistic approach to effectively counter extremism.

Keeping Americans safe requires a strategy that redefines the threats we face, and it must be a balanced, nonpolitical, non-partisan, and nondiscriminatory approach that recognizes violent nationalism as part of the global threat matrix.

But neutralizing violence is only half of the equation. Preventing radicalization in future generations of Americans is also critical. Policy reform and a public health approach that protects those who are vulnerable to recruitment and offers services to people who want to disengage will be the key to long-term success in countering violence-based extremism.

I have submitted an expanded written statement for the record, including a video, and I am at your disposal. Thank you very much. I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Picciolini follows:]

**Testimony of:**

Mr. Christian Picciolini
Founder, Free Radicals Project
Author, *Breaking Hate: Confronting the New Culture of Extremism*

Before:

House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and International Terrorism
-and-
House Committee on Homeland Security
Subcommittee on Intelligence and Terrorism

Wednesday, September 18, 2019

“Meeting the Challenge of White Nationalist Terrorism at Home and Abroad”**ORAL TESTIMONY & SUMMARY**

Thank you, Chairman Thompson and Chairman Engel, Chairman Deutch and Chairman Rose, ranking members Wilson and Walker, and distinguished members of these vital committees and institution. I am honored by your invitation to testify today. I am privileged to be here, considering my past. I am a former extremist.

In 1987, I was recruited into America’s first neo-Nazi skinhead group, and at 14 years old became one of the youngest and earliest members of what was then a “fringe” hate movement. For the next eight years, I recruited other vulnerable youth, acted as a mouthpiece for hate, and wrote racist music that I performed for thousands of white supremacists across the U.S. and Europe. I rose quickly through the ranks to become a leader of the same “white nationalist” movement that thirty years later on August 12, 2017, marched in Charlottesville chanting “The Jews will not replace us” and killed a young woman named Heather Heyer.

I escaped extremism in 1996 through the compassion of people I least deserved it from—black and Latinx Americans, Jews, people from the LGBTQ community, and Muslims— who brought me back to humanity.



After disengaging, I obsessed over how a typical, middle-class, teenage son of Italian-American immigrant parents could become a violent white supremacist who forged alliances overseas. To better understand my own radicalization, I went “back in,” this time to prevent others from venturing down the same dark path. The number of former extremists I have helped disengage—“formers” as we’re called—is now in the hundreds from around the world, including a returned foreign fighter of the so-called Islamic State.

What I’ve learned over thirty years is that the United States is losing vital ground in a battle we have yet to acknowledge exists.

Violence by white supremacists has skyrocketed in America. Data from the FBI and groups like the Anti-Defamation League clearly document this disturbing trend. But the greater threat that has gone largely unchallenged for decades, is how the tentacles of American white-nationalism extend far beyond our own borders into a deep network of global terror.

American white nationalists have spent decades building alliances with their counterparts overseas. They have developed a sophisticated online presence, and receive material support from foreign allies through digital influence campaigns that directly bolster narratives and propaganda and extend their reach. Like ISIS, white nationalists also distribute glossy print and electronic propaganda and produce high quality recruitment videos. They trade in digital currency, use social media and encrypted platforms to communicate, share ideas and resources, lure new sympathizers, and plan attacks. This is just what’s occurring in their online ecosystem.

In 2018, the FBI reported white-supremacists from Scandinavia, northern Europe, and the United States were training as foreign fighters with foreign paramilitary groups like the neo-Nazi Azov Battalion in Ukraine and in far-right “Partizan” training camps in Russia.

They inflict terror the same way as foreign terrorist groups: bombing government facilities, interruption of critical infrastructure, using high-capacity military-style assault weapons against “soft civilian targets,” assassinations, and use of vehicles to target crowds.

We tend to view white-nationalist attacks like those in Charleston or El Paso as isolated hate crimes. But I can’t stress enough that this view is dangerously naive and will continue to expose Americans until we acknowledge this threat as persistent and pervasive. White nationalism is a fast-growing global movement whose members are preparing for a coming “race war,” while simultaneously trying to initiate one.



The shooter in attacks on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, earlier this year posted a manifesto online deeply aligned with the core ideas of American white-nationalist leaders—though he was a 28-year-old from Australia. In video of the attack, a Ukrainian Azov Battalion patch is visible on the killer's body armor. This is just one example of how international cooperation leads to a body count. There are dozens more deadly incidents that have occurred recently right here at home.

When we think of terrorism by the so-called Islamic State, we acknowledge the international dimensionality and the foreign special interests that allow it to exist and grow. We must do the same when it comes to white-nationalist terrorism as a matter of national security. Adequate terrorism laws already exist to thwart and prosecute terrorists, as do plenty of capable and talented people who are ready to defend us from the threat of harm, but the current counter-terrorism mandate doesn't provide for the proper focus, resources, funding, or in some cases, the correct holistic approach to effectively counter extremism.

Keeping Americans safe requires a strategy that redefines the threats we face. It must be a balanced, non-political, non-partisan, and non-discriminatory approach that recognizes violent white nationalism as part of the global threat matrix. But neutralizing violence is only half of the equation. Preventing radicalization in future generations of Americans is also critical. Policy reform and a public health approach that protects those who are vulnerable to recruitment and offers services to people who want to disengage will be the key to long-term success in countering violence-based extremism.

I have submitted an expanded written statement for the record. I am at your disposal and welcome your questions. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Christian Picciolini
Free Radicals Project, Founder



THE HOMEGROWN THREAT OF WHITE NATIONALISM

In 2017, the FBI stated 7,000 hate crimes were reported in the United States.¹ But considering many hate crimes go unreported by law enforcement agencies due to the high level of difficulty classifying and prosecuting them, the real number is even more staggering. The Anti-Defamation League published a similar report in 2019, concluding incidents of American far-right violence accounted for nearly *all* hate-related murders in 2018.²

Atomwaffen Division is a neo-Nazi group that even other Nazis are spooked by. Appropriating symbols and an old moniker from Hitler's National-Socialist Party, Atomwaffen—"Atomic Weapons" in German—are a well-armed, paramilitary neo-Nazi "death cult," responsible for at least five murders since 2017.³ Members worship the teachings of Adolf Hitler and American Nazi Party *fürher* George Lincoln Rockwell, which includes calls for the extermination of Jews, the overthrowing of the U.S. government through acts of terrorism, and the assassination of anyone they consider an enemy. Followers believe themselves to be devout National-Socialists (Nazis). Most outside observers have aligned them with the Alt-Right and white nationalism at large—not wholly inaccurate since Atomwaffen members and flags emblazoned with their logo were present in Charlottesville at Unite the Right in 2017.

Many hoping to escape the stigma of the militant white-supremacist movement consider Atomwaffen too extreme. But their leaders know how to draw in disillusioned, young white males, whose only medium for acceptance is the virtual world, and whose shared frustrations stem from the real world that they perceive has sidelined and emasculated them.

Atomwaffen Division members have conducted weapons and combat training in at least four U.S. states in recent years. Current and former members of the military who have found their skills highly valued have been recruited for leadership roles within the group. Drawing on their battlefield experience, soldiers have helped shape the group into a loose collection of terrorist cells. Followers are encouraged to engage in lone-wolf attacks against people and places that serve minority groups (especially the LGBTQ+ and Jewish communities), government facilities, and critical public infrastructures including electric power grids, gas pipelines, water filtration systems, and nuclear energy plants.

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² Anti-Defamation League. (January 2019). *Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2018*.

³ Mathias, C. (2018, February 1). *1 Neo-Nazi Group, 5 Murders In 8 Months*. HuffPost. Retrieved from https://www.huffpost.com/entry/atomwaffen-nazi-murder-bomb-plot_n_5a70825ae4b00d0de2240328



By 2018, Atomwaffen cells were springing up in cities across America. Although it is hard to say exactly how many are part of the group due to their clandestine nature, members have claimed 100 exist in thirty cells across at least twenty-five states. Although the threat of 100 Atomwaffen operatives seems like a relatively small number in a nation as large as the United States, we must not forget it took only nineteen men to murder three-thousand people on 9/11. By using digital media and the internet as a virtual recruiting ground, Atomwaffen Division has reached huge numbers of alienated young people with their seductive narratives.

In recent years, groups linked to Atomwaffen Division have also sprung up in Australia (Antipodean Resistance), Canada (Northern Order), the United Kingdom (Sonnenkrieg Division and National Action), Atomwaffen Division Germany, Greece's Golden Dawn, CasaPound in Italy, and the Nordic Resistance Movement—Atomwaffen's Scandinavian affiliate. More troubling, perhaps, is that Atomwaffen's growth has largely gone unnoticed by U.S. law enforcement, because homegrown far-right extremists have become de-prioritized as a focus of extremism prevention efforts.

Like the so-called Islamic State (ISIS), their radical counterparts in the Middle-East, groups like Atomwaffen and a new variant called "The Base" (the literal translation of "Al-Qaeda") have gone from recruiting idealistic college students with eye-catching posters that contain provocative imagery and bold headlines like, "A New Order Will Rise from the Ashes of the Kike System," and "Race War Now!" to producing slick and sophisticated recruitment, propaganda, and combat training videos for online distribution to boost visibility—to committing murder.

Since 2017, members have murdered people at an alarming rate. In a horrific anti-Semitic and homophobic killing, a twenty-year-old member in California killed a gay, Jewish college classmate, stabbing him over twenty times before burying his body in a shallow grave.⁴

Police charged a twenty-one-year-old member from Florida—the geographic nucleus of Atomwaffen—with possessing functioning bomb-making devices and radioactive materials, which he intended to use in attacks on synagogues and nuclear power plants. Among other personal possessions, police found Third Reich paraphernalia and a framed photograph of

⁴ Thompson, A. C., Winston, A., & Hanrahan, J. (2018, January 26). *California Murder Suspect Said to Have Trained with Extremist Hate Group*. ProPublica. Retrieved from <https://www.propublica.org/article/california-murder-suspect-atomwaffen-division-extremist-hate-group>



Timothy McVeigh.⁵ In the same incident, another eighteen-year-old Atomwaffen member who converted to radical ISIS supporter shot and killed two neo-Nazi roommates when they ridiculed his transformation, claiming he'd gone "from Communist to Nazi to full Islamic State"—a prime example of a phenomenon I call "cult hopping," where individuals jump from one extreme ideology to another.

When another seventeen-year-old Atomwaffen supporter in Virginia became rebuked by his girlfriend's parents because they wouldn't allow her to date him due to his racist beliefs, he murdered the couple in cold blood.⁶

Atomwaffen Division members still actively train in parts of the United States for a violent white revolution—or they vow they will die trying. A recent three-day event in Death Valley in the Nevada desert they called "Hate Camp" saw members training with automatic weapons for what their training videos called a "race war."⁷

THE "MAINSTREAMING" STRATEGY OF WHITE NATIONALISM

The value of maintaining their more-visible militant remnants remained important to the movement-at-large for purposes of intimidation, but its value faded in the mid-1980s as virtual spaces like social media began to replace physical recruiting grounds like playgrounds, parks, and skate parks. In its place, a strategy unfolded to present a more-sanitized hate movement to the American mainstream. It took decades to cultivate and continued developing long after I disengaged from the movement, but the tactic was effective.

The most significant example of modern white-power extremism camouflaging itself to infiltrate the American mainstream is the case of David Duke, the former grand wizard of the Louisiana Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It was in 1989 when he shed his traditional Klan hood and robe to don the three-piece suit of a D.C. politician and won a seat in the House of Representatives for the State of Louisiana. But since early 2016, the plan to mainstream white-supremacist ideology took on a life of its own. Things began to shift when David Duke set up shop in Moscow.

⁵ Thompson, A. C. (2018, November 20). *An Atomwaffen Member Sketched a Map to Take the Neo-Nazis Down. What Path Officials Took Is a Mystery*. ProPublica. Retrieved from <https://www.propublica.org/article/an-atomwaffen-member-sketched-a-map-to-take-the-neo-nazis-down-what-path-officials-took-is-a-mystery>

⁶ Jouvenal, J. (2018, December 23). *A teen is charged with killing his girlfriend's parents. They had worried he was a neo-Nazi*. Washington Post. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/teen-charged-with-killing-girlfriends-parents-they-had-worried-he-was-a-neo-nazi/2017/12/23/e2102894-c761-11e7-833f-155031558ff4_story.html?noredirect=on

⁷ Thompson, A. C. (2018, February 23). *Inside Atomwaffen As It Celebrates a Member for Allegedly Killing a Gay Jewish College Student*. ProPublica. Retrieved from <https://www.propublica.org/article/atomwaffen-division-inside-white-hate-group>



During his hiatus from U.S. politics, Duke wrote, and he traveled several times to Russia to promote his book, *The Ultimate Supremacism: My Awakening on the Jewish Question*. While there, he became enamored with the strongman ethno-nationalist ethos of the newly elected Russian President, Vladimir Putin. Duke's anti-Semitic book, a top seller, is featured in the bookstore in the main lobby of the Russian Duma (Congress). Eyeing a potential new ally in highly motivated, post-Soviet Russia, Duke left Louisiana and moved to Moscow in 1999, where he rented a flat and lived for five years.⁸

While living there, Duke became acquainted with Aleksandr Dugin, a former sociology professor at Moscow State University. Branded "Putin's Rasputin" by former Trump White House chief strategist Steve Bannon, Dugin rose to prominence as a policy advisor to Russian President Vladimir Putin's top political and military leaders after the Soviet collapse. The privileged son of an intelligence officer, Dugin is an avowed fascist who subscribes to the ideology of neo-Eurasianism—a school of thought which believes Russia and the former Soviet Republics are neither part of Europe or Asia, and that "Greater Russia" must reclaim these lost territories and redefine itself as Russian Orthodox ethno-continent. Dugin's book, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, is allegedly required reading for new members of the Russian General Staff Academy.

The blossoming of this bond between the Putin regime and America's white nationalists is the same attempting to disrupt America and other Liberal Democracies around the world. It traces back to this kinship between David Duke and Aleksandr Dugin, and by extension, Putin.

Meanwhile, other leaders within the American white-nationalist movement have also spent time abroad forging a network of like-minded far-right groups and drawing inspiration from them.

Aside from his former marriage and his two children with an avowed Putin propagandist, Alt-Right leader Richard Spencer has long been building alliances with like-minded far-right groups in Sweden—a country he's now banned from entering along with twenty-five other European nations—with the goal of building a global Alt-Right media network.

David Duke, Richard Spencer, and other white nationalists like Jared Taylor of the Council of Conservative Citizens, continue to promote their racist agendas among American and Canadian academics and fascist government leaders in Russia, Ukraine, and Hungary, among other countries trending politically to the far-right in recent years.

⁸ Thompson, A. C. (2001, January 6). *Ex-Klansman David Duke Sets Sights on Russian Anti-Semites*. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved from <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-jan-06-mn-9088-story.html>



THE GLOBAL THREAT OF WHITE NATIONALISM

Unless we understand the full scope of the global white-supremacist movement, we will remain ignorant as to how it spreads within our own borders—and we will continue to fail in defending our democracy of its lasting threat.

In recent decades, wider networks have been established between American white nationalists and their counterparts overseas. The tragic events in Charlottesville, Poway, Charleston, Pittsburgh, Overland Park, Washington D.C., Oak Creek, El Paso, Gilroy, Las Vegas, and Oklahoma City—in cities and towns across the United States—are but singular battles in a transnational war.

On March 25, 2019, an Australian white supremacist attacked two Christchurch, New Zealand mosques with an assortment of loaded semi-automatic assault weapons. Through a Facebook live stream, the world watched as the shooter massacred 52 peaceful Muslim—men, women, and small children. The killer wore identifiable white-nationalist movement markings on his body armor—insignia supporting Azov Battalion, a deadly neo-Nazi militia in Ukraine—and left behind a manifesto that provided further evidence of a growing global terror network.

To further magnify this chaos, hostile foreign actors emboldened by our nation's fractured sociopolitical environment and our collective distress, are aiding domestic and foreign extremists in hunting for fresh recruits within vulnerable communities like multiplayer online games, internet forums dedicated to depression and autism, and in apps frequented by our children. They are baiting Americans—mostly male, young, intelligent, middle class, idealistic, disillusioned, and alienated—with influence tactics, internet memes, and elaborate online conspiracy theories that artificially feed a growing antipathy toward the mainstream.

THE WHITE-NATIONALIST “FOREIGN FIGHTER” PHENOMENON

More disturbing than the vile rhetoric espoused by these extremist ideologues is the way that these budding transnational partnerships have been proving deadly. Just as the deserts of the Levant have drawn young fighters from around the United States and Europe, the unrest along Ukraine's border with Russia and in Crimea has attracted white-supremacists—to fight on both sides of the battle.

The Azov Battalion, a Ukrainian National Guard regiment with a large neo-Nazi contingent rooted in ultranationalist soccer hooliganism, have drawn foreign fighters from the European



continent, Brazil, Russia, and the United States. Known for flying Nazi battle flags from their tanks and uniform markings that resemble the wolfsangel, or “wolf’s hook”—a symbol used by the Nazi military and Panzer tank divisions—Azov Battalion have been accused of ethnic racism, “ISIS-style” war crimes, and torture.⁹

Further evidence of this growing transnational white-supremacist alliance is seen in the scores of white-supremacists from Scandinavia and northern Europe, even the United States, traveling to Russia for combat training in far-right “Partizan” paramilitary camps.¹⁰

Average Americans tend to view attacks like the killings in Charleston and Charlottesville as isolated hate crimes, the work of a “deranged” racist or a small group lashing out in anger, unconnected to a broader global white-supremacist movement. I can’t stress enough that this view is dangerously naive, and one we can no longer afford to indulge.

White extremists from around the globe are gaining battleground experience and weapons training in places like Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Russia. Where they’ll take their deadly skills next should be of great concern to U.S. national security.

THE DEEPER RUSSIAN CONNECTION TO WHITE NATIONALISM

Since the disbanding of the Soviet Union and the subsequent rise to power by former KGB officer turned president, Vladimir Putin, the Russian propaganda machine has cultivated a consistent sentiment of discord throughout various countries and extremists around the globe by rallying them around two perceived enemies: immigrants and the “global (Jewish) elite”—whose alleged goal is to infect the world with multiculturalism to bring it to its knees.

Even before the formation of the Soviet Union and the KGB intelligence directorate in the early part of the twentieth century, the Russian Empire became known for using active measures, an intelligence tactic designed to influence and disrupt the affairs of its enemies. Honed over decades to advance interests both at home and abroad, Russian active measures remain perhaps the biggest threat to democratized nations since the Cold War ended. Why would the Russian government promote tactics that disrupt Western democracies? The broad consensus among the American Intelligence Community is, faced with continued economic turmoil, that Putin wants

⁹ Sharkov, D. (2014, September 10). *Ukrainian Nationalist Volunteers Committing 'Isis-Style' War Crimes*. Newsweek. Retrieved from <https://www.newsweek.com/evidence-war-crimes-committed-ukrainian-nationalist-volunteers-grows-269604>

¹⁰ Lester Feeder, J., Mannheim, E., Lytyynenko, J. (2014, September 10). *These Swedish Nazis Trained In Russia Before Bombing A Center For Asylum Seekers*. BuzzFeed. Retrieved from <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeeder/these-swedish-nazis-trained-in-russia>



to destabilize multilateral institutions like NATO, international trade agreements like the European Union, and thriving Western democracies like the United States and the United Kingdom, who he believes are conspiring to limit Russia's ability to thrive.

Since Putin's regime took power in 1999, Russia's anti-immigrant and neo-Nazi movements—directing their rage toward ethnic minorities, Jews, and Western democracies—have exploded and become the biggest and most influential in the world. Russia's strategy to undermine public trust by flooding public opinion with false narratives came as no revelation to me. Eight years of fear-mongering and spreading lies for extremist recruitment, using tactics like Russian disinformation—*dezinformatsiya*—had honed my ability to recognize it.

One of the most effective examples of using disinformation in psychological warfare is a 1903 forged document called *The Protocols of the (Learned) Elders of Zion*. A text I devoured thirty years ago as an eager young skinhead, only to learn eight years too late it was a fabricated piece of propaganda commissioned by Tsar Nicholas II to demonize Jews living in Russia. The fictionalized *Protocols* were manufactured to appear as a leaked manifesto of a secret cabal of Jewish leaders allegedly conspiring to subvert Christianity and control global economies by organizing the world's Jews to manipulate governments, financial institutions, and the press. So pervasive became one of the world's earliest instances of viral "fake news," suggesting Jews were responsible for the spread of communism, that American automobile pioneer Henry Ford—a female Russian acquaintance gifted him the book by no less—funded the printing of a half-million copies and distributed them in car dealerships throughout the United States. Alongside the faux *Protocols*, was Ford's own six-book series titled *The International Jew*, his anti-Semitic canard chronicling what he considered in 1920 to be the "Jewish menace." The falsehoods promoted in the Russian forgery and anti-Semitic writings of Henry Ford became central to the worldview of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party and remains the most influential conspiracy theory circulating among today's neo-Nazis, anti-Semites, and militant jihadis.

In recent decades, the internet has enabled American white nationalists to establish a vast global network to coordinate with their counterparts overseas. Online message boards and social media platforms have been instrumental to the expansion of this transnational network. Anonymous supporters and internet trolls have used Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and message forums like 4chan, 8chan, Gab, and Reddit to proliferate their ideas, sometimes even successfully pushing their memes to the political fore.

And as cutting-edge technologies have emerged, the Soviet Union and now Vladimir Putin's Russian Federation have intensified their struggle for political power against the West. In recent



decades, their ability to deploy disruptive active measures also evolved into more elaborate and scalable schemes. But the core mission has always remained the same: use sustained influence campaigns by spreading false information to disrupt, divide, and undermine Western democratic societies—namely the United States of America.

Enter Putin’s personal “web brigades”—his virtual troll army. Operating in nondescript buildings in Moscow and St. Petersburg, these “troll factories” use young Russians, paying them up to two-thousand dollars a month if they make their quota of duping unsuspecting Americans with disinformation postings from fake social media accounts. One such Russian troll factory was a firm called Internet Research Agency (IRA), which U.S. intelligence officials have said interfered and influenced the 2016 presidential election.

IRA’s graphic design department created incendiary memes, while another division studied political discourse in other countries to detect social and political vulnerabilities. Russia saw the underpinnings of American partisanship as an opportunity to take advantage of the deepening political divide in the U.S. by amplifying existing division and sowing discord among Americans. Trolls impersonated Americans online to irritate existing sore spots, stir political tensions and mobilize opposing activists, by tearing open old racial wounds with provocative postings across social media. Leading up to the election, Russian troll factories used nearly one-thousand people to make millions of posts, create and distribute conspiracy theory videos, viral memes, fake news, and misleading infographics to persuade and enrage the American public.¹¹

During Putin’s Cold War KGB days, psychological influence operations may have included the filtering of disinformation through printed materials, or through undercover agent provocateurs to a group of influencers. Now, technology allows the micro-targeting of millions of people in real-time through their online behaviors, potentially influencing the world on a much larger scale, which Putin accomplished when the IRA purchased ads and started affinity groups on Facebook to target unsuspecting users with disinformation during the 2016 presidential election.

In cyberspace, the United States and other traditional superpowers are trailing far behind the technological sophistication and sheer man-power of foreign adversaries like Russia and terrorist groups. For over a decade, rivals including North Korea, China, and Iran have been mapping the computer systems of thousands of U.S. power grids, water-processing facilities and pipelines, financial institutions, as well as the data servers of healthcare and technology companies, leaving

¹¹ House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. (2018, December 23). *Exposing Russia’s Effort to Sow Discord Online: The Internet Research Agency and Advertisements*. Retrieved from <https://intelligence.house.gov/social-media-content/>



our country's infrastructure vulnerable to widespread failure and its citizens open to attack. More recently, the U.S. Intelligence Community reported foreign state-sponsored hackers had infiltrated the electronic voting systems of several U.S. states during the 2016 presidential election and that future attacks were also likely.

However, it's not only our public and private infrastructure—crucial as it is to almost every aspect of modern American life—under attack. While efforts to bolster our cyber defenses and develop offensive digital combat strategies are a top priority for our intelligence community's defense of the nation, it is the weaponization of our own citizens by foreign intelligence influence campaigns that are, perhaps, the most alarming and immediate crisis we face today.

Putin's ingenious strategy of melding traditional spycraft with modern technology leveled the virtual battlefield, making a war fought with computer code and invisible saboteurs infinitely more cost-effective than using tanks and rockets but with effects equally devastating.

CONCLUSIONS

America's repeated failure to understand the white-supremacist movement of today as a violence-driven global movement rather than a "fringe" American problem has prevented us from developing a clear strategy to effectively combat it. When we think of terrorism by the so-called Islamic State, we acknowledge the international dimensionality and the foreign special interests that allow it to exist and grow. We must do the same when it comes to white-nationalist terrorism as a matter of national security.

Adequate terrorism laws already exist to thwart and prosecute terrorists, as do plenty of capable and talented people who are ready to defend us from the threat of harm, but the current counter-terrorism mandate doesn't provide for the proper focus, resources, funding, or in some cases, the correct holistic approach to effectively counter extremism.

Keeping Americans safe requires a strategy that redefines the threats we face. It must be a balanced, non-political, non-partisan, and non-discriminatory approach that recognizes violent white nationalism as part of the global threat matrix. But neutralizing violence is only half of the equation. Preventing radicalization in future generations of Americans is also critical. This must happen through policy reform and a public health approach that supports legitimate initiatives that offer services for people who want to disengage from extremism and enable them with a managed path forward.



ABOUT FREE RADICALS PROJECT

The Free Radicals Project is a global disengagement platform that fills a niche role in aiding individuals, and their families and communities, to exit hate and violence-based extremism through a non-aggressive, community-led approach of individual resilience-building, reconnection, cross-cultural immersion, and making amends. (freeradicals.org)

Free Radicals Project is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization.

ABOUT CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

Christian Picciolini is a leader in the field of extremism intervention, prevention, and disengagement. He trains and lectures for the U.S. government and law enforcement agencies around the world in the most effective approaches to countering violence-based extremist movements. Before the Cook County of Illinois United States Attorney's Office appointed him to perform the first court-mandated "intervention" of a hate crime perpetrator, Christian helped launch exit programs in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Slovakia. He is also an award-winning television producer, a public speaker, author, peace advocate, and a former violent extremist. His involvement in, and exit from, the early American white-supremacist skinhead movement is chronicled in his memoir *White American Youth*. He leads the Free Radicals Project, a global extremism prevention and disengagement network, and has helped hundreds of individuals leave hate behind. The MSNBC documentary series 'Breaking Hate' spotlights this work. Christian's forthcoming book, *Breaking Hate: Confronting the New Culture of Extremism*, will be released on February 25, 2020. (christianpicciolini.com)

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you so much for being here, Mr. Picciolini. Dr. Nazarian.

STATEMENT OF DR. SHARON NAZARIAN, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Dr. NAZARIAN. Good afternoon, Chairmen Deutch and Rose, Ranking Members Wilson and Walker, and members of the subcommittees. My name is Sharon Nazarian, and I serve as senior vice president for international affairs at the Anti-Defamation League. It is an honor to appear before you today.

I am here today to speak to you about the internationalization and increasing interconnectedness of white supremacist ideology around the world, which aims to dehumanize, threaten, and eradicate whole communities.

White supremacy is a transnational terrorist threat that has already begun to engulf us all. Of the extremist-related domestic murders in the U.S. in 2018, ADL has determined that 78 percent were perpetrated by white supremacists.

The threat of homegrown terrorism inspired by Islamist extremist propaganda remains clear and present. In recent years, however, we have seen an increase in other types of violent extremism, and our government has failed to take sufficient measures to also address this rising threat.

While white supremacists use various euphemisms to describe themselves, including “white nationalist,” “race realist,” and “Identitarian,” there should be no uncertainty that the perpetrators of these attacks and the ideological community that inspires them are hateful supremacists.

Over the past 8 years, more than 175 people have died at the hands of white supremacists worldwide. There is a through-line from Charlottesville to Pittsburgh, to Christchurch, Poway, and El Paso.

The Christchurch killer, who slaughtered over 50 innocent people, cited in his manifesto Dylann Roof and Norwegian white supremacist Anders Breivik, who had perpetrated their own white supremacist terror attacks in 2011 and 2015. The Christchurch shooter, in turn, was cited as an inspiration by attackers at Poway, El Paso, and an attempted shooting at a mosque recently in Norway.

In a report ADL released today titled “Hate Beyond Borders”—that I have here with me—“The Internationalization of White Supremacy,” we detail this phenomenon. These findings are a result of the collaboration that is unprecedented between researchers at the ADL Center on Extremism and extremism researchers in five countries, named the Amadeu Antonio Foundation in Germany, the Community Security Trust in the U.K., the Expo Foundation in Sweden, the Observatory of Political Radicalism in France, and the “Never Again” Association in Poland. The report chronicles the deepening ties between extremists in Europe and their white supremacist counterparts in America.

The internet has increased the global interconnectedness of white supremacists, helping to accelerate their movement’s deadly impact. The internet also offers community. While most extremists are not affiliated with organized groups, online forums allow iso-

lated extremists to become more radicalized and dangerous. The most extreme forms of online content thrive on unregulated message boards like 8chan, Gab, and 4chan, but larger social media platforms need to remain vigilant as well.

There is a lot more that the U.S. Government can do to address this threat, and we must start with leaders using their bully pulpit. The President, Cabinet officials, Members of Congress must call out white supremacy at every opportunity and have a responsibility not to engage in scapegoating of vulnerable groups. We cannot say it enough that America is no place for hate.

ADL endorses several pieces of legislation that would help as well, including the Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act, the DATA Act, the NO HATE Act, and the Disarm Hate Act. In addition, Congress can strengthen laws against perpetrators of online misconduct and can encourage online forums to implement more robust governance against cyber-hate.

Finally, Congress and the State Department should closely examine whether it would be appropriate and effective to sanction certain white supremacist groups operating abroad if they meet the State Department's criteria for foreign terrorist organizations. Several countries, such as Canada and the U.K., have already added specific violent supremacist groups to their terrorism list.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify and for calling a hearing on this very important topic. We must act swiftly, decisively, and comprehensively to counter this threat and prevent it from metastasizing.

On behalf of the ADL, we look forward to working with you as you continue to devote your urgent attention to this issue. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Nazarian follows:]

Congressional Testimony

**Meeting the Challenge of White Nationalist
Terrorism at Home and Abroad**

Sharon Nazarian, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President for International Affairs
ADL (Anti-Defamation League)

Joint Hearing

House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on the Middle East,
North Africa, and International Terrorism,
&
House Committee on Homeland Security
Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism

Washington, D.C.
September 18, 2019
2:00 pm



*Working to stop the defamation of the
Jewish people and to secure justice and
fair treatment to all since 1913*

Introduction

Since 1913, the mission of ADL (the Anti-Defamation League) has been to “stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all.” For decades, ADL has fought against anti-Semitism and bigotry by exposing extremist groups and individuals who spread hate and incite violence. Today, ADL is the foremost non-governmental authority on anti-Semitism, domestic terrorism, extremism, hate groups, and hate crimes. Through our Center on Extremism (COE), whose experts monitor a variety of extremist and terrorist movements, ADL plays a leading role in exposing extremist movements and activities, while helping communities and government agencies alike in combating them. ADL’s team of experts – analysts, investigators, researchers, and linguists – use cutting-edge technologies and investigative techniques to track and disrupt extremists and extremist movements worldwide.

I have personal experience in understanding the fear and isolation that extremists can inflict on those whom they target and demonize. When I was a child, I fled with my parents and siblings and extended family from the bigoted tyranny of Khomeini’s regime in Iran. My family had lived and thrived in Iran for generations. We were citizens of the country, belonged to a community, institutions and businesses, until it was made clear that a new regime holding extremist and bigoted values and prejudices felt we had no place there. Today, the Jewish community of Iran is near extinction after a 2500 year rich history because all Jews know that there is no future in Iran for their children.

I am here today to speak to you about the internationalization and increasing interconnectedness of white supremacist ideology around the world which aims to dehumanize, threaten, and eradicate whole communities and the dangers of such ideology becoming ever more pernicious and violent with the aid of technology and the current environment of divisiveness and the demonization of the “other.”

As recently as several weeks ago, people with personal connections to me were targeted, yet again. A man in Nevada was arrested last month “after investigators uncovered his plot to attack an LGBTQ nightclub, a local synagogue and the regional ADL office with firearms and explosives”.¹ He had reportedly exchanged messages with members of organized violent white supremacist groups, including Feuerkrieg Division, an offshoot of Atomwaffen, a group that has allegedly been linked to as many as five murders in the United States.²

¹ Anti-Defamation League, “Man Arrested for Bomb Plot Listed Synagogue, LGBTQ Bar, and ADL as Potential Targets,” *ADL Blog*, August 16, 2019. (<https://www.adl.org/blog/man-arrested-for-bomb-plot-listed-synagogue-lgbtq-bar-and-adl-as-potential-targets>)

² Gabriella Benavidez and Tiana Bohner, “Court Documents Lay Out Las Vegas Man’s Terror Plot, Targets,” *Fox5 Vegas*, August 10, 2019. (https://www.fox5vegas.com/news/local/court-documents-lay-out-las-vegas-man-s-terror-plot/article_a2e150fe-bb03-11e9-8e30-2b97402c2afe.html); Eilcen Hershenov “On Hate Crimes and White

Calling the Threat by Its Name

On October 27, 2018, America witnessed the deadliest attack on Jews in its history when Robert Bowers allegedly stormed a Pittsburgh synagogue armed with an assault rifle and three handguns, shouting “All Jews must die,” and killed 11 people in their place of worship.³ Less than five months later, Brenton Tarrant allegedly perpetrated the deadliest attack against Muslims in New Zealand’s history, slaughtering 51 people who had gathered for prayer at two mosques.⁴ On April 27, 2019, alleged assailant John Earnest opened fire in a synagogue in Poway, California, killing one congregant and wounding several others. On August 3, 2019, Patrick Crusius allegedly targeted Mexicans when he opened fire at a Walmart in El Paso, Texas, killing 22 people and wounding more than two dozen. These were not the first tragedies at the hands of white supremacist terrorists, and, unfortunately, they will not be the last.

White supremacy is a transnational terrorist threat that has already begun to engulf us all. For the past two decades, law enforcement officials worldwide have been focused primarily on the Islamist extremist threat. They have pursued terror organizations like Al Qaeda or ISIS who regularly make bold pronouncements about establishing a global caliphate and whose followers have murdered thousands, the vast majority in the Muslim world. And it’s fair to say that certain governments in the Middle East have aided and abetted the rise of this threat.

The threat of home-grown terrorism inspired by Islamist extremist propaganda remains clear and present. In recent years, however, we have seen an increase in other types of violent extremism, and our government has failed to take sufficient measures to also address this rising threat. Simply, white nationalism is a threat of growing lethality with similar global ambitions and a murderous strategy to achieve those ends.

ADL has been tracking the resurgence of white supremacy off and online and we have been working to identify how to more effectively address this growing threat.

International White Supremacy

While we have seen a surge in domestic white supremacy, we are witnessing this phenomenon happening on an international level, as well. Further, the growing global interconnectedness of this phenomenon has been fueling its expansion, acceleration, and increasing casualty toll. White

Supremacy,” *Testimony before the House Committee on the Judiciary*, April 9, 2019.

(<https://www.adl.org/media/12760/download>)

³ Jay Croft and Saeed Ahmed, “The Pittsburgh synagogue shooting is believed to be the deadliest attack on Jews in American history, the ADL says,” *CNN*, October 28, 2018. (<https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/27/us/jewish-hate-crimes-fbi/index.html?no-st=1568236698>)

⁴ Anti-Defamation League, “White Supremacist Terrorist Attack at Mosques in New Zealand,” *ADL Blog*, March 15, 2019. (<https://www.adl.org/blog/white-supremacist-terrorist-attack-at-mosques-in-new-zealand>)

supremacists around the world are meeting online and in person at conferences, capitalizing on the digitization of information, which has in turn accelerated the international exchange of ideas. These virtual and actual gatherings provide key opportunities for white supremacists to share ideas and tactics and recruit a new generation of followers.

Although some white supremacists in the U.S. are influenced by the written works of European white supremacists and far-right writers, today more than ever, in-person conferences, rallies, forums and events build and solidify their relationships. The speakers at these events tend to share a common focus: they are concerned about changing demographics in the U.S. and Europe, the immigration of non-white people, the preservation and celebration of “white identity” and the effects of globalism and multiculturalism. Some speakers may focus on their individual countries, but there is a joint purpose of preserving what they term “white European culture.” They see themselves as a united force working together to both halt demographic changes and to convince disaffected whites to join their cause.

Over the past decade, we have seen surging violence in the United States and Europe motivated by right-wing extremism. The perpetrators are connected by an extremist ideology that continues to gain international followers.

In 2011, Anders Breivik killed 77 people in Norway, after leaving a hate-filled manifesto railing against immigrants and Muslims. Four years later in the U.S., white supremacist Dylann Roof killed nine black parishioners in South Carolina in 2015. Both Breivik and Roof influenced Brenton Tarrant. Tarrant mentioned both men in his manifesto, titled “The Great Replacement,” named after the white supremacist theory that whites are being replaced by non-whites. Tarrant, in turn, influenced John Earnest, who cited Tarrant as an inspiration in the statement he allegedly posted before carrying out his violent act. Patrick Crusius also allegedly cited Tarrant’s “The Great Replacement” in his own manifesto. One week later, a Norwegian gunman, Philip Manshaus, who had referenced “Saint Tarrant” on a message board, was overpowered as he attempted to shoot people at a mosque in Oslo.

Even as violent white supremacists grab headlines, there are influential ideologues operating behind the scenes to spread hateful white supremacist rhetoric and ideas to eager audiences around the world. While some of them may take an academic approach to what they perceive as a danger to “white civilization,” their words can impel violence in those who believe that only violent interventions will save what they term “white European culture.” For example, Renaud Camus, the French author of a book entitled *The Great Replacement*, does not condone violence, but his words influenced Tarrant and Crusius.

Ties between American and European White Supremacists

Below is a summary of the ties between American and European white supremacists in select countries. This information is the result of collaboration between researchers at ADL’s Center on

Extremism and European colleagues at the Amadeu Antonio Foundation (Germany), Community Security Trust (UK), Expo Foundation (Sweden), Observatoire des Radicalités Politiques, Fondation Jean Jaurès, (France) and Never Again Association (Poland).

United Kingdom

There is a long history of interaction between white supremacists in the UK and the United States. In 1962, the “Cotswold Declaration” between British neo-Nazi Colin Jordan, founder of the National Socialist Movement (later called the British Movement), and American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell created an international umbrella group of National Socialist organizations.

The Turner Diaries, a 1978 racist novel that depicts a world takeover by an all-white army and its systematic extermination of Blacks, Jews and “race traitors,” written by the late neo-Nazi William Pierce, continues to have a major influence on white supremacists around the world.

In the early 1990s, *The Turner Diaries* impacted the formation and tactics of Combat 18, a British neo-Nazi terrorist organization that wanted to mirror the events in the novel by starting a race war in the service of building an Aryan homeland, themes prevalent in the book. According to writer Nick Lowles’ book, *White Riot: The Story of Combat 18*, *The Turner Diaries* was also a favorite of neo-Nazi David Copeland, who in 1999 detonated nail bombs targeting minority and LGBT communities in London, killing three people and wounding many others. In addition, both Combat 18 and Copeland had ties to the British National Party (BNP), a neo-Nazi party in the UK with which Pierce interacted.⁵

Pierce addressed a BNP meeting in London in 1997.⁶ A May 1999 article in the British newspaper *The Sunday Herald* mentioned that Stephen Cartwright, a former Combat 18 member and a BNP member, met with Pierce in the U.S. that year. In an interview with the paper, Cartwright said, “The BNP has learned tactics, raised its profile and fundraising powers in America, and been able to take away the thinking of men like Dr. Pierce.”⁷

In a May 1995 NPR broadcast, reporter Sylvia Poggioli quoted researcher and far-right expert Tony Robson as saying, “Combat 18 follows the ideas of two other Americans; William Pierce, author of *The Turner Diaries* and Louie Beam, the theoretician of a strategy known as ‘leaderless

⁵ Nick Martin, “The Rise of the Invisible Extremist,” *Sunday Express*, July 2, 2000, page 34. (<https://www.ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/explore/EG/SExp/2000-07-02/final/page34>)

⁶ *Explosion of Hate: The Growing Danger of the National Alliance*, Anti-Defamation League, 1998, page 18.

⁷ Neil Mackay, “The Hate Machine,” *The Sunday Herald*, July 2, 2000.

resistance.' Combat 18's bulletin outlines the strategy, the creation of thousands of small, autonomous cells, with not more than four members each in order to avoid infiltration."⁸

More recently, the London Forum, a far-right discussion group run by Jeremy Bedford-Turner, who was jailed for one year for inciting racial hatred, has spawned U.S. equivalents.⁹ American white supremacist Greg Johnson, who has spoken at The Forum's meetings, was sufficiently impressed by the London Forum that he created the New York Forum, the Northwest Forum and the Atlanta Forum.¹⁰

In addition, Atomwaffen Division, a violent U.S.-based neo-Nazi group tied to five murders, inspired the formation of a British offshoot called Sonnenkrieg Division. Members of Atomwaffen and British neo-Nazis who formed Sonnenkrieg Division communicated online and also planned to meet in person. Three members of Sonnenkrieg Division were arrested by British authorities in December 2018 and two were subsequently jailed for terror offenses, including advocating for "race traitors" to be killed.

Germany

Germany has a long-standing tradition of exchange with American far-right extremists. Adolf Hitler, the Nazi Party and National Socialism encouraged the founding of groups with a similar ideology in the U.S. before the Second World War, such as the pro-Nazi German American Bund. Other such groups were formed after the war and the Holocaust, such as the American Nazi Party. In the 1990s, the neo-Nazi National Alliance (at the time the largest neo-Nazi group in the U.S.) had ties to Germany's National Democratic Party and its chairman, Udo Voigt. Voigt even gave an interview to *National Vanguard*, the Alliance publication, in 1996.

The Alliance is not the only American white supremacist group with ties to Germany. Gary Lauck, an American neo-Nazi based in Lincoln, Nebraska, runs a website known by its German name, *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei—Auslandsorganisation* (National Socialist German Workers Party—Overlands Organization, or more simply, NSDAP-AO). For years, Lauck distributed Nazi propaganda in Germany, an illegal activity that landed him in a German prison in the 1990s.

As in Great Britain, both William Pierce's book *The Turner Diaries* and Louis Beam's concept of "leaderless resistance" had an important influence on the formation of German *Freie*

⁸ Liane Hansen, "Interview with Tony Robson, Researcher, Spotlight Magazine," *NPR Weekend Edition Sunday*, May 28, 1995.

⁹ Lizzie Deardon, "Former British soldier jailed for antisemitic speech where he incited supporters to 'free England from Jewish control,'" *The Independent*, May 15, 2018. (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/jeremy-bedford-turner-race-hate-speech-antisemitism-british-soldier-england-jewish-control-a8352561.html>)

¹⁰ Greg Johnson, "The Second Meeting of the Northwest Forum," *Counter Currents Publishing*, February 27, 2017. (<https://www.counter-currents.com/2017/02/the-second-meeting-of-the-northwest-forum/>)

Kameradschaften (free/independent comradeships) and German far-right terrorism in the 1990s. Pierce's book was read and discussed among these German groups. These groups were interested in newer material on race war and rebuilding a "pure, Aryan" Germany, but the country's laws made the production and publication of explicit neo-Nazi material difficult.

Some groups were also inspired by Beam. For example, the German terrorist organization National Socialist Underground (NSU) originated out of the comradeship Thuringian Homeland Protection (Thüringer Heimatschutz) following the concept of Beam's leaderless resistance. Authorities also believe that the NSU was inspired by the race war depicted in *The Turner Diaries*.¹¹ The NSU killed 10 people in Germany (nine of them immigrants) and carried out bombings, robberies and attempted murders between 2000 and 2007.¹²

In addition, since the 2000s, German and American white supremacists (i.e. David Duke) have participated and spoken at one another's conferences and events.¹³ German far-right online activists are also inspired by the American "alt right" and try to copy their ideas, memes and trolling strategies. Analogous to online activity around the 2016 U.S. presidential election, a network of new and old German far-right activists tried to copy the strategies of "memetic warfare" by organizing on Discord servers, a chat and messaging platform, fighting people who are pejoratively described as social justice warriors and promoting the far-right party Alternative for Germany using memes.¹⁴

Sweden

Cooperation between right-wing extremists in Sweden and their counterparts in the U.S. has been ongoing for many years. The Swedish white power music scene played a leading role in this collaboration. In 1997, the U.S. band Max Resist played in Sweden and was arrested, alongside more than 300 Nazi supporters who attended the concert, after Max Resist began to perform Nazi salutes on stage.¹⁵

Nordiska Festivalen (The Nordic Festival), organized by Nordiska Förbundet, (the Nordic League) can be seen as a precursor to the white supremacist conferences that have taken place in

¹¹ Frank Zeller, "Beate Zschäpe, woman in the dock in neo-Nazi terror trial," *Agence France Presse English*, July 10, 2018. (<https://www.france24.com/en/20180710-beate-zschaepe-woman-dock-neo-nazi-terror-trial>)

¹² Philip Oltermann, "German Neo-Nazi Beate Zschäpe Gets Life for NSU Murders," *The Guardian*, July 11, 2018. (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/11/german-neo-nazi-beate-zschaepe-gets-life-for-nsu-murders>)

¹³ Thomas Grumke, "Die transnationale Infrastruktur der extremistischen Rechten," in *Globalisierter Rechtsextremismus? Die extremistische Rechte in der Ära der Globalisierung*, ed. Thomas Greven and Thomas Grumke (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006).

¹⁴ Kira Ayyadi, "Wie 'Reconquista Germanica' Auf Discord Seine 'Troll-Armee' Organisiert," *Bell Tower News*, February 15, 2018. (<https://www.belltower.news/wie-reconquista-germanica-auf-discord-seine-troll-armee-organisiert-47020/>)

¹⁵ Expo, "Brottby - Dubbelt bakslag för vit makt-musik," *Expo*, April 16, 2003. (<https://expo.se/arkivet/2003/04/brottby-dubbelt-bakslag-f%C3%B6r-vit-makt-musik>)

Sweden over the last decade. The events featured far-right authors published by Nordiska Förlaget (Nordic Press), including David Duke.¹⁶

In 2007, “Free The Order Sweden” was formed to support members of American white supremacist terrorist group The Order.¹⁷ In 2009, the Swedish group published a book including interviews with members of The Order.¹⁸ Another American white supremacist group, the Hammerskins, have had a small Swedish branch since 2009.¹⁹

Also in Sweden, the now-defunct publishing house run by neo-Nazi Party of the Swedes (Svenskarnas Parti), published Swedish translations of *The Turner Diaries* and *Understanding Jewish Influence* by Kevin MacDonald, an influential, retired anti-Semitic professor based in California.²⁰ When the organization started their podcast Radio Framåt (Radio Forward) in 2012, they drew inspiration from James Edwards, a white supremacist who runs an online radio show, “The Political Cesspool,” based in Tennessee. Edwards appeared on Radio Framåt to discuss racial issues and “white people’s future prospects” in February 2015. The host of the show said, “It was really great to talk to James, especially because he and his radio program - and it is a real radio program which is broadcasted through the radio waves not like us who are a simple podcast...has been something of a role model to us, the format, the thoughts around it and how we want to present it.”²¹

Today, far-right and white supremacist figures in Sweden sponsor international conferences such as the Scandza Forum, which feature white supremacists from the United States as speakers. Arktos Media, run by Daniel Friberg, a Swedish white supremacist, has many ties to American counterparts. He hired American editors at Arktos and also attempted to create a joint Swedish/American media company focusing on the alt right in 2017, with American white supremacists Richard Spencer and Jason Jorjani. In addition, the white supremacist group Identity Evropa (re-branded in 2019 as American Identity Movement) has also advertised Arktos in their campus propaganda.

France

¹⁶ Expo, “Nordiska förbundet,” *Expo*, November 2, 2018 (<https://expo.se/fakta/wiki/nordiska-forbundet>)

¹⁷ See Internet Archives Wayback Machine, “Free the Order Sverige,” archived August 20, 2007. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20070820103621/http://www.freetheorder.se/>)

¹⁸ Alex Bengtsson and Daniel Vergara, “Nyvald partiledare hyllade terrorister,” *Expo*, January 14, 2013. (<https://expo.se/2013/01/nyvald-partiledare-hyllade-terrorister>)

¹⁹ See Internet Archives Wayback Machine, “Swedish HammerSkins,” archived September 23, 2018. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20180923005053/http://www.hammerskins.net/svhs/index.html>)

²⁰ Kevin MacDonald, *Att förstå det judiska inflytandet*, Logic Publishing Sweden, 2014.

(<https://logik.se/Produkt/att-forsta-det-judiska-inflytandet/>)

²¹ See Internet Archives Wayback Machine, “Med James Edwards,” archived June 29, 2015. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20150629092851/https://www.motgift.nu/2014/02/veckans-motgift-1-mcd-james-edwards/>)

There are also many ties between far-right figures in France and the U.S. Jared Taylor, president and editor of *American Renaissance*, a white supremacist online publication that holds annual conferences, has longstanding ties to the French far right. His first encounter with them was through Group for Research and Study of European Civilization (GRECE), a think tank founded in Nice in January 1969. Taylor has invited French far-right thinkers and politicians to numerous conferences in the U.S.

Kevin McDonald, an American white supremacist and retired professor, has been translated into French and published by a publishing house, Editions Pierre Marteau, which has also published *The Turner Diaries*. The weekly *Rivarol*, a far-right publication that has been around since 1951 and is available at most newsstands, has published an interview with MacDonald and has also featured articles about him, citing MacDonald as one of the foremost authorities on the white nationalist movement in the U.S.²² The publication has also interviewed former U.S. Klan leader David Duke.²³

A writer using the pseudonym "Guillaume Durocher" is the most active bridge between the U.S. and French extreme right "scenes." He appears to be an American living in France, and is associated with several American white supremacist publications, including *Occidental Observer*, *The Occidental Quarterly* and *Counter-Currents*. He also writes for *The Unz Review*, a California-based online publication that features anti-Semites and white supremacists, and *Arktos*.²⁴

The rise of the alt right in America has given new prominence to the ideas of the French New Right, a school of thought born in the 1970s with the goal of ideologically influencing the mainstream conservative right on topics including race relations, ethnicity, and the pagan roots of European culture and bioethics. The New Right has had an influence on a number of American white supremacists, including Jared Taylor and Richard Spencer. Both Taylor and Spencer have spoken about the impact of the works of New Right thinkers such as Alain de Benoist and Guillaume Faye on their own ideology and invited these men to their own conferences in the U.S.

Poland

²² Baillet in the March 2013 issue of *Rivarol*'s sister publication, the monthly *Ecrits de Paris*. The reference is: Philippe BAILLET: "Kevin Macdonald ou la question juive sans concession ni passion." McDonald gave an interview to *Rivarol* in 2010 (between January and March). He is also often quoted in *Rivarol* as one of the foremost authorities in the US White Supremacist movement (for ex: *Rivarol*, 28 February 2008, p.12)

²³ *Rivarol*, January 2010.

²⁴ Anti-Defamation League, "California Entrepreneur Ron Unz Launches a Series of Rhetorical Attacks on Jews," *ADL Blog*, October 4, 2018. (<https://www.adl.org/blog/california-entrepreneur-ron-unz-launches-a-series-of-rhetorical-attacks-on-jews>)

Connections between the Polish and U.S. right-wing extremists go back at least to the mid-1990s, when the Polish radical nationalist party National Rebirth of Poland (Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski, NOP) became strongly influenced by Western neo-Nazi groups and ideas. For example, NOP's magazine *Szczerbiec* (The Royal Sword) was clearly influenced by William Pierce's neo-Nazi group National Alliance. Pierce's articles were published in Polish translation in the late 1990s and early 2000s. NOP activists also published and promoted the Polish editions of Pierce's violent novels (*The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*).

In the 2010s, the NOP focused on David Duke. The pro-NOP website *nacjonalista.pl* has frequently covered Duke's activities and ideology and promoted Duke's bigoted book *Jewish Supremacism*, which was published by the Polish offshoot of the Creativity Movement in 2013. In November 2011, Duke addressed (through a video link) the participants of the NOP's annual gathering in Wrocław, marking Poland's Independence Day.

A current Member of the Polish Parliament, Robert Majka, extolled Duke's ideas in an interview posted in April 2019 on the far-right YouTube channel CEP Powisle. The bulk of the conversation, which lasted more than 40 minutes, was devoted to Majka's enthusiastic praise for Duke and the ideology Duke promotes on the pages of *Jewish Supremacism*.²⁵

Kevin MacDonald has found popularity in Poland beyond the extreme-right milieu. His book *The Culture of Critique* was published by mainstream Polish academic publisher Aletheia and distributed through mainstream distribution channels. In the last few years, the book has frequently been promoted in Polish cities via stickers and leaflets distributed at far-right nationalist events, apparently by anonymous MacDonald fans.

The annual Polish Independence Day March in Warsaw on November 11 and its accompanying events have become a major international "meeting hub," a key element in the ongoing internationalization of nationalism that attracts white supremacists from all over Europe. At the November 2017 march, large banners were displayed with slogans such as: "Europe will be white or it will be deserted," and "White Europe of brotherly nations." The organizers' official platform bore the MW banner with the slogan "All Different, All White" (a mockery of the Council of Europe's campaign "All Different All Equal"). The MW's spokesman, Mateusz Plawski, declared "racial separatism" to be the doctrine of the march co-organizers in an interview with *Do Rzeczy* weekly on the day after the event.²⁶

²⁵ CEPowisle, "Poseł Robert Majka: Nadchodząca Supremacja żydowska - to oznacza Twoje życie za miskę ryżu dziennie," *YouTube*, April 1, 2019. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZlHs3-wdYis>)

²⁶ Jakub Oworuszco, "Mateusz Plawski z Młodzieży Wszechpolskiej o 'separatyzmie rasowym'. Siemoniak: Fatalna wypowiedź," *Polska Times*, November 13, 2017. (<https://polskatimes.pl/mateusz-plawski-z-mlodziezy-wszechpolskiej-o-separatyzmie-rasowym-siemoniak-fatalna-wypowiedz/ar/12668376>)

That year, Richard Spencer planned to attend Poland's Independence Day March and its accompanying panel event "Europe of the Future: A Vision after the Collapse of the West," alongside Daniel Friberg and Olena Semenyaka (a representative of Azov, the Ukrainian far-right group and militia). However, Polish authorities prevented Spencer from coming to Poland, with one official citing Spencer's views of the Holocaust as the reason he would be unwelcome in the country.

In 2018 and 2019, a trans-Atlantic movement directed against alleged "Jewish claims against Poland" gained momentum, drawing from and spreading disinformation and conspiracy theories rooted in anti-Semitic stereotypes among Polish communities. The movement culminated in a large demonstration that took place in front of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw during the European Parliament electoral campaign on May 11, 2019. The march was organized by a newly formed electoral coalition of far-right groups such as the RN, known as "Konfederacja" (Confederation). The group is strongly opposed to the European Union and its name choice was a nod to the anti-Union Confederation of the American Civil War period. Confederate flags were spotted at the embassy protest.

Ukraine

A number of American white supremacists also have connections to Azov, a Ukrainian extremist group and militia. The Azov Battalion was created in May 2014 to fight Russian-backed separatists in the east of the country. Many of the volunteers who joined the group had ties to the far-right hooligan movement in Eastern Europe.²⁷ The group also has ties to neo-Nazis in Ukraine.

Investigative reports on Azov from *Bellingcat* and Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty point to the many ways Azov has reached out to like-minded American extremists. Azov reportedly has connections to the U.S.-based white supremacist group Rise Above Movement, whose members traveled in 2018 on a European tour to include a visit to Ukraine to meet key figures of the Azov movement.

Bellingcat also reported on recent contacts between former members of the U.S. armed services and the National Corps, the political wing of Azov, which was allegedly trying to recruit internationally in order to "defend the white race."²⁸ A recruiter from Azov reportedly appeared on the American white supremacist "Radio Wehrwolf" where he said that the National Corps

²⁷ Christopher Miller, "Azov, Ukraine's Most Prominent Ultranationalist Group, Sets Its Sights On U.S., Europe," *Radio Free Europe*, November 14, 2018. (<https://www.rferl.org/a/azov-ukraine-s-most-prominent-ultranationalist-group-sets-its-sights-on-u-s-europe/29600564.html>)

²⁸ Oleksiy Kuzmenko, "Defend the White Race": American Extremists Being Co-Opted by Ukraine's Far-Right," *Bellingcat*, February 15, 2019. (<https://www.bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2019/02/15/defend-the-white-race-american-extremists-being-co-opted-by-ukraines-far-right/>)

wanted to help teach combat skills to Americans who wanted to join Ukraine in their fight against Russia.²⁹

The internationalization of white supremacy is strengthening a hateful and dangerous ideology. European and American adherents are learning from each other, supporting each other and reaching new audiences. They feel empowered and emboldened because they perceive that they are influencing the political climate and reaching disaffected whites.

Russia

Russian state support for far-right political parties in Europe has been documented since 2014.³⁰ More recently, research by the Hungarian think-tank, Political Capital, has shown Russian state support for extremist groups in Central and Eastern Europe.³¹ The extremist groups take actions to incite ethnic strife with the goal of destabilizing these countries, including by promoting irredentism. The paramilitary groups associated with the extremists have also gone to eastern Ukraine to fight alongside the pro-Russian secessionists.

Russian and American extremists have also made personal connections and engaged in ideological outreach. The main protagonist on the Russian side is Alexander Dugin, a far-right, ultra-nationalist, ultra-conservative Russian philosopher and political scientist who is the founder of the “Eurasian movement,” which theorizes that Russia, with the help of former Soviet bloc countries and Central European nations, will challenge the hegemony of the United States. Dugin has reportedly influenced Russian leader Vladimir Putin and Putin’s inner circle.³² He is known for his focus on fascism, traditionalism and his anti-Western, anti-liberal and totalitarian ideas. Dugin has founded a number of nationalist parties in Russia, including the National Bolshevik Party and the Eurasia Party.³³ He has ties to a number of white supremacists in the U. S., and has written articles for Altright.com., the now-defunct site headed by white supremacist Richard Spencer, as well as Red Ice, a white supremacist media outfit. Spencer’s ex-wife has translated Dugin’s work into English.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Political Capital Institute, “The Russian Connection,” *Political Capital Institute*, March 14, 2014. (http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00007035/01/PC_Russian-Connection_2014.pdf)

³¹ Péter Krekó, Lóránt Györi, and Edit Zgut, “From Russia With Hate,” *Political Capital Institute*, April 2017. (https://www.politicalcapital.hu/pc-admin/source/documents/PC_NED_summary_analysis_EN_20170428.pdf)

³² Paul Knott, “Meet the most dangerous man in the world,” *The New European*, September 21, 2018.

(<https://www.theneweuropean.co.uk/top-stories/most-dangerous-man-world-paul-knott-putin-fascist-philosopher-1-5703698>)

³³ Robert Zurgin, “Dugin’s Evil Theology,” *National Review*, June 18, 2014.

(<https://www.nationalreview.com/2014/06/dugins-evil-theology-robert-zubrin/>); “Putin’s Long Game? Meet the Eurasian Union,” *The Boston Globe*, March 9, 2014. (<https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/03/09/putin-long-game-meet-eurasian-union/1eKLXEC3TJfzqK54eIX5fL/story.html>)

In 2014, Spencer invited Dugin to attend his National Policy Institute conference in Budapest, but Dugin was reportedly warned that he would not be allowed to enter Hungary³⁴ and the conference was later cancelled by Hungarian authorities. In 2015, to mark the launch of the now-defunct neo-Nazi Traditionalist Worker Party, led by Matthew Heimbach,³⁵ Dugin recorded a speech titled "To My American Friends in Our Common Struggle." That same year, Preston Wigginton, a Texas-based neo-Nazi, held an event at Texas A&M, where Dugin appeared via the Internet as a speaker. Dugin has also appeared on InfoWars with Alex Jones, a rabid conspiracy theorist who has argued that the Sandy Hook mass shooting was a hoax.³⁶ Dugin and Jones have also appeared on Russian TV together, and in 2018, alt right figures Brittany Pettibone and Lauren Southern interviewed Dugin.³⁷

In 2015, American white supremacists Jared Taylor and Sam Dickson addressed the International Russian Conservative Forum in St. Petersburg. The event featured Russian nationalists and representatives from extreme-right parties in Europe.³⁸

Beyond Europe

Australia

The alleged perpetrator of the Christchurch attack was an Australian man who was influenced by white supremacist figures and websites from around the world. According to the most recent anti-Semitism report by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, between September 2017-September 2018, 366 anti-Semitic incidents were recorded. One neo-Nazi group, Antipodean Resistance, was reportedly responsible for 133 (36%) of the year's total incidents.³⁹

Canada

There is extensive engagement between American and Canadian white supremacist organizations and individuals. For example, as ADL's new report documents, Canadian white supremacist leaders influence and engage extensively with like-minded individuals and groups

³⁴ Nick Thorpe, "Far right holds secret congress in Hungary," *BBC News*, October 7, 2015. (<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29503378>)

³⁵ Tom Porter "Charlottesville's Alt-Right Leaders Have a Passion for Vladimir Putin," *Newsweek*, August 16, 2017. (<https://www.newsweek.com/leaders-charlottesvilles-alt-right-protest-all-have-ties-russian-fascist-651384>)

³⁶ Justin Salhani, "Trump, white nationalism's favorite thinker, and America's premier crackpot make strange bedfellows," *ThinkProgress*, December 22, 2016. (<https://thinkprogress.org/trump-white-nationalisms-favorite-thinker-and-america-s-premier-crackpot-make-strange-bedfellows-7e57c0b7c6be/>)

³⁷ Brittany Pettibone, "Meeting Aleksandr Dugin," *YouTube*, June 8, 2018. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1kbWxA2D_9M)

³⁸ Anti-Defamation League, "American White Supremacists Attend Russian Nationalist Conference," *ADL Blog*, March 26, 2015. (<https://www.adl.org/blog/american-white-supremacists-attend-russian-nationalist-conference>)

³⁹ European Council of Australian Jewry, *The ECAJ 2018 Antisemitism Report*, November 25, 2018. (<http://www.ecaj.org.au/2018/the-ecaj-2018-antisemitism-report/>)

around the globe. Examples of such figures include Paul Fromm, Faith Goldy (a.k.a. Faith Goldy-Bazos), and Stefan Molyneux, among others.

South Africa

White supremacists in America and elsewhere have frequently pushed an inaccurate narrative claiming that white farmers in South Africa are the targets of a large-scale, state-sanctioned, and racially-motivated campaign of killings by South Africa's black majority.⁴⁰ Anders Breivik made numerous references to this supposed trend in his manifesto, and Dylann Roof wore the flag of apartheid-era South Africa on a jacket.⁴¹ Some South African extremists have blamed the failure of the media to cover these attacks on their conspiratorial assertion that the media was "controlled by the Jews."⁴²

Brazil and Argentina

After World War II, some countries in Latin America witnessed significant immigration of Nazi officers and as a result, pro-Hitler propaganda has remained ingrained among certain segments of society to this day. Argentina and Brazil are the two main countries in Latin America where neo-Nazi and white supremacist activity is particularly notable.

In the past decade, the number of white supremacist websites in these areas grew from less than a couple of thousand to close to 12,000 sites. Similarly, white supremacist posts on the top five online social forums increased dramatically from a few million posts in the year 2010 to close to 20,000,000 posts in 2019.⁴³

In Argentina, the most worrisome manifestation of white supremacy is the presidential candidacy of the anti-Semite Alejandro Biondini, a neo-Nazi and open admirer of Hitler. In the recent primary elections in August 2019, Biondini received almost 60,000 votes.⁴⁴ Separately, in the city of Mar del Plata, seven people were found guilty of establishing an association to spread their white supremacist views and utilize neo-Nazi symbolism. These individuals were mainly

⁴⁰ ADL, "The Racist Obsession with South African 'White Genocide,'" August 24, 2018. (<https://www.adl.org/blog/the-racist-obsession-with-south-african-white-genocide>)

⁴¹ Background paper by Nechama Brodie.

⁴² Noted in David Saks, "'Sick with Rage' – Petzer's Video Sparks Anti-Semitic Frenzy," *The Citizen (South Africa)*, January 9, 2018. (<https://citizen.co.za/news/opinion/2060024/sick-with-rage-petzers-video-sparks-anti-semitic-frenzy/>)

⁴³ Data collected from Latin America by Dr. Adriana Dias of the UNICAMP University in Campinas, Brazil. "Um mergulho no universo neonazista," *Jornal da Unicamp (Brazil)*, September 28, 2018. (<https://www.unicamp.br/unicamp/ju/noticias/2018/09/28/um-mergulho-no-universo-neonazista>)

⁴⁴ "Argentina neo-Nazi candidate fails to pass primary threshold" *JTA*, August 15, 2019. (<https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/argentine-neo-nazi-political-candidate-fails-to-make-it-to-the-general-election>)

targeting immigrants from Bolivia and the LGBTQ community with intimidation, incitement of hate and violent attacks, as well as anti-Semitic graffiti.⁴⁵

The Resurgence of White Supremacy

Like other forms of extremism, white supremacy is an ideology that its adherents seek to spread. The ADL defines white supremacy as a collection of movements sharing one or more of the following key tenets: 1) white people should have dominance over people of other ethnic and racial backgrounds, especially in places where they may co-exist; 2) white people should live by themselves in a whites-only society; 3) white people have their own "culture" that is superior to other cultures; 4) white people are genetically superior to other people. Most white supremacists believe the white race is in danger of extinction due to a rising "flood" of non-whites, who purportedly are controlled and manipulated by Jews, and that imminent action is needed to "save" the white race. White supremacists typically do not label themselves as such, but instead tend to prefer euphemisms ranging from "white nationalist" to "white separatist" to "race realist" or "identitarian."

Today, the white supremacist movement is not as transparent about its true objectives as it was in the 1980s and early 1990s, when racist skinheads dominated white supremacists' ranks. Today, many white supremacists dress non-descriptly and use coded language. Within the white supremacist community, there is no universal agreement on strategy. Some factions feel the need to adhere to "optics"⁴⁶ and purposefully obfuscate their views in order to infiltrate mainstream politics (an approach decried by Bowers immediately before his alleged attack), whereas others seek "accelerationism," hoping to purposefully spark a race war.

In late 2018, ADL's COE published a comprehensive guide to the current state of white supremacist ideology and groups in the U.S. The report, "New Hate and Old: The Changing Face of White Supremacy in the U.S.,"⁴⁷ provides a detailed look at this dangerous extremist threat. Below is a list of the key findings from that report:

- The white supremacist "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, on August 11-12, 2017, attracted some 600 extremists from around the country and ended in deadly violence. These shocking events served as a wake-up call for many Americans about a resurgent white supremacist movement in the United States.

⁴⁵ Jason McNamara, "Neo-Nazis sentenced to jail time for hate crimes in Mar del Plata", Buenos Aires Times, May 4, 2018. (<https://www.batimes.com.ar/news/argentina/neo-nazis-sentenced-to-jail-time-for-hate-crimes-in-mar-del-plata.phtml>)

⁴⁶ Anti-Defamation League, "Tree of Life Shooting Revives 'Optics' Debate Among White Supremacists," *ADL Blog*, November 6, 2018. (<https://www.adl.org/blog/tree-of-life-shooting-revives-optics-debate-among-white-supremacists>)

⁴⁷ ADL Center for Extremism, *New Hate and Old: The Changing Face of American White Supremacy*, Anti-Defamation League, 2018. (<https://www.adl.org/new-hate-and-old>)

- Modern white supremacist ideology is centered on the assertion that the white race is in danger of extinction, drowned by a rising tide of non-white people who are controlled and manipulated by Jews. White supremacists believe that almost any action is justified if it will help “save” the white race.
- The white supremacist resurgence is driven in large part by the rise of the alt right, the newest segment of the white supremacist movement. Youth-oriented, overwhelmingly male and often tech-savvy, the alt right has provided new energy to the movement, but has also been a destabilizing force, much as racist skinheads were to the movement in the 1980s and early 1990s.
- The alt right has a white supremacist ideology heavily influenced by a number of sources, including paleoconservatism, neo-Nazism and fascism, identitarianism, renegade conservatives and right-wing conspiracy theorists. The alt right also possesses its own distinct subculture, derived especially from the misogynists of the so-called “manosphere” and from online discussion forums such as 4chan, 8chan and Reddit.
- After the 2016 presidential election, the alt right moved from online activism into the real world, forming real-world groups and organizations and engaging in tactics such as targeting college campuses. The alt right also expanded its online propaganda efforts, especially through podcasting.
- As the alt right received increased media scrutiny – in large part due to its own actions, such as the violence at Charlottesville – it experienced dissension and disunity of its own, including the departure of many extremists who did not advocate explicit white supremacy (the so-called “alt lite”). The backlash against the alt right after Charlottesville hurt many of its leading spokespeople but has not resulted, as some have claimed, in a decline in the movement as a whole.
- Other white supremacists—neo-Nazis, traditional white supremacists, racist skinheads, white supremacist religious sects, and white supremacist prison gangs—have also continued their activities. Some white supremacists, such as neo-Nazis, seem to have been buoyed by the alt right to some extent, while others— most notably racist skinheads—may experience a loss of potential recruits at the hands of the alt right.
- Violence and hate crimes represent the most serious problems emanating from the white supremacist movement. White supremacists have killed more people in recent years than any other type of domestic extremist (54% of all domestic extremist-related murders in the past 10 years). They are also a troubling source of domestic terror incidents (including 13 plots or attacks within the past five years).
- Murders and terror plots represent only the tip of the iceberg of white supremacist violence, as there are many more incidents involving less serious crimes, including attempted murders,

assaults, weapons and explosives violations, and more. In addition, white supremacists engage in a lot of other types of crime, including crimes of violence against women and drug-related crimes.

White Supremacist Targets

The groups that are targeted by white supremacists for acts of terrorism sometimes vary by societal context or demography in particular countries. For example, Roma and Sinti are more frequent victims of assaults, murders, and other crimes by white supremacists in European countries than they are inside the United States. Additionally, various white supremacist movements may focus their violence more on some vulnerable minority groups than against others, depending on elements of their ideology or other factors. However, due to the overarching commonalities in ideology among white supremacist groups around the world, there are a number of minority groups that are consistently caught in the crosshairs of white supremacists, both in the United States and around the world, including those targeted on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, national origin, immigration status, or sexual orientation or gender identity.

Jews

White supremacists have a reservoir of loathing deep enough to accommodate a wide range of hatreds, and they reserve a special status among their enemies for Jews. And although white supremacists fear and despise people of most other races, most also assume whites are far superior to people of other backgrounds, which raises questions about the ability of those ostensibly inferior races truly to threaten white dominance or survival. This, for white supremacists, is where the Jews come in.

White supremacists portray Jews as intelligent, but also as a loathsome, parasitic race of people who control and manipulate the actions of non-white races to the advantage of the Jews and the detriment of the white race. This is the longstanding anti-Semitic notion of the international Jewish conspiracy, a theme no less powerful in the days of the alt right than it was in Tsarist Russia. "Jews are the eternal enemy of the White race," recently asserted one poster to the white supremacist discussion forum Stormfront, "and need to be treated as such. There are no good Jews, they are all traitors and loyal only to their race...Any action that White people take to get rid of the Jews is strictly self-defense, in much the same way that you would try to destroy a poisonous snake that is threatening your safety. The Jews are poisonous to the moral fabric of White society." The poster went on to characterize Hitler as too kind and generous in his actions toward the Jews.

Jews, according to white supremacists, are the great puppet-masters. They control the media, they control the Internet, they control everything required to manipulate entire peoples for their benefit. White supremacists typically believe that Jews or Jewish machinations are behind almost

everything they despise or fear, including liberalism, immigration, and multiculturalism. Even psychiatry, as one white supremacist suggested on Twitter in March 2018, “is a Jewish communist weapon, and World Jewry knows the value of using the mental health system as a weapon against people.”

Since 1979, we have compiled an annual Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents (“the Audit”) throughout the United States, including both criminal and non-criminal acts of harassment and intimidation, including distribution of hate propaganda, threats, and slurs. The data we have compiled from the last three years shows that anti-Semitism in America is far more pervasive than in most previous years. Our recently-released 2018 Audit recorded 1,879 anti-Semitic incidents in the United States. Last year was the third-highest year on record since we began tracking incidents in 1979, it was the deadliest year on record for the U.S. Jewish community, and it saw a doubling of anti-Semitic assaults compared to 2017.

People of African or Caribbean Descent

White supremacists in the United States in particular focus on African-Americans as a racial enemy. Using centuries-old stereotypes and racist attacks portraying African-Americans as unintelligent, primitive and savage, white supremacists claim that black people are the main tools used in Jewish efforts to weaken or attack the white race. “Larceny & mayhem are in the DNA” of blacks, claimed a member of the League of the South on Twitter recently. The dramatically exaggerated issue of “black-on-white crime” is one of the major propaganda tools utilized by white supremacists for recruitment. “You see the crimes against our people every day,” claims the website of the neo-Nazi Vanguard America, referencing people being murdered by “bloodthirsty negroes” and “Judges protecting the rapists of our girls.” The government, claims the neo-Nazi group, does nothing to protect whites, because “the childraping [sic] politicians and their Jewish puppet masters are complicit in these crimes against our race.”

Multi-Racial Couples/Families

White supremacists view multi-racial couples and families as a particularly heinous crime and offense—one that has spurred deadly hate crimes by white supremacists—in part because white supremacists view such couples and families as visual evidence of the future extinction of the white race. White supremacists commonly claim that Jews attempt to harness the “savage lust” white supremacists attribute to most non-white peoples in order to pollute, weaken and eventually end the white race itself. “I think it is impossible to not notice how much the Jew media machine have been pushing White males with Black females,” observed late white supremacist Robert Ransdell on Stormfront last December. He also claimed that the Jews had “pushed” the “Black male with White female” angle for decades. Why would they do this? Another Stormfronter had the clear answer: “They try to teach our children that mud is beautiful. They want to make certain that no more white children are born on this earth.”

Latinos and Immigrants

Latinos—typically perceived by white supremacists as immigrants regardless of how many generations they or their ancestors may have been in the United States—increasingly attract white supremacist attention and hatred. American white supremacists are well aware of demographic changes in the United States, which they typically portray as an “invasion.” “White man,” proclaimed Michael Hill, the League of the South leader, on Twitter in May 2018, “your countries are being purposely overrun with Third World savages who intend to replace you and take your wealth and women. What are you doing to stop this invasion?” This objectionable belief in particular has helped spark a number of different deadly terror attacks by white supremacists.

Muslims

Muslims, and people who are perceived to be Muslims, have increasingly become a target of white supremacists who see Islam as “foreign” and as an existential threat to Western civilization. The fact that many Muslims in the United States are non-white or may be immigrants adds to white supremacist hatred. American white supremacists applaud European far right activists’ efforts to demonize Muslim refugees and immigrants and to portray Europe as being invaded and brought low by Muslim immigration. American white supremacists claim the United States will suffer a similar fate unless Muslims are excluded.

Needless to say, white supremacists also embrace the anti-Muslim conspiracy theories promoted by American Islamophobes. As a result, anti-Muslim themes frequently show up in white supremacist propaganda. In 2017, Vanguard America fliers posted in Texas, Indiana and elsewhere urged readers to “imagine a Muslim-free America,” as did Atomwaffen fliers reported in Pennsylvania. The following year, Identity Evropa members in Dearborn, Michigan, posted fliers reading, “Danger: Sharia City Ahead.” Some white supremacists have even posted fliers at mosques. White supremacists have also taken part in various anti-Muslim protests. When anti-Muslim extremists organized the June 2017 “March Against Sharia” events in cities around the United States, white supremacists rushed to attend, taking part in at least eight such events. Among the white supremacist groups that participated were the Rise Above Movement, Identity Evropa, League of the South, Vanguard America, and Generation Europa.

Other Targets

The list of the people white supremacists hate is virtually never-ending. LGBTQ people, to them, are “Sodomites” and “degenerates” who seek to weaken the white race. “The Sodomites want to take over our community,” proclaimed Arkansas Klan leader Thom Robb on Facebook in June 2018 while organizing a “Rally for Morality.”

White supremacists will occasionally admit to grudging respect for Asian people—typically Chinese or Japanese. This stems from white supremacists’ reliance on studies of IQ tests to try to “prove” supposed white superiority over other races, studies that tend to reveal even higher scores for people of Asian descent. White supremacists also often cite Japan as an example of an ethnostate. Indeed, white supremacists even invited representatives from the right-wing nationalist Japan First Party to a white supremacist conference in Tennessee in June 2018. Makoto Sakurai, the group’s leader, and one other representative showed up; Sakurai, according to the organizers, “gave a candid view of the harm that has routinely accompanied Korean and Chinese immigration in Japan.” That said, white supremacists still tend to reject the idea of Asians living among whites. “They’re still nonwhite,” explained one Stormfronter in February 2018 in a discussion on whether Asian-Americans were allies or enemies, “and therefore they don’t belong in white countries.” Another poster agreed: “If they are Non White [sic] they are an enemy.”

As part of the far right, white supremacists also have a significant degree of political sinistrophobia, or fear and loathing of the left, which they often equate or conflate with Jewish influence.

White Supremacy, Domestic Murders, and Terrorism

White supremacists constitute the oldest domestic terrorists in the United States; the original Ku Klux Klan movement is a prominent example. In the modern era, right-wing extremism constitutes a major domestic terror threat and white supremacists are one of the two major sources of right-wing domestic terrorism in this country (the other main source is antigovernment extremists).

In 2017, ADL published “A Dark and Constant Rage: 25 Years of Right-Wing Terrorism in the United States,”⁴⁸ which identified 150 terrorist plots and attacks attributed to right-wing extremists between 1993 and early 2017. Of these, 64 were connected to white supremacy. Since that report was issued, white supremacists have been involved in at least five additional terrorist plots or attacks. These terrorist incidents have ranged from attempts to use violence to incite a race war to shooting or killing sprees targeting racial and religious minorities for assassination plots. In particular, white supremacist shooting sprees have taken a deadly toll since 2012, raising white supremacist violence to the level of a major terrorist threat in the United States.

Each year, ADL’s COE tracks ideologically-motivated murders perpetrated by all types of extremists.

⁴⁸ ADL Center for Extremism, *A Dark and Constant Rage: 25 Years of Right-Wing Terrorism in the United States*, Anti-Defamation League, 2017. (<https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/dark-constant-rage-25-years-of-right-wing-terrorism-in-united-states>)

In January 2019, COE published its fourth annual report on domestic extremist-related murders, "Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2018,"⁴⁹ providing key insights into the killings, including the motivations behind these violent attacks. Of the 50 murders identified by ADL, white supremacists were responsible for the great majority of those murders, as has been the case in many recent years. In fact, even the one murder attributed to an Islamist extremist was perpetrated by someone who had a past tie to white supremacy. Among this report's key findings:

- In 2018, domestic extremists killed at least 50 people in the U.S., a sharp increase from the 37 extremist-related murders documented in 2017. The 50 deaths make 2018 the fourth-deadliest year on record for domestic extremist-related killings since 1970.
- The extremist-related murders in 2018 were overwhelmingly linked to right-wing extremists. Every one of the perpetrators had ties to at least one right-wing extremist movement, although one had recently switched to supporting Islamist extremism. White supremacists were responsible for 78% of these murders.
- Looking at extremist murders from a 10-year perspective, right-wing extremists were responsible for 73.3% of the 427 people killed by domestic extremists from 2009-2018 (Islamist extremists were responsible for 23.4% and left-wing extremists for 3.2%). Of the 313 people killed by right-wing extremists during this period, 76% were killed by white supremacists, making white supremacists the most deadly type of extremist movement in the United States over the past 10 years.

White Supremacist Tactics: Propaganda and Events

White supremacist activity has not been limited to murder; they are also targeting more American communities with their hateful propaganda in an attempt to win recruits and intimidate enemies.

ADL's COE has tracked an ever-growing number of white supremacist propaganda efforts, including the distribution of racist, anti-Semitic and Islamophobic fliers, stickers, banners and posters. The propaganda, which includes everything from veiled white supremacist language to explicitly racist images and words, often features a recruitment element, and is frequently used to physically target buildings and locations associated with minority groups, including Jews, Blacks, Muslims, non-white immigrants and the LGBTQ community.

White supremacists have been actively targeting U.S. college campuses since January 2016, a practice that had failed to gain any real traction until the fall semester of that year. More than

⁴⁹ ADL Center for Extremism, *Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2018*, Anti-Defamation League, 2019. (<https://www.adl.org/murder-and-extremism-2018>)

three years later, these propaganda efforts continue to increase. So far in 2019, the ADL has recorded 230 incidents of white supremacist propaganda on 166 college and university campuses in 38 states and the District of Columbia. The number of incidents already exceed the 219 on campus incidents counted during the full calendar year of 2018. The two most active alt right groups, Identity Evropa (IE), which in early 2019 rebranded itself as the American Identity Movement, or AIM, and Patriot Front, are responsible for the bulk of the campus incidents, with AIM/IE adherents responsible for 145 and Patriot Front members contributing another 59.

In 2018, white supremacists expanded their propaganda distributions to locations beyond colleges and universities and those numbers have continued to accelerate through September 2019. As of September 10, the ADL has documented 1283 off-campus white supremacist propaganda incidents. With more than three months remaining in the calendar year, this number already exceeds last year's full calendar count (868) by 415 incidents.

ADL's H.E.A.T. Map⁵⁰ provides a visual representation of the propaganda distribution efforts and helps highlight specific trends – showing, for example, that the 2019 propaganda incidents are predominantly concentrated in large metropolitan areas, with the highest activity levels in the states of California, Texas, Kentucky, New Jersey, Virginia, Ohio, Florida, Oklahoma and Massachusetts.

White supremacists have also engaged in notable public events, such as the deadly white supremacist rally in Charlottesville or the annual march joined by large numbers of white supremacists in Warsaw on Poland's Independence Day. Incidentally, both of these public events have included guests representing white supremacist groups from numerous other countries.⁵¹ However, since 2017 some white supremacists have also shied away from traditional public events and rallies in favor of “flash” demonstrations – unannounced, quickly disbanded events that allow them to promote their own narratives while limiting the risk of individual exposure, negative media coverage, arrests and public backlash. American Identity Movement and Patriot Front use this method more than any other groups and are responsible for 15 flash demonstrations so far this year.

ADL has examined six small pre-announced white supremacist events in 2019. In March, approximately 15 members of the Shield Wall Network participated in a rally protesting firearm legislation and abortion at the Arkansas State Capitol in Little Rock. The Loyal White Knights held small recruitment rallies (with 12 to 15 participants) in North Carolina (August) and

⁵⁰ ADL Center for Extremism, “ADL H.E.A.T. Map,” Anti-Defamation League, updated June 19, 2019. (<https://www.adl.org/education-and-resources/resource-knowledge-base/adl-heat-map>)

⁵¹ Anti-Defamation League, “Extremist-led March in Poland's Capital Draws 60,000 People,” *ADL Blog*, November 12, 2017. (<https://www.adl.org/blog/extremist-led-march-in-polands-capital-draws-60000-people>); Anti-Defamation League, “Two Years Ago, They Marched in Charlottesville. Where Are They Now?” *ADL Blog*, August 8, 2019. (<https://www.adl.org/blog/two-years-ago-they-marched-in-charlottesville-where-are-they-now>)

Virginia (July). Approximately 9 to 10 members and associates of the Indiana-based Honorable Sacred Knights rallied in Ohio (May) and attempted to hold a public “Kookout” in Indiana (August). In June, 10 members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement protested Detroit’s Motor City Pride Festival.

Even as they engage in fewer and smaller public events, white supremacists continue to enthusiastically attend private events. Hammerfest, an annual hate rock concert and racist skinhead convention, was by far the largest white supremacist event of 2018. The gathering, hosted by the West Coast chapter of the Hammerskin Nation, was also a celebration of the group’s 30th anniversary and brought more than 150 attendees to San Diego, California. Private white supremacist conferences organized by groups such as American Renaissance, League of the South, American Freedom Party, and the Council of Conservative Citizens are also well attended.

Hate Crimes and Other Hate Incidents in America

While most anti-Semitic incidents are not directly perpetrated by extremists or white supremacists, there are important connections between the trends. We found in our annual *Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents* that in 2018, 249 acts of anti-Semitism (13 percent of the total incidents) were attributable to known extremist groups or individuals inspired by extremist ideology, making it the highest level of anti-Semitic incidents with known connections to extremists or extremist groups since 2004.⁵² Of those, 139 incidents were part of fliering campaigns by white supremacist groups. Another 80 were anti-Semitic robocalls allegedly perpetrated by anti-Semitic podcaster Scott Rhodes in support of the candidacy of Patrick Little, an unabashed white supremacist who ran an unsuccessful campaign for U.S. Senate in California.

The Audit also noted spikes at several points during the year. The final three months of the year were unusually active, with 255 incidents in October, 300 in November and 194 in December. The high number in October included 45 propaganda distributions by white supremacists. The incidents in November and December immediately followed the Pittsburgh massacre, which likely drew more attention to anti-Semitic activities. Incidents first spiked in May, when 209 anti-Semitic acts were reported, including 80 anti-Semitic robocalls sent by white supremacists, which targeted Jewish individuals and institutions with harassing messages.

Hate crimes are a particularly important element of the anti-Semitic incidents that we track. The most recent data about hate crimes made available by the FBI is for 2017.⁵³ The FBI has been tracking and documenting hate crimes reported from federal, state, and local law enforcement officials since 1991 under the Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 (HCSA). Though clearly

⁵² ADL, *2018 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents*, April 2019. (<https://www.adl.org/audit2018>)

⁵³ FBI, *2017 Hate Crime Statistics*, November 2018. (<https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2017>)

incomplete, the Bureau's annual HCSA reports provide the best single national snapshot of bias-motivated criminal activity in the United States. The Act has also proven to be a powerful mechanism to confront violent bigotry, increasing public awareness of the problem and sparking improvements in the local response of the criminal justice system to hate violence – since in order to effectively report hate crimes, police officials must be trained to identify and respond.

The FBI documented 7,175 hate crimes reported by 16,149 law enforcement agencies across the country – the highest level of participation since the enactment of the HCSA, and a 6 percent increase over 2016 participation of 15,254. Of the 7,175 total incidents:

Hate crimes based on the religion of the victims increased 23 percent, from 1,273 in 2016 to 1,564 in 2017 – the second highest number of religion-based crimes ever (only 2001, after 9/11, recorded more – 1,828).

Crimes directed against Jews increased 37% – from 684 in 2016 to 938 in 2017. Crimes against Jews and Jewish institutions were 60 percent of the total number of reported religion-based crimes and slightly more than 13 percent of all reported hate crimes – far out of proportion with their share of the U.S. population. Every year since 1991, crimes against Jews and Jewish institutions have been between 50 and 80 percent of all religion-based hate crimes.

Race-based crimes were the most numerous (as they have been every year since 1991), totaling 4,131 crimes, almost 58 percent of the total. Crimes against African-Americans, as always, were the plurality of these crimes – 2,013, about 28 percent of all reported hate crimes.

Reported crimes against Muslims decreased 11 percent, from 307 in 2016 to 273 in 2017. However, the 273 anti-Muslim hate crimes recorded was the third most reported crimes against Muslims ever – behind 2016's 307 and 481 in 2001, after the 9/11 terrorist incidents.

Crimes directed against LGBTQ people increased from 1,076 in 2016 to 1,130 in 2017. Crimes directed against individuals on the basis of their gender identity, decreased slightly, from 124 in 2016 to 119 in 2017, slightly less than two percent of all hate crimes.

Importantly, only 2,040 of the 16,149 reporting agencies – less than 13 percent – reported one or more hate crimes to the FBI. That means that about 87 percent of all participating police agencies affirmatively reported zero (0) hate crimes to the FBI (including at least 92 cities over 100,000). And more than 1,000 law enforcement agencies did not report any data to the FBI (including 9 cities over 100,000).

Moreover, we need to remember that these are only reported crimes. Many communities and individuals do not feel comfortable going to law enforcement for a variety of reasons, and so there is likely an undercount of hate crimes resulting from unwillingness to report.

White Supremacists' Exploitation of Social Media- a truly global interconnectivity

Extremist groups are undoubtedly empowered by access to the online world; the internet amplifies the hateful voices of the few to reach millions around the world. The internet also offers community: while most extremists are unaffiliated with organized groups, online forums allow isolated extremists to become more active and involved in virtual campaigns. The internet has increased the global interconnectedness of white supremacist movements, helping to accelerate the movement's deadly impact. As internet proficiency and the use of social media have become universal, so too have the efforts of terrorist and extremist movements to exploit these technologies to increase the accessibility of materials that justify and sanction violence.

Terrorist and extremist movements use online and mobile platforms to spread their messages and to actively recruit adherents who live in the communities they target. Individuals can easily find sanction, support and reinforcement online for their extreme opinions or actions, in some cases neatly packaged alongside bomb-making instructions. This enables adherents like white supremacist mass shooters such as Bowers to self-radicalize without face-to-face contact with an established terrorist group or cell. Extremists and terrorists take full advantage of this virtual audience, regularly publishing detailed instructions for lone wolf terror attacks using knives, as well as cars, trains and other modes of transportation, and in some cases even providing lists of suggested targets. The internet makes it easier than ever for someone to become steeped in extremist ideologies, even to the point of being willing to commit acts of great violence, without ever being involved in an organized extremist group.

Chan Subculture

Perhaps the most important contributor to the subculture of the alt right is the so-called "imageboards," a type of online discussion forum originally created to share images. One of the most important is 4chan, a 15-year-old imageboard whose influence extends far beyond the alt right, as a key source of internet memes. Its "/pol" subforum is a dark place, an anarchic collection of posts that range from relatively innocuous to highly offensive.

Over time, 4chan has become home to many racists and open white supremacists. Some of its imitators, such as 8chan, lean even more towards racism and white supremacy. Parts of Reddit, a popular website that contains a massive collection of subject-oriented discussion threads, also share the chan subculture, as do parts of Tumblr. Sometimes the participants in these threads hail from all over the world, using the internet to spread their hateful efforts and messages.

In April 2019, ADL released a report, a collaboration between Network Contagion Research Institute and ADL's COE, analyzing the similar ideological motivations and online activity of the perpetrators of the Pittsburgh and Christchurch massacres.⁵⁴ Both killers announced their

⁵⁴ ADL, "Gab and 8Chan: Home to Terrorist Plots Hiding in Plain Sight," April 2019. (<https://www.adl.org/resources/reports/gab-and-8chan-home-to-terrorist-plots-hiding-in-plain-sight>)

violent plans to their preferred internet forums, Gab and 8chan, and were consumed by the white supremacist conspiracy theory of “white genocide,” which is frequently referenced on both sites.

Both Gab and 8chan are rife with white supremacist, hateful, anti-Semitic bigotry. Imageboards such as 4chan are totally anonymous, without user names, allowing participants to say or post whatever they want, no matter how offensive, without fear of being exposed. Many take full advantage to engage in some of the most crude and blatant offensive language online, taking aim at many targets, not sparing even themselves. The chan subculture has a strong tendency to portray all such content as a joke, even when not intended to be, resulting in a strong “jkbnr” (“just kidding but not really”) atmosphere. The alt right has also absorbed an even darker aspect of chan subculture: online harassment campaigns against people who have angered them.

Chans have engaged in such campaigns for years, even against targets as young and innocent as 11-year-old girls. The alt right has used similar tactics against perceived enemies, most notably in late 2016 when neo-Nazi Andrew Anglin initiated a targeted harassment campaign (he called it a “troll storm”) against Tanya Gersh, a Jewish woman and real estate agent from Whitefish, Montana, whom he accused of harassing the mother of another prominent alt right activist, Richard Spencer. Gersh received hundreds of hateful and even threatening e-mails and other communications and was awarded \$14 million in court for the damages incurred from Anglin over the harassment campaign.

The toxicity on social media creates victims online⁵⁵ and online ecosystems that breed real-life hatred. Gab, a self-described “free speech” platform largely used by right wing extremists, has been the preferred platform for hatred and vitriol. Bowers, for example, posted on the site just before he allegedly massacred congregants at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh in October 2017.⁵⁶

Social media platforms such as Twitter consider the best ways to respond to hate and extremism, including by “de-platforming” – or banning users who violate their terms of service – to remove the toxicity on their platforms.⁵⁷ There is some debate around de-platforming and whether it solves or just suppresses hate and extremism and also whether it reduces extremism on one platform that only resurfaces – potentially more virulently – on others.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ ADL, “Quantifying Hate: A Year of Anti-Semitism on Twitter.”

(<https://www.adl.org/resources/reports/quantifying-hate-a-year-of-anti-semitism-on-twitter>)

⁵⁶ Anti-Defamation League, “Deadly Shooting at Pittsburgh Synagogue,” *ADL Blog*, October 27, 2018.

(<https://www.adl.org/blog/deadly-shooting-at-pittsburgh-synagogue>)

⁵⁷ “No Platform,” *Wikipedia*, updated August 28, 2019. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/No_Platform)

⁵⁸ Jason Koebler, “Deplatforming Works,” *VICE*, August 10, 2018.

(https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/bjbp9d/do-social-media-bans-work)

Fringe web communities play a critical role in the dissemination of hate and extremist content – particularly /pol (4chan’s politically incorrect message board) and Gab.⁵⁹ At issue is whether Twitter’s solution on its platform may drive the participation and the level of animation of hatred on Gab, implying bans are a solution for one platform but could actually be a detriment to the internet as a whole – potentially reverberating into our everyday lives by exacerbating hate in our communities. There is still much research to be done to reach a firm conclusion on whether and when deplatforming is a highly valuable solution to hate on platforms, but as platform companies calculate their response to online hate and extremism, they need to consider the effects of their decisions on the broader online ecosystem.

Mainstream Social Media

While the most extreme forms of online content thrive on websites like 8chan, Gab, and 4chan, larger social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube need to remain vigilant. Extremists leverage larger mainstream platforms to ensure that the hateful philosophies that begin to germinate on message boards like Gab and 8chan find a new and much larger audience. Twitter’s 300 million users and Facebook’s 2.4 billion dwarf the hundreds of thousands of users on 8chan and Gab. Extremists make use of mainstream platforms in specific and strategic ways to exponentially increase their audience while avoiding content moderation activity that Facebook and Twitter use to remove hateful content. These include creating private pages and events, sharing links that directly lead users to extreme content on websites like 8chan, as well as using coded language called dog whistles to imply and spread hateful ideology.

In response to the 2017 Unite the Right white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia and subsequent hate crimes by extremists, there have been many well-publicized efforts by mainstream social media companies and internet service providers to stem the tide of hate and extremism online. After the Charlottesville rally, technology companies ranging from large social media platforms like Facebook to payment processors like PayPal and cybersecurity services like Cloudflare took action to expel white supremacists from their services. But these policies have been reactive to incidents and not comprehensive, forcing technology companies to respond to violent white supremacist activity on an ad hoc basis over the last year. The Christchurch massacre was livestreamed on Facebook Live, leading Facebook change their livestreaming policy. PayPal provided payment services to the fringe platform Gab, where the Pittsburgh shooter was radicalized, but cut off their services after the shooting. Cloudflare provided cybersecurity services to 8chan, and publicly withdrew their services after 8chan was blamed for helping to radicalize the perpetrator in the shooting in El Paso (among others). If technology companies took significant action and pursued a sufficiently holistic approach to

⁵⁹ Samantha Cole, “A study of hundreds of millions of images from Reddit, 4chan, Gab, and Twitter reveals how memes spread,” *VICE*, June 12, 2018. (https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/zm884j/where-do-memes-come-from-researchers-studied-reddit-4chan.)

address white supremacy and hate in 2017 as they claim to have done, the services provided by these their platforms would not continually be exploited to target others and spread hate two years later.

A key driver of this problem is scale. For example, on Twitter, 6,000 tweets are posted every second and 500 million tweets are posted every day. If the company's policies and systems operated at 99% effectiveness in detecting and responding to hate and extremism, that would still leave five million tweets unaddressed every day. Imagine that each of those tweets, on the low end, reached just 60 people: those tweets would reach a number of people equal roughly to the population of the United States (330 million people) every day. This being said, the policies and systems of these companies are very likely not operating close to this level of accuracy, leaving untold millions of users impacted by hateful and extreme content every day. As an example, YouTube in June 2019 announced a policy change focusing on prohibiting white nationalist and other extremist content from existing on their platform. Despite the policy change, an ADL investigation in August found that a number of prominent white nationalists and other forms of hateful extremists are still active and easily findable on the platform. Similarly, after Facebook very publicly banned Alex Jones from its platforms in May 2019, Jones very quickly found another way back onto the platform. These instances raise alarming questions about the degree to which traditional social platforms, through their policies and systems, are able to meaningfully detect and address hateful content on the scale at which they're operating.

At the same time, our knowledge on the efficacy of platforms' content moderation efforts at dealing with the problem of white supremacist activity remains extremely limited. We can conduct external research to evaluate their efforts, but companies are not open to sharing user data, limiting opportunities to collect and use data for research. Alternatively, we can review transparency reports on content moderation efforts published by technology companies, but these too offer very limited information.

Mainstream social media platforms have a few potentially relevant metrics to the issue of extremism, especially white supremacist extremism, that they share in their regular transparency reports. Though each platform provides its own metrics on extremist activity, the metrics published are limited across the board, and they are self-reported by the companies, and we have no real way of knowing what content has been put into which category outside of the brief descriptions given by the platforms as part of their reporting.

If we look at the published metrics characterized as being related to terrorism (Facebook reported 6.4 million pieces of content related to terrorist propaganda removed from January to March 2019), this may seem relevant. However, typically, social platforms define terrorism in terms of Al Qaeda and ISIS-related activity and do not include white supremacist violence or activity as part of the terrorism classification. White supremacist extremist content could be categorized as hate speech or violent content on a platform (Twitter reported 250,806 accounts actioned for

hateful conduct and 56,577 accounts actioned for violent threats from July to December 2018), but at the same time, so could a wide variety of other types of content not associated with extremism or white supremacy, so it's hard to gauge based on these metrics either.

Moreover, when Facebook claims in their transparency report that they took action on four million pieces of hate speech from January to March 2019, we still have no sense of how that compares to the level of hate speech reported to them, what communities are impacted by those pieces of content or whether any of that content is connected with extremist activity on their platform. YouTube provides more granularity, sharing a number of different categories of content reported by users as well as the amount of content in each category that YouTube actioned. That being said, the names of the categories actioned by YouTube differs from those reported by users, making a comparison between what is reported and actioned impossible, and providing in the end the same level of opaqueness as Facebook's report.

YouTube's transparency categories for content actioned by the Platform	YouTube's transparency categories for Content reported by users
hateful or abusive	hateful or abusive
harmful or dangerous	harmful dangerous acts
promotion of violence and violent extremism	promotes terrorism
harassment and cyberbullying	
violent or graphic	violent or repulsive
nudity or sexual	sexual
child safety	child abuse
spam, misleading and scams	spam or misleading
other	

Twitter’s transparency report on the other hand provides both the users reported to the platform and users actioned by the platform in identical categories, but it does not provide any information on the amount of content reported versus amount actioned, making the scale of their activity similarly opaque. In order to truly assess the problem of hate on social platforms, technology companies must provide meaningful transparency with metrics that are agreed upon and verified by trusted third parties and that give actionable information to users, civil society, government and other stakeholders.

Meaningful transparency will allow stakeholders to answer questions such as: “How significant is the problem of white supremacy on this platform?” “Is this platform safe for people who belong to my community?” “Have the actions taken by this tech company to improve the problem of hate and extremism on their platform had the desired impact?” Until technology platforms are willing to actively engage external parties and meaningfully address their concerns through greater transparency efforts, our ability to understand the extent of the problem of hate and extremism online, or how to meaningfully and systematically address it, will be extremely limited.

Beyond their community guidelines and content moderation policies, features available on social media platforms need to be designed with anti-hate principles in mind. Companies need to conduct a thoughtful design process that puts their users first and incorporates society’s concerns before, and not after, tragedy strikes. Today, the most popular method of developing technology tools is through a Software Prototyping approach: an industry-wide standard that prompts companies to quickly release a product or feature and iterate on it over time. This approach completely devalues the impact of unintended design consequences. For example, the Christchurch shooter used Facebook’s livestreaming feature to share his attack with the world. The feature could have been designed to limit or lock audiences for new or first-time streamers or prevent easy recording of the video.

Gaming

We are also seeing an increase in extremist content and white supremacist recruitment within online games and gaming forums which are social spaces for video game players. Scholars have observed white supremacist recruiters actively prey on disaffected youth within the gaming community, and use these channels to plant seeds of hate by invoking sentiments of “us versus them”.

Through ADL’s own nationally representative surveys on video games, we found that nearly a quarter of players (23%) are exposed to discussions about white supremacist ideology and almost one in ten (9%) are exposed to discussions about Holocaust denial in online multiplayer games.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ ADL Center for Extremism, *Free to Play?* Anti-Defamation League, July 2019. (<https://www.adl.org/free-to-play>)

These are alarming insights into an industry that has managed to avoid the intense media scrutiny that more traditional social media platforms have experienced.

Podcasting and Video

Despite the alt right's move into the physical world, the internet remains its main propaganda vehicle, but online propaganda involves more than just Twitter and websites. In 2018, podcasting played a particularly outsized role in spreading alt right messages to the world. White supremacists have used videos and audio, both in shorter forms as well as in longer "internet radio" shows or podcasts, for as long as those technologies have been available. Stormfront Radio, for example, dates back to the mid-2000s, and former Klan leader David Duke has long produced videos. However, in the past several years, alt right activists have created an entire universe of alt right-related podcasts (as have their alt lite counterparts), so many that, as one admirer accurately observed recently on the DebateAltRight Reddit forum, "There's really too much for any 1 person to listen to."

Audio and video podcasting have several advantages: Millennial and Generation Z audiences, the prime recruiting pools for much of the alt right, are more likely to engage with these formats than others and more likely to watch or listen to an alt right "show" than read a long alt right ideological screed. Podcasts allow different alt right activists to reach out to people with a variety of styles and approaches to subject matter, building their own audiences—something that is key to the alt right, which doesn't form actual groups as often as some other segments of the white supremacist movement. Moreover, audio podcasts allow alt right activists to maintain the anonymity that most of them desire. The length of alt right podcasts, which can range from around 45 minutes up to three hours, also makes it difficult for anti-racist groups and organizations to thoroughly monitor all such content. Also important is the fact that the de-platforming strategies that have forced prominent white supremacists off many social media, crowdfunding and other platforms have not yet caught up to podcasting, and podcast hosting companies are not necessarily doing their own policing. This means alt right podcasts can be found, sometimes in abundance, on sites such as YouTube, Libsyn, PlayerFM, Spreaker, PodBean and others. This makes it easier for alt right white supremacists to reach audiences with podcasting than through many other platforms.

Indeed, some white supremacists have even built what could be described as alt right media empires. The largest and most influential of these is the website The Right Stuff, run by Mike Peinovich, who uses the pseudonym "Mike Enoch." Peinovich is one of the pioneers of the alt right, beginning his activism through blogging (The Right Stuff itself began as a blog). In 2014, Peinovich began podcasting with what remains one of the longest-running and most popular alt right podcasts, "The Daily Shoah" (its name is anti-Semitic wordplay derived from the comedy television program "The Daily Show" and the Hebrew word "shoah," meaning catastrophe, used

as a synonym for the Holocaust). To date, Peinovich has produced more than 300 episodes of “The Daily Shoah.”

Alt right podcasts can’t get the huge audiences of mainstream podcasts but can attract audiences that are quite large for white supremacists. Red Ice, a white supremacist media company operating both in Sweden and the U.S., for example, has more than 200,000 subscribers on YouTube. The Public Space has more than 40,000 subscribers; Nick Fuentes’ American First podcast has more than 15,000 subscribers. These numbers illustrate the extent to which the alt right relies on its podcasts to get its message out and the degree to which podcast- and video-hosting websites are key to the spread of such messages.

Alt right podcasts also allow alt right activists in the United States to share ideas with their alt right and identitarian counterparts in other countries. For example, British white supremacist Mark Collett has tried to reinvent himself as an observer and commentator on the alt right. He produces a regular podcast on YouTube on which several American white supremacists including Greg Johnson, Tom Kawczynski, Mike Peinovich, aka Mike Enoch, Jared Taylor, Kevin MacDonald and Richard Spencer have appeared. Also, Nils Wegner, a German Identitarian, told the *New York Times* that he had been strongly influenced by the podcasts of Richard Spencer.⁶¹ Wegner went on to conduct the first German-language interview with Spencer.

Moving Forward: Policy Recommendations to Counter the Threat

Bully Pulpit

The President, cabinet officials, and Members of Congress must call out bigotry *at every opportunity*. The right to free speech is a core value, but the promotion of hate should be vehemently rejected. Simply put, you cannot say it enough: America is no place for hate.

Enforcement of Existing Laws

The Administration must send loud, clear, and consistent messages that violent bigotry is unacceptable and ensure that the FBI and the Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division will enforce relevant federal laws and vigorously investigate and prosecute hate crimes.

Improve Federal Hate Crime Training and Data Collection

The Department of Justice should incentivize and encourage state and local law enforcement agencies to more comprehensively collect and report hate crimes data to the FBI, with special attention devoted to large underreporting law enforcement agencies that either have not participated in the FBI Hate Crime Statistics Act program at all or have affirmatively and

⁶¹ James Angelos, “The Prophet of Germany’s New Right,” *The New York Times*, October 10, 2017. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/10/magazine/the-prophet-of-germanys-new-right.html>)

notcredibly reported zero hate crimes. More comprehensive, complete hate crime reporting can deter hate violence and advance police-community relations.

In addition, the administration, DHS and DoJ should take steps to ensure that it is efficient and safe for all victims of hate crimes to contact the police. If marginalized or targeted community members – including Latinos, immigrants, and people who are perceived to be immigrants, people with disabilities, LGBTQ community members, Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, South Asians and people with limited language proficiency – cannot report, or do not feel safe reporting hate crimes, law enforcement cannot effectively address these crimes, thereby jeopardizing the safety of all.

Legislation to Address White Supremacy and Domestic Terrorism

Congress must act to counter the threat of domestic terrorism and prevent more attacks. No legislative action is perfect, but inaction should not be an option. Congress should enact the following measures:

1. Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act (DTPA) (S. 894/ HR 1931)

This legislation would enhance the federal government’s efforts to prevent domestic terrorism by authorizing into law the offices addressing domestic terrorism, and would require federal law enforcement agencies to regularly assess those threats. The bill would also provide training and resources to assist non-federal law enforcement in addressing these threats, requiring DOJ, DHS, and the FBI to provide training and resources to assist state, local, and tribal law enforcement in understanding, detecting, deterring, and investigating acts of domestic terrorism.

2. Domestic Terrorism Documentation and Analysis of Threats in America (DATA) Act (HR 3106).

Data on extremism and domestic terrorism is being collected by the FBI, but not enough, and the reporting is insufficient and flawed. Data drives policy; we cannot address what we are not measuring. The DATA Act focuses on increasing the coordination, accountability, and transparency of the federal government in collecting and recording data on domestic terrorism.

3. The Khalid Jabara and Heather Hoyer National Opposition to Hate, Assault, and Threats to Equality Act (NO HATE Act) of 2019 (S. 2043/ H.R. 3545)

The NO HATE Act would authorize incentive grants to spark improved local and state hate crime training, prevention, best practices, and data collection initiatives – including grants for state hate crime reporting hotlines to direct individuals to local law enforcement and support services.

4. **Disarm Hate Act (S.1462/H.R.2708)**

This legislation would close the loophole that currently permits the sale of firearms to individuals who have been convicted of threatening a person based on their race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability. The measure would prohibit individuals convicted of a misdemeanor hate crime from obtaining a firearm.

In addition, more consideration is needed for two additional initiatives that could help address white supremacy and domestic terrorism in the United States.

1. Congress should examine whether a rights-protecting domestic terrorism criminal charge is needed – and could be appropriately crafted.

Our federal legal system currently lacks the means to prosecute a white supremacist terrorist as a terrorist. Perpetrators can be prosecuted for weapons charges, acts of violence (including murder), racketeering, hate crimes, or other criminal violations. But we cannot legally prosecute them for what they are: terrorists. Many experts have argued that, without being so empowered, there is a danger that would-be domestic terrorists are more likely to be charged with lesser crimes and subsequently receive lesser sentences. Congress should begin immediate hearings and consultations with legal and policy experts, marginalized communities, and law enforcement professionals on whether it is possible to craft a rights-protecting domestic terrorism statute. Any statute Congress would seriously consider should include specific, careful Congressional and civil liberties oversight to ensure the spirit of such protections are faithfully executed.

2. The State Department should examine whether certain white supremacist groups operating abroad meet the specific criteria to be subject to sanctions under its Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) authority.

The criteria, set out in 8 U.S.C. § 1189(a)⁶² are: (1) the organization must be foreign; (2) the organization must engage in terrorist activity or retain the capability and intent to engage in terrorist activity or terrorism; and (3) the terrorist activity or terrorism of the organization must threaten the security of U.S. nationals or the national security of the U.S.

None of the current 68 organizations on the FTO list is a white supremacist organization.⁶³ And while the possibility of designating white supremacist organizations under the State

⁶²“8 U.S. Code § 1189. Designation of foreign terrorist organizations,” Cornell Law School Legal Information Institute, accessed September 16, 2019; (<https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/8/1189>)

⁶³ State Department, “Foreign Terrorist Organizations,” accessed September 16, 2019; (<https://www.state.gov/foreign-terrorist-organizations/>)

Department's FTO authority holds promise, there are some important considerations that must be taken into account.

First, while several countries have added white supremacist groups to their own designated terrorist lists in recent days – including Canada⁶⁴ and England⁶⁵ – white supremacist groups do not operate exactly like other FTOs, such as ISIS and al-Qaeda. For example, individual white supremacists that carry out attacks – wherever they are – very rarely receive specific operational instructions from organized white supremacist groups abroad to carry out these attacks. These groups generally do not have training camps in Europe or elsewhere where individuals travel to learn tactics and then return home to carry out an attack. Instead, individuals in the United States are typically motivated to act based on their own white supremacist ideology, which primarily stems from domestic sources of inspiration but which can sometimes also stem from inspirational sources abroad – including the violent actions of white supremacists – whether that foreign source is associated with an organization or not.

Second, in the United States, unlike in Canada and England, the First Amendment provides unique, broad protection for even the most vile hate speech and propaganda. While clearly criminal conduct would not be protected under the First Amendment, a great deal of non-criminal association, speech, and hateful propaganda would be protected speech. The First Amendment's assembly and speech protections would not permit designation of white supremacist organizations operating here, but designating *foreign* white supremacist groups could make knowingly providing material support or resources to them a crime – extending authority for law enforcement officials to investigate whether such a crime is being planned or is occurring.⁶⁶

Addressing Online Hate and Harassment

1. Strengthen laws against perpetrators of online hate

Hate and harassment translate from on the ground to online spaces, including in social media and games, but our laws have not kept up. Many forms of severe online misconduct are not consistently covered by cybercrime, harassment, stalking and hate crime law. Congress has an opportunity to lead the fight against cyberhate by increasing protections for targets as well as

⁶⁴ Harmeet Kaur, "For the first time, Canada adds white supremacists and neo-Nazi groups to its terror organization list," *CNN*, June 28, 2018, (<https://www.cnn.com/2019/06/27/americas/canada-neo-nazi-terror-organization-list-trnd/index.html>)

⁶⁵ Emma Lake, "Terror Crackdown: Which terror groups are banned under UK law and when was National Action added to the list?" *The Sun (UK)*, October 26, 2017 (<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/4569388/banned-terror-groups-uk-national-action>)

⁶⁶ Mary B. McCord, "White Nationalist Killers Are Terrorists. We Should Fight Them Like Terrorists," *Washington Post*, Aug. 8, 2019, (https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/white-nationalist-killers-are-terrorists-we-should-fight-them-like-terrorists/2019/08/08/3f8b761a-b964-11e9-bad6-609f75bfd97f_story.html)

penalties for perpetrators of online misconduct. Some actions Congress can take include revising Federal law to allow for penalty enhancements based on cyber-related conduct; updating federal stalking and harassment statutes' intent requirement to account for online behavior; and legislating specifically on cybercrimes such as doxing, swatting, non-consensual pornography, and deepfakes.

2. Urge social media platforms to institute robust governance

Government officials have an important role to play in encouraging social media platforms to institute robust and verifiable industry-wide self-governance. This could take many forms, including Congressional oversight or passing laws that require certain levels of transparency and auditing. The internet plays a vital role in allowing for innovation and democratizing trends, and that should be preserved. At the same time the ability to use it for hateful and severely harmful conduct needs to be effectively addressed.

3. Improve training of law enforcement

Law enforcement is a key responder to online hate, especially in cases when users feel they are in imminent danger. Increasing resources and training for these departments is critical to ensure they can effectively investigate and prosecute cyber cases and that targets know they will be supported if they contact law enforcement.

Platform Responsibility to Address Online Hate and Harassment

1. Terms of Service

Every social media and online game platform must have clear terms of service that address hateful content and harassing behavior, and clearly define consequences for violations. These policies should state that the platform will not tolerate hateful content or behavior on the basis of protected characteristics. They should prohibit abusive tactics such as harassment, doxing and swatting. Platforms should also note what the process of appeal is for users who feel their content was flagged as hateful or abusive in error.

2. Responsibility and Accountability.

Social media and online game platforms should assume greater responsibility to enforce their policies and to do so accurately at scale. They should improve the complaint process so that it provides a more consistent and speedy resolution for targets. They should lessen the burden of the complaint process for users, and instead proactively, swiftly, and continuously addressing hateful content using a mix of artificial intelligence and humans who are fluent in the relevant language and knowledgeable in the social and cultural context of the relevant community.

Additionally, given the prevalence of online hate and harassment, platforms should offer far more services and tools for individuals facing or fearing online attack. They should provide greater filtering options that allow individuals to decide for themselves how much they want to see likely hateful comments. They should consider the experience of individuals who are being harassed in a coordinated way, and be able to provide aid to these individuals in meaningful ways. They should allow users to speak to a person as part of the complaint process in certain, clearly defined cases. They should provide user-friendly tools to help targets preserve evidence and report problems to law enforcement and companies.

3. Governance and Transparency.

Perhaps most importantly, social media and online game platforms should adopt robust governance. This should include regularly scheduled external, independent audits so that the public knows the extent of hate and harassment on a given platform. Audits should also allow the public to verify that the company followed through on its stated actions and assess the effectiveness of company efforts over time. Companies should provide information from the audit and elsewhere through more robust transparency reports. Finally, companies should create independent groups of experts from relevant stakeholders, including civil society, academia and journalism, to help provide guidance and oversight of platform policies.

Beyond their own community guidelines, transparency efforts and content moderation policies, features available on social media and online game platforms need to be designed with anti-hate principles in mind. Companies need to conduct a thoughtful design process that puts their users first, and incorporates risk and radicalization factors before, and not after, tragedy strikes. Today, the most popular method of developing technology tools is through a Software Prototyping approach: an industry-wide standard that prompts companies to quickly release a product or feature and iterate on it over time. This approach completely devalues the impact of unintended design consequences. For example, the Christchurch shooter used Facebook's livestreaming feature to share his attack with the world. The feature could have been designed to limit or lock audiences for new or first-time streamers or prevent easy recording of the video.

These kinds of attacks, designed to leverage social media to attract maximum attention and encourage the next attack, force us to reassess the threat of hateful echo chambers like 8chan as well as the exploitable features in mainstream platforms like Facebook — and how they help drive extremist violence.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify and for calling a hearing on this topic. The scourge of white supremacy is vile, dangerous, and an imminent threat to our communities and those of our partners abroad. We must act swiftly, decisively and comprehensively to counter this threat and prevent it from metastasizing. On behalf of the ADL, we look forward to working with you as you continue to devote your urgent attention to the issue.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you so much, Dr. Nazarian.

Thanks to all the witnesses for their testimony.

We will now move to member questions under the 5-minute rule. Chairman Rose will begin, followed by Ranking Member Walker.

Chairman Rose.

Mr. ROSE. Thank you, Chairman Deutch.

I thank you all for your testimony.

I would like to zero in on this issue of the actual infrastructure of these global organizations. Can you speak to, from both a training as well as ideological communication, what do these organizations look like? Can you please include names? Can you please include where they are based out of? How many countries they are—you do not have to be that specific, but regions.

And, most especially, could you please note their similarities to organizations like ISIS and al-Qaeda, not just as they exist now but especially as they existed in the late 1980's and 1990's before they started attacking the West with large-scale attacks?

Dr. Miller-Idriss, we will start with you.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. First, I would like to say thank you for your service to this country, and I appreciate that.

It is a very good question. I think I will speak primarily to the ideology. And I will say, I would prefer not to name groups here, but I would be happy to do that off the record. Just that I do not want to give any additional oxygen to groups that will celebrate that in a video clip.

So I do think that what we are seeing with ideology is organized ideology coming through recruiters, through social platforms like YouTube, which—and they are getting around bans by using encrypted channels, so working very carefully to avoid algorithms, avoid bans, but then sharing encrypted channel information so that young people who view those can then go to encrypted channels to receive further ideological information.

We know that there are training camps being run both, you know, overseas and in this country. There are, kind of, militia trainings and preparation in that way.

And we know that they are working together in partnership to crowdsource, kind of, funding sometimes for activities, funding for legal troubles that they get themselves into, and working in that way, kind of, over the internet to support each other.

Mr. ROSE. OK. Thank you.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. If I may, to add to what the doctor said, the tactics are similar. And, first of all, when I was a 14-year-old, I did not think I was joining a local group; I thought I was joining a global movement. So even 30 years ago, the idea of it being global existed.

Very quickly, I took my work overseas. I was in one of the first American neo-Nazi bands to leave the U.S. and perform in Europe. So there was money and propaganda being traded even then, before the internet. This is not something new because of the internet.

But to point out a specific group, called Atomwaffen Division, here in the United States, which is responsible for at least five murders in the last 2 years, operates very much like an ISIS terror

cell. They are anonymous. They do not necessarily know who each other are.

They do train in what they call hate camps. There has been a hate camp in Virginia where they train with paramilitary style weapons; also in Nevada, in the desert. And there is one being planned by a group that is a splinter of Atomwaffen Division that is called The Base, which is a literal translation for “al-Qaeda,” that is going to be training in Washington.

As far as ideology, it is consistent globally. There is very little difference, if anything, between the groups that operate internationally and the groups that operate here. But I also want to make clear that it is less about the group structure these days and it is more about, kind of, what is being called the leaderless resistance. While the ideology controls what they are doing, there is no hierarchy in terms of structure for groups.

So, while we may see the group dynamic becoming less popular, we should not think that this is going away. What is happening over the last 30 years is that the strategic plan was to become invisible. We encouraged people in the late 1980’s and 1990’s to not shave their heads, to not wear boots, so that they could blend in. There was heat coming from law enforcement and groups were being taken down, so they encouraged people to go out and try and radicalize others without bringing them into a group structure.

Mr. ROSE. Dr. Nazarian.

Dr. NAZARIAN. So what I can tell you is that the level of cross-pollination is huge. Structurally, in-person meetings, like conferences, rallies, music festivals, have become even bigger, and you see presence of American white supremacists in Europe and vice versa. We saw it at Charlottesville. That was a very clear indicator for us, where we saw the presence of European white supremacists at the Charlottesville rally.

Online, what we are seeing, they are sharing podcasts. Gaming has become a huge platform, something that most legislators and others are not paying attention to. And I would say that messaging boards like I mentioned—8chan, Gab—these are places where, in a different way from ISIS and al-Qaeda, where there is no real physical place, this is the community that they belong to.

This is truly a global effort, and it becomes a huge attraction point for disaffected men, youth—

Mr. ROSE. Sure.

Ms. NAZARIAN [continuing]. To say that they feel—

Mr. ROSE. Thank you for your testimony.

I just do want to put it out there that, in the coming days, we will be sending or distributing a letter to the Secretary of State identifying specific white nationalist foreign terrorist organizations, or organizations that we believe should be FTOs, and I certainly would appreciate the support of my colleagues here.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Chairman Rose.

Ranking Member Walker, you are recognized.

Mr. WALKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Miller-Idriss, I have a very important question to start with. I am assuming, by the colors that you are wearing today, your allegiance would be Terrapin more than Wolverine? Or is this just strictly a coincidence?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Well, I was also a Cornellian, which is the Big Red, as you know.

Mr. WALKER. All right. Fair enough. We will move on from there.

To your knowledge, have foreign-based members of white supremacist groups traveled to the U.S. to meet with groups or individuals here?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. We know that individuals have come to Charlottesville. And we also have very good evidence of individuals from the U.S. going to Europe. So, yes, I think in both directions there is—

Mr. WALKER. So you do have some cases here or there that you have seen this.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes.

Mr. WALKER. OK. Great. Thank you for answering that.

Since the 9/11 terror attacks, the government and public has promoted the “See Something, Say Something” concept to help alert law enforcement to terror threats. In May, the FBI testified that 50 percent of the domestic terror investigations are opened due to referrals from the public and other State and local partners.

Do you have any recommendations to further improve the Suspicious Activity Reporting System?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. I think the hardest thing about that is that the people who are most likely to know something are peers, are other young people, and we also know that they are the least likely to come forward. I think that public education on that can go a long way.

We have also seen parents, in very recent years, being a very good source of information. But I will say that one thing that we lack compared to Europe is that, even when parents know something is going on, they do not know who to call. They are reluctant to call the FBI. They are reluctant to call the police.

I would suggest that if we had something like a suicide hotline number, a phone number that parents could call that was to get information—that, you know, we have resources, but parents who do fear that their children are planning something do not know how to get help in a way that they think will be useful.

Mr. WALKER. Thank you.

And, Mr. Picciolini, if I have time, I am going to come back to you, because I can tell that you may want to add something there.

Let me go to Dr. Nazarian, if I could, please.

I believe you mentioned the number, over 8 years, 175 deaths internationally. Did I get that number correct?

Dr. NAZARIAN. Yes.

Mr. WALKER. OK. And one is too many. Twenty-one per year. And I think part of what we are doing today is, as much as the numbers, we are trying to prevent the trend, as well, in that direction.

Could you answer the question that I have for you? How many deaths over that same 8-year period of time has been due to religious zealots? Dr. Miller-Idriss mentioned Islamists, some of the fundamentalists there. Over that same 8-year period of time, how many murders or deaths or killings in that arena?

Dr. NAZARIAN. I do not have that number in front of me, so I cannot tell you exactly. But what I want to be very careful about is this is not an either/or discussion.

Mr. WALKER. No, no, no. And I am getting to that, but I had a specific question. So you have no idea of that?

Dr. NAZARIAN. I do not. I am happy to provide that to you in writing afterwards. I do not have that number.

Mr. WALKER. Dr. Miller-Idriss, would you have any idea on that number?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Not, also, in my documents here.

Mr. WALKER. Because, ultimately, we are wanting to be able to deal with both. So I think both those numbers are important, should not they be? You would agree with that?

Dr. NAZARIAN. Absolutely, yes.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes.

Mr. WALKER. According to CBS, in 2017 they have a number of 84,000 that have been murdered. And I want do some kind of backup. I am just coming up with this number in the last hour, so I want to make sure that number is valid. But I just want to make sure that we are concerned about that.

I have a question—I have time to get both in—going back to Dr. Miller-Idriss.

Given the concerns raised here today about domestic terrorism, specifically white supremacy extremism, do you have concerns about the ability of law enforcement to monitor domestic terror threats in locations where cities have pulled out the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force, or the JTTF? San Francisco, Portland, and some others have pulled out. Is that a concern for you at all?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. I do have concerns about whether local law enforcement is adequately prepared, particularly given the evolving nature of the threat. The fact that the symbols have changed so much, the clothing has changed, the signals have changed, I am not sure that we really have awareness among local law enforcement or among teachers, for example, who would also be useful.

Mr. WALKER. Yes.

A quick “yes” or “no” question. Do you find it difficult to potentially create policy that remains cognizant of the Constitution and the U.S. citizens' rights while also enabling law enforcement to detect and prevent Americans from being radicalized to the point of violence? Just for clarity, I know that is a struggle for us sometimes, the liberty versus the privacy and all that.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes, I think that is a very big concern. But I also think we have 20 years of experience now that we can draw on on seeing how we have done that with the American Muslim community to see what has gone wrong, what has gone right. And I would encourage us to think about that.

Mr. WALKER. And I want to honor my word to try to get back in Mr. Picciolini.

Would you mind addressing for us some additional things that we could do for the question that I asked the doctor?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Sure. And I just wanted to address that in my expanded statement I did name organizations that were global and domestic for that report.

You know, it is very difficult for peers to identify—

Mr. WALKER. And I only have about 10 seconds, so I just want to be honorable to the rest of the members here.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Sure. White supremacists have done a very good job of hiding themselves over the last 30 years. It is very difficult to identify them.

Mr. WALKER. OK. Thank you.

I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Walker.

We are going to alternate between parties and between subcommittees. I am going to defer for now and turn it over to Mr. Connolly.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank the chair.

And welcome to our witnesses.

I think this is a very important and consequential hearing, because we are not giving this topic the kind of attention it most certainly deserves, not to make a point, but to, frankly, protect society and to expose what is truly a conspiracy that harms people and, as you point out, Mr. Picciolini, kills people.

I am from Virginia, and we saw the harm white supremacism can do in a peaceful university community that prides itself on being inclusive and accepting and diverse. And it was horrifying for all of us who know Charlottesville to witness what took place because an outside group decided to make it an object lesson of their hate.

So thank all three of you for being here.

Dr. Miller-Idriss, let me just ask, not including 9/11, obviously, terrorist incidents here in the United States, white supremacists have, in the grisly count, frankly, been, you know, responsible for more deaths than anything associated with jihadist movements. Would that be a fair statement?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes, I believe that is a true statement in history. Yes.

Mr. CONNOLLY. So when we look at the resources the Federal Government has marshaled to deal with, say, the jihadist terrorist threat, they are considerable. Would that be a fair statement?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes, I believe they are considerable.

Mr. CONNOLLY. In the tens of billions of dollars, maybe more.

Now, given the fact that the white supremacist terrorist threat, depending on how you measure it, is certainly equal to, if not greater than, domestically, the jihadist terrorist threat, surely the resources devoted to addressing the white supremacist threat are comparable to those of the jihadist threat. Is that fair?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. The resource question is—they are not equal resources.

Mr. CONNOLLY. They are not equal.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. No.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Would it be fair to say they are not even close?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. They are not even close.

Mr. CONNOLLY. And are there consequences that flow from that kind of disequilibrium in terms of the allocation of resources to the actual, measured, demonstrable threat, not the theoretical or fear-based threat?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes, there are consequences. And I will just say—this is from my written testimony—that the FBI has testified

that 80 percent of their agents focus on international terrorism, 20 on domestic. They were able to stop 70 percent of terrorist activities from Islamist groups in 2018 but only 29 percent of the white supremacist extremist attacks.

Mr. CONNOLLY. And, by the way, my friend was talking about religious zealotry versus something else. But, Mr. Picciolini, given your experience, would it not be fair to say many of the white supremacists consider themselves religious zealots, right? They are promoting a certain culture and ethos from their point of view. Is that correct?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes, sir. That is correct.

Mr. CONNOLLY. It would be a jihadist culture, but it would certainly be a radical and extreme version of their version of Christianity, in many cases.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. That is correct. And, also, in many cases, they refer to themselves as white jihadists.

Mr. CONNOLLY. So, in the time I have left after, Mr. Chairman, having established that there is this disequilibrium in resources devoted to the actual, measured threat, which I think this subcommittee deserves credit for having uncovered—and I hope legislatively we will address that—I would like to give you an opportunity, Mr. Picciolini, to talk a little bit about your story.

I mean, would it be fair to say that what motivated you, way back when, to join these groups or associate with them was maybe—certainly, two things: One was a sense of belonging, but the other was maybe fear and insecurity?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes, sir. Thank you for that question.

You know, ideology is really secondary to becoming radicalized. And I say radicalization starts the day we are born. For me, it was searching for a sense of identity, community, and purpose, all three of which I felt I did not really have a grasp on in my life.

My parents are Italian immigrants who came to the U.S. in the mid-1960's. And, as immigrants, they had to work 7 days a week, 16 hours a day. So I did not see them very much, growing up. I knew they loved me, and they still, you know, do, but I did not see them. So I went searching for family elsewhere and for a sense of agency and inclusion.

I was idealistic as a kid, but I certainly was not mature enough to know that I was making the right or wrong decisions at that time.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Am I up? Is my time up?

Mr. DEUTCH. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank the chairman. I thank him for his courtesy.

Thank you all for the courage of being here today. We really appreciate your testimony.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Connolly.

Mr. Wilson, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank each of you for being here today.

And, Dr. Miller-Idriss, I particularly appreciate your comment about not identifying particular groups to give them attention. I was just mentioning to the chairman that I specifically never mention the name of any of the mass murderers who have conducted

their operations. They just should not be given personal recognition. That is what they want.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. I absolutely agree.

Mr. WILSON. And so, with that in mind, how do we identify—and for each of you—the different extremist groups? And where are they located? What kind of membership do they have?

And then, not long ago, we all faced a very identifiable hate group, the Ku Klux Klan. What is the status of the KKK?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. The KKK is thriving, as are other groups.

We see also internationally—I will say, one of the interesting things I have read recently showed that, when Facebook kicked the Ku Klux Klan off of Facebook, they migrated to a Russian platform called VKontakte. And then, in the Ukraine, there were 60 separate KKK groups operating on VKontakte when the Ukraine banned that platform. And then they evolved, and those groups came back to Facebook, some of them, by using the Cyrillic letters. They got smarter.

So, you know, it is also an example of how single-platform banning does not always work; it can make the situation worse.

But they are thriving. I think there are really good experts around in the U.S. and also from our allies overseas who can also meet off the record and can provide lists of groups and where they are. And I know all of us would be happy to do that afterward as well.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you.

Mr. Picciolini, do you have a comment on that?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes. Thank you, Ranking Member Wilson.

The groups really are everywhere. And it is less about the groups than it is about the individuals, and they are everywhere. I get requests, probably a dozen or so every week, from either people wanting to disengage from hate groups or from white supremacy, or from parents of children who are horrified that their kids are being recruited over video games, through the headsets, playing multiplayer online games, through depression forums online, through autism forums, where they are hunting for people. Those are the types of tactics that groups like ISIS use as well.

But there was a concerted strategy 30 years ago to really move away from the more visible elements of the movement into a more mainstreaming of the ideology. We encouraged people to not look extreme. We wanted them to go into things like the military to get explosives training, to join law enforcement, to run for office in some cases. And, in some cases, back in the 1980's and 1990's, we were successful with that.

The process really started in the late 1980's with David Duke, who removed his Klan robe and was elected to the House of Representatives. That really started the process of mainstreaming this ideology. And it has really taken on a life of its own since then.

Dr. NAZARIAN. I would like to add that we have to keep in mind that most of the most violent shooters do not belong to specific groups. They are lone wolves, and they are radicalized. So it is important to keep in mind that, really, the most extreme ones are self-radicalized. And that is why I want to bring attention to what is going on online.

We at the ADL have actually brought members of law enforcement from across Europe to our Advanced Training School that we do in Washington, DC, once or twice a year, and we really train them specifically about the symbology, about what kind of cross-pollination is going on, the ideology.

But it is really the internet where we think platforms, both mainstream and some of the ones I mentioned and the gaming that I mentioned, are the structures where we have to really look. That is where they are meeting. That is the community that they come to and believe in and feel a part of this global movement.

So, if I could reiterate one point, it is really about ourselves, the media companies, social media companies, the platforms have to be responsible in helping us collect data, and understand where the threats are coming from. They are talking about these things, and they are being monitored. So we have data that we should be able to have more transparency toward and to be able to see through, where are the threats coming from? And we just do not have that transparency right now. So I think the platforms really have a role here to play.

Mr. WILSON. Well, thank each of you for raising these issues, and we look forward to working with you in the future.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Cicilline, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you to our witnesses, and thank you, Chairman, for this really important and very sobering hearing.

I want to just ask Dr. Miller-Idriss, you make reference in your written testimony that white supremacist extremism is the most lethal form of extremism in the United States right now, with 50 deaths in 2018, the fourth-deadliest year since 1970, that hate groups are at a record high, white nationalist groups increasing by 50 percent—50 percent—in 2018.

And so I guess my first question is, while we have to think about how do we protect the American people and be sure law enforcement has the resources—and I am interested to speak to Mr. Picciolini about ways to disengage people—I guess the first question I have is: Is there research that shows what is causing this?

This is a significant increase. And it seems to me, understanding what are some of the causes of this that we might prevent would be a very efficient way of start thinking about responding to this challenge.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes. That is a great question.

I think what we know is that young people, especially—I mean, it is not only young people, but young people, especially, have a set of grievances that are then, kind of, weaponized through online culture. They were led to a sense of feeling insecure, feeling excluded, feeling economically marginalized. We call it “aggrieved entitlement,” a sense that they deserve something better that they did not get.

And then online they meet these narratives that tell them, you know, that there is a pathway for you to make a difference, to be a part of something bigger and better than yourself, to enact a

sense of meaning, to be a hero. And also a place to express anger. And we know that anger and rage is part of it as well.

But I think those emotional—and I really want to second what Christian said, that these emotional underpinnings are the draw, and then the ideology comes second.

And so, when we think about preventive work, we have to think about what it takes to offer young people places to enact meaning, places to be a hero, places to engage meaningfully, in a moment when they are more isolated than we have ever seen young people before.

Mr. CICILLINE. I was a mayor before I came to Congress, and that was very much the conversation we had in response to gang violence—this same idea of connecting to something and being a part of something, often replacing a family organization that did not exist.

But you made reference, I think, Dr. Nazarian, to the technology platforms. And I am just wondering what the panelists think that the technology companies should be doing in terms of identifying threats, alerting government authorities, possibly banning or removing content.

It feels like that one of the really big challenges here is the ease at which information is shared, misinformation, this ideology, quickly with lots of people. And is it time to impose a greater responsibility on the technology platforms to play a more active role in this space?

Dr. NAZARIAN. If I could add, I mean, just in going back to the things that are adding to the sensitivity of youth, you know, even concepts like globalization, multiculturalism, what they are calling “Third-Worldism.” Why is there such a reaction to nonwhite immigration to America? It is really this notion that whites are being replaced.

And what I can tell you from my travels around the world, especially through Europe, is that Europe serves as a cautionary tale. American white supremacists are looking at Europe, seeing the influx of Muslims because of the Syrian war and the Iraqi war, looking at migrants coming in from Africa, and they are being replaced, and their purity and the white race that they believe in is being invaded and being disseminated.

So that is first and foremost. We have to keep in mind the connectivity of these threats and how they see it. So Europe serves as that.

Going now to the platforms, we talk about the responsibility of platforms to self-govern. They know how to do it; they are just refusing to do it right now. And it takes all of us—our legislators, the private sector, NGO’s like us—to bear pressure to say: You cannot only react after things happen, after horrific acts happen. You have to be able to do it beforehand and help us do it together through gathering data and others.

Mr. CICILLINE. Yes. And I also think it is obviously not helpful when we have political or civic leaders in the country that are using language that dehumanizes refugees or immigrants and speak about invasions and infestations and all of that kind of stuff.

I just have a minute left, so I would like to ask each of you, what is the one most important thing Congress can do right now to respond to this urgent challenge?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. You know, I would say we really need to treat this in two ways: one, as a national security issue, but also as a public health crisis.

The way to tackle deradicalization is in a public health way, because ideology really is secondary. People find their way to the ideologies, and it becomes the green light to be angry or the permission slip. So if we want to solve this for future generations, we really need to focus on social services, early childhood education, and mental healthcare.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you.

Dr. Miller.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. If I could pick one thing, I would urge you to think long-term about capacity-building and expertise.

And I would just say that, you know, the reason why I am here today is because this government invested in me, funded me to go to graduate school with a Javits Fellowship, paid with a National Science Foundation, Title VI money, Title VIII money. All of my graduate school was funded through, you know, acts of this government to fund me.

It took 22 years for that expertise to come back to this room and help, I hope, in this way, so it is a long game to invest in that way, but I hope that those investments pay off over time.

And I think that we cannot just think of this as a short-term, you know, how to shuffle money around and get immediate expertise in kind of a whack-a-mole type of way. We have to think long-term about what capacity might we need 20 years from now to solve whatever terrorist threats exist then. And I hope that long-term investments can be made.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Dr. Miller. I think we feel good about the investment that was made.

Mr. CICILLINE. Absolutely.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Thank you. I hope so.

Mr. DEUTCH. Mr. Zeldin, you are recognized.

Mr. ZELDIN. I thank the chairs for hosting today's hearing. This is an important conversation for us to be having in Congress.

I appreciate the witnesses for being here.

In our country, the way that we define words, terms are important to help us to talk to each other as opposed to past each other. I know that the ADL has definitions for the terms "white nationalism," "white supremacy." I do not know if all three witnesses agree with those terms as defined by ADL or if you had any other definition. To Dr. Miller or Mr. Picciolini.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. I prefer the term "white supremacist extremism," myself, as the broadest overarching term. I think that "white nationalism" is a term that can soften the impact and that has also been used, deliberately, internally, to kind of soften it by making it seem as if this is overblown patriotism.

But I also think that it is not a good exercise, in general, for scholars or policymakers to spend too much time fighting over terminology and getting too caught up in those debates. I think that

if we know what we are talking about, we can agree to disagree on the terminology.

Mr. ZELDIN. But, generally, do—I guess the question is if you agree with the ADL's definition. I was not asking for you to disagree unless you—I mean, I guess you do.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes. Right. Sorry.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. I do not know the exact definitions, but, generally, having done a lot of work with—

Dr. NAZARIAN. I have them. Yes.

Mr. PICCIOLINI [continuing]. The ADL—

Dr. NAZARIAN. Happy to share it.

Mr. ZELDIN. Dr. Nazarian, please.

Dr. NAZARIAN. So the ADL defines “white supremacy” as the collection of movements sharing one or more of the following key tenets: No. 1, white people should have dominance over people of other ethnic and racial backgrounds, especially in places where they may coexist; two, white people should live by themselves in whites-only society; three, white people have their own culture that is superior to other cultures; and, four, white people are genetically superior to other people.

So they believe that the white race is in danger of extinction due to a rising flood of non-whites, as we talked a little bit about, kind of, their concerns.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. I would agree with that.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. I agree.

Mr. ZELDIN. OK. I was not trying to provoke a disagreement.

Dr. NAZARIAN. Yes, yes, yes. No.

Mr. ZELDIN. What is interesting in our country is the term “nationalism” gets discussed as well and used with a different definition of “white nationalism.” Do any of you want to offer a definition of what “nationalism” is?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. I would just say that white supremacists have always tried to find softer marketing terms and buzzwords. “White nationalist,” “alt-right” are their terms to make them seem less racist.

But if I were to define “nationalism,” I would say that the difference between “nationalism” and “patriotism” is, being proud of your country and being a patriot means you want to share with that other people, while being nationalist means you want to be exclusive and not really share those resources or talents with others.

Mr. ZELDIN. Does the ADL have a definition for “nationalism”? I do not know the answer to that.

Dr. NAZARIAN. I do not believe so, not that I have in front of me.

But I think, I mean, in general, this idea of love for country, I think, as Mr. Picciolini referenced, is one that you share a pride, versus one that is exclusionary and is against the interest of others, so it is much more of an exclusionary feeling.

Mr. ZELDIN. You know, it is interesting, I mean, social media cuts both ways, especially anonymously, you could say. I mean, the lowest common denominator of the way either your internal compass is or you view others, people can be the worst forms of themselves anonymously.

Some people have, I have seen on social media, declared themselves nationalists, and then when you look at the way they are

commenting on issues, they do not seem to meet the definition of white supremacy or white nationalism. And people who are saying that they are nationalists—so what is interesting, one definition that gets used is “identification with one’s own nation and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations.”

Dr. NAZARIAN. Yes.

Mr. ZELDIN. And what is interesting about this widely used definition for “nationalist” is that people then see the definition and then they call themselves a nationalist, not that they are excluding a specific person based off of race or religion, that they believe that they are supporting their country and saying that we should prioritize our own interests versus others. And then if that person is white, then they get called a white nationalist, and then they end up becoming a white supremacist.

And it is just very interesting, what I have seen on social media, where people are declaring themselves to be nationalists but they do not seem to be violent, they do not seem to express any type of hate toward people of other races, religions, genders, and that list that goes on.

But I appreciate you taking the time. This is something it is hard to do justice for in 5 minutes. But, you know, our country on this topic does need to do a better job communicating with each other to make progress.

And, once again, thank you to the chairs for hosting today’s hearing.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thanks, Mr. Zeldin.

Mr. Malinowski, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

A couple of issues I wanted to ask you all about.

The question of whether we should be designating groups as terrorist organizations often comes up. And it is, I think understandably, very controversial with regard to domestic groups, even if they have international connections.

But I wanted to ask you, in particular, about the practical merits or disadvantages of designation of foreign-based white supremacist terrorist organizations. Would there be practical benefits? Is that something that you would recommend? If not, why not?

Dr. NAZARIAN. If I may respond, we at the ADL are looking at that question right now, and what we can say today is that we really encourage both the State Department and Congress to seriously examine that question. We think it is worthy of examination. We know, as I mentioned in my testimony, Canada and the U.K. have done so. And I think it is really warranted to look at it closely and make sure that the designations fit the criteria the State Department has already set up.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Right. So it could prohibit material support. It would potentially help our law enforcement agencies track movement of people fighting for an organization based in Europe—tools that do not really exist right now—

Dr. NAZARIAN. Right now.

Mr. MALINOWSKI [continuing]. Because—

Dr. NAZARIAN. Correct.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Yes. OK.

A separate issue that Chairman Rose also mentioned, others referred to: the whole problem of online radicalization.

When we talk about this problem and the role that the social media companies play, we generally focus on deleting bad content and removing bad people from the online platforms. I think it is partly because we all understand that. You do not need any technical expertise to understand the importance of getting rid of something that is bad. But it is also whack-a-mole. I doubt we will ever get to 100 percent, given the billions of people who exist on these platforms. There are new platforms that people move to.

The question that I have been thinking about much more is not just what to do about bad content but what to do about the engine that promotes that bad content. If somebody goes on the Daily Stormer website or watches some Azad Brigade videos, what is likely to happen on their YouTube feed? What are they going to start seeing?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Recommended content.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Recommended content.

Now, the social media companies argue, I think understandably, that they are not liable for the content that we post. If I libel you on Facebook, I am liable for that, not Facebook.

But would you agree that if Facebook or YouTube or Instagram is promoting content, writing an algorithm that causes that content to show up in my social media because they have guessed that I might be interested in it, that they are, in fact, more liable than they would be for the creation of the content itself? And should we do something about that?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. I believe that the recommender systems and the algorithms are a huge problem and that we need pressure on these companies to make changes.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. And what changes would you suggest they make and what sorts of pressure? Should we, for example, look at Section 230 with regard to immunity for at least algorithmically promoted content?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. So some of what—I mean, we know, for example, Dylann Roof has been very clear about his radicalization possibly starting with a Google search. And Google has made changes in the way that those searches work without actual legislative pressure. But if those kinds of changes do not come about, I think we do need legislation that would pressure it.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Would you agree?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. I would agree. I think that these companies are a lot like countries, where they have the GDP and the size of—you know, bigger than most countries. But I also want to caution that these groups, these individuals in extremist movements move so fast that it is difficult to, from 1 day to the next, know exactly what they are doing without a focus.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Right.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. You know, I think that the technology companies do have a responsibility in terms of the algorithms that are promoting this radicalizing material, absolutely.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you.

One final question. You spoke, Dr. Miller-Idriss, about the anti-immigration aspect of the ideology. And, obviously, immigration

policy is something we all debate. We have very different views, legitimate different views—should we build a wall, not build a wall, border security, immigration reform. But setting aside those legitimate differences, should any politician, candidate, officeholder use the phrase “immigrant invasion”?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. No, they should not.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Twenty-five years ago, I wrote a song about immigrant invasion that, years later, Dylann Roof posted the lyrics to online. And I was just an insignificant 17-year-old skinhead at the time, so, certainly, people with responsibility for their words have more of a responsibility.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. That is the rhetoric of terrorism. Would you agree?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes, it is.

Dr. NAZARIAN. Absolutely. Absolutely.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you.

I yield back.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Malinowski.

Ms. Jackson Lee, you are recognized.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Let me thank all of you for your presence.

Mr. Chairman, thank you—Chairmen,—persons, plural—for this kind of meaningful and potent meeting.

Let me ask each of you on a “yes” or “no,” do you consider racism, white nationalism a national security threat? Each witness, just answer “yes” or “no.”

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Yes.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes.

Dr. NAZARIAN. Yes.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. One of the best feelings that I have had is—I will give two. I know my time is running. One was in high school with my best friend, who happened to be white and Jewish. I guess I just saw him in his role as a fellow traveler. It was a good feeling. I guess if we had to do it scientifically, there were good feelings out of that friendship. We liked the same things; we liked student government. And so good things always seem to happen when we were working together.

Another sense of good feeling—and this is not a partisan statement—but when, in my party, I see the big tent with so many different people and we are all together.

Tragically, another feeling of unity and being an American is in tragedy. I will take the Mother Emanuel killing. And it was in a huge stadium, the funeral of one of the persons. But everybody from the community came. There was not a respective color or creed. And we were together, embracing each other.

And I think you understand what I am saying. There is actually a physical feeling of goodness that we are connected, that we are one and the same.

So let me just ask this question to Mr.—if I have it—Picciolini.

In 2017, reports said that Americans who identify as white and Christian has dropped below 50 percent. In 2018, it was reported that there were fewer births among whites than deaths. The report stated that deaths now outnumber births among white people in more than half the States in the country.

Are these demographic changes being used by white nationalists, No. 1? And are they finding success in recruiting based on these demographic changes?

Mr. Picciolini.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes, they are using exactly what you mentioned as fearmongering.

But what I would even caution is, 20 years down the road, that as our climate crisis ramps up, that we are going to see a refugee crisis like we have never seen before, and at that point we will see this rhetoric ramp up. And I think that that is something we must get ahead of now.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Secondly, you used the word “education.” I will ask all three of you this question. For a period of time, the history of African-Americans, people of color were literally removed from the elementary and middle school educational curriculum.

What does that do, when—we saw that video that went viral. I just—I cried. The little 2-year-olds running toward each other. If you have not seen it, pull it up and feel good.

But the point is that we do not bring our children up to appreciate—let me do this quickly, since I see my time.

The other is, I asked the FBI this morning—we were in a FISA hearing, which has to do with various documents submitted to a FISA court and the international terrorism utilized after 9/11. But what I tried to glean from this individual was what tools do we need to give them for domestic terrorism.

And so, in the answer, tell me: Would it not be important for the FBI to have tools that refer directly to domestic terrorism, as we have had with foreign operatives? We cannot use those. Those are foreign operatives. We cannot spy on our citizens in the same way. But I believe there should be a domestic terrorism with civil liberties and civil rights involved, the structure, but in the DOJ.

So if you three could answer the education and the enforcement part of it.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. On the second question, yes, I believe that we need to understand homegrown violent extremists as operating across the spectrum, domestic and international, in ways that our current definitions do not allow for and that hampers our ability to enhance our national security.

On the education question, I would go on far too long. I just want to say, I absolutely agree. I think this starts very early. And we are talking about preventative work, you know, cross-cultural understanding, empathy, openness to difference, and a wide variety of other outcomes that are just—that we are failing at right now.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Picciolini.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes, I would just say that our resources right now are focused in a different direction. There have been groups disbanded even as far back as 2006 that called out this problem that were disbanded and defunded. An organization that I co-founded was also rescinded funding for an online intervention program. So I think that there needs to be a focus on this.

As far as education, yes, absolutely, the pre-radicalization starts then. And it could be an extremist behavior like crime, drugs, prostitution, something like that. Those are all extremist manifesta-

tions. Or it could be flying to Syria or flying to the Ukraine and joining a neo-Nazi group.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you.

Dr. Nazarian.

Dr. NAZARIAN. I can tell you that ADL is the largest trainer of law enforcement in America of any nongovernmental organization. So we are training law enforcement representatives day-in and day-out exactly on these issues: what white supremacists looks like, what is their symbology, what is the ideology behind them.

And we also happen to be one of the largest purveyors of anti-bias education in public schools in America. Over a million and a half students are educated by ADL on a day-in and day-out basis.

So, absolutely, on both those issues, we feel they are very important, and we have to expand them. We have to inoculate our communities, we have to inoculate our children. And we also have to give the tools and the knowledge to law enforcement to be able to understand and recognize what is going on in communities and to help prevent them. So absolutely.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

And I just want to put on the record that I did not—is that Schan—and I will not have time to answer that question—but within the construct of civil liberties, First Amendment, site flight that have to be addressed by the U.S. Congress. And they were one of the motivators of some of the horrors of some of the perpetrators of the most heinous mass shootings that we have had.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Ms. Jackson Lee.

Mr. Green, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GREEN OF TEXAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I thank all of the chairpersons as well.

I would like to acknowledge the words of Emily Dickinson. She reminds us that “a word is dead when it is said, some say. I say it just begins to live that day.”

And I call these words to our attention because it is my belief that the tone and tenor is usually set at the top—the captain of the football team, the CEO of the corporation, the head of the Nation. And I am concerned when I read in the intelligence that has been accorded us that, soon after the March 2019 attack at Christchurch, New Zealand, President Trump expressed doubt that white nationalism was a rising threat around the world. That caused me a good deal of consternation.

Quickly respond, if you would, to the words of the person who sets the tone and tenor.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. I believe that it is essential for us to have bipartisan support across the board to see white nationalist terrorism, white supremacist extremism as a critical threat to the Nation. So, yes, from the top down, but in every local community as well, from leaders and across the board.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. This is neither a Democratic or a Republican problem. This is a problem of American national security.

And I would say that, just back to what I said earlier, there were words that I wrote 25 years ago that manifested in death with somebody like Dylann Roof, and we must be responsible for the words that we say. Because while most people may not act on those

words, we know that there are some people who will. We have seen the effects of that. So I think, certainly, we must all measure our words when it comes to something so sensitive.

Dr. NAZARIAN. We feel the bully pulpit is tremendously important. And all our leaders, political and otherwise, need to be held accountable and responsible for the words that they share and also for standing up and calling things out exactly as they see it. So words matter. And I think all our leaders should be unequivocal about what is going on in our country today.

Mr. GREEN OF TEXAS. Were there any nice people among the folk who were screaming, "Blood and soil," "Jews will not replace us," at Charlottesville? Any nice people among them?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Sir, in my job, I have to believe that there were nice people there because it is my job to try and pull them out. However, I think the statement of "very fine people there" was a very dangerous one because it did equivocate two things that were not equal.

Mr. GREEN OF TEXAS. Finally, this. I have lived a long time. Sometimes I think I have lived too long, to be quite honest. I have seen what racism can do to people. And I marvel now at how I have lived long enough to see the Klan come out of the robe, take the hoods off, march the streets openly and notoriously. I, quite frankly, 20 years ago would not have prognosticated that such would be the case.

Something has happened to give them reason to believe that they can show their faces. Please—I have 1 minute left—what happened?

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. A lot of things have happened that have brought, I would say, the underlying racist, you know, things that people used to hide, out. So it is not just the fringes coming; it is that the racism has moved more into the mainstream.

And I think we are seeing that the way that social media operates, the kind of rhetoric that we hear from political leaders and in the media has legitimized and reinforced those words. And I think the, kind of, manifestos and the global circulation of videos seems to empower these people as well.

Mr. GREEN OF TEXAS. I know that you all have salient answers, but I have to ask this question quickly. Do you believe that those who tolerate bigotry and hate perpetuate it? Toleration; perpetuation? Acceptance; perpetuation?

Please respond.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. If I might, there are two things that extremists love, and that is silence and violence. When we ignore them, they grow. When we are violent against them, they use that as a victim narrative. And if we are quiet about what is happening in the world today, if we are not speaking truth to it, it will grow. It will fester, like it has for 400 years.

And we have an opportunity, I think, right now, as a learning moment, to really acknowledge the problems, the failures that we have made, and work toward a solution that works for everybody.

Mr. GREEN OF TEXAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You have been more than kind.

Thank you.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Green. I appreciate the questions.

I neglected to ask unanimous consent that you and Ms. Clarke be able to ask questions as members of the full committee.

Without objection.

Ms. Clarke, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. CLARKE. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank both the chairman and the ranking member for holding this very important hearing.

And I just want to get some feedback on a number of the questions that were provided to us, because you have given a lot of really important testimony.

Mr. Picciolini, I am really interested in the deradicalization process. Were there certain messages or approaches that were most effective in your deradicalization process? And, in your opinion, which aspects of current deradicalization efforts work, and which do not?

And I heard you mention about, sort of, the early childhood education piece, but you were caught at a later stage in life, so that would be very informative.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. You know, I do a lot of listening rather than debating or arguing, and what I learn from listening is what I call potholes. And those are the things that people run into in their life's journey. It could be trauma, it can be poverty, it can be joblessness. Even privilege can keep us in a very isolated bubble.

And what I do is I fill those potholes in. I work with social services, psychiatrists and other mental health professionals, job trainers, to really build resilience in people, without addressing the ideology.

The way I address the ideology is through introducing them and immersing them with people that they think that they hate.

Now, that is a process that happened to me. I received compassion from the people I least deserved it from at a time that I least deserved it. And for me, that was the most powerful, transformative thing, because I had never in my life had a meaningful interaction with the people I thought I hated. I had been brought in at 14.

It is certainly not the responsibility of people of color or potential victims to do that, which I think means we just need to be nice to everybody all the time, because we never know who we are dealing with.

But the most powerful thing for me is actually going through that process of human resilience-building rather than debate.

Ms. CLARKE. And how do we engage and educate influencers within the communities that white nationalist terrorist groups target to help counter-message extremist propaganda?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Is that for me?

Ms. CLARKE. Yes.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Well, I think we just need to acknowledge that we have a problem, first. I think we are still debating about if this is a problem.

Once we acknowledge that it is a problem, I also think that we need institutional and systemic changes. Because the way it is happening right now, what I do as far as deradicalization work, it is a Band-Aid. You know, we have to treat it like polio. I treat the sick, but we also have to inoculate the population from getting sick.

And that is through systemic and institutional change. Otherwise, we just have a factory where we are churning out racists all the time.

Ms. CLARKE. Very well.

And then I wanted to ask about women. We oftentimes hear about white males in this dynamic, but in some of the, sort of, visuals that I have seen, I have seen women in photos that espouse similar ideologies.

Is there a place for women in the contemporary white nationalist movement? And if so, what does that look like?

And that is for the entire panel.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. We are seeing increasing participation of women in white supremacist groups, both in the U.S. and in Europe, even in violent fringe groups and even in terrorist violence. They are still, by far, the minority compared to men in terms of violence, but they are engaging.

They are also engaging on channels like YouTube, setting up channels that promote the ideology, that draw people in, and that kind of soften it a little bit, and are supporters in that way—enablers, I would say.

So I think they play a very important role and have been overlooked.

And the other thing I will say is that mothers play a very important role in some of the deradicalization work. And we have seen that with ISIS and foreign fighters—mothers groups and parenting groups. And I think we could see a similar kind of wave of parenting programs in the U.S. around white supremacist extremism as well.

Dr. NAZARIAN. And I can just add that, internationally, we are also seeing a rise in the terms of the role of women, because the issues that, you know, inflame them, such as anti-immigrant sentiment, cut across all gender lines. So it is not an issue that is more male or female. It is that they are feeling that their culture or their beliefs are being overrun by immigrants bringing different beliefs, different religions.

So it definitely goes across lines, and you see women also being much more animated and much angrier about the fact that their white culture is being diluted, that they are being replaced, internationally as well. So, unfortunately, that goes across all genders.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. And just very briefly, women are being used as mouthpieces, as recruitment vessels. They are often the ones tasked with doing the podcasts, making the videos, because women attract more men to the organization.

And I will just point out, there was a report yesterday of a young woman who was arrested with an AR-15 in her trunk who had made threats against shooting 500 people and had drawn swastikas on her stuff.

So this is something that we will start to see mimic ISIS in the way that that happened as well.

Ms. CLARKE. Well, thank you very much. I appreciate your indulgence. I yield back.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Ms. Clarke.

And Ms. Omar, who is a member of the full committee, has also asked to ask questions. And, without objection, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. OMAR. Wonderful. To the co-chairs of this committee, I really do appreciate the opportunity to be allowed to join you all.

And to the testifiers, thank you so much for taking the time to have a really critical conversation on the ideology known as white nationalism.

The goal of these terrorists in this particular ideology is articulated after each attack, and it is one that is as consistent as it is unhinged: to create a white ethno-State that excludes religious, ethnic, and racial minorities.

Far-right terrorists were linked to every single extremist-related murder in 2018, the most in any year since 1995, according to the Anti-Defamation League. The Southern Poverty Law Center reports a 50-percent increase in white nationalist groups from 2017 to 2018. I will not speculate on why that has happened. And according to the SPLC, 81 people were killed by those influenced by the alt-right since 2014.

So I will repeat something I have said before; it is a statement of fact: White men, driven by hateful ideology of white nationalism, are committing the overwhelming majority of extremist attacks in this country. And we are not doing enough to confront it.

This is not an indictment of all white men, just like the despicable acts of few al-Qaida terrorists is not an indictment of all Muslims. It is, rather, a call for action. If we are going to take serious the threat of terrorism, we must truly do everything we can to minimize that threat.

So I apologize if I mis-say your name. Mr. Picciolini?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Very good.

Ms. OMAR. OK. I wanted to ask you something that was written in your testimony. You said, "Adequate terrorism laws already exist to thwart and prosecute terrorists, as do plenty of capable and talented people who are ready to defend us from the threat of harm, but the current counterterrorism mandate does not provide for the proper focus, resources, and funding, or, in some cases, the correct holistic approach to effectively counter terrorism."

I worry about that too, a lot. Of course I agree that white nationalism should be considered terrorism, but I am concerned about repeating some of the policy mistakes we have made in the so-called global war on terror since 9/11.

I have been working to get more transparency on the Terrorist Screening Data base. For example, I do not see a solution to white nationalism that is simply to just add more people onto that list. We have gone down the wrong road, and if we start talking about taking Klansmen to Guantanamo, what are we really saying?

I believe in restorative justice. Some have faulted me for, you know, talking about ways that we should figure out how to rehabilitate people and how that is actually one of the strongest counterterrorism acts that we could deploy. I believe it is a moral thing, but I also feel like, again, it is one of the best ways to fight terrorism and extremism.

And so I would love for you to sort of walk us through what are some of the holistic approaches we should take. And could that be

something that could be deployed even abroad as we fight terrorism as well?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes. Thank you. That is an important question. And I would say, as far as the holistic approach, it is more toward prevention. So, you know, making sure that young people feel like they have agency, like they are amplified through their passions, so that they are not alienated in youth. Because what I have found is that, you know, people are not born Nazis or racists; they learn it. And they can also unlearn it as well. But it takes repairing the foundation underneath them and building human resilience to do that.

But in terms of the more holistic approach, it really is about prevention and inoculating the population. We cannot just focus on the national security side if we are not ever going to turn the flow of the tap off to create more of these extremists.

So I think that we have to have more inclusive programs in school. We have to start teaching our history the right way, you know, not only about, you know, 1619 but also that we are teaching the Civil War different in different parts of the country, where in some places it is about northern aggression and in some places it is about slavery. We do not even have that sort of consistency.

So, in terms of a holistic approach, it really is about looking at our policies and our institutional, in many cases, racism to try and make sure that we are creating an equitable foundation for young people moving forward.

But as far as holistic as well as national security, it would be providing solutions for people who want to disengage to disengage and be able to do that. But, certainly, you know, there is a national security threat that should be dealt with with policy.

Ms. OMAR. I appreciate that.

With that, I yield back my time.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Ms. Omar.

Ms. Jackson Lee had asked unanimous consent to enter three articles into the record: a PBS article, "White Christians Are Now a Minority of the U.S. Population"; a New York Times article, "Fewer Births than Deaths Among Whites in a Majority of U.S. States"; and an ABC News article, "Experts Dissect Reasons Why Mass Shooters Target Houses of Worship."

Without objection, they will be entered into the record.

[The articles follow:]

Mr. DEUTCH. And, finally, I will acknowledge myself.

I am really grateful for your being here today.

I want to talk about two things.

Mr. Picciolini, when—you have all talked about the responsibility that platforms have to do a better job. We have this sense that there is a Facebook page and people go to the Facebook page and they get radicalized. And that is not how it works. They are drawn in, Mr. Picciolini, right?

And it is through the social media that we get access, and then they are given the link to get to the dark web, the 8chan, or they will get to the other site where they can watch—it is not a cleaned-up version—where they can watch people out screaming horrible things on video, shooting off their AR-15s, talking about what they want to do to blacks and Jews and Muslims.

Is that not right?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. That is correct. They have what they call gatekeepers, who are very, kind of, benign, not very outwardly white supremacists. And then they kind of send them into a stepped process, purity spiral, where they eventually get into Holocaust-denial videos and things like that.

Mr. DEUTCH. Right. And so what should we be—I mean, I think we need to stop tiptoeing around this issue. We do this nicely, but the fact is, there is a way in. And if there is a way in, there is a way to block the way in, is not there? So what more, specifically, should we be doing?

And I will ask all the witnesses.

Dr. Miller-Idriss.

Dr. MILLER-IDRISS. Well, I think there are a few things. One, I think we need to have many more of these kinds of conversations, both on the record, off the record, also with experts on online radicalization and experts who have been, you know, recently deradicalized through online radicalization.

I think we need to figure out ways to change the recommendation systems, those recommender systems. But I also think we need to figure out ways to fund more proactive approaches to—you know, you can game the algorithms, too, by funding people who are putting positive content on there so that you get more positive content showing up in the feeds, right, instead of just—

Mr. DEUTCH. Yes. If someone is searching—if I may, if someone is searching for hate-filled videos and there is research that shows—and Mr. Picciolini's own experience that shows where that can lead, then maybe the right algorithm is not the one that takes them to even more violent, hate-filled videos, but maybe it is the opposite direction.

Is that not right, Mr. Picciolini.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. That is right. And there is so much content being uploaded, that it is really relied on AI to make those decisions right now.

Mr. DEUTCH. Right.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. But I would also caution, too, that so much of this propaganda is coming from outside of the U.S. and being bolstered—these messages here, domestically, are being bolstered by, you know, places in Eastern Europe and in Russia in troll farms. So it is going to be difficult, because they are just marketing methods.

And they have also created their own platforms. So we can deplatform them all we want, but they have now created their own social networks and encrypted platforms.

Mr. DEUTCH. And you talked about VKontakte. What is happening abroad on the social media and the thousands of people going to Ukraine, Dr. Nazarian, can you just touch on that for a second and how social media and actual on-the-ground violence come together?

Dr. NAZARIAN. What we do see is actually the terminology and symbology they are sharing with one another. So we are seeing the use of, in this cross-pollination—and I talked about it—the use of terminology from Ukraine penetrating to America and vice versa.

I did want to say that—look, the terms of service of the platforms have to be more clearly adhered to. They are responsible, the platforms themselves, to make sure that the rules they have are enforced. And they are not doing a good enough job, or at scale. So there is room for improvement there.

And we would also, at ADL, really like to see better governance. We want to see them scheduling external, independent audits of their work. They are not really telling us how much information is coming in in terms of data that is being flagged. We do not really know how much reporting has gone on. All they are telling us are things that they are moving on, that is actionable.

So better transparency in terms of how much reporting of hate language is coming in, we do not really have that as well, and I think that is a problem.

Mr. DEUTCH. We should have better transparency.

And then one other—you mentioned online gaming.

Dr. NAZARIAN. Yes.

Mr. DEUTCH. There is a tendency of some to blame video games for violence. That is not what I want to talk about.

Dr. NAZARIAN. No.

Mr. DEUTCH. I want to talk about the actual conversations that are taking place, that presumably those online gaming companies have some access to? How does that work, Mr. Picciolini?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Yes. So what is happening is, when young people or anybody, really, is playing a multiplayer online game, they are wearing headsets and they are usually playing with multiple people. And what happens—and I have witnessed it—is a recruiter will say something like the “N” word or make a joke and gauge who laughs, who pushes up against it, and who does not say anything. Well, they know they can go after the people who have laughed. Even if it was a nervous laugh from a 10-year-old, they know that they have an in there, and they send them down a spiral.

But it is also happening in places like depression forums and autism forums online, where they are going there to look for—

Mr. DEUTCH. Are those monitored? Is there a way to address that?

Mr. PICCIOLINI. Well, you know, I think that there are probably moderators for all of those rooms, but I do not think that they would be skilled in identifying—

Mr. DEUTCH. Is there a way that AI could be employed to identify those sorts of conversations?

Dr. NAZARIAN. We do know that they are unregulated completely. So the fact is that we, as legislators, as people, have to look at these sectors, and that they need to be better regulated. And we know for a fact right now they are not regulated.

Mr. DEUTCH. And, finally, I just want to end with this. There has been conversation about the mainstreaming of ideology. And we started by talking about the importance of identifying white nationalist terrorism, white supremacist ideology—a discussion of language.

But it is not the mainstreaming of ideology, is it? It is the mainstreaming of what is that ideology. It is the mainstreaming of

racism and the mainstreaming of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia and xenophobia.

And when you talk about David Duke taking off his hood and entering politics, it is not that we should then start identifying the language that identifies him as a white supremacist. It is any time any one of us ever uses the language of racism and anti-Semitism and other forms of hatred, isn't it? And do not we have an obligation—is it too much to ask that that language just never be accepted?

Dr. NAZARIAN. Yes, absolutely.

Mr. PICCIOLINI. You are absolutely correct. Yes.

Mr. DEUTCH. I am really grateful for the three of you coming and for this hearing and the thoughtful exchanges that you had with my colleagues.

I thank the members of both subcommittees for being here today.

Members may have some additional questions for you, and we ask our witnesses to please respond to those questions in writing.

I would ask my colleagues that any witness questions for the hearing be submitted to the subcommittee clerks within 5 business days.

[The information referred to follows:]

Mr. DEUTCH. And, with that, without objection, the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:57 p.m., the subcommittees were adjourned.]

APPENDIX

**JOINT COMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128**

Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and International Terrorism

Ted Deutch (D-FL), Chairman

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY

Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism

Max Rose (D-NY), Chairman

September 18, 2019

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN joint hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Homeland Security, to be held by the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and International Terrorism and the Homeland Security Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism in Room 310 of the Cannon House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/>):

DATE: Wednesday, September 18, 2019

TIME: 2:00 pm

SUBJECT: Meeting the Challenge of White Nationalist Terrorism at Home and Abroad

WITNESSES: Cynthia Miller-Idriss, Ph.D.
Director, International Training and Education Program
School of Education
American University

Mr. Christian Picciolini
Founder
Free Radicals Project
Author
Breaking Hate: Confronting the New Culture of Extremism

Sharon Nazarian, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President for International Affairs
Anti-Defamation League

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY

JOINT SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA, AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTERTERRORISM

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	Brian K. Fitzpatrick, PA
X	Guy Reschenthaler, PA
	Steve Watkins, KS

**STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED FROM
COMMITTEE MEMBERS****Statement for the Record***Submitted by Mr. Connolly of Virginia*

Since 9/11, more Americans have been killed in the United States by white nationalist terrorists than radical jihadist terrorists. There is a growing threat from white nationalist and white supremacist extremist groups both in the United States and abroad. Despite this mounting threat, the Trump Administration is scaling back funding and personnel dedicated to countering white nationalist extremism. In order to meet the challenge of white nationalist terrorism at home and abroad, we must acknowledge and understand this rising threat, and dedicate sufficient resources to counter it.

In an April 2019 HFAC Subcommittee hearing on “Examining the Global Terrorism Landscape,” expert witness Vidhya Ramalingam testified that white nationalist extremism “poses both a domestic and a global terror threat to the United States and its allies, in which global attacks have immediate ramifications here in the United States.” In order to protect America and our allies from terrorist threats, we must start by recognizing terrorism in all its forms, including the rise of white nationalist terrorism. According to a November 2018 report from the Center for Strategic and International Studies, there has been a rise in far-right attacks in Europe, jumping 43 percent between 2016 and 2017, particularly concerning white supremacists and anti-government extremists. Yet, the Trump Administration has failed to acknowledge this increasing threat and insists on using language such as “racially and ethnically-motivated violence” that masks the source of the problem. Following the March 2019 attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, President Trump denied that white nationalism was a rising threat around the world.

The U.S. national security apparatus focuses disproportionately on the threat from Islamist extremism, and has failed to adapt to the growing threat posed by white nationalist and white supremacist groups. Since 2007, the FBI reports that white nationalist and far-right violent attacks increased from approximately five incidents per year to 31 in 2017. According to the Washington Post, of the 263 terror incidents in the United States between 2010 and 2017, far-right extremists committed 92 of them, and Islamist extremists conducted 38 attacks. Among these domestic terrorist acts was the deadly car attack at a white nationalist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, that killed a young woman and injured 35 others. At a July 2019 hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, FBI Director Christopher Wray testified that the FBI had recorded nearly 100 arrests of domestic terrorism suspects in the prior nine months and that a “majority of the domestic terrorism cases we’ve investigated are motivated by some version of what you might call white supremacist violence.”

Despite the known threat emanating from white nationalist extremism, President Trump has emboldened those who hold this ideology and federal funding to counter it remains sparse. Following the Charlottesville terrorist attack, Trump glorified the violent actions of neo-Nazis by saying there were “some very fine people on both sides.” Following enactment of legislation I led with Virginia Senators Warner and Kaine (P.L. 115-58), I wrote to White House Chief of Staff John Kelly asking what actions

the Administration had taken to respond to the directives in the bill to speak out against and combat hate groups. I never received a response, and I suspect I never will.

This Administration simply does not prioritize this threat. The Obama Administration launched a grant program in 2016 to combat domestic terrorism and announced funding to more than two dozen groups to counter violent extremism, including right-wing extremism. Yet, the Trump Administration rescinded funding for a group that fights white supremacist ideology and reportedly does not plan to continue the broader grant program. The Administration also recently shuttered the Department of Homeland Security's domestic terrorism intelligence unit, which has decreased significantly the number of analytic reports produced by DHS about domestic terrorism and has hampered outreach to local communities.

In the digital age, we need to ramp up efforts to counter the violent extremist messaging recruiting young, misguided people on the internet and through social media. We cannot allow these messages to go unchallenged. We could have the best military, intelligence, and law enforcement professionals working nonstop to exterminate hotbeds of terrorist activity and root out terrorist plots, but we will never turn the tide until we make the path of violent extremism less attractive. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

The growing threat of white nationalist terrorism is clear. The question is whether the United States will rise to meet that challenge. I fear the Trump Administration would rather change the topic.

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CONGRESSWOMAN SHEILA JACKSON LEE
STATEMENT

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY'S
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE AND
COUNTERTERRORISM AND THE COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS' SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST,
NORTH AFRICA, AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM
JOINT HEARING

“MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF WHITE NATIONALIST
TERRORISM AT HOME AND ABROAD”

SEPTEMBER 18, 2019

- Thank you, Chairman Rose and Chairman Deutch for holding today’s hearing on “Meeting the Challenge of White Nationalist Terrorism at Home and Abroad”
- It is a well-known fact that before you can begin to cure any illness, you must first recognize the symptoms.
- During the First Session of this Congress we have transitioned to looking at domestic terrorism on par with the threats posed to the United States by international terrorism.
- I look forward to the testimony of today’s witnesses:
 - Mr. Christian Picciolini, Founder, Free Radicals Project and Author, Breaking Hate: Confronting the New Culture of Extremism;
 - Dr. Cynthia Miller-Idriss, Ph.D., Director, International Training and Education Program, School of Education, American University; and

- Sharon Nazarian, Ph.D., Senior Vice President of International Affairs, Anti-Defamation League (ADL).
- An expanded focus on the issue of domestic terrorism has elevated the work of this committee and allowed Members to make policy and to make better decisions on how to best protect the American people.
- Today's hearing allows the committee to assess the domestic and international dynamics of the white nationalist terrorist movement and the threats its adherents pose at home and abroad.
- As we are aware, white nationalist terrorists refer to groups of individuals that "embrace racist, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, and anti-government sentiments" and engage in violence in furtherance of these ideologies.
- Several recent incidents connected to white nationalist terrorism have caught the attention of global policymakers and security experts.
- In March 2019, the horrific images broadcast during Brenton Tarrant's attack on a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand was a testament to how dangerous and heartless the white nationalist's threat is to our way of life.
- In April 2019, John Earnest, 19 years of age, entered the Chabad of Poway synagogue outside San Diego following Passover, one of the holiest times of the year, an opened fire killing one woman and injuring 3 others.
- In October 2018, the Tree of Life or L'Simcha Congregation in the Squirrel Hill neighborhood of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, while Shabbat morning services were being held a gunman took eleven lives and caused seven injured including the shooter.

- This was the deadliest attack on the Jewish community in the United States.
- In July 2011, Ander Breivik's bombings and mass shootings in Oslo, Norway took 71 lives and was the first mass murder of the type that we saw in Christchurch, New Zealand.
- On June 17, 2015, Dylann Roof, a 21-year-old white supremacist, murdered nine African Americans, including the senior pastor, state senator Clementa C. Pinckney, during a prayer service at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in downtown Charleston, South Carolina.
- The Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, often referred to as Mother Emanuel, was founded in 1816.
- Emanuel AME is the oldest African Methodist Episcopal church in the Southern United States.
- This church was the first independent black denomination in the United States and this is one of the reasons it was targeted.
- I joined Chairman Thompson earlier this month in Pittsburgh for a roundtable discussion that included Rabbi Jeffrey Myers from Tree of Life Synagogue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Jeffrey Finkelstein, President and CEO, for the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh.
- I appreciate this opportunity to better understand the threats that white nationalist terrorists pose in the United States and internationally at a time when these threats are clearly growing, as exemplified by the aforementioned terrorist attacks in El Paso, TX, Christchurch, New Zealand, and Poway, CA.
- I am particularly interested in White Supremacists who target places of worship.

- The problem of hate in our society is further complicated by a President who thinks that Neo-Nazis, White Nationalist and White Supremist are fine people.
- And worst, he draws an equivalence between hate groups and protestors opposing hate and racism.
- President Trump has tried to play “both sides” with white nationalism and domestic terrorism.
- On April 26, 2019, President Trump doubled down on his stance that there were “fine people” on both sides of the August 2017 Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.
- His unwillingness to denounce and distance himself from these extremists has been taken by many as tacit support.
- The President must be willing to stand up to all ideologically motivated violence in America.
- Committee Democrats asked the then-Republican Majority for hearings on domestic terrorism eight times since 2011.
- Five requests were denied outright by the Republicans, and three requests went unanswered.
- As a senior member of the House Committee on Homeland Security and Member of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism and Homeland Security this topic has significance due to the number of violent acts committed in the United States since November 2011.
- Attacks include:
 - Wisconsin Sikh temple shooting (2012)
 - Boston Marathon bombing (2013)

- Charleston Church Shooting (2015)
 - San Bernardino shooting (2015)
 - Orlando nightclub shooting (2016)
 - Las Vegas Shooting (2017)
 - Pittsburgh synagogue shooting (2018)
 - Austin Bombings (2018)
 - Poway synagogue shooting (2019)
 - St. Landry Parish, Louisiana Church Fires that destroyed Mount Pleasant Baptist Church in Opelousas, St. Mary Baptist Church in Port Barre, and Greater Union Baptist Church in Opelousas (March-April 2019)
- According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), in the immediate aftermath of Election Day, a wave of hate crimes and lesser hate incidents swept the country — 1,094 bias incidents in the first 34 days following November 8, 2016.
 - SPLC reports that anti-immigrant incidents (315) remain the most reported, followed by anti-black (221), anti-Muslim (112), and anti-LGBT (109). Anti-Trump incidents numbered 26 (6 of which were also anti-white in nature, with 2 non-Trump related anti-white incidents reported).
 - The purpose of this hearing is to receive testimony from the witnesses about efforts to address the threat of domestic terrorism.
 - Prior to September 11, 2001, the federal government had a wide range of law enforcement, national security, and benefits management agencies that collected information, but jealously—guarded this information from other agencies.
 - The 9-11 Commission Report allowed the detailed assessment of the failures that led to the horrific terrorist attacks against the United States which cost the lives of nearly 3,000 people.
 - The House Committee on Homeland Security was created to implement the recommendations of the 9-11 Commission

Report and ensure that resources were provided to support the mission of homeland security.

- The most significant task of the Committee was guiding the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security and making sure that it had all that it would need to carry out its mission.
- I, along with other members who have served on this Committee since its inception, made a commitment that a terrorist attack of the magnitude that occurred on September 11, 2001 would never happen again.
- An essential component of our ability to keep this commitment was the establishment and governance of information sharing among federal agencies and extending the network of data collection, retention, and sharing with local and state law enforcement partners.
- Issues of domestic terrorism of greatest concern are:
 - The targeting of places of worship;
 - Politically—motivated attacks or attempted attacks; and
 - Use of Social media for domestic and international hate groups to collaborate, train and stoke hate.
- Two years ago, the First Baptist Church in Sutherland Springs, TX suffered from the largest mass shooting in the state's history.
- Twenty-six lives were lost and another 20 worshippers were wounded.
- These were mothers and fathers, aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters, and beloved friends who were forced to leave behind unfinished stories. I, for one, am ready to end the senseless violence in our society and against worshippers.

- The horrific deaths of worshippers in Pittsburgh, Poway, Christchurch and other tragedies are endemic of the overall rise in hate-based incidents we are witnessing in our country and abroad.
- We must collectively stand up against hatefulness and those who cannot appreciate the God-given beauty of diversity and ascribe to our democratic values, including religious freedom. We must act affirmatively and urgently to root out and eradicate bigotry, hate and intolerance.
- I plan to reintroduce several bills and provide commensurate funding for programs and initiatives that champion the protection of religious liberty like the Statute of Liberty Values Act (SOLVE Act) which bars ethnic and religious discrimination against refugees and H.R. 735 or the Universal Security of American Values Act of 2017 (USA Values) which invalidates efforts to bar Muslims from entering the United States.
- We can focus our efforts on a range of topics that impact homeland security, but we should not ignore how policies and public acts by individuals can contribute to the threat of homegrown terrorists or lone wolves as well as contribute to the recruitment efforts of ISIL, Al Qaeda or other terrorist groups.
- There seems to be an implied if not expressed belief that violent acts carried out against certain persons living within the United States can be carried out without fear of a Justice Department led by Robert Barr or a White House with senior staff known to hold bias views towards minorities, immigrants and others.
- The United States cannot make more enemies than we are making friends—we cannot afford to turn our friends into enemies or absent allies when we need them to fight terrorist threats.

- In the last decade, domestic terrorism has become an increasing concern in the U.S.
- In 2018, domestic extremists killed at least 50 people in the U.S., a sharp increase from the 37 extremist-related murders documented in 2017, though still lower than the totals for 2015 (70) and 2016 (72).
- The 50 deaths made 2018 the fourth-deadliest year on record for domestic extremist-related killings since 1970.
- According to an analysis by the Washington Post, between 2010 and 2017, right-wing terrorists committed a third of all acts of domestic terrorism in the U.S. (92 out of 263), more than Islamist terrorists (38 out of 263) and left-wing terrorists (34 out of 263) put together.
- Recent unpublished FBI data leaked to the Washington Post in early March 2019 reveal that there were more domestic terrorism-related arrests than international terrorism-related arrests in both FY 2017 and FY 2018.
- From 2009 to 2018 there were 427 extremist-related killings in the U.S. Of those, 73.3% were committed by right-wing extremists, 23.4% by Islamist extremists, and 3.2% by left-wing extremists.
- In short, three out of four killings committed by right-wing extremists in the U.S. were committed by white supremacists (313 from 2009 to 2018).
- The culmination of the 2018 mid-term election was consumed by bombs placed in the mail addressed to Democrats.
- The list of incidents continues to grow and this committee cannot continue to turn a blind eye.

- I thank the chairman, and I look forward to the testimony of today's witnesses.
- Thank you.

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

Fewer Births Than Deaths Among Whites in Majority of U.S. States

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/20/us/white-minority-population.html>

By [Sabrina Tavernise](#)

June 20, 2018

WASHINGTON — Deaths now outnumber births among white people in more than half the states in the country, demographers have found, signaling what could be a faster-than-expected transition to a future in which whites are no longer a majority of the American population.

The Census Bureau has projected that whites could drop below 50 percent of the population around 2045, a relatively slow-moving change that has been years in the making. But [a new report this week](#) found that whites are dying faster than they are being born now in 26 states, up from 17 just two years earlier, and demographers say that shift might come even sooner.

“It’s happening a lot faster than we thought,” said Rogelio Sáenz, a demographer at the University of Texas at San Antonio and a co-author of the report. It examines the period from 1999 to 2016 using data from the National Center for Health Statistics, the federal agency that tracks births and deaths. He said he was so surprised at the finding that at first he thought it was a mistake.

A spotlight on the people reshaping our politics. A conversation with voters across the country. And a guiding hand through the endless news cycle, telling you what you really need to know.

The pattern first started nearly two decades ago in a handful of states with aging white populations like Pennsylvania and West Virginia. But [fertility rates dropped](#) drastically after the Great Recession and mortality rates for whites who are not of Hispanic origin have been rising, [driven partly by drug overdoses](#). That has put demographic change on a faster track. The list of states where white deaths outnumber births now includes North Carolina and Ohio.

The change has broad implications for identity and for the country’s political and economic life, transforming a mostly white baby boomer society into a multiethnic and racial patchwork. A majority of the

youngest Americans are already nonwhite and look less like older generations than at any point in modern American history. In California, 52 percent of all children are living in homes with at least one immigrant parent, Professor Sáenz said.

Another clue that the demography is marching forward came on Thursday, when the Census Bureau released population estimates that showed, for the first time, a decline in the white population. The drop was small, just 0.02 percent, or 31,516 people in the year ending last July. But a demographer at the bureau, Molly Cromwell, said that it was real, and followed a 9,475 person drop the year before. That one was so small that it was essentially viewed as no change, she said.

What does it mean for the political map? Some experts say that rapid demographic change became a potent issue in the 2016 presidential race — and helped drive white voters to support Donald J. Trump.

Of the states where deaths now exceed births for whites, 13 voted for Mr. Trump and 13 voted for Hillary Clinton. Four are states that flipped from President Barack Obama in 2012 to Mr. Trump in 2016 — Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Florida. It is not clear how demographic change will affect politics in the future.

“People say demographics is destiny and there’ll be more people of color — all that is true,” said Jennifer Richeson, a social psychologist at Yale University. “But they also say the U.S. is going to become more progressive, and we don’t know that. We should not assume that white moderates and liberals will maintain current political allegiances, nor should we expect that the so-called nonwhite group is going to work in any kind of coalition.”

At its most basic, the change is about population, but each state experiences it differently.

Florida was the first state where white deaths outstripped births around 1993, largely because it was drawing a lot of retirees. But its population has been one of the fastest growing in the nation. Retirees have kept coming, replenishing the white population, and its large Hispanic population has helped lift the state over all. The median age for Hispanics in the United States is 29, prime for child bearing, compared with 43 for whites.

Deaths began to exceed births for whites countrywide in 2016, according to the report. But in many states, as in Florida, white people moving in made up the losses. However, in 17 states, including California, Michigan, New Jersey and Ohio, those migrants weren't enough and the white populations declined between 2015 and 2016, said Kenneth M. Johnson, a demographer at the University of New Hampshire and the report's other author. Five of those states registered drops in their total populations that year: Vermont, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Mississippi and Connecticut.

The aging of the white population began in rural counties long before it ever took hold in an entire state. Martin County, a bear-shaped patch of eastern North Carolina, first experienced it in the late 1970s. In recent years, deaths have exceed births among its black population, too. Hispanics make up less than 4 percent of the county's population.

"There are just hardly any young people in the county anymore," said Michael Brown, 66, a retired hospital maintenance worker in Robersonville. His two daughters went away to college and never moved back — a typical pattern for young people from the county. "We are the last generation who stayed with their parents," said Mr. Brown.

Image

A mover loaded furniture from South Creek Middle School onto a truck. The middle school is consolidating with the high school in Martin County because there aren't enough students to keep both schools open.

A mover loaded furniture from South Creek Middle School onto a truck. The middle school is consolidating with the high school in Martin County because there aren't enough students to keep both schools open. Credit Travis Dove for The New York Times

Fewer young families means fewer children. Christopher Mansfield, the county's superintendent of schools, said the county has lost about 40 percent of its school-age population since the late 1990s. In those days, the county had 12 public schools, he said. Soon it will have eight.

The county now has what Dr. Mansfield calls “bookend” demographics, with a large population bulge over the age of 50 and another one under the age of 19. The prime working-age population is small in comparison.

Mr. Brown is practical about this change. He loved growing up in the county and is grateful he was able to care for his parents when they were ill from his house across the street. But America is changing and society is not really set up that way anymore. He and his wife plan to move to Atlanta next year to be near their daughter, a pharmacist.

Despite demographic change, whites — and in particular less educated whites — will still make up the bulk of eligible voters in the country for a while. Whites without a bachelor’s degree will make up 44 percent of eligible voters in 2020, said Ruy Teixeira, a political scientist who did a broad study of demography and politics this spring. College-educated whites will be about 23 percent. Mr. Teixeira said Republicans could continue to win presidential elections and lose the popular vote through 2036 if they did even better among whites who had not graduated from college, while other voting patterns held steady.

That is giving politicians incentives to emphasize issues, like immigration and race, where there are the biggest differences in views by education. A class divide has been growing for years among whites. In 1988, there was no difference between whites with a college degree and those without, Mr. Teixeira said. Both voted for George Bush over Michael Dukakis by a 20-point margin. By 2016, Mrs. Clinton lost noncollege whites by 31 points, double Mr. Obama’s 2012 loss, while carrying college-educated whites by seven points.

“This is a real sea change,” Mr. Teixeira said. “This is why Republicans have been able to weather these demographic changes, entirely on the backs of white noncollege voters.”

Some experts argue that the transition to a white minority might be much further off than the numbers suggest. The Census Bureau counts any person who is of mixed race or ethnicity as nonwhite, and experts say this can underestimate whites in the population. For example, the child of a white mother and Hispanic father would be counted as Hispanic, even though research shows that many such

mixed children — about 11 percent of all births, according to Richard Alba, a sociologist at the City University of New York — are not unlike white children in terms of residence, family income, schooling and eventually, marriage.

“The Census Bureau is trying to apply a 20th-century conception of race and ethnicity on a situation that’s fundamentally changing,” Professor Alba said. The rapid rise of racial and ethnic mixing has led to a generation of young people whose identities are fluid, but who often “lean white,” he said. “You could think of them as kind of integrating into a kind of white mainstream.”

ABC News

Experts dissect reasons why mass shooters target houses of worship

[meghan keneally](#)

Mar 15, 2019, 5:46 PM ET

<https://abcnews.go.com/ABCNews/experts-dissect-reasons-mass-shooters-target-houses-worship/story?id=61708707>

The [attack at a New Zealand mosque](#) is just the latest deadly mass shooting at a house of worship — a stain on their susceptibility to becoming targets.

John Cohen, a former acting undersecretary at the Department of Homeland Security and current ABC News contributor, said the selection of a house of worship as a target for a mass shooting is two-fold: practicality and infamy.

"They are places where people who are the target of the attacker congregate," Cohen said.

"Killing men, women, and children while they are praying ensures that the public will pay attention to the attack and creates an incredible amount of fear and that is the ultimate objective of the attacker," he said.

In February, the FBI, DHS, and The National Counterterrorism Center issued a joint intelligence bulletin about the violent threats against faith-based communities.

The bulletin cites incidents where Jewish, Christian and Muslim faith-based communities were targeted in the past two years, noting how they "underscore the persistent threat domestic actors pose to faith-based communities in the United States, particularly against perceived soft targets such as religious and cultural facilities."

Cohen echoed that sentiment, saying that houses of worship are "supposed to be places that are open and inviting to worshippers."

"It makes establishing physical security complicated because you don't want that security to serve as a disincentive to people wanting to come and pray," he said.

The joint intelligence bulletin said that homegrown violent extremists "may choose to plot against faith-based communities because of ideological drivers, a desire to target large gatherings or soft targets, or violent extremist messaging from foreign terrorist organizations."

While the victims in the attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, were at a mosque, the mass shooting victims at American houses of worship have been Christian, Jewish, and Sikh. However, the differences in religion do not change the underlying reason why they were likely selected, said Steve Gomez, a former FBI special agent in charge and current ABC News contributor.

"What makes them similar is that you have a suspect that has a certain ideology — in this case he's a white supremacist with anti-immigrant beliefs — and he views the Muslim community and mosques as a way to strike against the people that he hates in his heart, and that's why he selected those two mosques," Gomez said.

Here is a list of the deadly mass shootings, which the FBI defines as an incident in which four or more people — not including the suspect — are killed, in the United States over the past several years.

Eleven worshipers, including a 97-year-old woman, were gunned down inside the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh's Squirrel Hill neighborhood in what is believed to be the deadliest attack on Jews in America.

"Words escape me of what you can say," said Rabbi Jeffrey Myers, who was officiating a service when a gunman started shooting. "They were all beautiful, wonderful, good decent people. Hate was not in their vocabulary."

(MORE: Breaking down New Zealand's gun laws in wake of deadly mosque shooting)

Investigators said that minutes before carrying out the carnage, suspect Robert Bowers is believed to have posted his intent to commit the massacre on the social media platform Gab — popular with white supremacists and the alt-right.

There were 26 people killed and 20 others were injured when a shooter opened fire at the First Baptist Church of Sutherland Springs. It was the third deadly shooting at a U.S. church in a three-year-period.

In the course of the investigation, it was discovered that suspect Devin Kelley's domestic abuse convictions from his time in the Air Force were not reported to the background check service used for gun buyers. He was able to purchase the weapon that was used in the Nov. 5 shooting.

In June 2015, white supremacist Dylann Roof shot and killed nine black churchgoers during a Bible study at the Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Roof was sentenced to death this January.

In a video interview with an FBI agent the day after the shooting, that was later played in court, Roof said that he believed someone had to do something about what he said were crimes committed by black people against whites.

"I don't like what black people do," Roof said in the video, but notes that no black person was ever violent to him or his family to prompt the attack. Roof said no one else was brave enough to do anything, referencing the KKK and skinheads.

Roof was sentenced to death in January 2017, making him the first death penalty verdict rendered in a federal hate crimes case, the Department of Justice said.

The shooting left six victims dead and four others injured before the shooter turned the gun on himself.

The gunman, Wade Michael Page, was a 40 year old Army veteran associated with a white-supremacist group, described by a watchdog group as "virulently racist," law enforcement officials told ABC News.

PBS

White Christians are now a minority of the U.S. population, survey says

Nation Sep 6, 2017 1:30 PM EDT

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/white-christians-now-minority-u-s-population-survey-says>

NEW YORK — The share of Americans who identify as white and Christian has dropped below 50 percent, a transformation fueled by immigration and by growing numbers of people who reject organized religion altogether, according to a new survey released Wednesday.

Christians overall remain a large majority in the U.S., at nearly 70 percent of Americans. However, white Christians, once predominant in the country's religious life, now comprise only 43 percent of the population, according to the Public Religion Research Institute, or PRRI, a polling organization based in Washington. Four decades ago, about eight in 10 Americans were white Christians.

READ MORE: Millennials haven't forgotten spirituality, they're just looking for new venues

The change has occurred across the spectrum of Christian traditions in the U.S., including sharp drops in membership in predominantly white mainline Protestant denominations such as Presbyterians and Lutherans; an increasing Latino presence in the Roman Catholic Church as some non-Hispanic white Catholics leave; and shrinking ranks of white evangelicals, who until recently had been viewed as immune to decline.

The trends identified in the survey are fueling anxiety about the place of Christians in society, especially among evangelicals, alarmed by support for gay marriage and by the increasing share of Americans — about one-quarter — who don't identify with a faith group. President Donald Trump, who repeatedly promised to protect the religious liberty of Christians, drew 80 percent of votes by white evangelicals, a constituency that remains among his strongest supporters.

About 17 percent of Americans now identify as white evangelical, compared to 23 percent a decade ago, according to the survey. Membership in the conservative Southern Baptist Convention, the largest U.S. Protestant

group, dropped to 15.2 million last year, its lowest number since 1990, according to an analysis by Chuck Kelley, president of the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary.

The trends identified in the survey are fueling anxiety about the place of Christians in society, especially among evangelicals, alarmed by support for gay marriage and by the increasing share of Americans — about one-quarter — who don't identify with a faith group.

“So often, white evangelicals have been pointing in judgment to white mainline groups, saying when you have liberal theology you decline,” said Robert Jones, chief executive of PRRI. “I think this data really does challenge that interpretation of linking theological conservatism and growth.”

The PRRI survey of more than 100,000 people was conducted from January 2016 to January of this year and has a margin of error of plus or minus 0.4 percentage points. Previous surveys had found that the Protestant majority that shaped the nation's history had dropped below 50 percent sometime around 2008. The PRRI poll released Wednesday included a more in-depth focus on race and religion. Jones said growth among Latino Christians, and stability in the numbers of African-American Christians, had partly obscured the decline among white Christians.

The survey also found that more than a third of all Republicans say they are white evangelicals, and nearly three-quarter identify as white Christians. By comparison, white Christians have become a minority in the Democratic Party, shrinking from 50 percent a decade ago, to 29 percent now. Forty percent of Democrats say they have no religious affiliation.

Among American Catholics, 55 percent now identify as white, compared to 87 percent 25 years ago, amid the growing presence of Latino Catholics, according to the report. Over the last decade, the share of white Catholics in the U.S. population dropped from 16 percent to 11 percent. Over the same period, white mainline Protestants declined from 18 percent to 13 percent of all Americans.

List of Christian Places of Worship that have Been Attacked

- 1999 Wedgewood Baptist Church in Fort Worth, Texas
- 2001 Greater Oak Missionary Baptist Church in Hopkinsville, Kentucky
- 2002 Our Lady of Peace Catholic Church in Lynbrook, New York
- 2003 Turner Monumental AME Church in Kirkwood, Georgia
- 2005 Living Church of God in Brookfield, Wisconsin
- 2005 World Changers Church in College Park, Georgia
- 2006 Zion Hope Missionary Baptist in Detroit, Michigan
- 2006 Ministry of Jesus Christ Church in Baton Rouge, Louisiana
- 2007 First Presbyterian Church in Moscow, Idaho
- 2007 First Congregational Church in Neosho, Missouri
- 2007 New Life Church in Colorado Springs, Colorado
- 2008 First Baptist Church in Maryville, Illinois
- 2009 Reformation Lutheran Church in Wichita, Kansas
- 2012 World Changers Church in College Park, Georgia
- 2015 Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina
- 2017 Burnette Chapel Church of Christ in Antioch, Tennessee
- 2017 First Baptist Church in Sutherland Springs, Texas
- 2017 St. Alphonsus Church in Fresno, Texas

Attacks on Places of Worship

Apr. 27, 2019, John Earnest, 19 years of age, entered the Chabad of Poway synagogue outside San Diego following Passover, and killed Lori Gilbert-Kaye, 60, who was killed in the attack.

Oct. 27, 2018, the Tree of Life or L'Simcha Congregation in the Squirrel Hill neighborhood of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, while Shabbat morning services were being held, took eleven lives and caused seven injured including the shooter.

Jul. 22, 2011, Brenton Tarrant, age 28, carried out attacks during pray service at the Al Noor and Linwood mosques in New Zealand killing 51 men, women and children.

Nov. 5, 2017: Dressed in black tactical-style gear and armed with an assault weapon, 21-year-old Devin Kelley opened fire at the First Baptist Church of Sutherland Springs, Texas, killing 26 people and wounding about 20 others.

Sept 24, 2017: Emanuel Kidega Samson, 25, was charged with killing a woman and wounding six other people with gunshots at Burnette Chapel Church of Christ in Nashville, Tennessee.

Aug. 13, 2016: Imam Maulana Alauddin Akonjee and his friend Thara Uddin were fatally shot as they left a New York City mosque. Oscar Morel, 35, was charged with second-degree murder.

Aug. 9, 2016: A shooting during a party at a Jersey City, New Jersey, church left 17-year-old Leander Williams dead and two teenage girls wounded. Daequan Jackson, 18, was charged with murder.

Apr. 24, 2016: Mark Storms fatally shot 27-year-old Robert Braxton III during Sunday services in a suburban Philadelphia church. Storms, 46, argued self-defense, but was sentenced to 10 to 20 years in prison for voluntary manslaughter.

Feb. 28, 2016: Rev. William B. Schooler, 70, was fatally shot by his 68-year-old brother inside an office at St. Peter's Missionary Baptist Church in Dayton, Ohio, as Sunday services were winding down. Daniel Schooler was found guilty of murder and sentenced to 31 years to life in prison.

Jun. 17, 2015: Nine black worshippers including a pastor were killed by Dylann Roof, a 21-year-old white supremacist, after he prayed with them for nearly an hour. The shooting happened at historic Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in downtown Charleston, South Carolina. Roof was convicted of federal hate-crime and obstruction-of-religion charges and sentenced to death.

April 13, 2014: Neo-Nazi and former Ku Klux Klan leader Frazier Miller Jr. fatally shot Dr. William Corporon and his 14-year-old grandson Reat Underwood outside an Overland Park, Kansas, Jewish center as they arrived for a community event. He then drove to a Jewish retirement community where he fatally shot Terry LaManno, who was visiting her mother.

Mar. 31, 2013: A 28-year-old man fatally shot his father during Easter services at the Hiawatha Church of God in Christ in Ashtabula, Ohio. Reshad Riddle then made a rambling statement at the pulpit while yelling about God and Allah, still holding his handgun as panicked worshippers fled the church.

Dec. 2, 2012: Elementary school music teacher Gregory Eldred, 52, shot his ex-wife, Darlene Sitler, while she played the organ during a church service at the First United Presbyterian Church in Coudersport, Pennsylvania.

Oct. 24, 2012: A former facilities maintenance employee at World Changers Church International in College Park, Georgia, opened fire, killing church volunteer Greg McDowell, 39, while he was leading a prayer. Police arrested Floyd Palmer, 51, who was found guilty but mentally ill and sentenced to life in prison.

Aug. 5, 2012: Six members of the Sikh Temple of Wisconsin, in Oak Creek, were fatally shot by a white supremacist, Wade Michael Page. Page was shot by a responding officer and later killed himself.

May 9, 2012: Joseph Lewis Jr., 84, was fatally shot while sitting in a car guarding Victory Way Assembly Church of God in Christ in Detroit, Michigan. Two teenagers, 15-year-old Anthony Williams and 18-year-old Alandre Boone, attacked him while a Bible study took place inside. Police suspected robbery was the motive. Both teenagers were tried and convicted as adults for second-degree murder.

May 3, 2012: A homeless man killed himself after fatally shooting a priest and a church secretary at St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Ellicott City, Maryland. Police said Douglas Franklin Jones had been turned away from the church food bank about two weeks earlier for visiting every day instead of weekly.

INFORMATION SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

Information for the Record
Submitted by Mr. Christian Picciolini

Video entitled "No More Talk" (9.17.19)



Retained in the Committee file.