

THE RISE OF ANTI-ISRAEL EXTREMIST GROUPS AND THEIR THREAT TO U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON
COUNTERTERRORISM AND
INTELLIGENCE
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THE RISE OF ANTI-ISRAEL EXTREMIST GROUPS AND THEIR THREAT TO U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Wednesday, June 11, 2025

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COUNTERTERRORISM AND INTELLIGENCE,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:34 a.m., at Room 310, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. August Pfluger [Chairman of the subcommittee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Pfluger, Greene, Evans, Mackenzie, Magaziner, Goldman, Hernandez, and Pou.

Mr. PFLUGER. The Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence will come to order. Without objection, the subcommittee may recess at any point.

The purpose of this hearing is to examine, unfortunately, the growing threat of antisemitism within the United States particularly as it relates to the circumstances surrounding the killing of Israeli embassy staff in Washington, DC, as well as assessing the current counterterrorism measures in addressing the threat of antisemitic violence targeting Jewish Americans and foreign diplomats on U.S. soil.

I now recognize myself for an opening statement. I want to thank my colleagues. I want to thank our witnesses and all who have joined us for today's important hearing on a deeply troubling and persistent issue, one that strikes at the very core of our national values. We convene today in the shadow of a deeply unsettling trend, the continuing rise in antisemitic attacks across the United States.

This alarming pattern has been brought into sharp and painful focus by the recent incidents in Washington, DC, Boulder, Colorado, and, unfortunately, many other events. Here in our Nation's capital just a few blocks away from where we sit right now, 2 young and innocent lives were taken in a brutal attack at the capital Jewish museum following an event for young Jewish professionals.

In Boulder, Colorado, several individuals were severely injured in a horrific act of violence during a peaceful demonstration meant to highlight the plight of Israeli hostages still being held by Hamas.

Most recently, anti-ICE rioters in Los Angeles and, in fact, many other cities have attacked Federal agents, torching streets, defacing property, and assaulting officers for enforcing the law, an attack on

our very core of law and order that is related to the subject that we are talking about today.

In Paramount, agents deployed tear gas and flashbangs to disperse violent mob. President Trump has responded decisively sending National Guard troops to restore order and protect the public. Instead of standing with law enforcement to protect communities, Governor Newsom dismissed the deployment, downplaying violence altogether. This reckless refusal to acknowledge the severity of the crisis undermines public safety and sends a message that lawlessness will be tolerated in certain places throughout our country.

Last week, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula released a video calling for attacks on U.S. soil specifically targeting Government officials, specifically targeting Members of Congress. Companies tied to the war in Gaza, and Jewish institutions were also called for with violent attacks. The group's leader even cited recent attacks here in the District of Columbia as examples to follow.

This should be a chilling reminder. Antisemitic, might we say anti-Jewish, hate is not only rising, it is being weaponized by foreign terrorist organizations and inspiring violence right here in our homeland. These incidents are not isolated; they reflect a broader and deeply troubling surge in antisemitic rhetoric and violence, both on-line and in our neighborhoods.

As the numbers continue to rise, fear has taken hold in many Jewish communities nationwide. For the fourth consecutive year, antisemitic incidents have increased in all 50 States. This is not a localized problem. It is a national crisis.

We cannot talk about national security without addressing the policies that allowed this environment to take root.

When President Trump took office in January we quickly saw the truth: What we had been told for 4 years—that our hands were tied by current laws—was a lie. We didn't need more legislation. We needed a leadership that was willing to secure the border and enforce laws that were already in existence.

While this new leadership led to historic lows in illegal border crossings, the danger we now face comes not from those trying to get in but from those that are already here. For 4 years the Biden administration opened the floodgates allowing millions to pour across our border unchecked. Among them were individuals who now exploit weak immigration enforcement and thrive in a system that refuses to apply existing laws in certain communities, laws that were meant to protect us from exactly this kind of hate and violence.

Last year, right here on this committee, I confronted Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas about these very dangers. I warned about people already living among us people, people who had been radicalized, emboldened, and driven to hate, and today we are seeing this threat materialize right before our eyes. These heinous acts of hatred or not only attacks on individual lives, they are assaults on the very principles of religious freedom, safety, and security that formed the foundation of our democracy.

What is worse, this hatred is not confined to dark corners of the internet or lone extremists. It is now showing up in our institutions and places that should be safe and inclusive, our schools and our universities, have become breeding grounds for antisemitism.

Jewish students are being harassed, intimidated, and in some cases physically attacked, often with little to no response from university leadership. This is a fact. This is happening. Literally, dozens of people have reached out to my office, people that I don't know, that I have never met, that have said that this is happening. Nothing has been done at some of these universities and institutions.

This failure to act is not neutrality. It is complicity. Let me be absolutely clear that anyone who refuses to call out these hate-filled actors, who fails to condemn their vile actions loudly and unequivocally is no longer a bystander. They are complicit. Silence and apathy in the face of antisemitism is not neutrality. It is permission to continue to act that way, and it enables the hate to spread and the violence to escalate.

We will no longer tolerate cowardice or indifference when Jewish lives are under threat. The Jewish community has long been a vibrant and integral part of the Nation's fabric, yet today too many Jewish Americans are now living with an ever-present fear for their families, their institutions, and their future simply because of who they are and what they believe.

This hearing is an opportunity to confront the threat head-on. It is a chance to hear directly from Jewish leaders, from law enforcement officials, and community experts on the front lines and to ask ourselves and to determine what more Congress and our Government can do to respond effectively and prevent this type of behavior from continuing to grow in this country.

President Trump has issued a vital Executive Order to combat antisemitism on college campuses and to protect Jewish students. Yet despite these steps, wide-spread harassment of Jewish students at dozens of universities has persisted.

Whether it means improving how we track and report hate crimes, investing in stronger security for at-risk communities, or expanding education to dispel antisemitic myths, one thing is clear. Action is not optional. It is imperative.

Our purpose today is clear: To understand the root causes of this rise in antisemitic violence; to hold accountable those who would perpetrate and enable it; and to strengthen our response to protect vulnerable communities, communities that should not be vulnerable or subjected to this kind of fear, threat of violence, and, might I say, terrorism. We must examine how we can all work together to confront hate and build resilience.

This hearing is a call to action to reaffirm that hatred and bigotry have no place in America and to ensure that every citizen can live without fear of discrimination or violence. I look forward to hearing from our witnesses, from our experts, and working together with colleagues on this committee to forge a path that promotes safety, justice, and unity.

My hope today is that those that serve on this committee, regardless of party affiliation, will boldly condemn the actions that have led to violence against the Jewish community, the actions that just a couple of short weeks ago took the lives of 2 young innocent Americans, the actions that have threatened our communities in places like Boulder, Colorado.

One thing is going to be absolutely clear today. There is no room for antisemitism in the United States of America, not in Washington, not in Boulder, nowhere. We will know today where this committee stands.

This committee was formed in the wake of 9/11 as a result of the most horrific terrorist attack that our Nation has suffered, and we have to get a grip right now in this committee on what continues to drive those that would perpetrate this violence inside the United States.

We have to understand and also recognize that there are people that were let into this country over the last 4 years that have a tie to radical groups like al-Qaeda, like ISIS, and that still affiliate with these groups and are prone to radicalization and do want to do harm to many communities, including our Jewish community.

I want to thank the witnesses for being with us this morning, and I yield back.

[The statement of Chairman Pfluger follows:]

STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN AUGUST PFLUGER

JUNE 11, 2025

Good morning and thank you to my colleagues, our witnesses, and all who have joined us for today's important hearing on a deeply troubling and persistent issue—one that strikes at the core of our national values.

We convene today in the shadow of a deeply unsettling trend: the continuing rise in antisemitic attacks across the United States. This alarming pattern has been brought into sharp and painful focus by the recent incidents in Washington, DC, and Boulder, Colorado.

Here in our Nation's capital, just blocks from where we sit, 2 young and innocent lives were taken in a brutal attack at the Capital Jewish Museum following an event for young Jewish professionals.

In Boulder, Colorado, several individuals were severely injured in a horrific act of violence during a peaceful demonstration meant to highlight the plight of Israeli hostages being held by Hamas.

Most recently, anti-ICE rioters in Los Angeles have attacked Federal agents—torching streets, defacing property, and assaulting officers for enforcing the law.

In Paramount, agents deployed tear gas and flash-bangs to disperse violent mobs. President Trump responded decisively, sending 2,000 National Guard troops to restore order and protect the public.

Instead of standing with law enforcement to protect communities, Governor Newsom dismissed the deployment, downplaying the violence altogether. This reckless refusal to acknowledge the severity of the crisis undermines public safety and sends a message that lawlessness will be tolerated.

Last week, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula released a video calling for attacks on U.S. soil—specifically targeting Government officials, companies tied to the war in Gaza, and Jewish institutions. The group's leader even cited recent attacks here in the District of Columbia as examples to follow. This is a chilling reminder: antisemitic hate is not only rising—it's being weaponized by foreign terrorist organizations and inspiring violence right here at home.

These incidents are not isolated; they reflect a broader and deeply troubling surge in antisemitic rhetoric and violence—both on-line and in our neighborhoods. As the numbers continue to rise, fear is taking hold on Jewish communities nationwide.

For the fourth consecutive year, antisemitic incidents have increased in all 50 States. This is not a localized problem—it is a national crisis.

We cannot talk about national security without addressing the policies that allowed this environment to take root. When President Trump took office in January, we quickly saw the truth: what we had been told for 4 years—that our hands were tied by the current laws—was a lie. We didn't need more legislation. We needed leadership that was willing to secure the border and enforce the laws already in existence.

And while this new leadership led to historic lows in illegal border crossings, the danger we now face comes not from those trying to get in—but from those already here. For 4 years, the Biden administration opened the floodgates, allowing millions

to pour across our border unchecked. Among them are individuals who now exploit weak immigration enforcement and thrive in a system that refuses to apply existing laws—laws meant to protect us from exactly this kind of hate and violence.

Last year, I came before this committee to confront Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas about these very dangers. I warned about the people already living among us—people who have been radicalized, emboldened, and driven to hate. Today, we are seeing this threat materialize before our eyes.

These heinous acts of hatred are not only attacks on individual lives—they are assaults on the very principles of religious freedom, safety, and security that form the foundation of our democracy.

What's worse, this hatred is not confined to dark corners of the internet or lone extremists. It is now showing up in our institutions—in places that should be safe and inclusive. Our schools and universities, have become breeding grounds for antisemitism. Jewish students are being harassed, intimidated, and, in some cases, physically attacked—often with little to no response from university leadership. This failure to act is not neutrality—it is complicity.

Let me be absolutely clear: anyone who refuses to call out these hate-filled actors, who fails to condemn their vile actions loudly and unequivocally, is no longer a bystander—they are complicit. Silence and apathy in the face of antisemitism is not neutrality—it is permission. And it enables the hate to spread and the violence to escalate. We will no longer tolerate cowardice or indifference when Jewish lives are under threat.

The Jewish community has long been a vibrant and integral part of our Nation's fabric. Yet today, too many Jewish Americans are now living with an ever-present fear—for their families, their institutions, and their future—simply because of who they are and what they believe.

This hearing is an opportunity to confront the threat head-on. It is a chance to hear directly from Jewish leaders, law enforcement officials, and community experts on the front lines—and ask ourselves, and to determine what more Congress and our Government must do to respond effectively?

The Trump administration issued a vital Executive Order to combat antisemitism on college campuses and protect Jewish students. Despite these positive steps, widespread harassment of Jewish students at dozens of universities across the country has persisted.

Whether it means improving how we track and report hate crimes, investing in stronger security for at-risk communities or expanding education to dispel antisemitic myths—one thing is clear: action is not optional, it is imperative.

Our purpose today is clear: to understand the root causes of this rise in antisemitic violence, to hold accountable those who perpetrate and enable it, and to strengthen our response to protect vulnerable communities. We must examine how we can all work together to confront hate and build resilience.

This hearing is a call to action—to reaffirm that hatred and bigotry have no place in America, and to ensure that every citizen can live without fear of discrimination or violence.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses and working together with my colleagues to forge a path forward that promotes safety, justice, and unity.

Let this hearing make one thing absolutely clear: there is no room for antisemitism in the United States of America. Not in Boulder, Colorado, not in Washington, DC, not anywhere.

Thank you to all our witnesses for being with us this morning, and I look forward to the discussion ahead.

Mr. PFLUGER. I will now yield to the Ranking Member, the gentleman from Rhode Island, Mr. Magaziner, for his opening statement.

Mr. MAGAZINER. Thank you to the Chair for calling this important hearing.

I thank our witnesses for being here today. I want to begin by honoring the memories of Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim, who were senselessly killed last month following the American Jewish Committee's annual Young Diplomats Reception here in Washington. They were a young couple who had their whole lives ahead of them, including a planned engagement. I know that every Member of this subcommittee extends our deepest condolences to their families and friends.

We also grieve for the victims of the horrific attack in Boulder, Colorado, who had Molotov cocktails thrown at them while walking in support of hostages held by Hamas. Both of these incidents were antisemitic terrorism, and we must clearly call them out for what they are. We must condemn them.

The same is true in the arson attack on Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro's home a few weeks ago.

According to the Anti-Defamation League, in 2024, there were nearly 10,000 reported antisemitic incidents across the United States, a 5 percent increase from 2023 and the highest number on record since the ADL began tracking antisemitic incidents 46 years ago.

Antisemitism exists throughout our society. It can be found on the left, on the right, in the middle, and it must be called out everywhere. But while it is true that Jews in America face the threat of antisemitic violence throughout our country, it is also true that the Jewish people have friends and supporters throughout our country.

In the year 1790, President George Washington visited the Touro Synagogue in my home State in Newport, Rhode Island, and prayed with the local Jewish congregation to demonstrate his wish that America would be a country welcoming of all faiths and specifically the Jewish faith.

Now, this is personal for me as well as the son of a Jewish father and a Catholic mother. I have family who were driven out of their home countries due to antisemitic violence. I have experienced personally, as have other Members of my family, antisemitic harassment here in the United States. It is a daily fact of life, unfortunately.

I am concerned about our Government's ability to counter the rise of antisemitic violence. I want to make sure that our Government is doing everything that it can to stamp this out and to keep people safe.

That is why I am concerned that President Trump has fired staff across the Federal Government who are tasked with investigating cases of violent antisemitism and other forms of hate, including over 100 employees at the DHS Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties tasked with investigating and stamping out violent antisemitism and other domestic violent extremism, some 250 attorneys, about 70 percent of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, and at least 240 staff at the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights.

Let's be clear. Antisemitism on college campuses is a real problem that must be dealt with. The way you deal with that is by strong oversight from the Department of Education, including the Office for Civil Rights, which has been gutted, not by cutting off funding for medical research.

President Trump recently installed Thomas Fugate to serve as the director of DHS's Center for Prevention, Programs, and Partnerships. For those of you who don't know, this is the office that is tasked with partnering with local law enforcement, nonprofit organizations, churches, synagogues, private-sector organizations to prevent hate-driven violence.

Mr. Fugate is a 22-year-old who just graduated college with no counterterrorism, national security, or law enforcement experience. I bring this up not to be partisan because, again, there is antisemitism on all sides of the political spectrum. Believe me I know that. But I genuinely am concerned that this sends a signal about how serious the administration actually is in doing the work of stamping out antisemitic hate and violence.

Words are nice but actions are important and personnel is important as well. If the administration takes combating violent extremism seriously, why put this man in charge of the office tasked with preventing domestic violent extremism? We need an answer to that. People want to know.

We also want to know why the FBI has transferred agents and intelligence analysts out of the domestic terrorism section and canceled the development of a national domestic terrorism incident database. Again, the policies matter.

I hope that this will be an opportunity for us to course correct and to surge resources toward those agencies that are tasked with stamping out domestic violent extremism, including antisemitic violence. We should be surging resources to those agencies, not gutting them.

It is a tragedy that it has taken the deaths of 2 innocent people and the severe injuries of a dozen others to remind some people of the importance of cracking down on domestic violent extremism, including antisemitic violence in this country. We should be increasing the Federal Government's focus on preventing violent extremism, not cutting funds and not shifting personnel away from those efforts.

I hope in light of these terrible events that the administration will reconsider, shift resources, and put the very best people in charge of the agencies tasked with doing this important work.

I hope we can use this hearing as an opportunity to hear from our expert witnesses on how the Federal Government can disrupt the surge in violent antisemitic extremism that we have seen since October 7 and stop the normalization of antisemitism and enhance the safety of the Jewish community in our country. We cannot lose anyone else to antisemitic hate. Full stop.

I thank our witnesses again. I look forward to hearing from you, and I yield back.

[The statement of Ranking Member Magaziner follows:]

STATEMENT OF RANKING MEMBER SETH MAGAZINER

JUNE 11, 2025

I want to begin by honoring the memories of Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim, who were senselessly killed last month following the American Jewish Committee's annual Young Diplomats Reception here in Washington. Yaron and Sarah were a young couple who had their whole lives ahead of them, including a planned engagement. I know that every Member of this subcommittee extends our deepest condolences to their families and friends. I also grieve for the victims of the horrific attack in Boulder, Colorado, who had Molotov cocktails thrown at them while walking in support of the hostages held by Hamas.

Both of these incidents were antisemitic terrorism—we must clearly call them out for what they are, and we must condemn them. The same is also true in the arson attack on Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro's home.

According to the Anti-Defamation League, in 2024, there were 9,354 reported antisemitic incidents across the United States, a 5 percent increase from 2023 and

the highest number on record since ADL began tracking antisemitic incidents 46 years ago. Antisemitism exists throughout our society. Antisemitism can be found on the left, the right, and the middle and must be called out everywhere. But while it is true that Jews in America face the threat of antisemitic violence throughout our society, it is also true that the Jewish people have friends and supporters throughout our society.

In the year 1790, President George Washington visited the Touro Synagogue in my home State of Rhode Island, and prayed with the local congregation to demonstrate his wish that America would be a country welcoming of all faiths, including specifically the Jewish faith. I am concerned about our Government's ability to counter the rise of antisemitic violence we are seeing.

President Trump has fired staff across the Federal Government who were tasked with that investigating cases of violent antisemitism and other forms of hate, including: 131 employees at the DHS Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. Some 250 attorneys or around 70 percent of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. At least 240 staff at the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights.

President Trump recently installed Thomas Fugate to serve as the director of DHS's Center for Prevention Programs and Partnerships—this is the office tasked with partnering with local law enforcement and the private sector to prevent hate-driven violence. Mr. Fugate is a 22-year-old who just graduated college with no counterterrorism or national security experience. If the administration takes combating violent antisemitism seriously—why put him in charge of the office tasked with preventing domestic violent extremism.

The administration has also transferred FBI agents and FBI intelligence analysts out of the Domestic Terrorism Section and canceled the development of a national domestic terrorism incident database. We should be increasing the Federal Government's focus on preventing violent extremism, not cutting funds and shifting personnel away from those efforts. Decreasing Government personnel dedicated to preventing violent extremism including antisemitic violence, undermines efforts to counter antisemitism.

I hope that in light of the terrible events in Washington and in Boulder, that the administration will reconsider, and shift resources back into combatting antisemitism. I hope to discuss how we can disrupt this surge in violent antisemitic extremism, stop the normalization of antisemitism, and enhance the safety of the Jewish community and other targeted groups.

Mr. PFLUGER. I thank the Ranking Member.

Other Members of the committee are reminded that opening statements may be submitted for the record. I am now pleased to introduce 4 distinguished witnesses before us on this very topic, but I first ask that they rise and please raise their right hands. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before the Committee on Homeland Security of the U.S. House of Representatives will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Thank you. The record reflects that the witnesses have answered in the affirmative.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Mr. PFLUGER. I would now like to formally introduce them. Mr. Kerry Sleeper currently serves as deputy director of intelligence information sharing at Secure Community Network. In this role he coordinates with DHS, FBI, and many other governmental and nongovernmental agencies to provide 24/7 coverage for SCN's national Jewish operations command center.

Mr. Oren Segal serves as senior vice president of counter extremism and intelligence at the Anti-Defamation League and oversees the Center on Extremism, the Center for Technology and Society, and law enforcement teams.

Dr. James Carafano is a leading expert on national security and foreign policy challenges and has previously served as the Heritage Foundation's vice president of foreign and defense policy studies.

Finally, Ms. Julie Rayman is a senior vice president of policy and political affairs at the American Jewish Committee. She has helped launch the bipartisan Task Force for Antisemitism, the Congressional Caucus on Black-Jewish Relations, and the Congressional Hellenic Israel Alliance.

Again, thank you to all the witnesses. I will now recognize you in order. We have your written statements and we appreciate those. If you can please summarize those in 5 minutes, and there is a clock to alert you of the timing.

Mr. Sleeper, you are now recognized for your opening statement.

STATEMENT OF KERRY SLEEPER, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION SHARING, SECURE COMMUNITY NETWORK

Mr. SLEEPER. Chairman Pfluger, Ranking Member Magaziner, and Members of the subcommittee, thank you. My name is Kerry Sleeper, and I currently serve as Secure Community Networks' deputy director of intelligence and information sharing. I oversee SCN's 24/7 Jewish security operations command center and lead our intelligence coordination efforts with Federal, State, and local law enforcement, as well as with our Jewish communal security partners.

I sincerely appreciate your invitation to testify on this critical matter. America's Jewish community is under attack, and we need to take decisive action to save lives and mitigate the escalating threats. The threat of targeted violence being faced by the Jewish community is complex and continues to evolve. This threat will likely persist for several years.

As recently as last week, our analysts have observed a notable increase from foreign terrorist organizations aligned media that appears to be doubling down on calls for attacks in the United States and Jewish targets. These groups appear to be coordinating efforts and amplifying shared narratives to encouraged these acts of violence.

These groups are evidently trying to take advantage of the morbid appeal of the recent attacks in the District of Columbia and Boulder by violent extremists to incite followers to commit additional violent acts in retribution for the on-going war in Gaza.

These violent trends are fueled by a persistent ecosystem of anti-Israeli networks operating in the United States and on-line. Groups such as the Students for Justice in Palestine, Within Our Lifetime, Unity of Fields, and on-line propaganda hubs such as the emerging ISNAD network, consistently amplify messaging aligned with foreign terrorist organizations and Iranian-backed information operations.

While not all are directly tied to designated foreign terrorist organizations, they help blur the lines between protest and incitement, justifying, glorifying, and promoting violence against the Jewish or Israeli community in the name of Gaza.

Now, I'd like to briefly describe how SCN manages threats against the Jewish Israeli community. Our analysts work tirelessly to identify, analyze, and communicate threats to life directed to the Jewish community found on-line. Threats to live are defined as

threats to kill or maim a victim with the perpetrator being assessed to have the intent and capability to carry out the threat.

Our analysts utilize state-of-the-art technology and keyword algorithms to search the surface, deep, and dark web for threats specifically targeting the Jewish community.

Last year, our analysts identified approximately 500 threats to life that they shared with the FBI's National Threat Operations Center. This year SCN is on track to surpass 700 threats to life, a 40 percent increase reflecting both a rising threat environment and the operational demand placed on our analysts and infrastructure.

Even these efforts illustrate only a portion of the threats facing the Jewish community. Following the 21st May shooting outside the capital Jewish museum in the District of Columbia, SCN analysts identified approximately 6,000 violent threats targeting the Jewish community posted on social media in just a 1-week period of time.

SCN has issued strategic warnings for over a year that the war in Gaza would have serious domestic implications, including a surge in anti-Israeli, anti-Jewish, and antisemitic attacks, many of which have now materialized as our analysts had warned.

Our analysts assessed that the as the conflict continued, Jewish and Israeli communities in the United States would face elevated threats from pro-Palestinian or anti-Israeli violent extremists.

Over the past 20 months, every analytic brief SCN has produced has warned of this rising threat, exacerbated by on-line incitement from Iranian-linked groups and designated foreign terrorist organizations, including Hamas, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda, and ISIS, in which it promoted and justified violence against Jewish civilians globally under the banner of retaliation for Israel's military action in Gaza.

If our adversaries are coordinating their actions, so must we. We are long overdue for a national strategy to specifically combat targeted violence against the Jewish community. To date, our community's front line for defense against these acts have been nonprofit organizations like the one you see in front of you, including Jewish communal security organizations.

While we have done a remarkable job in identifying threats and to protect our community's facilities and people, we need to recognize that we have nonprofits operating on donations who are defending against foreign terrorist organizations and extremist groups who are constantly pounding the drum beat of kill the Jews.

Today's threat to the Jewish community requires a clearly-defined national strategy that identifies and leverages resources from Federal, State, and local governments, as well as Jewish communal security organizations and groups like you see in front of it today.

We have seen numerous instances of groups adversarial to the Jewish community hosting plan documents on how to attack our community. It's time we had a plan to protect our community. I would respectfully suggest that this committee, with your focus on intelligence and counterterrorism and your demonstrated interest in protecting the Jewish-Israeli community, would well be positioned to drive the development of a national strategy.

Finally, this is the appropriate forum to thank the FBI fusion centers and our State and local law enforcement partners across

the Nation for their unwavering support and constant vigilance in protecting the Jewish community in these perilous times. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Sleeper follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KERRY SLEEPER

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11, 2025

Dear Chairman Pfluger, Ranking Member Magaziner, and Members of the subcommittee. My name is Kerry Sleeper, and I currently serve as the Secure Community Network (SCN)'s deputy director of intelligence and information sharing. I oversee SCN's 24/7 Jewish Security Operations Command Center and lead our intelligence coordination efforts with Federal, State, and local law enforcement, as well as Jewish communal security partners.

Prior to my role at SCN, I served as a deputy assistant director and then assistant director for the FBI for 7 years. My primary role was to enhance the sharing of counterterrorism threat intelligence between the FBI and its many partners. Prior to that, I served 30 years with the Vermont State Police, retiring as the commissioner of public safety and State homeland security advisor.

SCN was founded in 2004 under the auspices of The Jewish Federations of North America and the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. SCN supports the safety of Jewish communities across North America. We work with 50 national Jewish partner organizations, 146 Jewish Federations, and more than 350 independent communities, in addition to hundreds of law enforcement organizations and the multifaith community, fostering security collaboration across public, private, nonprofit, and academic sectors.

I sincerely appreciate your invitation to testify on this critical matter. America's Jewish community is under attack, and we need to take decisive action to save lives and mitigate the escalating threats. My esteemed colleague from ADL has provided you with the data to allow you to understand the scope of the threat we face from anti-Israeli extremist groups. What I would like to do now is describe how we at SCN, working with key partners, assess, manage, and mitigate the threat.

Analysts at SCN's Jewish Security Operations Center work tirelessly to identify, analyze, and communicate Threats to Life (TTLs) found on-line. TTLs are defined as threats to kill or maim a victim, with the perpetrator being assessed to have the intent and capability to carry out the threat. Our well-trained and talented analysts utilize state-of-the-art technology and keyword algorithms to search the surface, deep, and dark web for threats specifically targeting the Jewish/Israeli community.

Last year, SCN analysts identified approximately 500 TTLs that they shared with the FBI's National Threat Operations Center via an API (Application Programming Interface). The privileged API connection to the FBI enables real-time transfer of high-priority threat intelligence, allowing for rapid mitigation by the FBI. This year, SCN is on track to surpass 700 TTLs, a 40 percent increase, reflecting both the rising threat environment and the operational demand placed on our analysts and infrastructure. Our capability to protect the Jewish community is greatly enhanced by our working relationship with the FBI at both the Headquarters and Field Office levels.

SCN's comprehensive threat management process for TTLs is intentionally redundant to ensure maximum situational awareness. When our analysts can identify a named subject and/or location, we simultaneously notify the FBI, DHS, the appropriate State fusion center, local law enforcement, as well as the appropriate Jewish security director or regional director in that area of responsibility. This multi-channeled alerting mechanism ensures comprehensive coordination across jurisdictions and agencies, and that mitigation efforts can begin immediately.

Even these efforts illustrate only a portion of the threats facing the Jewish community. Following the 21 May shooting outside the Capitol Jewish Museum in DC, SCN analysts identified approximately 6,000 violent threats targeting the Jewish community posted on social media in just a 1-week period.

SCN has issued strategic warnings for over a year that the war in Gaza would have serious domestic implications, including a surge in anti-Israeli, anti-Jewish, and antisemitic attacks, many of which have now materialized as our analysts had warned. Our analysts assessed that as the conflict continued, Jewish and Israeli communities in the United States would face elevated threat levels from pro-Palestinian or anti-Israeli violent extremists. Over the past 20 months, every analytic brief SCN has produced has warned of this rising threat, exacerbated by on-line incitement from Iranian-linked groups and designated foreign terrorist organizations

such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and ISIS, which have promoted and justified violence against Jewish civilians globally under the banner of retaliation for Israel's military action in Gaza.

Multiple recent attacks, each with unique perpetrators, nonetheless shared the same ideological trigger, rage against Israel's military actions in Gaza channeled into violence against visibly Jewish targets domestically. The April 13 arson attack on Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro's residence in Harrisburg by Cody Balmer, the murder of Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim by Elias Rodriguez outside the Capitol Jewish Museum on May 21, and the June 1 firebombing attack at a rally to remember Israeli hostages by Mohammed Soliman all reflect this pattern. Each attacker framed their actions as retaliation for Israel's military actions in Gaza.

These acts did not occur in a vacuum. Across these cases, SCN analysts identified on-line praise, glorification, and calls for replication, raising our concern about copycat attacks.

These trends are fueled by a persistent ecosystem of anti-Israel networks operating in the United States and on-line. Groups such as the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), Within Our Lifetime (WOL), Unity of Fields, and on-line propaganda hubs such as the emerging ISNAD Network consistently amplify messaging aligned with Hamas, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Iranian-backed information operations. While not all are directly tied to designated foreign terrorist organizations, they help blur the lines between protest and incitement, justifying, glorifying, and promoting violence against the Jewish community in the name of Gaza.

In April of this year, SCN hosted a nationwide Passover threat brief in conjunction with the National Fusion Center Association and Jewish security organizations, highlighting our growing concern that the Gaza conflict was further inflaming domestic radicalization, asking for enhanced vigilance by law enforcement in light of the increased likelihood of a targeted violent attack against the community.

One month later, SCN facilitated another nationwide threat brief in conjunction with the FBI, Major Cities Police Chiefs Association, and Jewish security organizations after the shooting outside the Capitol Jewish Museum in the District of Columbia. We expressed our concerns that the shooting had the potential to inspire other like-minded violent extremists to mobilize to violent action against the Jewish community, a term we refer to as a copycat. Our analysts quickly observed widespread on-line praise of the shooter and the framing of the attack as a justified act of revenge, and messages encouraging others to replicate the attack.

Last week, after the fire-bombing attack in Boulder, SCN again hosted a nationwide post-critical incident conference call with the FBI, Major Cities Police Chiefs, Major County Sheriffs of America, the National Fusion Center Association, and Jewish Security Directors. We expressed our concern that this was the second targeted attack against the Jewish/Israeli community in a little over a week. On-line rhetoric again praised the attacker, further amplifying copycat concerns. Again, our primary concern was that of copycats inspired by the latest act of targeted violence against the Jewish-Israeli community.

Since October 7, SCN has produced and disseminated nearly 200 threat bulletins and intelligence situation reports and has coordinated numerous national or regional briefings with law enforcement and Jewish security leaders. These efforts have helped prevent attacks, mobilize resources, and inform law enforcement. But the pace, scale, and complexity of the current threat environment are not sustainable without a robust and sustained Federal partnership.

SCN's analysts recognized shortly after the 10/7 attacks in Israel that the Jewish and Israeli community in the United States faced a rapidly-escalating threat from violent extremists inspired by the war in Gaza. SCN recognized that help from DHS I&A in understanding, assessing, and managing the complex threat actors that included Iran, Foreign Terrorist Organizations, Homegrown Violent Extremists, and Domestic Violent Extremists, all coalescing around a common vision of terrorizing the Jewish and Israeli community, could significantly improve the safety and security of the community.

On April 1, 2024, SCN requested senior I&A leadership develop a Current Intelligence Operations Strategy focused specifically on protecting the Jewish/Israeli community in the homeland in a post-10/7 threat environment. Little materialized from that request. DHS I&A is a critical component of our domestic intelligence enterprise, we need I&A to work closely with us to mitigate the threat we are discussing today. The intelligence strategy we proposed over a year ago would have specifically focused on protecting the Jewish community with the development of an analytic cell that would have performed 6 analytic functions:

1. Develop and communicate timely awareness from all available sources of intelligence, those threats, foreign and domestic, that could have an impact on Jewish-Israeli safety and security in the homeland.

2. Rapidly assess those threats for domestic Jewish security implications.
3. The timely communication of those threats to the appropriate Federal, State, and local law enforcement, as well as Jewish security organizations.
4. Based on threats, timely dissemination of products, bulletins, or advisories should include collection emphasis messages to ensure our Federal, State, and local law enforcement, as well as Jewish security partners, are collecting against the appropriate threats.
5. A renewed emphasis on Suspicious Activity Reporting and collection directed to Federal, State, and local law enforcement, recognizing the vulnerability of the Jewish community.

The threat of targeted violence being faced by the Jewish-Israeli community is complex and continues to evolve; this threat will likely persist for at least the next decade. This threat facing the Jewish-Israeli community involves nation-state adversaries (Iran), foreign terrorist organizations, as well as violent extremists with mixed ideologies, and requires a comprehensive all-of-government strategy. The essential work being done by groups like SCN, the Center for Internet Security (CIS), ADL, and several other Jewish communal security organizations plays a crucial role in safeguarding Jewish communities across North America, but we are filling a void left by the Federal Government's lack of comprehensive focus on this rapidly-emerging threat. Our key law enforcement partners, like the FBI, fusion centers, and State and local law enforcement, are working hand-in-hand with us to protect their Jewish communities, but we all lack a national strategy. We need a clearly-defined and comprehensive national strategy to protect the Jewish community from acts of targeted violence. That strategy should be developed with input from Federal, State, and local law enforcement as well as non-governmental agencies like SCN, CIS, the ADL, and our Jewish security partners. Finally that strategy should be managed by a task force comprised of the above representatives with the specific focus of identifying and clarifying the threat regardless of its origin, analyzing the threat for context in the Jewish community, communicating the threat to law enforcement to law enforcement, providing suggestions on protective actions to protect the community based on intelligence, and coordinating strike teams across the country to arrest individuals threatening the Jewish community with acts of targeted violence.

I would respectfully suggest that this committee, with your focus on intelligence and counterterrorism, and your demonstrated interest in protecting the Jewish-Israeli community, would be well-positioned to drive the development of a strategy and implementation of a task force to protect the Jewish community.

Thank you.

Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you, Mr. Sleeper.

I now recognize Mr. Segal for his opening statement.

**STATEMENT OF OREN SEGAL, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT OF
COUNTER-EXTREMISM AND INTELLIGENCE, ANTI-DEFAMA-
TION LEAGUE**

Mr. SEGAL. Chairman Pfluger, Ranking Member Magaziner, and distinguished Members of the subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity to testify today. My name is Oren Segal and I serve as senior vice president of counterextremism and intelligence at ADL.

My team works to track, expose, and disrupt extremism, antisemitism, and hate every single day across the ideological spectrum on-line and on the ground. I'm here today because the Jewish community in this country is not just facing elevated threat, but one of the most diverse and complex threat landscapes in recent memory. We have experienced a surge in violent antisemitic attacks included calculated mission-driven violence.

In the past 12 months, ADL has documented 9 terror plots or attacks in the United States motivated by antisemitism, more than the previous 4 years and a half combined. Three weeks ago, a young couple was murdered outside the capital Jewish museum here in Washington, DC. The suspect who reportedly shouted, "Free Palestine" after the attack posted a manifesto rejecting non-violence.

Ten days ago in Boulder, an attacker also shouted, “Free Palestine” at a peaceful vigil while attempting to burn his victims alive with Molotov cocktails and a flamethrower. My team also uncovered videos posted on Telegram recorded by the suspect in Boulder before the attack in which he declared that God is greater than the Zionists, greater than America.

Two months ago, Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro’s home was targeted by a fire bomb on the night of his Passover seder. Each one of these horrific incidents was an attack on the entire Jewish community.

As if that’s not bad enough, these attacks have been justified, celebrated, and normalized by groups operating on American soil, as well as across digital platforms. They fuel an environment where targeted attacks against the Jewish community become increasingly likely.

While the grievances driving the violence are often framed as opposition to Israel, they frequently include expressions dehumanizing Jews and Zionists. They also include support for terror groups. When Jews are blamed for the policies of the State of Israel it’s not only antisemitic. It is dangerous.

Let me be crystal clear. Criticism of Israel or its policies is not antisemitism. Mere criticism does not factor into our data. But when Jewish individuals and institutions are targeted with protests, vandalism, harassment, and violence that is classic antisemitism.

That type of hate has been a driving force behind the surge of incidents we have documented in the United States, especially since the October 7 massacre by Hamas. In 2024 ADL documented over 9,000 antisemitic incidents of assault, vandalism, and harassment, the highest number we have reported in 45 years of tracking.

For the first time the majority of those incidents referenced Israel or Zionism. On campuses and in cities around the country, we’ve seen flags of terrorist organizations alongside slogans calling for globalizing the Intifada or bringing the war home.

On-line platforms like Telegram, among others, enable foreign terrorist organizations to share and promote their propaganda to thousands across the United States and around the globe. Groups like Samidoun, Unity of Fields, and even some Students for Justice in Palestine chapters have crossed a dangerous line amplifying terrorist propaganda. Some of those groups are even supported by fiscal sponsors with little oversight.

The time to act is now and Congress should take the following 5 steps.

Increase funding for the nonprofit security grant program to protect at-risk houses of worship, schools, and community centers.

Invest in community-based violence prevention, such as DHS’s CP3.

Empower the interagency task force to combat antisemitism, ensuring it has a mandate and resources to coordinate across Federal agencies.

Pass the Antisemitism Awareness Act and the Holocaust Education and Antisemitism Lessons Act to strengthen the accountability in our education system.

Finally, address hate on our digital platforms by enforcing transparency and cracking down on violations of material support laws.

Despite years of warnings and mounting data, antisemitism and the violence that it animates continues to be dismissed, minimized, and politicized. Too many families are asking the ADL is it safe to be Jewish in public?

While Jewish communities are strong and resilient, they cannot be expected to bear this burden alone. We need leaders to condemn antisemitism without hesitation. The Federal Government has the tools and the responsibility to act. Thank you and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Segal follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF OREN SEGAL

INTRODUCTION

For more than a century, ADL (the Anti-Defamation League) has worked to combat antisemitism and hate in all forms. Today, ADL is a global leader in fighting antisemitism, exposing extremism, delivering anti-bias education and monitoring and fighting the spread of hate in our communities and on-line.

On October 7, 2023, the terrorist group Hamas committed mass atrocities against thousands of people in Israel, including murder, torture, dismemberment, and rape. Hundreds were kidnapped and 56 remain hostages in Gaza to this day. In the wake of this massacre—the deadliest day for the Jewish community since the Holocaust—antisemitism has surged around the world, in our communities, on college and university campuses. ADL is devoted to countering these trends.

The ADL's Center on Extremism ("COE") is tracking and monitoring the latest trends and reactions from extremist groups and movements—from groups that are glorifying terrorism as a legitimate form of resistance to the white supremacists and others who celebrated Hamas's attack on Israel and threatened further violence.

COE often provides critical intelligence to law enforcement, helping them prevent and respond to hate crimes and antisemitic incidents, identify emerging threats and disrupt extremist violence. Last week, ADL reached out to law enforcement after our researchers discovered that a pro-terror Telegram channel was sharing multiple videos purportedly recorded by Mohamed Soliman, the firebombing suspect in the Boulder, Colorado attack, in which he affirmed his motivations for his alleged assault. This intelligence provided a valuable lead for investigators as posts in the Telegram channel claimed to have received the videos "from a private source close to the hero."

Since January 2024, COE's Threat Monitoring Unit has reviewed hundreds of thousands of on-line threats. These reviews and other investigative efforts generated hundreds of law enforcement alerts that were distributed to law enforcement and that were not only followed by at least 9 arrests, but other forms of disruptions including gun seizures and mental health holds. While the decisions to take these actions are law enforcement's alone, we believe the information ADL provided assisted them in this process.

In addition, the ADL's Center for Technology and Society ("CTS") is conducting on-going research and pushing on-line platforms to ensure they are resourcing their trust and safety efforts to meet the moment.

ADL's Education team is publishing resources for students, teachers, parents, and families regarding antisemitism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. ADL's International Affairs team is working with Jewish communities across the globe to document and combat the spike of antisemitism being experienced worldwide. Our National Affairs team is helping to drive key policy solutions on campus, in the halls of Congress, and with the Executive branch, in close coordination with our partners.

CURRENT TRENDS

Antisemitism In The United States

We are witnessing a deeply alarming and unacceptable rise in violent antisemitic attacks across the United States—acts of violence that are increasingly inspired, justified, and celebrated by extreme anti-Israel groups operating on American soil.

The tragic events in Washington, DC and Boulder, Colorado are not isolated. They are part of a disturbing pattern: individuals radicalized by extreme rhetoric—including on-line—who then act on those views with deadly intent. The targeting of Jew-

ish institutions, individuals, and communities is escalating. In the last year alone, ADL tracked more violent plots and attacks against Jews in the United States than the previous 4½ years combined.

This rising tide of antisemitism—often couched in anti-Zionist language and amplified through social media—is a direct threat to Jewish Americans and a growing concern for our national security.

Since 1979, ADL has compiled an annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents (“the Audit”) that includes both criminal and non-criminal acts of harassment and intimidation, including distribution of hate propaganda, threats, and slurs, as well as acts of vandalism and assault.

In 2024, ADL tabulated 9,354 antisemitic incidents. This is the highest number on record since ADL began tracking antisemitic incidents 45 years ago. It also represents a 5 percent increase from the previous year, a 344 percent increase over the past 5 years, and an almost 900 percent increase over the past decade.

For the first time in the history of the Audit, a majority (58 percent) of all incidents contained elements related to Israel or Zionism in 2024. Many of these incidents took place at anti-Israel rallies, where protesters’ messaging crossed the line into antisemitism: glorifying antisemitic violence, supporting designated terrorist organizations like Hamas, and calling for the annihilation of Israel. Out of more than 5,000 anti-Israel protests tracked by ADL, 2,596 involved antisemitic elements or incidents in the form of chants, signs, or speeches. The remaining protests—for which we could not confirm if they contained documented expressions of antisemitism—were not included in the Audit.

Antisemitic incidents at colleges and universities were up 84 percent last year—a particularly steep rise. These made up nearly 1 in 5 cases nationwide, with around 1,700 incidents. Campus antisemitism extended far beyond the highly-publicized protests, with Jewish students and faculty experiencing direct verbal harassment, targeted vandalism, and even physical violence.

While incidents decreased slightly (–14 percent) at Jewish institutions, they remained elevated compared to pre-October 7, 2023 levels (189 percent higher in 2024 than in 2022). Jewish organizations, particularly synagogues, were targeted with hundreds of bomb threats. Congregants were harassed and even assaulted while at or in the vicinity of Jewish institutions, and some anti-Israel groups escalated their tactics, protesting Jewish religious and cultural institutions on dozens of occasions.

Criticism of Israel or its policies is not antisemitism. Mere criticism does not factor into our data. But when Jewish individuals and institutions are blamed for Israeli policy—and targeted with protests, vandalism, harassment, or violence—that is classic antisemitism. Glorifying Hamas terrorists, calling for the eradication of Israel, or targeting Jewish individuals and institutions under the guise of anti-Zionism—that is antisemitism.

Recent Violence

A June 5, 2025 DHS, FBI, DOJ, NCTC Joint Intelligence Bulletin announced a continuing threat to Israeli and Jewish institutions and their supporters and advised security partners to remain vigilant for threats.

Since January 2020, COE has documented 16 terrorist plots or attacks targeting Jews, Zionists, or Jewish institutions in the United States. Notably, 9 of those incidents occurred within just the past year (July 2024 to June 2025), marking a sharp increase compared to the 7 incidents recorded over the previous 54 months (January 2020 to June 2024).

The Jewish community has experienced a surge of antisemitic violence in recent weeks. The 3 attacks that occurred in the past 2 months—including 2 less than 2 weeks apart—are part of a concerning trend of violent anti-Israel and anti-Zionist rhetoric becoming violent action.

On April 13, 2025, Cody Balmer allegedly broke into Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro’s residence in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and set multiple fires. He then called 9–1–1, referred to Shapiro as a “monster” and blamed him for Palestinian deaths in the Israel-Hamas war.

On May 21, 2025, Israeli Embassy staffers Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim were shot and killed as they were leaving an AJC (American Jewish Committee) Young Diplomats event at the Capital Jewish Museum in Washington, DC. As suspect Elias Rodriguez was taken into custody, he shouted, “Free, free Palestine.” In the immediate aftermath of the shooting, the COE researchers connected Rodriguez, with a high degree of certainty, to an X account and an apparent manifesto which outlined the reasons for the attack.

The X posts and the text of Rodriguez’s alleged manifesto—which was shared under the heading “Escalate For Gaza, Bring The War Home,” slogans commonly used by anti-Israel activists, particularly in more extreme, militant spaces—reflect

an apparent trajectory of radicalization since Hamas's October 7, 2023 terror attack on Israel. Extreme anti-Israel sentiments shared on X over the past 20 months include content praising U.S.-designated terror organizations and their leaders, declaring "Death To Israel," and calling a Jewish individual a "zionazi [sic]."

In the manifesto posted on the X account on the night of the shooting, the author stated that non-violent protests against Israel's actions in Gaza have been insufficient and included a section about "the morality of armed demonstration," concluding that in 2025, armed action seems like "the only sane thing to do" to protest Israel.

Less than 2 weeks after the D.C. shooting, on June 1, 2025 in Boulder, Colorado, there was a targeted attack on a "Run for Their Lives" event—a weekly gathering organized by the local Jewish community to raise awareness for the remaining hostages held in Gaza by Hamas. Suspect Mohamed Sabry Soliman allegedly used a makeshift flamethrower and Molotov cocktails to injure at least 15 people.

Soliman indicated his motive for the attack in comments made at the scene and in subsequent interviews with law enforcement, including yelling "Free Palestine" during the attack and later stating "We have to end Zionists." He also said he wanted to "kill all Zionist people and wished they were all dead." Soliman told law enforcement that he intentionally targeted the "Zionist Group" and had been planning the attack for a year. He also stated that he previously tried to purchase a gun, but resorted to the firebombs because he was prevented from buying a firearm due to his immigration status in the United States.

Increasingly since Hamas's antisemitic October 7 attack, the word "Zionist"—someone who believes in the Jewish people's right to self-determination—has come to be used as a slur among anti-Israel activists, commentators, and antisemites across the political spectrum, and as a codeword for a Jewish or Israeli person (or anyone deemed supportive) often with dehumanizing comparisons or calls for harm. This language can be used to obscure antisemitic actions and rhetoric: the vast majority of Jews around the world feel a connection to Israel, so attempts to disparage or target "Zionists" are, in practice, targeting Jews. Rodriguez's and Soliman's violent actions show where this harmful rhetoric can lead.

Other terrorist plots and attacks targeting Jews, Zionists, or Jewish institutions since 2022 include:

December 28, 2024, Gainesville, Florida.—The FBI arrested Forrest Pemberton of Gainesville, Florida and subsequently charged him in a plot to travel to the south Florida offices of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), a pro-Israel advocacy group, with the intent of harming people there, possibly in a suicide attack.

December 17, 2024, Fairfax, Virginia.—FBI agents arrested an Egyptian citizen and George Mason University student, Abdullah Ezzeldin Taha Mohamed Hassan, and charged him with plotting to perpetrate a mass casualty attack at the Israeli consulate in New York City.

October 26, 2024, Chicago, Illinois.—Sidi Mohamed Abdallahi allegedly shot a Jewish man walking to his synagogue and then opened fire on responding police and paramedics. Local authorities later filed felony hate crime and terrorism charges against Abdallahi, saying that evidence from his phone indicated that the suspect planned the shooting and intentionally sought to target Jews. Abdallahi was found dead of apparent suicide in his jail cell in November 2024.

September 4, 2024, New York, New York.—As part of a two-country investigation, Canadian authorities arrested a Pakistani citizen, Muhammad Shahzeb Khan, while he was trying to cross the border into the United States, allegedly as part of a planned mass shooting against a Jewish target in New York to support ISIS.

August 14, 2024, Orlando, Florida.—Hashem Younis Hashem Hnaihen, a Jordanian citizen, was arrested in August 2024, on suspicion that he sought to target businesses that he believed were supportive of Israel. Hnaihen pled guilty on December 20, 2024, to 4 counts of threatening to use explosives and one count of destruction of an energy facility.

July 16, 2024, New York, New York.—Federal authorities charged Michail Chkhikvishvili, a citizen of the Nation of Georgia, with soliciting hate crimes and mass violence. According to authorities, Chkhikvishvili attempted to recruit others to poison Jewish children and commit a mass casualty attack in New York City. He also allegedly encouraged bombings, arson, and poisonings against Jews, racial minorities, and homeless people.

November 29, 2023, Las Vegas.—Police officers arrested a 17-year-old Las Vegas resident on incendiary device and terrorism charges after the teenager allegedly announced to an on-line group of ISIS supporters that he was about to begin "lone wolf operations" in Las Vegas against "the enemies of Allah," promising to "make sure the zionists [sic] would know he was a supporter of the Islamic State. A search of

his home reportedly discovered explosive components, bomb-making manuals and evidence suggesting he was considering different attacks and targets.

November 18, 2022. New York, New York.—Authorities arrested white supremacist Christopher Brown and, in November 2024, he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 10 years in State prison for possessing a firearm as part of a plan to “shoot up” a Manhattan synagogue. His accomplice, Matthew Mahrer, was sentenced to 2.5 years in prison for helping Brown procure and hide the firearm.

June 17, 2022. Struthers, Ohio.—Alerted by the FBI, police in Struthers, Ohio, arrested a teenager livestreaming a video in which he allegedly announced he was going to kill his father and take his van, then shoot at Black people before conducting a mass shooting at a synagogue. Police allegedly found 2 handguns that had racist and antisemitic symbols and messages on them, as well as a document variously described as a journal and a manifesto. The teen admitted to police that he was a white supremacist. He has been charged with terrorist threats, domestic violence, inducing panic and threatening violence, and possessing criminal tools.

June 10, 2022. Brookhaven, New York.—Authorities arrested Matthew Belanger in Long Island, New York, on weapons charges. Prosecutors say Belanger was a white supremacist who, while a Marine, plotted to attack a synagogue in New York, as well as to engage in homicide and sexual assault—he allegedly planned to rape white women to increase the number of white children. Belanger was allegedly a member of the accelerationist white supremacist group Rapekrieg.

January 15, 2022. Colleyville, Texas.—British citizen Malik Faisal Akram took 4 people hostage at Congregation Beth Israel synagogue in Colleyville, Texas, claiming to have weapons and bombs. He subsequently demanded that suspected al-Qaeda courier Aafia Siddiqui be released from the nearby Federal prison where she was being held. After a day-long ordeal, the hostages were able to escape the building, and Akram was killed by law enforcement. Akram apparently chose the location because, he claimed, “America only cares about Jewish lives.”

Antisemitism On-Line

Violent rhetoric on-line has turned into violent action in our streets. The attacks on the Jewish community in Washington, DC and Boulder, Colorado, have in turn been celebrated on-line and even used to encourage further violence.

Following both the D.C. and Boulder attacks, numerous anti-Zionist groups and influencers glorified the suspects and justified their violent actions. Other antisemites and extremists also seized the opportunity to promote antisemitic and conspiratorial reactions. Prominent groups and leaders who condemned the attacks were met with significant criticism or mockery from large segments of the anti-Zionist movement.

Additionally, data collected by COE suggests that people react to these violent physical world attacks by engaging in on-line antisemitism. In the 7 days following the D.C. attack, ADL documented a 344 percent surge in the number of daily antisemitic threats on Telegram. These responses followed a predictable pattern, as COE research has previously shown that acts of violence against Jews and Israelis, such as Hamas’s October 7 attack, can lead to noticeable upticks in violent antisemitic discourse and threats on Telegram.

D.C. shooting suspect Elias Rodriguez was cheered by various extreme anti-Zionist groups, such as the New York-based Bronx Anti-War Coalition, which wrote on X, “What Elias Rodriguez did is the highest expression of anti-Zionism,” and added on Telegram, “We need more Elias Rodriguez in the world.” MontCo for Palestine, a Pennsylvania-based anti-Israel group that has a history of pro-terror rhetoric, posted a similarly supportive statement on Instagram that read, in part: “The question is not whether violence against the architects of this horror is justified. The question, searing and inescapable, is why there hasn’t been more of it.” United Liberation Front for Palestine, a California-based, far-left anti-Zionist group, shared a post about the shooting on its Instagram account and added the caption, “MAY ALL ZIONISTS BURN.”

Rodriguez’s alleged manifesto was turned into a printable, distributable zine by multiple anti-Zionist groups. One such example was created and shared by Unity of Fields, a far-left anti-Zionist network that supports the targeting of “Zionist” individuals and institutions, which reproduced Rodriguez’s words in a zine that also included prominent imagery of a gun. The group also made printable stickers depicting Rodriguez and the slogan, “Courage is contagious,” a call for further violence. In a series of posts online, Unity of Fields repeatedly affirmed its support for Rodriguez.

Familiar responses followed the Boulder firebombing, with many anti-Zionists justifying suspect Mohamed Soliman’s alleged actions and downplaying the antisemitic violence. Language equating the victims with “Nazis” and the hostage awareness

event with a “Nazi rally” was shared by various users, a common rhetorical tactic among anti-Zionist activists that was also widespread after the D.C. shooting.

As with the D.C. shooting, right-wing extremists and other conspiracy theorists again seized on the Boulder violence to promote their own antisemitic beliefs. Many claimed that both attacks were a “false flag” or a “Jew hoax” intended to make Jews and Israel look sympathetic, tighten relations between Israel and the United States, rationalize going to war with Iran, or justify measures cracking down on antisemitic hate speech or dissent regarding the Israel-Hamas war.

Arabic-language accounts have also shared positive commentary about the recent violence, particularly the Boulder attack. Videos allegedly recorded by Soliman shortly before the Boulder attack began circulating as antisemitic pro-terror propaganda on Telegram the day after the firebombing. The videos were shared in the antisemitic, Arabic-language and pro-terror Telegram channel, Taufan al-Ummah—a channel whose name translates to “Flood of the Ummah,” a reference to the Al-Aqsa Flood, Hamas’s name for its October 7, 2023 terror attack on Israel.

The channel, which has 30,000 followers, encourages violence in the name of the destruction of Israel, including praising Elias Rodriguez and lauding Hamas operations both in the West Bank and against civilian targets within Israel. On June 2, 2025, moderators of the channel shared the 2 videos allegedly recorded by Soliman in the “last moments before carrying out the attack on the Zionist dogs in America,” an apparent reference to his attack in Boulder. They claim to have received the videos “from a private source close to the hero.”

Beyond D.C. and Boulder, antisemitism driven by extreme anti-Zionist sentiment has proliferated on-line since October 7 across platforms. Influential accounts and channels play a significant role in disseminating extreme antisemitic and conspiratorial content. One such example is Resistance News Network (RNN), a radical antisemitic, anti-Zionist English-language Telegram channel that shares violent content of attacks on Israelis and provides English translations of communiques and propaganda from U.S.-designated terror groups. RNN content is often shared by anti-Israel groups, including influential groups like Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and Unity of Fields (UoF).

Bias in digital spaces

It is no question that digital spaces—AI learning models, social media, video games and their adjacent platforms—are contributing to the surge in antisemitism, allowing it to spread and become normalized. Meta just this year decided to limit its proactive enforcement against hate speech. ADL research has also found that Large Language Models, or LLMs, show signs of anti-Israel and antisemitic biases.

Wikipedia.—Wikipedia has inadequate enforcement tools and policies to prevent antisemitic bias. ADL examined how 30 volunteer editors have been able to insert anti-Israel and antisemitic bias into pages on contested topics. Wikipedia is an important tool for web searches and training AI models, making antisemitic bias in its contested topics a critical issue that warrants policymaker attention.

Large Language Models (LLMs).—Many major LLMs show signs of antisemitic and anti-Israel bias in their responses. ADL tested products from Google, Meta, Anthropic, and OpenAI; all showed that they have a long way to go before they can be a trusted resource for users on these topics. For example, the question that Meta’s Llama LLM performed most egregiously on was whether or not it agreed with the great replacement conspiracy theory. With LLMs poised to play an important role in both our economy and our educational systems, these companies need to take responsibility and do better. Companies need to formulate more effective standards, make those standards public, and hold themselves and the industry accountable.

Trust and Safety Features.—In January 2025, Meta decided to loosen content restrictions on its platforms (Instagram, Threads, Facebook, WhatsApp), thus allowing hate and antisemitism to flourish with little to no consequence. ADL researchers showed that when Meta rolled back its automated removal of hate speech, antisemitic comments on the Facebook posts of Jewish Members of Congress soared. Similarly, X has shown lax enforcement. ADL researchers identified a manifesto that can be attributed with a high degree of certainty to Elias Rodriguez still available on the platform on June 6, more than 2 weeks after the D.C. attack.

In another alarming trend, Meta is not hiding that they are taking action on less “violent and incitement content.” Meta’s data shows that they acted on 8.7 million pieces of “violent or incitement” content from January to March 2024 and only 3.4 million pieces of content in the same category January–March 2025. In a time where both on-line and off-line antisemitism are surging, intentionally allowing more violent content on platforms would be deeply troubling.

Extremism in On-line Gaming.—Antisemitism and extremism in digital spaces—such as on-line video games—is experienced by millions of Americans. ADL researchers found that when people playing video games publicly identified themselves as a member of a marginalized group, they experienced far more hate. On-line video game companies should be held to the same—or higher standards—than “legacy” social media companies that receive far more attention from policy makers.

Governments have an important role in reducing on-line antisemitism, hate, harassment, and extremism, which have become all too commonplace. The proliferation of on-line hate has resulted in the normalization of this abusive behavior and the degradation of our democracy and public safety, including through the suppression and silencing of diverse voices and the glorification of hateful rhetoric and violent extremist acts. Crucially, on-line antisemitism, hate, harassment, and extremism may incite off-line violence, including copycat acts of domestic terrorism.

Threats From Foreign and Domestic Actors

Domestic Extremism and Terrorism

In addition to the 9 terrorist plots and attacks over the past year, antisemitic and anti-Zionist actors have been arrested for a range of incidents and hate crimes, including assault, possession of illegal weapons and destructive devices, plots to harm other marginalized communities, solicitation of murder, and destruction of energy facilities.

May 7, 2025, New York, New York.—Prosecutors indicted Tarek Bazrouk for allegedly assaulting Jewish Americans multiple times in New York during pro-Israel rallies. According to law enforcement, “Bazrouk’s phone was also littered with pro-Hamas and pro-Hezbollah propaganda, showing his support for organizations that have murdered thousands of Jews and Israelis.”

April 23, 2025, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.—A Federal grand jury returned a superseding indictment against 3 Pittsburgh residents, Mohamad Hamad, Tayla Lubit, and Micaiah Collins, on charges of conspiracy, defacing and damaging religious property (Chabad of Squirrel Hill) in July 2024, and making false statements. The indictment alleges that during this same period, Hamad and Collins manufactured and possessed destructive devices.

March 10, 2025, Brentwood, California.—Noah Kanaye Bauer was arrested in September 2024 after allegedly bringing a 3D-printed pistol to a grocery store and charged federally in March 2025 for allegedly possessing a machine gun conversion device. A judge ordered him held without bail after prosecutors cited his on-line history of antisemitic, racist, and extremist content, including Chat-GPT inquiries about Jews, guns, and past mass attackers. He reportedly expressed antisemitic beliefs during police interviews, stating that Jews control American politics, own the porn industry, and are “kind-of ruining the country.”

January 27, 2025, Crescent, Pennsylvania.—According to a press release from the U.S. Attorney’s Office, Aiden Andrew Harding was indicted by a Federal grand jury on a charge of possession of material depicting the sexual exploitation of a minor. During a February detention hearing, evidence was introduced demonstrating that Harding had antisemitic and violent extremist ideologies and had posted on-line about his interest in “political and revenge-driven” mass casualty events, like the attack on the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh.

January 4, 2025, Beverly Massachusetts.—Matthew Scouras, who allegedly had an illegal cache of guns and a Nazi flag in his home, was arrested after posting on-line threats to rape Jewish women and inciting others to shoot people outside of synagogues. He has been charged with multiple firearm charges and threats to destroy a place of worship.

December 18, 2024, Stewart County, Tennessee.—The FBI arrested Gunner Joseph Fisher for plotting a mass murder at a Nashville mosque. Fisher, who reportedly admired other mass shooters with white supremacist Brenton Tarrant being his favorite, was charged with communicating a threat to commit mass violence. According to the criminal complaint, the FBI discovered a video on Fisher’s phone showing him railing and using slurs against Jews and Muslims and quotes him as saying, “And I, Gunner Joseph Fisher, am going to take care of them both.”

December 7, 2024, Laguna Beach, California.—Nicholas Tasooji was arrested for assault with a deadly weapon after allegedly ramming his car into an Israeli man in front of a nightclub. Tasooji and other assailants were allegedly involved in an argument with the victim and his friends. One of the assailants reportedly yelled slurs and attempted to block the victim and his friends from entering a taxi. Tasooji then allegedly entered his car and rammed the victim with it, causing serious injury.

November 5, 2024, Washington, DC.—Austin Martin Olson, of Westland, Michigan, was arrested after he allegedly walked into the U.S. Capitol with a flare gun,

torch lighter, bottles of fuel and a letter he said he intended to deliver to the U.S. Congress. Olson was apprehended while trying to go through the visitor center screening process, after Capitol Police noticed he smelled like fuel and spotted suspicious items in the X-ray machine. He has been charged with possession of a prohibited weapon, unlawful activities, and disorderly conduct. ADL analysts found that Olson had an on-line history that included a range of antisemitic, anti-Israel, and anti-Government views.

October 31, 2024, Margate, Florida.—John Lapinski was arrested on Federal charges of being a felon in possession of a firearm and possessing an unregistered gun suppressor. Police responding to a report of shots fired found firearms and spent shell casings. With a judge’s approval, a search of the home found multiple firearms, body armor, smoke grenades, suspected silencers, and a clipboard containing a list of “targets” including a synagogue, a Jewish cemetery, and a Jewish sandwich shop. Lapinski pleaded guilty on April 23, 2025 to weapons-related charges, including possession of a firearm by a convicted felon.

September 9, 2024, Elk Grove, California.—Federal authorities indicted 2 leaders of the on-line white supremacist group known as the Terrorgram Collective on numerous charges, including solicitation of murder of a Federal official, solicitation of a hate crime and conspiracy to provide material support for terrorism. Arrested were Dallas Erin Humber and Matthew Robert Allison. Terrorgram publications frequently demonize Jews and other marginalized communities and glorify violence committed against these communities. The collective’s propaganda included a list of “high-value targets” for assassination, many of whom are Jewish.

August 29, 2024, Yonkers, New York.—Ahmed Al Jabali was arrested for allegedly stabbing a Jewish man at his barber shop in Yonkers. According to the victim, Al Jabali shouted, “I want to kill you, you [expletive] Jew,” then stabbed the barber with a pair of scissors several times. Al Jabali allegedly shouted several more antisemitic and anti-Israel comments during the attack. He was charged with attempted murder as a hate crime. On May 29, 2025, Al Jabali pled guilty to second-degree assault as a hate crime and was sentenced to 6 years in prison and 3 years of supervised release.

August 10, 2024, Brooklyn, New York.—Vincent Sumpter allegedly carried out a stabbing attack in front of the headquarters of the Chabad-Lubavich movement in the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn. Sumpter allegedly yelled, “Free Palestine” and “Do you want to die?” at the victim, a member of the Orthodox Jewish community, before stabbing him in the chest. Sumpter was charged with second-degree assault as a hate crime.

July 10, 2024, Newark, New Jersey.—Federal agents arrested Andrew Takhistov at Newark Liberty International Airport, charging him with soliciting the destruction of energy facilities. He reportedly said that his “ultimate dream” was to use a rocket to attack a synagogue.

June 11, 2024, Prescott, Arizona.—Mark Adams Prieto was indicted on Federal firearms charges in connection with an alleged plot to conduct a mass shooting against Black people at a rap concert to incite a race war before the 2024 Presidential election. Prieto also allegedly discussed other targets, such as Jews or Muslims.

May 29, 2024, Brooklyn, New York.—Asghar Ali was arrested after allegedly attempting to ram several Orthodox Jewish men with his car by a yeshiva in the Canarsie neighborhood. Ali reportedly shouted antisemitic slurs during the attack. He was charged with 10 crimes, including attempted murder as a hate crime.

Terrorist Symbols and Support for Terror Groups at Anti-Israel Demonstrations

Activity at or surrounding anti-Israel protests frequently crosses the line into antisemitism through a number of concerning expressions.

Protesters have consistently displayed justification or glorification of antisemitic violence, including framing terror attacks against Israel and the Jewish community as justified “resistance.” Many openly express support for U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs)—including Hamas, Hezbollah, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and the Houthis—by cheering on their actions in speeches, glorifying them on signs held at protests, and waving flags or wearing headbands featuring their logos.

These pro-terror expressions are not limited to a few individuals on the sidelines of rallies. Rather, in numerous cities and towns across the country, references to these terrorist groups and their violent actions have been proudly embraced and amplified.

Protesters have celebrated the anniversary of Hamas’s antisemitic October 7, 2023 terror attack on Israel and glorified the terrorist group leaders who master-

minded the attack. Protesters have frequently used imagery that implies support for terror, including the inverted red triangle, a symbol popularized by Hamas to mark targets, or images of paragliders, a reference to Hamas's use of paragliders to infiltrate Israel during its October 7, 2023 attack.

Anti-Israel protesters often glorify and celebrate notorious individual terrorists, both on-line and on the ground since the October 7 attack. These expressions are particularly visible following the assassinations of major terror figures, such as Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar in October 2024, Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah in September 2024, and Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh in July 2024. Other notorious terrorists often venerated by anti-Israel protesters include Abu Obaida, spokesperson for Hamas's military wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, and Leila Khaled, a longtime active PFLP leader who is well-known for her role in the hijacking of 2 civilian airliners in 1969 and 1970.

Many protests feature rhetoric widely interpreted as a call to destroy Israel through slogans like "Death to Israel" or "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," alongside rhetoric explicitly marginalizing Jews with a connection to Israel, such as, "We don't want no Zionists here." Classic antisemitic tropes are also often seen at anti-Israel protests. These include imagery referencing blood libel, conspiracy theories about "Zionist media" manipulation and equating swastikas with Stars of David—a direct attack on Jewish religious symbols.

Anti-Israel Groups

There are numerous anti-Israel groups in the United States that espouse a range of views that stretch beyond legitimate political criticism of the State of Israel and cross into antisemitism. Prominent groups include Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), which in 2024 were the 2 most active organizers or co-sponsors of anti-Israel protests where antisemitic incidents occurred based on ADL's 2024 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents.

Other notable anti-Zionist groups who frequently organize protests at which antisemitic incidents occurred include Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), the Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM), the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), the ANSWER Coalition, the US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN) and the Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO).

There are also a number of particularly radical, localized groups that consistently advocate for anti-Israel activists to escalate their tactics, including by engaging in violence, vandalism, and other so-called "direct actions." These groups include Within Our Lifetime (WOL), Unity of Fields (UoF), Bronx Anti-War Coalition and others. Although the membership or physical footprint of these groups is not as large as some of the other organizations in the anti-Israel movement, they have an outsized influence when it comes to disseminating extreme rhetoric, including content that is shared on-line and directly impacts strategies used on the ground.

Below is a brief overview of some of the most notable anti-Israel groups in the United States:

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) is the most prominent and active anti-Israel and anti-Zionist student group on college campuses in the United States, consisting of some 275 chapters across the country. SJP has been a central organizing node for anti-Israel rallies both on and off campus—including the wide-spread student encampment trend in 2024, which saw a surge in antisemitic incidents and sentiment on campuses and extreme demands to dismantle or severely limit essential Jewish communal and academic infrastructure at universities.

SJP chapters have also been proponents of "escalation" tactics like occupying buildings, engaging in vandalism, disrupting operations, blocking access to public spaces, among other such actions. In their published materials and social media posts, SJP has encouraged "not just slogans and rallies, but armed confrontation with oppressors" in Israel. Some chapters have explicitly endorsed violence and attacks on civilians. The group has also called for chapters to bring this resistance to the United States by "dismantling Zionism" on its campuses and "challenging Zionist hegemony."

Although many SJP chapters state that they reject antisemitism, they regularly demonize Jewish students who identify as Zionists, despite that a connection to the State of Israel is an important part of many Jews' religious or cultural identities. SJP's insistence that one cannot be a good Jew while still being a Zionist is a blatant effort to constrain the Jewish identities of their fellow students and can turn campuses into hostile places for Jewish students. These groups make no distinction between criticism of Israeli government policies and the very existence of the State of Israel.

National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP) and some individual SJP chapters have hailed and defended Hamas's October 7 attack. Many chapters have shared explicit pro-Hamas or other FTO rhetoric on social media, including through the promotion of FTO statements and images featuring members of FTOs, at times with weapons. SJP has encouraged "not just slogans and rallies, but armed confrontation with oppressors" in Israel. Some chapters have explicitly endorsed violence and attacks on civilians. The group has also called for chapters to bring this resistance to the United States by "dismantling Zionism" on its campuses and "challenging Zionist hegemony."

The Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) is an anti-capitalist socialist party in the United States that was established in 2004 when its members splintered from the Workers World Party. PSL advocates for socialism to replace capitalism and incorporates extreme anti-Zionism as a core part of its organizing platform. PSL has dozens of affiliated chapters nationwide and regularly collaborates with leading organizations in the United States anti-Israel movement. Its activities include organizing protests and nominating candidates for local and Federal elections.

PSL frequently expresses extreme anti-Zionist and pro-terror views. In the first 18 months after Hamas's October 7, 2023, terror attack on Israel, for example, PSL sponsored or co-sponsored over 1,700 anti-Israel rallies around the United States; the majority of these rallies featured antisemitic rhetoric, including expressions of support for Hamas's attack, belligerent calls to "smash Zionism," paraphernalia of U.S.-designated terror groups and more.

Washington, DC, shooting suspect Elias Rodriguez was previously affiliated with PSL, as well as its frequent collaborator, ANSWER Coalition, and participated in multiple PSL and ANSWER protests in Chicago from late 2017 through early 2018. After the shooting and Rodriguez's past affiliation came to light, PSL attempted to distance itself from Rodriguez.

Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM) is an anti-Zionist activist organization with chapters across the United States and Canada. PYM frequently organizes protests and other events, often in partnership with groups like Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP). PYM consistently promotes extreme antisemitic rhetoric online and on the ground, including expressing support for U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs).

PYM frequently engages in inflammatory rhetoric about Zionism, including calls to stigmatize and ban Zionists from community spaces. PYM often uses slogans and imagery which both demonize Zionism and Zionists and bring to mind classic antisemitic tropes. For example, a PYM banner frequently seen at Washington, DC-area rallies after the October 7 massacre reads, "Zionism is fascism, Colonizers out of DC," with imagery of a fist holding a snake's tongue. Similar snake imagery is also frequently used on PYM posters and banners nationwide alongside the slogan, "Unity in confronting Zionism." To mark the anniversary of Hamas's October 7 attack, PYM shared created graphics depicting scenes from the attack, including of a Palestinian man standing atop an Israeli military vehicle after Hamas broke through the border fence, that were widely disseminated throughout the anti-Israel movement nationwide.

Within Our Lifetime—United for Palestine (WOL) is a New York-based, radical anti-Israel organization founded in 2015 that routinely expresses support for violence against Israel and calls for the abolition of Zionism. Since Hamas's October 7 attack, WOL and its co-founder and leader Nerdeen Kiswani have continued to share extreme anti-Zionist and antisemitic positions on social media and at anti-Israel protests as well as in webinars and reports.

Some of the most heinous antisemitic rhetoric and incidents seen in New York City since October 7 have been perpetrated by WOL supporters and members, including vociferously demanding the expulsion of Zionists from New York society. Since October 7, WOL has hosted or co-sponsored dozens of anti-Israel rallies many of which included explicit support for violence against Israeli civilians by U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations and affiliated individuals. WOL also expressed enthusiastic support for Iran's unprecedented April 13, 2024, drone-and-missile attack on Israel.

Unity of Fields (UoF), formerly Palestine Action U.S., is a radical far-left, anti-Zionist "direct action network" that engages in calls for violence against those it considers supportive of Israel or Zionism, or "complicit" in Israel's alleged actions, and promotes aggressive, targeted protests and the defacement of property belonging to Jewish and non-Jewish organizations and individuals. It has claimed "direct actions" of vandalism and disruption to U.S. sites belonging to a leading Israeli weapons maker and has endorsed and publicized such acts against Jewish targets like a synagogue and businesses owned by Jews.

Unity of Fields openly celebrates the October 7, 2023, massacre and other terror attacks against Israelis and is explicitly supportive of terror organizations and terror group leaders. The group also supports violence committed against “Zionists” worldwide, and justified the murders of the young couple later identified as 2 Israeli Embassy staff members at the Capital Jewish Museum in Washington, DC, on May 21 2025. It also encouraged further violence in response to that attack.

Unity of Fields’ stated mission is disrupting and “dismantling zionism [sic] and U.S. imperialism” through “militant direct actions.”

Funding of Anti-Israel Groups

The eruption of mass protests and activities across the United States immediately following Hamas’s October 7 terror massacre, and in the 20 months since, has raised important questions about the funding sources of the anti-Zionist and anti-Israel groups behind the unrest, particularly those groups that promote explicitly antisemitic and pro-terror messaging.

According to COE research and analysis of 990 filings and other publicly-available information such as grant announcements and grantee lists, some of the leading organizers receive money from the same donors who prioritize anti-Israel projects as well as from progressive and left-of-center institutional funders who view anti-Israel advocacy and education as part of their broader intersectional organizing. A number of them received funding after the October 7 attack.

Some groups organizing the protests are fiscally-sponsored projects of registered 501(c)(3) organizations that lend their tax-exempt status to the project (which would likely otherwise not have the capacity to operate) and help with administrative tasks like managing donations.

A prominent example of this kind of funding vehicle is WESPAC, a non-profit organization that has served as a major node in the operations of groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP).

Another example is the Alliance for Global Justice (AFJG), an Arizona-based organization that has served as a fiscal sponsor to Samidoun and the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI). AFJG has been blocked from collecting donations via credit card companies since February 2023 following what it described as an “attack by right-wing media” on its financial ties to Samidoun, an anti-Zionist group sanctioned by the U.S. Government as a sham charity acting on behalf of the U.S.-designated terror group the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The U.S. Department of the Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control sanctioned and added Samidoun to the Specially Designated Nationals list in October 2024 for being owned, controlled, directed by, or having acted for or on behalf of the PFLP.

Crowdfunding has also been a key component of protest and campus organizing, with local groups and individuals raising funds for students and activists through various platforms.

State-Sponsored and Foreign Terrorism

For decades, the Islamic Republic of Iran has been the world’s leading state sponsor of terrorism, antisemitism, and Holocaust denial and distortion. It has waged a relentless campaign against Jewish communities worldwide—murdering Jews from Europe to Latin America. Through terror proxies, it continues to spread violence and hatred against Jews and the United States, united under the chants of “Death to America! Death to Israel!”. The Iranian regime even plotted attacks on American soil, including against President Trump before the 2024 election.

Jewish communities are also facing increasing threats from state-sponsored antisemitic campaigns, which aim to sow discord. For example, Iranian State media networks such as Press TV and HispanTV consistently broadcast antisemitic conspiracy theories, glorify designated terrorist groups like Hezbollah and Hamas, and promote Holocaust denial.

Leaders from across the Islamic Republic of Iran’s proxy network have openly identified Western public opinion—and especially campus protests as—part and parcel of their strategy to demonize Israel and by extension, Jews across the globe. For example, on November 11, 2023, Hassan Nasrallah, the late secretary general of Hezbollah said in a public address “[. . .] the demonstrations happening in Washington, New York, London, Paris, and Western European countries [are important] because [they] put pressure on [the] enemy and on those who protect the enemy.”

Campus protests have consistently been framed by the Iranian regime and its terrorist proxies, Hamas, Hezbollah, the Houthis, as part of a “global uprising” against Israel, deliberately blending the language of both far-left revolutionary politics and far-right antisemitic conspiracy theories with their own religious extremist aims, in an attempt to influence Western audiences.

Qatari and Turkish state-funded media networks, including but not limited to Al-Jazeera and TRT, have contributed to the spread of false narratives by regularly platforming antisemitic, anti-U.S., and pro-Hamas, and pro-Iranian-regime commentators.

In addition to foreign actors influencing and even funding efforts within United States, extremist groups use terror attacks on Jews in the United States to further fuel the flames of hate. We have seen numerous social media channels linked to Hamas and ISIS, with hundreds of thousands of followers, use the murders of Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim in Washington, DC and the attempted incineration of Jews in Colorado as propaganda materials. Shortly after the Boulder attack one pro-terror Telegram channel posted, “You can attack Jews all on your own, with whatever you can find,” they say, “follow the example of these ‘heros.’”. Meanwhile, ostensibly mainstream news networks—in both English and Arabic—soften or lionize the images of those behind such attacks, or attempt to use them for political purposes unrelated to what should be the fundamental issue: Jews are not safe.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *Secure the Jewish Community*

- Fund the Nonprofit Security Grant Program (NSGP) at \$500 million in the annual appropriations bill to meet the urgent and growing demand. In 2023, only 43 percent of applicants received funding. Without sufficient funding for this program, Jewish communal institutions must make impossible decisions. Houses of worship must choose between prayer books and bulletproof windows. Schools must decide between staff and alarm systems. Community centers must decide between athletic equipment and security guards.

2. *Prevent and Prosecute Antisemitic Crimes*

- Support the interagency Task Force to Combat Antisemitism so the Federal Government can coordinate and aggressively prosecute antisemitic hate crimes, harassment, and extremist violence. Whether under President Trump or President Biden, there has been bipartisan recognition that fighting antisemitism requires a whole-of-Government approach.
- Restore funding to the FBI and DHS to disrupt domestic terror plots and for grant programs like the Center for Prevention Programming (CP3) that provide local prevention frameworks to off-ramp individuals before they choose violence. CP3 in particular is a pivotal initiative in countering domestic extremism and antisemitic violence, providing grants to community-based programs aimed at building resilience, preventing radicalization, and offering alternatives to individuals at risk of engaging in extremist activities.

3. *Eradicate Antisemitism in Education*

- Ensure the enforcement of Title VI by the U.S. Department of Education by sufficiently funding the Office for Civil Rights (OCR), so that it has full capacity to investigate complaints alleging antisemitic harassment and discrimination.
- The Antisemitism Awareness Act which ensures the Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights (OCR) continues using the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism when investigating antisemitic harassment and discrimination on college and university campuses.
- Issue new regulations and guidance pursuant to Executive Order 13899 to specifically address campus antisemitism. Additional regulations and guidance, such as Dear Colleague Letters, would help ensure civil rights laws are enforced to protect Jewish students. For instance, guidance that includes further examples of how rhetoric targeting Zionists can be harassment tied to shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics would be a critical resource.
- Pass the Holocaust Education and Antisemitism Lessons (HEAL) Act to direct the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum to conduct a study on Holocaust education across States, local educational agencies, and public K–12 schools, giving us a clearer understanding of what is being taught and where there are gaps.

4. *Disrupt Amplifiers of Hate*

- Hold social media, messaging, and gaming platforms accountable for spreading antisemitic hate, disinformation, and incitement.
- Compel transparency from digital platforms to ensure that companies clearly articulate their policies on hate, harassment, and misinformation; apply those policies consistently; and allow both the public and lawmakers to understand how and whether they are enforced.

- Rigorously enforce robust terms of service for digital social platforms, particularly those prohibiting cyber hate and antisemitism. These policies must address the evolving and specific ways antisemitism manifests on-line, including Holocaust denial, conspiracy theories, and the glorification of antisemitic violence.

5. *Combat Hate Crimes and Improve Data Collection*

- Fund DOJ grant programs such as the Jabara-Heyer NO HATE Act and the Community-based Approaches to Prevent and Address Hate Crimes Program that assist State and local efforts to prevent, investigate, and respond to hate crimes, with a focus on training, victim support, and public education.
- Fund DOJ grant programs such as the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Program, that support Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies in collecting, reporting, and acting on hate crime data.
- Pass the Improving Reporting to Prevent Hate Act of 2025 to strengthen credible and accurate reporting of hate crimes.

6. *Confront Domestic Terrorism with the Tools it Requires*

Domestic terrorism—including against Jewish individuals and institutions—remains one of the most persistent and under-addressed threats to our national security. To meet the moment, law enforcement and homeland security agencies must be equipped with the tools, resources, and mandates necessary to detect, disrupt, and respond to these threats.

- Pass the Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act (DTPA)—this bill would authorize dedicated offices within the Department of Justice and Department of Homeland Security, and the FBI, to analyze, monitor, and respond to the threat of domestic terrorism—including antisemitic and ideologically motivated violence. DTPA would also require regular threat assessments and establish training and grant programs to support State and local efforts.

7. *Investigate Potential Material Support for Foreign Terrorist Organizations*

We have documented a deeply troubling trend in which U.S.-based extremist groups—including some individual Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) chapters, National SJP, Unity of Fields, Within Our Lifetime (WOL), and others—have publicly aligned themselves with Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs), such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). These groups have disseminated content glorifying terrorism, promoted imagery of armed militants, circulated statements from designated FTOs, and encouraged direct action in the United States that mirrors the rhetoric and tactics of these terrorist organizations.

- We must enforce laws against material support for foreign terrorist groups and dismantle financial networks—including on-line crowdfunding—that fund antisemitic extremist conduct and propaganda. It is illegal to knowingly provide material support or resources to a designated foreign terrorist organization—including funds, services, expert advice or assistance, and coordinated efforts that facilitate their goals.
- The Department of Justice should examine whether individuals or organizations in the United States have provided material support to U.S.-designated terrorist groups.
- Congress and the IRS should also investigate—consistent with due process—whether nonprofit organizations like WESPAC and the Alliance for Global Justice through their fiscal sponsorship of certain domestic groups have served as conduits for funding terrorist and extremist groups.

CONCLUSION

We are at a dangerous inflection point. The rise in antisemitic incidents and attacks in the United States is not only a threat to Jewish communities—it is a threat to our national security and our democratic values. The convergence of violent extremism, antisemitic ideology, and on-line radicalization is fueling an unprecedented threat environment that demands urgent action.

We are grateful to this committee for shining a spotlight on the growing danger posed by anti-Israel extremist groups and their potential to inspire violence at home. ADL stands ready to work with Congress, the administration, and other partners to advance the policies and resources needed to protect the Jewish community and counter the broader threat of hate-fueled violence.

Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you, Mr. Segal.

The Chair now recognizes Dr. Carafano for his opening statement.

**STATEMENT OF JAMES JAY CARAFANO, PH.D., PRIVATE
CITIZEN**

Mr. CARAFANO. Thank you. I want to thank the committee for addressing this vital issue, and I have a statement for the record which I will super briefly summarize. It starts with a really big confession. I sadly have many, many decades of experience in the national security, Homeland Security, and counterterrorism space to draw on, and so when I was asked for this hearing I just started with one very simple question. So from that perspective of what's worked and hasn't worked over decades, and if your goal is to reduce the threats of terrorism in the United States and enhance public safety, what are the single most important things you could possibly do?

I boil it down to one on this issue and that is to focus on the Venn diagram, on the nexus of activities between violent action and the planning and organization in support of execution that enable and make them possible, and that is principally material support.

I have a number of recommendations for the record, but I just want to focus on what I think are the 2 really important buckets that if we get nothing right in this between the Congress and the administration, that these are the ones that they have to get right. The first one is you have to put maximum effort into the investigatory actions of material support and related criminal activity, like RICO crimes and organized support for public violence at the Federal, State, and local level.

The real sweet spot is connecting the 3 of those together is to maximize the benefits of each of them. So I would point out, for example, something like the 287(g) program which Congress enacted, which when it was originally designed for State and local cooperation with Federal law enforcement, but in the initial—when this program was first introduced many of the law enforcement agencies that participated in it were actually focusing on counterterrorism. Florida, for example, was a great innovator and advocated this. So, it is a perfect program to illustrate how you can bring those resources and authorities together to really expand your investigatory actions. I think what the committee asked to ask is are there other areas we can expand this in, not just in terms of immigration enforcement and not just in the DOJ space, but in the homeland space and under the authorities of Homeland Security and possibly in other areas as well, Commerce, Treasury, and so on.

The second area is cutting one of the most vital sinews in the connection between material support and violent action, and that is terrorist travel. Everybody remembers the 9/11 report. Very few people remember that the 9/11 Commission considered terrorist travel such a vitally important task that they wrote a whole separate volume just on that.

So, I think any of the range of activities which are really designed to thwart malicious travel and presence and entry in the United States are extremely efficacious in helping diminish the ca-

capacity to provide material support and reducing the likelihood of terrorist actions.

So, border and immigration and immigration enforcement, deportations, denial and revocation of visas, I think all of these are absolutely critical support for this. I just want to end by thanking the committee for having this hearing and taking this mission on because truly you are doing God's work. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Carafano follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES JAY CARAFANO

JUNE 11, 2025

My name is Dr. James Jay Carafano, Ph.D. I am the senior counselor to the president of the Heritage Foundation and the E.W. Richardson Fellow at The Heritage Foundation. The views I express in this testimony are my own and should not be construed as representing any official position of The Heritage Foundation.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before the committee today and address this vital topic. In my testimony, I would like to (1) argue that the most important step the U.S. Congress and this administration can take in addressing terrorist risks to the homeland related to the operations of domestic antizionist and antisemitic groups and influencers is to emphasize, expand, and fully empower national efforts to identify, disrupt, and prosecute those individuals, organizations, and networks conducting material support to terrorism; (2) make the case that action is important not just for counterterrorism but broadly to support American national security and foreign policy priorities; and (3) identify the programs and initiatives, based on risk-informed assessments, that best support these goals, as well those actions that are less efficacious and, in some cases, counterproductive.

EXPERTISE AND EXPERIENCE

I have over 25 years of experience in homeland security and counterterrorism policies and related fields. In 2003, I established the homeland security research portfolio at the Heritage Foundation, and, for over a decade, oversaw all the foundation's research and public policy proposals related to national security and foreign policy. All our research, including extensive work in the fields of homeland security and counterterrorism is publicly available at www.heritage.org/. I also coauthored the first major textbook on the field of homeland security (McGraw-Hill 2005). I served on the Department of Homeland Security Advisory Council for 3 different secretaries of Homeland Security and was the head of the President-elect's transition team for the Department of Homeland Security in 2017. I was also a member of the Advisory Panel on Department of Defense Capabilities for Support of Civil Authorities and the advisory board for the Quadrennial Homeland Security Review. In addition to the foundation's work and research efforts, over the years, the Heritage Foundation has partnered with a number of research institutions, both in the United States and globally, to better understand and offer constructive non-partisan analysis and policy recommendations. These organizations have included the Center for Strategic and International Studies, George Washington University, the Aspin Institute, the Hudson Institute, the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, the American Enterprise Institute, the U.S. Army War College, the Naval Post-Graduate School, and many others, including research institutes in India, Israel, Hungary, Italy, Australia, Japan, South Korea, and several other countries.

Further, in the wake of the October 7, 2003 terrorist attacks on Israel, Heritage, in partnership with others, established the National Task Force To Combat Anti-Semitism (<https://www.combatantisemitismtf.org/>). The task force consists of volunteers including over 100 organizations and individuals seeking to identify, highlight, and combat the malicious groups behind antisemitic activity while working to bolster Americans' physical safety, religious liberty, civil society, and vital interests abroad, particularly relations with the State of Israel. Together, we facilitate information-sharing and crisis response efforts between groups through collaborative working groups and strategies.

Finally, in 2024, the research team at the Heritage Foundation published Project Esther: A National Strategy to Combat Antisemitism (<https://www.heritage.org/progressivism/report/project-esther-national-strategy-combat-antisemitism>). Project Esther provides a blueprint to counter antisemitism in the United States and ensure the security and prosperity of all Americans.

The depth of research over the years and extensive network of associates working directly in the space of combatting antisemitism and antizionism deeply informed the recommendations that I have to offer today.

CALL TO ACTION

As with any aspect of national action, the activities of the U.S. Government should advance the freedom, security, and prosperity of all Americans, not sacrificing one priority to advance the others. This inherent tension, articulated so well in the U.S. Constitution, challenges our executive, judicial, and legislative leadership to seek to maximize all 3 outcomes and not accept the compromising of any. In no area of public policy is this task more essential, and difficult, than in responding to domestic threats to the homeland where Americans rightly demand that neither their civil liberties, public safety, or entrepreneurial spirit are compromised and that national policies be suitable, feasible, and acceptable, producing the best outcomes.

Without question, one group of activities that is a clear and present danger to liberty, safety, and our economy is providing material support terrorism. In law, providing material support is a bright a red line as the act or threat of terrorist attacks. Material support directly threatens public safety—encouraging, empowering, and enabling terrorist activity. Material support to terrorism is not protected civil activity. The disruptions caused by terrorist actions and extremist violence impinge by the life and labors of everyday Americans. On this matter, there can be no partisan debate or agendas.

Further, vigorously disrupting material support to terrorism is strategically crucial to national counterterrorism operations severing the most important, influential, and dangerous link between extremism ideologies, organizations, and networks, and those threatening or perpetuating violence against everyday Americans. Thus, focusing on material support is not only an efficacious activity, with the exception of the directly thwarting terrorist acts and extremist violence it is the key activity for disrupting the flow of ideas, resources, assets, and arms into the hands of would-be terrorists.

TARGETING GROUPS LINKED TO ANTISEMITISM AND ANTIZIONISM

Identifying and prioritizing groups, networks, individuals, and activities as targets of suspected material support to terrorism is a significant challenge. Extremists' activities are always associated with political views. It is always tempting to focus on or ignore or dismiss extremist factions based on their politics. This is a grave threat to both public safety and undermining the legitimacy of government action.

At the “lights were blinking red,” about threats from al-Qaeda to the U.S. homeland before 9/11. There are 2 significant reasons why extremist groups associated with antisemitic activities rise to the top of groups of concern.

First, there is demonstrable evidence they are affiliated with individuals who have threatened or conducted terrorist actions or other incidents of extremist violence. The recent incident in Washington, DC offers a case in point. As the research of my colleague Mike Gonzalez points out:

“Terrorists like Elias Rodriguez, who murdered Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgram at the Jewish Museum in Washington, DC in late May, are nurtured in their hate by a revolutionary ecosystem composed of different organisms: fiscal sponsors, funders, and organizers.

“Rodriguez was associated with two leading institutions of the revolutionary ecosystem, the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), and one of its front groups, the ANSWER Coalition, an acronym for Act Now to Stop War and End Racism.

“He [Rodriguez] attended several marches coordinated by both groups in 2018, and was identified as a member of the PSL. Now that Rodriguez has been caught committing a heinous crime, however, both groups are distancing themselves from him. “Black Lives Matter Chicago also admitted that Rodriguez was a supporter and took part in several marches. BLM Chicago was one of the groups that cruelly posted pictures of paragliders with Palestinian flags after the terrorist group Hamas massacred over 1,200 Israelis on Oct. 7, 2023, the *New York Post* reported at the time.”

When we see that even “lone wolves” are not really acting isolated and disconnected from larger networks of support, sympathy, and encouragement, that kind of connectivity merits the attention of law enforcement and intelligence services.

Second, there is mounting evidence these groups are conducting activities that are material support to terrorists. The National Jewish Advocacy Center has identified several groups including Students for Justice in Palestine and the Palestine Youth

Movement. According to news reports some have been reported to directly coordinating with Hamas (<https://nypost.com/2025/06/04/us-news/protestor-tarek-bazrouk-had-link-to-hamas-militants-doj/>). Dr. Jonathan Schanzer at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies has done extensive working demonstrating the financial linkages and networks supporting extremist activities (<https://gop-waysandmeans.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Schanzer-Testimony.pdf>), exactly the kinds of activities that precursors to radical violence and terrorism.

As Michael Gonzalez notes, the spectrum of activities is a framework for empowering and enabling violent activity. “This infrastructure,” he points out:

“can be best understood if broken down into 4 interrelated components: 1—the ‘activist organizations’ that plan and carry out the protests; 2—the ‘fiscal sponsors’ that give these organizations legal coverage, and afford them opaqueness; 3—the often deep-pocketed ‘donors’ that fund the activist organizations through the fiscal sponsors; and 4—‘radical media’ groups that amplify the protests and promote them on social media, and also routinely air propaganda for U.S. adversaries such as China, Russia, or Cuba.”

Where there is smoke there isn’t always a fire, but effective law enforcement and counterterrorism start by looking where there is evidence of criminal activity. In this respect, there is ample information about activities in the antisemitism and antizionism operating space to warrant serious investigation.

A NATIONAL SECURITY PRIORITY

Antisemitism is not just about Jew hate or even hate crimes. Organizations and networks supporting these activities often espouse policies that undermine U.S. interests and foreign policies. They are often supported and linked to both foreign and domestic malicious actors. Thus, disrupting antisemitic and antizionist networks not only address material support to terrorism and supports counterterrorism operations, they can also be a gateway to combating efforts to undermine or counter other U.S. foreign policy and national security priorities.

The witch’s brew of actors that could be, and are likely involved, in promoting antisemitic and antizionist extremism in the United States include adversarial states like China, Russia, and Iran; extremist Islamist groups including the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, and Hezbollah; terrorist networks including ISS-K and al-Qaeda; and international organizations that embrace Jew hate.

Efforts to promote violent extremism in the United States appear to be an organized campaign that transcends just attacking Jews or demonizing Israel. For instance, Elias Rodriguez was a member of PSL, a communist party closely associated with the ANSWER Coalition (shares leadership and some office space with them). ANSWER is financed with money from Neville Roy Singham, a billionaire who lives in Shanghai, has close ties to the Chinese Communist Party, and is married to CODE Pink founder Jody Evans. The on-going LA riots against ICE enforcement of immigration laws appear to be organized and supported by PSL and other groups from the same revolutionary ecosystem that mobilized in support of the BLM riots of 2020 and the pro-terrorism riots of 2023 to the present.

If there is a structured and well-funded campaign to promote organized political violence in the United States on demand, it is difficult to conclude anything but that this represents a clear danger to public safety and national security.

WHAT WORKS. WHAT DOESN’T

The United States has decades of experience in combating activities related to domestic terrorist threats. In that period we have seen clear winners and losers. The recommendations offered here are based on an assessment of these activities and initiatives.

1. Federal Operations that that broadly survey social media and other public data to identify extremist threats or combat disinformation are inefficient; prone to political abuse; and undermine the trust and confidence of American citizens. Programs ought to follow models of intelligence-led policing and responsible investigatory guidelines that lead responsible criminal investigations. Further, the U.S. Government loses credibility when it declares itself the regulator of political truth. The Government has a responsibility to debunk false claims when it comes to U.S. Government operations and activities, that is part of what responsible transparent governments, but that should be the limit of the scope its activities in combating extremist thought.
2. Federal, State, and local shared situational awareness and coordination is valuable. The 287(g) program, for example, offers a flexible and effective tool for

cooperation on matters of immigration enforcement which often serves as an important counterterrorism tool.

3. Robust Immigration Enforcement and Border Security is important. These are valuable instruments for thwarting terrorist travel. Terrorist travel is a key tool for enabling both terrorist attacks and material support activity. Lack enforcement in contrast not only provides more space and freedom of action for our adversaries it greatly expands the pool of potential threats that law enforcement and intelligence activities must survey.

4. Denial and Revocations of Visas is an important tool for disrupting material support activity. Not all extremists are engaged in terrorists acts or material support, but many that other require a visa to come to the United States. Students, workers, activists, and professionals should leave or be deported if they have broken the conditions of their status per U.S. immigration law. Citizens of nations that cannot properly vet or provide adequate information to the United States or represent a clear danger ought to be denied the right of travel to the United States.

5. Aggressive investigation of material support and prosecution of organizations and networks conducting or promoting antisemitic or antizionist activity. This is perhaps the most significant tool for undercutting serious potential terrorists threats in the United States.

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- Foundations—14 percent
- Corporations—2 percent
- Program revenue and other income—3 percent.

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Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you, Dr. Carafano.

The Chair now recognizes Ms. Rayman for her opening statement.

**STATEMENT OF JULIE FISHMAN RAYMAN, SENIOR VICE
PRESIDENT OF POLICY AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS, AMERICAN
JEWISH COMMITTEE**

Ms. RAYMAN. Can you hear me?

Mr. CARAFANO. Now you're on.

Ms. RAYMAN. Now I'm on. OK. I appreciate the opportunity to be a part of today's very important conversation, and I'm grateful for your bipartisan leadership in addressing the antisemitism crisis in our country.

Much has been said about the tragic murders of Sarah Milgram and Yaron Lischinsky, so I just want to take this opportunity to say because they were cherished friends of AJC and because they were murdered outside of an AJC event to, again, extend condolences to their families and to thank the Secure Communities Network for the extreme amount of support and assistance that we've received from SCN since that incident happened, as well as before.

That attack, as well as the one that followed in Boulder, simply occurred because their attackers considered all of those who sup-

port Israel's existence, and perhaps even all Jews, to be proxies of the Jewish State. As we see horrific acts of violence being committed under the guise of resistance, it's clear that a disturbing and increasing number of people consider all Jews to be responsible for Israel's actions and to somehow therefore be deserving targets of hate, discrimination, and violence.

On-going investigations into these attacks will reveal how or whether the perpetrators engaged with or were inspired by terrorist or anti-Israel extremist groups. Such groups pose real and rising threats to Jews' safety at home and abroad and their capacity to incite and facilitate violence transcends borders.

Groups like Samidoun, which the Treasury Department sanctioned last year for channeling funds to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, carried out a theatrical performance cosplaying the October 7 attack as recently as this last weekend in Brussels.

At the same time, while terror-linked groups are one driver of today's horrific situation, there are many threats facing Jews that are not directly or indirectly attributable to them. AJC's State of Antisemitism in America Report in 2024 found that an equal number of American Jews believe that the political right and the political left represent an equal antisemitic threat in the United States today.

Whether from the political right, from the political left, from Christian nationalism or extremism in the name of Islam, all threats to Jews' safety and security command a robust Government response.

There is no question that terror and material support for terror are illegal. Breaking the law and violating the rights of others are not legitimate forms of protest, full stop. These activities must be addressed using the full weight of the law.

However, I also want to be clear. As we seek to counter these harmful behaviors we have to adhere to the guarantees of free speech and due process that apply to all people in the United States. While antisemitic and anti-Israel rhetoric and violent antisemitic attacks pose extremely serious challenges, they must be addressed with different approaches.

Speech, no matter how offensive, is protected. Suppressing it doesn't just violate our American values and responsibilities. It allows those who are advocating hate to be cast as victims.

Your leadership in this is vital. Public leaders on both sides of the aisle have an obligation to respond promptly and strongly. Ambiguity is unacceptable. The message must always be that nothing, absolutely nothing, including events in the Middle East, can justify antisemitism.

Leaders must categorically reject calls to globalize the Intifada or resistance by any means necessary because while some are protesting, others are planning.

In addition to strong specific and public condemnation, there are other critical ways that Congress can act. The exorbitant amounts doled out for Jewish communal security are, in effect, a Jewish tax.

Congress should provide at least \$500 million for the nonprofit security grant program administered by FEMA, which has been under-, underfunded for years. Support the Center for Prevention,

Programs, and Partnerships, CP3, which strengthens our country's ability to prevent violent and terrorist activities. These programs and other anti-terrorism grant programs must be appropriately resourced and staffed.

To address antisemitism on-line, Congress needs to pass fundamental reforms to Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act and press social media platforms to enforce and strengthen their own policies that relate to anti-terrorism and incitement to violence.

There is also a real and urgent need for the Government to adopt a broader, comprehensive strategy to counter antisemitism and foster American Jewish life. Congressional advocacy in favor of a national action plan and a point person to lead interagency coordination can make an important difference in making this happen.

It is only by addressing antisemitism holistically, regardless of political or ideological source and inclusive of both antisemitic rhetoric and violent attacks, that we can counter this surging antisemitism, which I think we can all agree is not just a problem that faces American Jews but affects American society and democracy as a whole.

Thank you and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Rayman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JULIE FISHMAN RAYMAN

JUNE 11, 2025

Chairman Pfluger, Ranking Member Magaziner, esteemed Members of the Homeland Security Committee, it is a pleasure to be before you this morning to testify on "The Rise of Anti-Israel Extremist Groups and Their Threat to U.S. National Security." I appreciate the convening of the Counterterrorism and Intelligence Subcommittee for today's important hearing, and I am grateful for your bipartisan leadership in addressing the antisemitism crisis facing our country.

I am here in my capacity as senior vice president of policy and political affairs at American Jewish Committee (AJC), a global, non-partisan advocacy organization that stands up for Israel's right to exist in peace and security; confronts antisemitism, no matter the source; and upholds the democratic values that unite Jews and our allies.

This hearing occurs on the heels of 2 deeply disturbing antisemitic attacks that have shaken the American Jewish community to its core.

Tragically, almost 1 month ago, not 1 mile from this very room, AJC lost 2 cherished members of our community—they were assassinated outside of the Capital Jewish Museum in Washington, DC, following our annual Young Diplomats reception.

Our event this year was about turning pain into purpose and featured members of the Multifaith Alliance and IsraeAID for a discussion on humanitarian diplomacy and how a coalition of organizations, including interfaith partners, are working together in response to humanitarian crises throughout the Middle East and North Africa.

However, at an event intended to build a stronger, more peaceful world, the mere presence of Jewish participants turned it into a night of hate-based violence and tragedy.

As the event concluded, Sarah Milgrim and Yaron Lischinsky were gunned down, and their attacker yelled "Free Palestine" as he was taken away by law enforcement. Sarah and Yaron were assassinated in our Nation's capital, murdered while leaving a Jewish event, at a Jewish museum hosted by AJC, a Jewish organization. What warranted their murder? It was simply because their attacker considered all those who support Israel's existence, perhaps even all Jews, to be the proxies of the Jewish state.

Just last week, American Jews were again attacked for their support of Israel. Molotov cocktails were hurled at peaceful protestors calling for the return of the remaining 55 hostages held by Hamas in Gaza, including an 88-year-old Holocaust survivor. Was this an attack on an Israeli military target? No—It was an attack on

peaceful Jewish demonstrators focused on the most basic of human rights: freedom from captivity.

It is past time for society to finally acknowledge and address what Jews have always known, and especially in the wake of the October 7, 2023, Hamas terror attack: that antisemitic and anti-Zionist language is dangerous, and when left unchecked, can be deadly.

Throughout the course of the investigations for these 2 attacks, we will learn how or whether the perpetrators engaged or were inspired by anti-Israel extremist groups. I want to be very clear—despite this exceptional threat environment, which is further evidenced by the recent Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Public Service Announcement highlighting potential threats to Jewish and Israeli communities, there is a line between those who espouse antisemitic or anti-Israel rhetoric and those who act violently. The two cannot be treated the same.

When such violence does occur, we must ensure the response is consistent with the rule of law and democratic values. Let me be clear: terrorism and providing material support for terrorism are illegal. Similarly, illegal conduct under the guise of political activism is not protected under the Constitution and demands consequences. Yet as we seek to curtail these harmful behaviors, we must be steadfast in affording the guarantees of free speech and due process that apply to all people in the United States. Responsible enforcement and due process are fundamental.

Speech alone, no matter how offensive some may find it, is nonetheless protected. Public protest, when it does not jeopardize the safety of others or violate the law, is a form of speech that is vital for democracy and a sign of its health. Law-breaking or violating the rights of others are not legitimate forms of protest.

Public leaders on both sides of the aisle have an obligation to respond promptly and strongly to repugnant anti-Israel and antisemitic language; however, when overbroad tools are used against those who espouse it, we will see the discourse necessarily shift away from condemning speech that crosses the line and endangers Jews and to whether those sanctioned were victims of censorship.

THE STATE OF ANTISEMITISM IN THE LAST YEAR

Through our annual State of Antisemitism in America Report, AJC has collected 5 years of comparative data from American Jews and the general public on their perceptions of and experiences with antisemitism. We've seen how the number of respondents who say antisemitism is a serious problem and has increased a lot has grown significantly over the last 5 years. This data demonstrates that all Americans, Jewish and non-Jewish, are aware of the growing severity of the issue. Of the almost 6 in 10 Americans who say antisemitism has increased over the past 5 years, 88 percent say they are concerned by this increase.

In the aftermath of the October 7, 2023, Hamas attacks on Israel, the world witnessed a dramatic surge in antisemitic and anti-Israel violence. Reactionary emotions to the horrors of war, anti-Israel sentiments fell prey to a slippery slope. Rather than serving as a moment of solidarity to mourn those killed in terror attacks—an opportunity to unite in the face of hate—alongside the Jewish community, rhetoric boiled over, and rallies and demonstrations quickly devolved into open celebrations of antisemitism. Protesters did not merely voice criticism of Israeli policy: they glorified Hamas a U.S.-designated terrorist organization, lauded the tactics used to rape and murder civilians, and chanted slogans such as “burn the Jews” in the streets of capitals the world over. This outpouring of hate was not limited to the Middle East or to Israel itself—it erupted globally, targeting Jewish communities from synagogues and schools to sporting events and residential neighborhoods.

According to AJC's State of Antisemitism in America 2024 Report, antisemitism reached shocking levels following the October 7 Hamas attacks, affecting American Jewish behavior and sense of security on a level that we haven't witnessed before. A staggering 90 percent of American Jews said antisemitism has increased in the United States since the Hamas terrorist attacks, while 77 percent of American Jews report feeling less safe as a Jewish person in the United States because of these attacks. In consequence, the majority of American Jews are afraid to be themselves, and many are intentionally concealing aspects of their identities to avoid being identified as Jewish. For the first time in the history of AJC's report, the majority of American Jews (56 percent) changed their behavior in 1 of 3 ways out of fear of antisemitism. Perhaps most concerning is that one-third (33 percent) of American Jews say they have been the personal target of antisemitism—in person or virtually—at least once over the last year. Antisemitism not only targets American Jewish individuals but also Jewish institutions and businesses as well. Thirty percent of American Jews say their institutions were the target of antisemitism in the

past 5 years, and 25 percent say that local businesses where they live have been the targets of antisemitism in the past year.

Hearteningly, 9 in 10 Americans, both Jews and non-Jews, believe antisemitism affects our society as a whole; everyone is responsible for combating it.

UNDERSTANDING ANTISEMITISM

A comprehensive and nuanced understanding of antisemitism is key to confronting anti-Jewish and anti-Israel violence. AJC's State of Antisemitism in America 2024 Report revealed that almost one-third (30 percent) of Americans are not familiar with the term antisemitism and what it means. This raises concerns because individuals cannot respond to or prevent something that they do not understand.

That is why the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism, which provides a clear and concise description of antisemitism in its various forms, is an educational tool to help individuals and entities understand how antisemitism is defined and manifests. And, this is why Congress should swiftly pass the Antisemitism Awareness Act (H.R. 1007), legislation with strong bipartisan support, that would ensure the Department of Education continues to consider IHRA as a useful tool when it seeks to protect students in educational spaces.

Antisemitism is often described as the world's oldest hatred. While antisemitism can often be traced back to Christian anti-Judaism, in which Jews were accused of killing Jesus Christ (deicide charge), kidnapping and murdering Christian children to use their blood in rituals (blood libel), and spreading the Black Plague through common drinking wells, contemporary antisemitism in the United States can be found across the political spectrum and attributed to various sources.

Antisemitism stems from the far-right, including white supremacy, white nationalism, and neo-Nazi antisemitism; the far-left, arising from identity-based politics or anti-Israel antisemitism, including denying Israel's right to exist; religious extremism such as ISIS, Black Hebrew Israelites, and Nation of Islam; and from fringe segments of minority communities, as a form of scapegoating or seeing Jews as an outgroup or a competitive threat, including competition of victimhood.

WHEN ANTI-ZIONISM BECOMES ANTISEMITISM

Following the October 7 Hamas attacks, we have witnessed a disturbing surge in antisemitic violence and rhetoric across the United States, often masquerading as anti-Zionist activism. The anti-Israel rhetoric that fueled the demonstrations after October 7 has frequently crossed the line into classic antisemitism. Protesters and public figures have revived ancient tropes, commonly including ludicrous accusations of Jewish control over governments and economies, and compared Israel's actions to those of Nazi Germany—a particularly pernicious form of Holocaust inversion that trivializes Jewish suffering and history. These comparisons and conspiracies, when voiced by public officials, lend legitimacy to antisemitism and embolden extremists, leaving Jewish communities increasingly vulnerable.

This global wave of antisemitism, catalyzed and justified by anti-Israel extremism, has not only endangered Jewish communities but threatens the very fabric of democratic societies. Antisemitism, no matter the source, weakens our social cohesion and undermines the values that bind us together. The conspiracy theories and hate that animate anti-Israel extremism are the same ones that have fueled antisemitism for centuries, and are now being amplified by social media and legitimized by public figures who should know better. When anti-Israel activism crosses the line into demonization, delegitimization, or collective blame of Jews, it threatens not only the safety of Jewish Americans but also the foundational principles of equality and civil rights for all.

I mentioned the incidents here and in Colorado, but they are merely the most recent escalation in a long line of growing violence Jews have been subjected to since the start of the most recent Israel-Hamas conflict. In November 2023, protesters in Washington, DC, displayed signs equating Prime Minister Netanyahu to Hitler, with one depicting him "eating a Palestinian child". These comparisons distort Holocaust history, framing Jews as perpetrators of genocide rather than victims.

In 2024, as the conflict dragged on, synagogues like Park Avenue in New York City and Temple Beth Zion-Beth Israel in Philadelphia were repeatedly defaced with slogans such as "From the river to the sea"—a phrase that can be used to call for the elimination of the State of Israel and/or ethnic cleansing of Jews living there—and swastikas, conflating opposition to Israeli policies with attacks on Jewish identity.

In April 2025, Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro's home was set ablaze with him and his family inside, just hours after their Seder celebrating the first night of Passover. His crime? Being Jewish and caring about Israel. These incidents, alongside daily harassment of Jewish-owned businesses and neighborhoods, show how anti-Zionist rhetoric has been weaponized to justify violence against Jews as a collective.

The distinction between legitimate criticism of Israeli government policy and the demonization or delegitimization of Israel and Jews has been systematically eroded. For instance, when protests against Israeli policies turn into chants of "Death to Jews" or when academic discussions about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict devolve into personal attacks on Jewish students, it becomes clear that a troubling new landscape is emerging. This is a landscape where antisemitism often masquerades as political activism. The rhetoric and actions go far beyond legitimate criticism of Israeli government policy; they represent a concerted effort to marginalize and erase Jewish life from academic and public spaces, often substituting "Zionist" or "Israel" for "Jew" as a socially acceptable form of bigotry. This phenomenon has resulted in Jews reporting increased fear, behavioral changes, and a growing sense of isolation as they navigate environments where anti-Israel sentiment frequently crosses the line into anti-Jewish hostility.

What must be acknowledged is that alongside distorted, hyperbolic, and even false anti-Israel narratives and calls for or justifications of political violence, we are seeing many actors also advance these in ways and forums that specifically endanger Jews. The challenge now facing us is to confront this new antisemitism—one that wears the mask of anti-Israel activism while upholding the principles of free expression and human rights for all, recognizing that protecting Jewish communities from discrimination is essential to maintaining democratic values and genuine dialog about Middle Eastern politics.

ANTISEMITISM MUST BE FOUGHT IN A BIPARTISAN MANNER

This is an all-hands-on-deck moment we find ourselves in—American Jews and Americans of all religious and political backgrounds alike. It does not matter who is perpetrating antisemitism and targeting Jews. We will be under attack no matter if it is from those on the far-left or the far-right; as they will find a way to make the Jews the culprits of whatever they deem to be the ultimate evil in their philosophy. Whether it is a far-left protester calling us "baby killers" while we are on our way to synagogue, or if neo-Nazis deface a synagogue with swastikas and other hate symbols, for us the hatred and fear we experience are the same. Anytime a Jewish person is targeted, it affects every Jew, because we are all interconnected. But the rising tide of antisemitism is not just a Jewish problem. It is a threat to our national security, democracy, and our society.

According to AJC's State of Antisemitism in America 2024 Report, 79 percent of American Jews say the extreme political right represents an antisemitic threat in the United States today, and 78 percent express the same sentiment about the extreme political left in the United States today. Thirty-three percent of American Jews find that the extreme political right, the extreme political left, Christian nationalism, and extremism in the name of Islam represent a very serious antisemitic threat in the United States today.

Fighting antisemitism requires a unified, bipartisan approach that transcends political divisions and partisan considerations. Antisemitism affects all Americans regardless of political affiliation, and the hatred directed at Jewish communities comes from extremists across the political spectrum—both far-left and far-right actors who target Jews for different ideological reasons. The charge for elected officials lies not only in condemning antisemitism when it comes from political opponents, but also in having the courage to call out antisemitic rhetoric and actions from within their own parties, recognizing that such principled stands ultimately strengthen both their constituencies and democratic institutions. Bipartisan initiatives, like the House Task Force for Combating Antisemitism, demonstrate how lawmakers can effectively collaborate across party lines to address this ancient hatred, ensuring that antisemitism does not become weaponized as a political wedge issue that further divides communities. When political leaders unite against antisemitism, they send a powerful message that protecting vulnerable communities and upholding democratic values transcends partisan politics and strengthens our national security. I encourage all members of this body to join this important task force.

AJC also encourages Members of Congress to engage directly with Jewish organizations to gain a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the many forms antisemitism takes in today's society. Essential resources, such as AJC's Translate Hate glossary, which helps decode antisemitic tropes and coded language, make it sub-

stantially easier to recognize the historical context of modern manifestations of antisemitism. We are here to help! By partnering with Jewish advocacy organizations, lawmakers can learn to better recognize and address antisemitism's complex roots—from subtle bias to overt hostility, whether in schools, on-line, or in the streets of our Nation's Capital. Through open dialog and collaboration, Congress can more effectively support Jewish communities, promote understanding, and uphold the core values of inclusion and respect that strengthen our democracy.

ANTISEMITISM ON-LINE

Antisemitic and anti-Israel rhetoric have exploded on-line. On-line and more specifically, on social media, continues to be the place where most American Jews experience antisemitism. According to AJC's State of Antisemitism in America 2024 Report, 67 percent of Jewish adults have seen antisemitic content on-line or on social media at least once in the past 12 months, of which 20 percent report that these incidents made them feel physically threatened. Unfortunately, many do not report the incidents. The No. 1 reason given by Jewish respondents as to why they chose not to report antisemitism on-line or on social media was that they did not believe any action would be taken.

Antisemitic content on social media platforms regularly surges after attacks on the Jewish community, as it did after October 7. Immediately following the antisemitic attacks in Boulder and Washington, celebration of these attacks, including comments such as "what goes around comes around," "long live the intifada," and "resistance" appeared in posts and in the comments sections across all major social media platforms such as Meta, X, TikTok, and YouTube, according to AJC partner, CyberWell—the world's first live database of on-line antisemitism.

Additionally, it is important to note that the on-line manifestos of shooters at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where 11 worshipers were murdered; mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, where 51 were killed; a Walmart in El Paso, Texas, where 23 people were killed; and a supermarket in a predominantly Black neighborhood of Buffalo, New York, where 10 people were killed, were inspired by the "Great Replacement Theory"—a conspiracy theory rooted in the belief that the white race is under threat of extinction at the hands of Jews and other minorities. Internet sites such as 4Chan, Reddit, and Discord have allowed those who hold these extremist views to come together and be inspired by these conspiracy theories to hold Jewish people responsible for the world's problems.

In his manifesto to explain the attack, the Buffalo shooter blamed Jews for pushing out whites and accused Jews of believing they were superior because they called themselves "God's chosen people." "Why attack immigrants when the Jews are the issue?" the suspect asks rhetorically. His answer: "They can be dealt with in time."

To mitigate these issues and strengthen our national security, there are several avenues Congress can take. Congress should pass fundamental reforms to Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act and hold social media companies accountable for the spread of antisemitic and hate-fueled violence on their platforms. Congress should ensure on-line platforms lose their special immunity if they utilize an algorithm to amplify or recommend content to a user that promotes violence and impose stronger transparency requirements on on-line platforms to prevent algorithmic bias, improve moderation systems, and enforce community standards. And finally, Congress should pass legislation requiring social media companies to allow researchers access to the platform's data, while maintaining users' privacy. Qualified, independent researchers can help Congress—and the social media companies themselves—better understand how the platform's algorithms are spreading antisemitism.

Congress should also continue to publicly hold social media platforms accountable with enforcing and strengthening their existing anti-terrorism and incitement to violence policies.

Experts at AJC regularly engage with social media companies on these issues, provide briefings and policy recommendations, and serve as a trusted flagger or early warning partner, which allows us to escalate harmful content and alert the companies to changing trends in antisemitism. AJC would be happy to brief Members of Congress to ensure you remain updated on the latest data and can develop comprehensive policies that can make these platforms safer for all users.

ADDRESSING SECURITY THREATS

Just as we can do more to educate and train people to understand antisemitism and anti-Zionism, more also needs to be done to protect Jewish communities from physical threats. Our State of Antisemitism in America 2024 Report data found that, for American Jews who are affiliated with a Jewish institution, 30 percent said

their institutions were targeted by graffiti, threats, or attacks in the last 5 years. Nearly one-third of a minority group's institutions have been threatened. And as alarming as that number is, even more American Jews think their synagogue, their campus Hillel, their JCC, or their kosher market might be next. For American Jews who are affiliated with a Jewish institution, 70 percent said their institutions have increased security measures since October 7, 2023.

Congress should support community-based violence prevention programs and encourage local law enforcement to build stronger ties with synagogues, Jewish community centers, Jewish day schools, and other Jewish institutions and organizations—and vice versa. Through these relationships, Jewish communities can avail themselves of State and local-level training, technical assistance, and resources to bolster their security. These local efforts should work in conjunction with Federal programs such as the Nonprofit Security Grant Program (NSGP).

The NSGP provides funding for nonprofits at high risk of terrorist threats and attacks to increase their preparedness and support security needs. This essential program has been severely underfunded for years, only fulfilling 42 percent of requests in 2023. Since October 7, 2023, Jewish institutional applicants to the NSGP have increased as antisemitic attacks have surged, and fears about attacks have become pervasive. Congress should provide funding for this vital program by providing at least \$500 million in fiscal year 2026. I want to thank Congress for its continued bipartisan support for this program, which strengthens our national security, and is more vital now than ever before.

More broadly, the threat to Jews and Jewish institutions is not confined to the United States, it transcends national borders. Groups like Samidoun, which the Treasury Department sanctioned in October 2024 for channelling funds to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, carried out a reenactment of the October 7 Hamas attack on Israel in Brussels this past weekend. Similarly, organizations such as the Russian Imperial Movement (RIM) and members of its leadership were designated by the Trump administration as Specially Designated Global Terrorists in 2020. Disinformation and propaganda aimed at inciting anti-Jewish hatred is prevalent in RIM's digital content, ranging from centuries-old conspiracies such as the anti-Jewish blood libel trope claiming Jews kill Christian children and drink their blood to antisemitic lies tied to current events. This was the first time in history that the Department of State designated a white supremacist extremist group. Congress can press the U.S. Departments of State and the Treasury to designate transnational violent extremist groups as terrorist organizations in order to limit their ability to recruit on-line and raise funds.

PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Law enforcement and security agencies alone are not sufficient to address the needs of the Jewish community. Efforts to ensure security for Jewish individuals and institutions must work in conjunction with broader multidisciplinary efforts to prevent extremist and targeted violence from further spreading throughout the United States. Intervention and deradicalization are key to comprehensive preventative approaches. The Center for Prevention Programs and Partnerships (CP3) within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is one such program that strengthens our abilities to prevent terrorism and targeted violence through education, partnerships, and training. Critical to our own national security interests, the Federal Government's approach must not only be responsive but also proactive in addressing terrorism, which is why preventative agencies such as CP3 are integral to countering antisemitic and anti-Israel violence.

Congress should support the mission of the Center for Prevention Programs and Partnerships (CP3) as outlined when the division was established in 2021, ensure sufficient funding, and support individuals with robust knowledge, extensive experience, and deep connectivity to communities, private partners, and Federal entities that work in counterterrorism.

Local partners, like AJC, must also contribute to informing communities about how to prevent ideologically-based violent extremism. In 2020, AJC, in partnership with Muflehun, a resource center that designs programs to address complex social challenges, created a training program that took a community-based approach to confronting threats motivated by extremism or bigotry. The training was funded in part by a grant from the Office for Targeted Violence and Terrorism Prevention within the DHS.

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL COORDINATOR TO COUNTER ANTISEMITISM

In the United States, while we have a Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism in the U.S. Department of State, their focus is abroad. The efforts of the

Federal Task Force to Combat Antisemitism can be streamlined and amplified by including all Federal agencies. Additionally, having a point person solely focused on leading interagency coordination and building infrastructure around combating antisemitism, including leading and maintaining the process of sharing Federal Government efforts across agencies and with the Jewish community, will make countering antisemitism more efficient and effective.

Congress should work with the administration to appoint a National Coordinator to Counter Antisemitism so that our Government continues to take a whole-of-Government approach to fight the scourge of antisemitism. Congress should also call on the administration to create a U.S. Government action plan to combat antisemitism and foster Jewish life.

CLOSING: FIGHTING ANTISEMITISM WILL STRENGTHEN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEMOCRACY

This moment is not only about the Jewish community, but also about the society we live in, and we must find ways to work together in a bipartisan manner to combat antisemitism and create a better future for our children and grandchildren. Antisemitism has plagued our world for thousands of years. It has led to Jews being vilified, isolated, harassed, chased, expelled, hunted, and murdered. At its core, antisemitism is a symptom of extremism and the fraying of our shared social cohesion. When antisemitism is tolerated, it means conspiracy theories have the air to bloom into something more dangerous and sinister. It means there is a rot gnawing at the foundation of our society and that we are at risk of democratic backsliding, extremism, and dehumanization. And it means that every one of us, not just the Jewish community, is worse off. Fighting antisemitism will not only protect the Jewish community in America but also protect our democracy and national security.

We must be vigilant in distinguishing when anti-Israel activities cross into antisemitism and have the courage to call them out, issuing unambiguous and unwavering condemnations. Our Government and law enforcement must take a firm stand against antisemitic hate crimes and violence, upholding the law without infringing on individuals' rights afforded by the U.S. Constitution. To achieve this, it is essential to have a clear understanding of the nature of antisemitism, its various manifestations, and its impact on society. Congress plays a vital role in fostering this understanding, ensuring that hate is not allowed to proliferate on-line, safeguarding Jewish communities, and investing in programs that strengthen our society. AJC looks forward to partnering with you in stamping out this hate once and for all.

Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you, Ms. Rayman.

Members will now be recognized in order of seniority for 5 minutes of questioning, and we may elect to do an additional round of questioning.

I now recognize myself for 5 minutes of questioning. I appreciate hearing from everyone, especially hearing about free speech.

Ms. Rayman, your comments are—you are absolutely right that we have to protect free speech, that we have to be able to express views no matter whether we agree with them or not and then acknowledge that there is a line. So, what I want to ask, because it was it was mentioned by Mr. Segal, is—so, Mr. Segal, I will start with you.

When somebody at a protest says, “Free Palestine,” how does the Jewish community receive that?

Mr. SEGAL. Context is always the key with any slogan and that includes chants of a free Palestine. I think, you know, in many protests some in the community hear that they don't really think twice about it. But I think if “Free Palestine” is used to write graffiti on a sukkah or a Jewish institution that's a very different context.

Mr. PFLUGER. Is that a call to violence?

Mr. SEGAL. “Free Palestine” inherently is not calling for violence on its own but if it's being yelled at when somebody is trying to burn people alive, you could bet it is.

Mr. PFLUGER. OK. Do Jewish students in a rally that seems to be heating up in a way that is trending toward what could be phys-

ical violence, when somebody screams “Free Palestine” with a Palestinian flag is that received by Jewish students on universities as a rally cry for violence?

Mr. SEGAL. Yes, I mean, even thought amongst Jewish students is not monolithic. I think different students may take it in a different way. I think what is important to focus on is when those types of sentiments or slogans are used when targeting specifically Jewish students or other individuals as elsewhere, that’s the context that is really troubling about that.

Mr. PFLUGER. Dr. Carafano, what does, in your opinion, a rally or a “Free Palestine” cry at a protest mean to the Jewish community?

Mr. CARAFANO. Right. So, I agree that context is everything and I think one of the things that we focus on is it is a difference I think if you are a U.S. citizen in a context of exercising your legitimate free speech.

In the sense if you are here on a visa as a student or as a professional and you are promoting extremist ideas in the United States, you’re a guest of the United States.

In the United States it’s very clear under U.S. legal authority that that if you violate the terms of your stay in the United States you should be removed from the United States.

If you want to come to the United States and you have a track record of extremist violent statements that the U.S. Government thinks disqualifies you from entering the United States, you should be denied entry to the United States. I do think that those are really important distinctions.

Mr. PFLUGER. There is legislation that I am sponsoring and many others are supporting that gets at the heart of the overstay of those visas, especially those that would perpetrate those attacks.

Mr. Sleeper, when you think about the terrorist in the Boulder, Colorado event, what was this person’s mindset? How did they become radicalized? How did they get to the position where they are espousing these foreign terrorist organization ideals and this viewpoint of antisemitic and violent action?

Mr. SLEEPER. Thank you, sir. The commonality amongst all 3 events were that the perpetrators condoned their actions in the name of Gaza. They had all been consuming the same material, the same information. When you have 3 events, violent events, targeting the Jewish community within 8 weeks and all 3 offenders say the same thing, use the same terminology, it’s clear that there is a consistent message being conveyed.

That message is targeting the Jewish community and it’s being conveyed by everywhere from foreign terrorist organizations to nation-state actors like Iran. Their goal is to do whatever they can do to incite violence against the Jewish community.

Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you.

Ms. Rayman, should those on a visa studying at a university participating in some sort of protest, so not American citizens but those on a visa, should they be allowed to burn an American flag at a university?

Ms. RAYMAN. I want to start off by saying——

Mr. PFLUGER. And scream “Free Palestine?”

Ms. RAYMAN. Yes. I want to start off by saying that to be in America as a resident, as a student, is a privilege. It is not a right. For those who are not upholding our values or threatening the safety and security of Americans there needs to be some process for consideration of removal.

Burning an American flag, shouting "Free Palestine" are elements of that freedom of speech, and there are, as has been discussed before, a great many interpretations of what that means, of what those types of messages mean, right?

For many who would say, for example, "from the river to the sea," right, they're seeing that, ignorantly, as synonymous for free Palestine, right?

But if you look at where the river is and where the sea is and if, in fact, what they mean when they say that is that it is only for Palestinians and not for Jews, that's a very different message.

Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you. I will come back to you. My time has expired.

I will give you the—I will yield to the Ranking Member and also if you need an extra minute we can do that.

Mr. MAGAZINER. I appreciate that. Thank you to the Chair and to our witnesses for some very good testimony.

I will start with Mr. Segal and your recommendations, which were very helpful. Your first one was expanding funding for the nonprofit security grant program. That resonates with me because I know in my district in Rhode Island we have numerous synagogues, churches, schools, mosques that have utilized that program.

This is a Federal program that helps those religious and community-based organizations get the security upgrades that they need to keep people safe, cameras, facial recognition, et cetera.

As of yesterday, and I believe this is still the case, the Trump administration has still not awarded \$210 million of nonprofit security grant funds from fiscal 2024 and has also not even noticed the funding for fiscal 2025, an additional \$274 million for availability.

So that is, in total, nearly half a billion dollars that the administration is withholding in nonprofit security grant funds, to say nothing of the budget for next year that they proposed, which is also inadequate.

So, can you just, I mean, help us out here? Part of our job as Members of Congress is to hold the administration accountable and to make sure the administration is doing everything that it can to protect people from antisemitic violence in this country. Can you just speak some more about the importance of releasing these grant funds right away and why the administration needs to act immediately on it?

Mr. SEGAL. Yes, thank you for the question. You know, attending an event at a Jewish museum or marching or walking peacefully to show solidarity with hostages or walking to class or even just walking down the street in Brooklyn should not be an act of courage, but that's where we are.

Mr. MAGAZINER. Yes.

Mr. SEGAL. So, the community is feeling vulnerable. This is a crisis moment, and we need to rely on our leaders and the Government to help protect communities when they are at most risk. I

think that's what we hope people will understand and that these dollars are going to go not for superfluous issues but to protect people so that they don't have to be courageous just to be publicly Jewish.

Mr. MAGAZINER. That is very well said, thank you. I will just say again, I mean, I genuinely appreciate that the administration has stated that cracking down on antisemitism is a priority. It should be. But the actions need to follow the words, and a very basic action is to release the nearly half a billion dollars that Congress has already appropriated for the nonprofit security grant program so that lives can be saved.

Your second recommendation had to do with the CP3 program. Again, for people at home who may not be familiar, can you explain what that is and why it is important?

Mr. SEGAL. Yes. The Center for Prevention, Programs, and Partnerships at DHS, the idea there is that it would help prevent mass casualty attacks and extremism, not just respond to it afterwards. My sense is that based on some of the work that was done there they helped save lives.

You know, antisemitism is the lifeblood of many extremist movements both domestically and globally. So, if we can push back against the narratives that we know animate people to violence at the earliest stages, the community will be safer. That's what CP3 has the potential to do.

Mr. MAGAZINER. It is about preventing people from becoming radicalized, especially young, impressionable people. If I could just again, I mentioned this earlier but this, again, is the agency that President Trump has appointed this individual to lead, Mr. Fugate, a 22-year-old who just graduated from college earlier this year with no law enforcement experience, no national security experience, no intelligence experience.

So, I think what a lot of us are wondering is why? Why? Like, there are plenty of qualified people out there. Is this the best we can do? I think there are some who are speculating that it is because the administration intends to shut down the CP3 program entirely and Mr. Fugate is there as a placeholder while it is wound down.

From what I understand there have been significant firings and layoffs at CP3, which would support that theory. But yes, the answer is we don't know.

Now, if this is some whiz kid who is qualified somehow to lead this important office, then I think we at least ought to get him in here to ask him some questions about what his vision and his plans are.

You know, with the extra minute that the Chair was kind enough to grant me, I will just ask any of our witnesses does anyone feel comfortable having an individual of Mr. Fugate's profile and experience leading an office like CP3, given the charged environment that we are in right now?

Mr. CARAFANO. Yes, look, I'd just like to say that if you look at the entire Federal architecture in the 4 years that got us here, I think it was an abysmal failure.

Mr. MAGAZINER. Yes, but I am asking about who is in charge right now.

Mr. CARAFANO. Well, that's the point, sir, because——

Mr. MAGAZINER. Yes.

Mr. CARAFANO [continuing]. You have all these people who were charged with reducing antisemitism——

Mr. MAGAZINER. Yes.

Mr. CARAFANO [continuing]. And anti-Zionism in this country——

Mr. MAGAZINER. All right. Mr. Carafano——

Mr. CARAFANO [continuing]. But for 4 years—for 4 years it just went up.

Mr. MAGAZINER. So, I will reclaim my time. I don't think that justifies, any of this justifies appointing a 22-year-old with no relevant experience to an agency charged with keeping us safe, an agency that the ADL has flagged in one of their top 5 recommendations as needing more support not less.

Mr. CARAFANO. Yes. Sir, I think you've asked the wrong question.

Mr. MAGAZINER. With that, I will yield back.

Mr. PFLUGER. The gentleman yields.

I now recognize the gentlelady from Georgia Ms. Greene.

Ms. GREENE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There is a unifying belief of the left, a hatred of America and Western civilization. Anti-Israel extremism is frequently part of a broader anti-Western sentiment. It is why so many of the protesters at the L.A. anti-ICE riots are flying Palestinian flags while burning the American flag and why Isra Hirsi, the daughter of a Congresswoman who sits on Foreign Affairs, Ilhan Omar, said on her Instagram last week, "from L.A. to Rafah, there is one common oppressor. Death to the colonial empire."

She also drew this connection between ICE enforcement and L.A. in Israel's war against Hamas. For the left everything can be reduced to white people oppressing brown people. Whether it be a BLM riot, a pro-Palestinian encampment, or an attempt to impede ICE from enforcing Federal immigration laws, these protests are all organized by the same professional left-wing activists whose intent is to cause as much civil unrest and chaos as possible.

Elias Rodriguez, the man who shot and killed 2 Israeli embassy officials last month, was deeply involved in this far-left activist ecosystem.

Mr. Carafano, what far-left groups was Elias Rodriguez involved with?

Mr. CARAFANO. So, you raise a really important point, which is why the threat of antisemitism and anti-Zionism in the United States is a bigger and broader problem because when we look at the organizations which have supported and encouraged or discussed these——

Ms. GREENE. I am short on time, Mr. Carafano. What organizations?

Mr. CARAFANO. Yes. So this is the Party of Socialism and Liberation——

Ms. GREENE. Great.

Mr. CARAFANO [continuing]. Has also been engaged in activities like BLM and other riots as well.

Ms. GREENE. Now, would that be linked to Neville Roy Singham? Does that name ring a bell?

Mr. CARAFANO. He is widely recognized as a major funder of the organization. That's from Wikipedia, so——

Ms. GREENE. Just to go further on who Neville Roy Singham is, he is the son of a Sri Lankan immigrant and Cuban immigrant, but in 1974 he was investigated by the FBI for his ties to groups engaged against the United States' interest.

He was in this group. He is also said to be nearly a billionaire and gives his money frequently to left-wing organizations. He is even linked to the CCP.

He currently lives and works in Shanghai. He shares office space with a Chinese propaganda firm focused on presenting a positive image of China to the global south. In 2019, he started a consulting business with Chinese partners active in the propaganda apparatus of the CCP.

He has provided significant funding to pro-China groups around the world and even married Jodie Evans, founder of Code Pink in 2017. She used to be against China but she is not anymore and she is currently co-authoring a book titled, "China Is Not Our Enemy."

You know, what is really insane about this man is he uses the Goldman Sachs Philanthropy Fund. There are a lot of Americans that invest their money with Goldman Sachs. But the Goldman Sachs Philanthropy Fund is a dark money clearing house to obscure his identity, Singham's identity, while facilitating the transfer of substantial sums to nonprofit, things like the People's Forum which received over \$20 million from Singham through the Philanthropy Fund, and organized anti-Israel protests across the country and was heavily involved in the protests at Columbia and the Washington mall.

Singham also funds \$20 million through the Goldman Sachs Philanthropy Group to the Justice and Education Fund which provides money to pro-China media outlets around the world and, just as you mentioned, the Party of Socialism and Liberation. That is the group that is organizing these lovely events happening in Los Angeles that Democrats call "mostly peaceful," but the people in Los Angeles call fiery, violent, and call a war against America.

He also funded, and unbelievably, the pro-Palestinian protests around the country and on campuses and Elias Rodriguez, the man who killed the 2 young Israeli diplomats. Singham coordinated the anti-ICE L.A. protest. Again, this picture just can't be shown enough.

These have been coordinating these—they have been coordinating these anti-ICE protests around the world or, I mean, around the country. More to come is what the Democrats tell us.

Mr. Carafano, one last question, do you believe China is funding the war against America?

Mr. CARAFANO. There's a lot of activity in the public record that show Chinese money is flowing into many of these organizations which have been involved in planning and organizing and supporting these activities. Absolutely.

Ms. GREENE. Thank you, Mr. Carafano.

I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PFLUGER. The gentlelady yields.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from New York Mr. Goldman.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a little rich to be lectured about antisemitism from somebody who could not even bring herself to vote yes on a antisemitism resolution that was supported by all but 2 Members of the House of Representatives.

But we are here, I think, for a very important purpose, and I do thank the Chairman for raising this issue and calling this hearing. I was disappointed that the partisan accusations that somehow President Biden and his administration are responsible for the rise in antisemitism, when President Biden issued the first national strategy to counter antisemitism and nonprofit security grants and the funding for them significantly increased during the Biden administration.

Now that we have had 3 very serious violent antisemitic incidents the need for those nonprofit security grants is even greater, and I was certainly disappointed to see that the Subcommittee on Appropriations allotted only \$305 million for nonprofit security grants, the same amount in fiscal year 2023 before October 7, before the dramatic rise in antisemitism, and before the violent events that have occurred over the last couple of months.

Ms. Rayman, you are here from the AJC, and one of those tragic violent events occurred and an AJC event. Could you just briefly, and obviously we express our condolences to you and the organization and the Israeli embassy, but can you describe what additional security measures AJC will now need to take after and as a result of the murders of Sarah and Yaron?

Ms. RAYMAN. Thank you so much for the condolences and recognizing AJC's, sort-of, unique place in this horrible antisemitic landscape that we're all navigating in this moment. There is, of course, an active investigation into what took place the night of the murder of Sarah and Yaron so I can't comment too much on that.

But I can say that we've been in very deep and many conversations with law enforcement, with the FBI, with the Secure Communities Network about protocols and have been largely reassured that the existing protocols that AJC has in place for our events are parallel to what Jewish community organizations and advocacy organizations across the board are using and that we have done everything—

Mr. GOLDMAN. I guess the question, if I could just interrupt, is—

Ms. RAYMAN. Please.

Mr. GOLDMAN [continuing]. I am assuming that after this event where there was terrible violence that you are going to have to increase security.

Ms. RAYMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOLDMAN. That will cost money, correct?

Ms. RAYMAN. Yes. Yes.

Mr. GOLDMAN. That is true for just about every single Jewish organization, whether it be a synagogue or a nonprofit like AJC?

Ms. RAYMAN. Absolutely. There becomes a point where questions have to be asked. Do we have a program? Do we go on a trip? Do we engage certain constituencies or is the security cost simply too high?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Yes. I think that that is worth noting because last year alone there were almost a billion dollars of applications

through the nonprofit security grant program. Obviously, there was about \$450 million so not all of them could be granted.

What you are saying and what certainly I have been told by many synagogues and Jewish organizations is now that these extremist antisemitic protests that previously had included intimidation, harassment, some assault but had not crossed over the line to violence and murder as they now have, are going to have to increase security.

The Federal program that provides funding for that security is the nonprofit security grant program. If there were a billion dollars of applications last year we can only imagine how much more need there will be this year.

I certainly hope that the Chairman, who I know cares very deeply about this issue, will encourage his colleagues on the Appropriations Committee and in leadership of the Republican Party to dramatically increase the \$305 million. Many have been calling for at least \$500 million, which I have also supported and I know AJC has supported.

It is absolutely essential for the Jewish community that the nonprofit security grant funding be significantly increased from last year, not decreased. I am hoping we can work in a bipartisan way to do that, Mr. Chairman, because I know you do and many of your colleagues on the other side of the aisle care very much about the Jewish community. This is essential to the safety and security of the Jewish community.

I yield back.

Ms. RAYMAN. Congressman, if I may? If we have just 1 second I would only say that the nonprofit security program doesn't just help Jewish communities protect our institutions. It's for all vulnerable communities. So, as we're increasing this amount we need to make sure also that it's not at the, at the cost or at the jeopardy of other communities.

So, we need to not only elevate it to meet the needs of the Jewish community but make sure that all vulnerable communities throughout the United States have the capacity to apply for and receive these important grants.

Mr. GOLDMAN. No question about it. Thank you.

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

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Colorado, Mr. Evans.

Mr. EVANS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member for holding this hearing.

Of course, thank you to the witnesses for coming.

First and foremost, our hearts go out to the Jewish community for these attacks and antisemitism must be condemned wherever it rears its ugly head, full stop. But we have to do more than that.

The antisemitic terrorist attack that harmed Jewish advocates in Boulder, Colorado on June 1 happened 25 miles away from my house. As we have talked about, not an isolated incident, a representative of the surge that we have heard about of antisemitism in Colorado and across the United States.

Unfortunately per data from ADL, 2024 marked the highest number of recorded incidents of antisemitism in Colorado's history.

We are now ninth in the Nation. Antisemitism has no home in Colorado or the Nation.

Again, I would like to thank the Chairman and the Ranking Member for this hearing so that we can find solutions. I was an Army veteran of the global War on Terror. I was a cop for over a decade in the Denver Metro Area and so I know that solutions, one of the solutions, is effective information sharing between Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies.

In the case of the Boulder attack, there are several different nodes at which that attack might have been stopped, when he was admitted entry into the United States having previously made many antisemitic statements, when he illegally overstayed a visa, when he illegally attempted to purchase a firearm, or again, the uploading antisemitic content to social media in support of extremists. Unfortunately, some of that coordination did not occur and the attack was planned over the course of a year in our backyard.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter into the record and play for the committee just a very short video of some of the statements made by the Boulder perpetrator before he carried out the attack.

Mr. PFLUGER. So ordered. Let's suspend the time until we can get the video. When the video starts you can resume the time.

[Video playing.]

Mr. EVANS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First question to Mr. Sleeper. In light of statements like that, overstaying a visa, trying to purchase a firearm, should that have raised some red flags?

Mr. SLEEPER. Yes. Knowing what we do regarding individuals who may be inclined to pursue the Jewish community as, excuse me, pursue the Jewish community as a result of their grievances, yes. Law enforcement and the intelligence community should be able to focus more acutely to identify issues that are suggesting an individual contemplating mobilization to violence.

Mr. EVANS. Thank you. Then last question, I have got a minute and 12 seconds left, you mentioned in your testimony, fusion centers. How can Federal policies strengthen the original mission of fusion centers by equipping them with the tools to detect and respond to these antisemitic or other terrorist threats? What does that look like in terms of threat reporting?

Mr. SLEEPER. Thank you. Fusion centers play an absolutely critical role in sharing threat information, timely threat information across our domestic intelligence architecture. SCN leverages fusion centers every day we work. When we identify a threat to life we include fusion centers to ensure that there's redundancy and sharing that information.

As we look ahead and we develop a strategy to mitigate targeted violent threats against the Jewish community, the intelligence component is absolutely essential. We need to understand what our adversaries are doing.

Most of the discussions we're having today are defensive. What can we do to protect this? Until we get to the point of we understand what our adversaries are trying to do, what they're targeting, and incorporating the fusion centers, working in conjunction with the intelligence community, Federal, State, and local law enforce-

ment, then we will have a seamless perspective on information being shared specifically to this threat.

Mr. EVANS. I yield back.

Mr. PFLUGER. The gentleman yields.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Puerto Rico Mr. Hernandez.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I represent probably the largest Jewish community in the Caribbean, and I take the responsibility very seriously. Jewish people deserve to live without fear and with the full protection and support of their government.

Antisemitism has no place in our society, and I stand firmly with the Jewish community and remain committed to confronting hate with strength and determination.

Part of my commitment includes investigating and understanding how antisemitism spreads on-line, how it spreads through digital spaces like encrypted platforms such as WhatsApp and Signal or social media platforms such as Facebook, X, Instagram, YouTube.

Decisions by these companies, and full disclosure, I used to work for one of them, have an impact. We have seen how loosening content restrictions at Meta have led to an increase in antisemitism on-line, for example, a spike in antisemitic comments on the Facebook accounts of 30 Jewish Members of Congress.

Now, Ms. Rayman, while I disagree with the idea of reforming or changing Section 230 because I believe that Section 230 is what enables content moderation without liability, I think we can find some common ground with some minimum level of oversight, right, of moderation. Do you think that social media companies should reinstate previous policies around hate speech?

Ms. RAYMAN. Social media companies have a lot of work to do, both in terms of reinstating previous policies, increasing the number of content moderators. There was a trend to have more humans monitoring social media and looking for problematic posts. That trend, unfortunately, is changing and without the humans who are trained to understand what's going on it's much harder to combat.

With regard to Section 230, I would very respectfully push back and give an example. You remember the attack in Paris on the Bataclan Theater in 2015 where 90 were killed. There were clear examples of how social media had inspired and allowed for that attack to be facilitated.

An American was killed in that attack and sued the social media company. The initial court deemed that they were liable but they could not be found guilty because of Section 230. So, American lives are endangered because social media platforms cannot be held liable. No one's saying that they need to be liable for all of the hatred or all of the ridiculousness that exists on social media. That's what they're built for in a lot of ways.

But there need to be some lines. When there's fear of incitement—

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I am sorry to interrupt because I also have another topic that I want to move on to but I do agree with the fact that we do need standards around content moderation. I would be open to legislation at least requiring some auditing of whether

those companies are enforcing those standards and their success rates.

Ms. RAYMAN. Yes.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. But I do think that we need to protect their intermediary liability status because it is crucial to protect freedom of expression and also for the platform's functioning. But, naturally, we can continue this debate for eternity. I agree with your point that on-line harm can lead to real-world harm and that is something that we need to guard against.

I would like to switch over to the controversy surrounding Harvard in the limited time I have left. Now, I understand that there is much to be done by universities across the country to ensure that all their students feel safe on campus, but Harvard has implemented several initiatives to ensure that its Jewish and Israeli students feel supported and have a strong sense of belonging.

I disagree with the administration's decision to freeze over \$2 billion in critical funding to a university known for groundbreaking research and using the pretext of failing to address antisemitism on its campus is deeply misguided.

My question is for Mr. Segal. Given the ADL's partnership with Harvard to develop tools and best practices for combating antisemitism, can you share what measurable impact these initiatives have had so far in supporting Jewish and Israeli students on campus?

Mr. SEGAL. Well, I'll just start by saying, you know, to effectively combat antisemitism we need to safeguard those efforts from political exploitation. I would also say that, you know, banning, you know, foreign students from attending a university or removing their accreditation, like, that's not going to solve the antisemitism problem.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I agree. I think we have to stand strongly against antisemitism but we also have to stand strongly against weaponizing antisemitism for political gain.

I yield back.

Mr. PFLUGER. The gentleman yields.

We will now enter a second round of questioning. Only those that were here for the first round will be allowed to ask a second question. If somebody new who was not here for the first round comes then they will be allowed to ask but it will be a single 5-minute period.

The Chair now recognizes—I now right myself for 5 additional minutes of questioning.

Mr. Sleeper, you talked about the threat of future attacks and you said that you are worried about the attacks that SCN has predicted that there will be a rise. What about those?

So, we saw in the case of Boulder that this was a visa overstay issue. Are you worried about those that entered this country illegally that had a tie to terrorism? Could they also pose a threat?

Mr. SLEEPER. Well, certainly if there's individuals in this country that have a tie to terrorist organizations they should be a priority in monitoring ties to terrorist organizations without a doubt. Yes, sir.

Mr. PFLUGER. Do they pose a threat to the Jewish community?

Mr. SLEEPER. If there's an individual in this country that has a tie to a terrorist organization we should consider them a threat to the Jewish community. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PFLUGER. OK.

Dr. CARAFANO, when I think about the lawlessness that is happening across our country in many cities, talk to me about are these protesters in some cases being paid to go from city to city to protest, whether it is a "from the river to the sea" mindset or an anti-ICE mindset? Are there common threads that we see in these protests?

Mr. CARAFANO. We do see organizations that have in the public record supported activities including the BLM riots, the antisemitic riots that we've seen at universities and other places and people in California. This is undeniable.

Now, the question, you know, as I said my testimony, the key thing is material support. It's a real crime. It is a red line.

Now, I'm not accusing anybody of having conducted material support but the answer is where do you look for material support? You look for people who are involved in activities that result in harm to the public, whether it's a terrorist act or public violence.

Mr. PFLUGER. So, when you see communities that fail to take these protests seriously when they do cross the line of protected speech to an area where it is not protected, violence, threats of violence, and those types of things, is there an incentive in these communities to continue to foment this type of attitude? Is that leading to the growing danger and the growing threat across our country?

Mr. CARAFANO. I mean, I think as a general threat estimate we could say that a lot of the public, organized public violence that we've seen in the last half decade, is what we would call top down, right? It's not like the civil rights movement. It's not like people saying let's block the bridge in Montgomery, Alabama. It's people being organized and sent to the streets.

We're seeing the same people or the same groups organizing across a range of different issues. So, if you say is there an external threat of a button to push to say when do we want to create public discord in the United States and make that happen, we've seen a series of occasions now where it appears the answer to that is yes.

Then, as I said, the real question is because we're worried about public safety, if that crosses over into material support now you just don't have somebody that's fomenting public unrest for political motives, for international motives, but you might have people that are actually creating a physical threat to American citizens.

Mr. PFLUGER. Ms. Rayman, you talked about having both sides of the ideological spectrum covered. That it doesn't matter, that there you see it on both sides. But characterize those that are inciting these violent protests right now. What side of the political spectrum are they on, the ones that are screaming "from the river to the sea" and "Free Palestine" in a way that incites violence in protests?

Ms. RAYMAN. Certainly what's been, I think, most jarring for many in the Jewish community over the past few weeks has been the shift from what we had seen as, sort-of, peaceful but uncomfortable protest to violent protest. There's no question about that.

Mr. PFLUGER. Which side of the political spectrum do they lie on?

Ms. RAYMAN. They're coming from the far left. According to our survey, I didn't give this statistic before, we ask American Jews where are you most concerned about the threats? Thirty-three percent say the far left, 33 percent say the far right, 33 percent say Christian nationalism——

Mr. PFLUGER. Yes. Well, I understand that.

Ms. RAYMAN [continuing]. And 33 percent say extremism in the name of Islam.

Mr. PFLUGER. What I want to hone in on right now, though——

Ms. RAYMAN. Yes.

Mr. PFLUGER [continuing]. Is these protests have been going on for quite some time, for several years, in fact, and they have become more violent in nature. So, do you see that same character in that 33 percent that you just identified on the far right in the terms of massive amounts of people in massive protests that go from peaceful to violent?

Ms. RAYMAN. The really tragic part of what we are seeing in antisemitism in America today is that we cannot look in only one direction. Right now it would be very easy to turn all of our attention to the far left, to the anti-Zionist protesters and say this is where the threat is coming from now and ignore every other source of antisemitism.

Mr. PFLUGER. Unacceptable in any forum on either side.

Ms. RAYMAN. We cannot do that. We don't have that luxury.

Mr. PFLUGER. I agree, thank you. My time has expired.

I yield to the Ranking Member.

Mr. MAGAZINER. Thank you.

On that point, I mean, again, I think it is important that we call out antisemitism wherever it exists and that we act to prevent violence whatever the motivation. You know, that is certainly true when protests turn violent on the far left.

It is also true, for example, in Charlottesville, a mass protest that turned violent replete with chants of "Jews will not replace us," among other inappropriate and incendiary slogans. So, we have got to call it all out.

But, you know, one of the dynamics that I find here, and this has not been the case, I want to thank the Chairman for a very good conversation and for calling this hearing. I want to thank all of the witnesses for bringing, I think, good, actionable recommendations.

But I think one of the things that frustrates some of us, particularly, you know, those who are Jewish Members of Congress or who, like myself, don't practice but have Jewish heritage, is sometimes, you know, we feel that antisemitism is being used to justify whatever the political agenda is that someone is trying to push when really what we need to be doing right now is listening to the Jewish community in this moment of crisis and asking the Jewish community in America what do you need?

So in that vein, hearing recommendations from these panelists is very instructive. I want to make sure that those recommendations are the center of what we take away from this, recommendations like fully funding the nonprofit security grant program and getting the nearly half billion dollars that has already been allocated out the door to organizations that need it.

Funding and supporting the CP3 program so that we can prevent radicalization before it occurs. That is a recommendation that is actionable that we in Congress can have influence over that we need and support.

Another recommendation that I noticed in Mr. Segal's testimony had to do with the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education. I think particularly in the higher education conversation right now that is important, so I would like to offer you a moment, you know, Mr. Segal, to explain the rationale for that recommendation and why it is important.

Mr. SEGAL. Yes. I mean, we need to, kind-of, attack where we are seeing antisemitism. I will say it's not only on college campuses. We're seeing it, you know, throughout our society. We're seeing it on-line. We're seeing it in the mouths of some of our leaders.

But I think, you know, when you think about ways to try to attack this issue before it gets worse, finding ways to deal with it when people are younger and giving them alternatives is going to help prevent future issues of antisemitism.

I would just like to say, you know, the attacks of tomorrow are being incubated today, whether it's in on-line spaces, whether it is in people feeling emboldened to harass their Jewish classmates, et cetera. So, the Education Department being able to focus on Title 6, for example, cases—

Mr. MAGAZINER. Yes.

Mr. SEGAL [continuing]. Hopefully will help.

Mr. MAGAZINER. That is incredibly important. I agree. Again, just for the record, I stated this earlier, so far this year the administration has cut at least 240 employees from that office at a time when we should be surging resources.

The way to deal with antisemitism on campuses is by having strong Title 6 enforcement, by having the Department of Education exercise oversight, not by cutting funding to medical research, not by turning away the best and the brightest from around the world who want to study in the United States.

So, again, I just want to make sure that we are listening to what our expert witnesses here are asking us for as a Congress and that the administration is listening as well.

Look, I do retain optimism. I believe that we can get past this period of divisiveness and hate that we are living in and we can build a brighter and better future, but we need to put the resources in the right places. Support DHS, support law enforcement, support the people who are doing the work of enforcing Title 6 do the actual work and put the funding where it belongs. This is not a time to be pulling back. Yes, going after hate on-line is absolutely essential.

I will just end on this. The social media platforms will pretend that they are neutral conduits for speech but when their algorithms amplify certain kinds of content, content that promotes violence, content that promotes hate, when their algorithms do that they are not being neutral. The algorithms are not neutral on those platforms and therefore they have a responsibility to exercise their power responsibly. If they don't, then Congress has a role to step in.

So, thank you all again. I yield back.

Mr. PFLUGER. The gentleman yields.

The Chair now recognizes gentleman from Colorado Mr. Evans.

Mr. EVANS. Thank you, Chairman. Thank you for the second round of questioning.

This was something that had come up in the first round and what I will probably do is I will frame the question and then we will go down the line and just hear each of your thoughts on it. As a cop you get to learn all sorts of fun case law and in this particular case *Brandenburg v. Ohio* from 1969 is the current governing SCOTUS case around where does free speech end and where does criminal action begin.

So just for the sake of framing this, I will read you a quick synopsis of it, which is that, "speech may not be forbidden, advocating the use of force or unlawful conduct, unless that advocacy is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action or is likely to incite or produce such a lawless action."

So, it goes back to the old hypothetical. Is it allowed to yell fire in a crowded theater? Well, that depends. Is there actually fire in a crowded theater, then yes, you should absolutely yell fire in a crowded theater.

But if you yell those exact same words with the intention of sowing discord, causing lawlessness, somebody gets hurt in a chaotic evacuation and you knew there was no fire and you did it out of malicious intent, well then, of course, that is not protected speech.

So, in the in the case of the discussion that we are having here, I would just like to go down the line starting with Mr. Sleeper and hear your thoughts around some of the slogans that we are hearing, "Free Palestine," "the river to the sea" and help break down the things that you are looking for that would help to define that line between something protected by free speech or something that is, as it says here in *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, calling for imminent lawless action or likely to incite that imminent lawless action. We have got 3½ minutes left.

Mr. SLEEPER. Thank you, sir. Our analysts are trained and managed to a privacy policy. We have a very rigorous privacy policy at SCN. We are specifically looking for individuals on-line who are making violent threats to the Jewish community, not threats, not comments about the Jewish community but threats to life. Clearly that meets the exemption policy in the First Amendment. Real threats are an exemption.

Attempts to intimidate and create fear are an exemption, so that's exactly what we're doing in the sense of staying true to the Constitution and the First Amendment but still being effective in identifying individuals intent upon threatening the Jewish community.

Mr. EVANS. Thank you.

Mr. Segal.

Mr. SEGAL. Yes. I would just say quickly there are 2 elements that we look at. No. 1 is, you know, there is completely protected speech that can still be very damaging, not because it's immediate but this is a slow boil. The more that you dehumanize Jews and Israelis over time, the more that you normalize the type of language that isolates them and encourages people to try to attack them, the more likely it is possible.

So, it doesn't mean the speech is illegal but it means we still need to do something about that and find some counteractions.

The second part, real quick, on-line spaces where a lot of these discussions are starting and that animate what we're seeing in the real world, include terrorist organizations being able to share their propaganda, their communiques with a whole host of people around the globe. That may be a space like on Telegram to interrupt some of the language that we know is not only by foreign terrorist organizations but actually is animating that violence.

So, I'd like to find a way and I would like to work with any leaders here to find a way to drive a wedge in that space.

Mr. EVANS. Thank you.

Dr. Carafano.

Mr. CARAFANO. The reason why I focus on material support is because it's an action that we absolutely know stops terrorists and public violence. As you pointed out in that legal opinion, there was a bright line there. It is not a free speech issue period.

Can I just make a very quick comment on your last question?—which was on the information sharing and State and local. Because if a 287(g) program had been in place in Boulder, Colorado, it is very likely that that perpetrator would have been found and removed for the country.

There was only actually, I think, one 287(g) program. It was in Teller County. It was actually invalidated by the courts because it violated State law.

Mr. EVANS. No, there—yes, it was invalidated by State law directly in 2023 because I debated that State law in the State legislature. Thank you.

We have got 34 seconds left. Ms. Rayman.

Ms. RAYMAN. I'll be very speedy. I want to echo what Oren said about whether it's permissible or not. We have a responsibility to push back against language and rhetoric that when it seeps into the consciousness of even some, if not all, can be dangerous and flag for the subcommittee a resource from AJC called Translate Hate that is a visual glossary of antisemitic terms and tropes that sometimes hide in plain sight.

It talks about when they are and when they may not be antisemitic, and it includes terms like, "from the river to the sea," "Globalized the Intifada." Happy to provide this and any other resources after the hearing today.

Mr. EVANS. Thank you.

Yield back.

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

The Chair recognizes gentleman from New York Mr. Goldman.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As the co-chair of the bipartisan House Antisemitism Task Force, I think a lot about how to address antisemitism. I think one of the most important ways not to address antisemitism is to make it partisan and to try to place more relative blame on one party or another party for antisemitism.

I will say, as a member of the Democratic Party, that those people who espouse rhetoric, the "from the river to the sea, Globalize the Intifada," also in many cases are anti-American and anti-democratic. They are not part of the Democratic Party.

They are extremists. I don't know if they are part of any political party, but I and many of my colleagues disavow them. They are not part of our party. If you are anti-American and anti-democratic then you are not part of any party. I hope we can stop trying to place more blame on one or the other and use it for partisan gain or political points.

Mr. Segal, I want to go back to I think what is a really, really important area to discuss, one that I have been focused on for quite a while, and that is the rise of antisemitic rhetoric and terrorist action or terrorist conduct and rhetoric on social media.

Starting in November 2023, I wrote 3 different letters ultimately to Speaker Johnson asking for an investigation of X because X had been promoting terrorists on its platform, notwithstanding its rules and conditions.

Now, Meta has followed X and has decided not to have any content moderation. According to a recent Tech Transparency Project Report that you can search for and collate pages and pages for the Islamic State, for al-Qaeda that are automatically generated by Facebook when you just list that terrorist group or you check into a terrorist group.

Now, Facebook says that it bans Islamic State and al-Qaeda and says that its technology is specially trained to detect them but that is flatly not the case.

TikTok, of course, has been well-documented to be promoting antisemitic rhetoric, antisemitic speech, and supporting terrorist organizations that preach antisemitism and anti-Israel beliefs.

This is what has radicalized the 3 recent perpetrators of violence. They have been radicalized on-line. I think your point about figuring out how to put a wedge in the social media platforms to prevent the proliferation and the promotion of that content is essential to combating antisemitism. I am very interested in working with you.

You know, I urge the Chairman to pick this up because I think that if we do want to address antisemitism we have to tackle it on-line because that is unquestionably where people are radicalized right now.

I guess in the last minute or so, if you could just describe some suggestions and recommendations for actions that we could take to do that I would be grateful.

Mr. SEGAL. Thank you for the question and we would be delighted to work with your staff on ways to move this forward. You know, I think the big point here is it's not just the presence of antisemitism on these platforms. It's the ability for these platforms to amplify it and for antisemites to actually monetize those products because of their antisemitism, right? I mean, that is even beyond just merely having it show up.

So we need stronger trust and safety parts of these organizations which have been decimated by some of them. We need to make sure that there are teams that are actually, whether it's using automated technologies or human beings, like, they need to enforce their terms of services, right? I mean——

Mr. GOLDMAN. I mean, it is that simple, right? They have——

Mr. SEGAL. Yes.

Mr. GOLDMAN [continuing]. Regulation. They have the restrictions. They are just not enforcing them.

Mr. SEGAL. Right. You know, ADL, for example, we have a hate symbols database. We have all sorts of information that if someone's really looking for antisemitism and hate all they have to do is train their algorithms on what we provide, which is publicly available, to identify that hate and then make a dent into those types of exploitation of their platforms by antisemites.

But there needs to be a willingness there. They need to want to put people over profits and, frankly, if they're not going to do it on their own, I think government needs to step in—

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

Mr. SEGAL [continuing]. And provide an opportunity for that.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the extra time. I really sincerely hope that we can tackle this issue because it is incredibly important on the issue of counterterrorism and antisemitism. Thank you for the extra time.

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

The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman, Ms. Pou.

Ms. POU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and to our Ranking Member Magaziner for holding this very important hearing today. Let me just begin by indicating that clearly the rise of the antisemitism in the United States and across the world is alarming, especially after the October 7 terrorist attack that antisemitism attacks have increased exponentially.

No one should feel threatened or scared because of who they are and we must call out antisemitism each and every time that it rears its ugly head.

Today, I want to point out though that President Trump and his administration has cut vital Federal programs' funding and programs that are key in fighting against antisemitism. These freezes and cuts must be reversed immediately. It is something I have actually spoken about here in this very committee.

My first question, what I would like to direct it to, I am sorry, Deputy Director Sleeper. Let me just make reference to the fact that these nonprofit security grants is a critical Federal resource that helps organization at a high risk of terrorism and other extremist attacks improve their physical security and prepare for the myriad threats they face for synagogues, mosques, churches, schools, and community centers.

This program is not the only medium to obtain the protections that they need to keep their community safe. Unfortunately, as I pointed out, to date the administration has not released any notice of funding opportunity for the fiscal year 2025 or conducted its usual public webinar to help potential applicants understand the grant application process.

Nearly a month ago right here in this room, I pressed Secretary Noem on when our communities would receive guidance on this critical funding? Unfortunately, she did not give me an answer and here we are today still waiting, by the way.

So with that, deputy director, how are the delays in receiving the notice of funding opportunities, along with the absence of public-facing guidance like the webinar, impacting the ability of vulner-

able organizations and groups to access resources necessary to protect their communities?

Mr. SLEEPER. Thank you. The nonprofit security grant has and should continue to be an essential component of a comprehensive security strategy to secure Jewish facilities.

Ms. POU. Well, thank you. We obviously know that, but unfortunately, I just want to stress the fact that that is still on-going and not released and that is something that we are all advocating for but, unfortunately, that is still something that has not happened.

We also recognize that home-grown violent extremists and domestic terrorists prey on our Jewish community. This is why our New Jersey Office of Homeland Security identified attacks from these groups as the highest threat to New Jersey. But inexplicably, the administration, the Trump administration, is redirecting counterterrorism personnel and funds that should be used to fight home-grown domestic terrorism.

For example, the FBI field offices across the country has been ordered to reassign agents away from our counterterrorism and counterintelligence. Recent antisemitic attacks at the capital Jewish museum in Washington, DC and in Boulder, Colorado, underscore the urgent need to double down on efforts to combat domestic terrorism and simply not walk away from them.

So with that said, Mr. Segal, how does redirecting, once again, Federal resources from the home-grown extremists and domestic terrorists affects the safety and security of the Jewish community?

Mr. SEGAL. It affects the safety and security of the Jewish community. We need to seize this moment now when the Jewish community is in a crisis of violence and antisemitic incidents targeting the Jewish community to make sure that we are using every opportunity to uplift. Invest in, not contract, funding in those entities that will help protect the Jewish community.

Ms. POU. So, I know I have 5 seconds but let me just say I hope that you are sharing that thought and making that statement to the front office, the White House, so that these funds can do exactly what you are talking about and making sure to protect that because that is not happening.

Mr. PFLUGER. The gentlelady—

Ms. POU. I yield back, Mr. Chairman. Thank you so very much.

Mr. PFLUGER. I am sorry for mispronouncing your name, Ms. Pou earlier.

I will now recognize Ranking Member for a very brief closing statement. I will follow as well.

Mr. MAGAZINER. So, again, I want to thank the Chairman for calling a hearing on this absolutely essential topic.

Thank our witnesses for doing an excellent job today and coming, I think, with a very thoughtful and also productive approach to this hearing and giving us some good recommendations that we should absolutely consider and act on.

Look, a lot has been said already. I will just say it again. I think both in Congress and from the administration when it comes to combating violent antisemitism we need not just rhetoric but also resources. That is important and it cannot be overstated.

So, I am going to continue to fight for those resources. I hope and I expect that we will have bipartisan support in that effort and

that we will all continue to find the inspiration to call out antisemitic hate wherever it exists, that we will continue to work together to meet this moment that we are in, and combat the culture of hate that, unfortunately, has taken root across much of our society.

I will end, I opened by referencing President Washington's visit to the Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island. It was an important signal, you know, 235 years ago from our first President that he wanted our country to be a place that was welcoming to all faiths and particularly the Jewish faith.

The building still stands. If you ever find yourselves in Rhode Island I encourage you to visit it. It is quite moving and inspirational.

In advance of his visit, he wrote a letter to the congregation that I will quote from it and from now on, and hopefully his words can inspire us as it inspired Americans in his time.

He wrote, "May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the goodwill of the other inhabitants while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid. My the father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths and make all of us in our vocations useful here and in his own due time and way everlastingly happy."

With that, I will yield back.

Mr. PFLUGER. I think the Ranking Member.

I think our witnesses agree with the Ranking Member on the thoughtful dialog today with recommendations that are very helpful.

I will note as an observation that there is a movement in our country to stifle free speech. It is real. It is happening in many different places. It is happening in universities. It is happening, in fact, in the last administration with the thought of the disinformation board to be run by this department, the Homeland Security Department, a horrible idea.

So, we balance the safety and security of our citizens with free speech, and this is a hard thing. The testimony that we have heard from each of you has been very helpful to balance that.

When protected speech turns into violence, when it turns into the threat of violence, when it turns into the inciting of violence is where we cross over that threshold. We will struggle with that here.

I am very glad to hear my colleague from New York talk about those who have made horribly not just insensitive but false and violent statements from one party or another. In the case that I believe that my colleague from New York was referring to those in his own party, and we do need to call out those who are making egregious and what can be referred to as inciting violent type of statements.

I don't think it is just funding. I do think we need funding but it is not just funding. It is policy. It is a willingness. It is the political will to stand up to an antisemitic mindset that, unfortunately, has permeated our society. It is a willingness to prosecute in places that are not upholding law and order.

Whether it is an anti-ICE protest that turns violent or it is an antisemitic protest that turns violent, it is an unwillingness to prosecute those that is way more important than any sort of funding could ever be. I think we know this because not a single law changed, not a single amount of funding changed and the border immediately became secure.

So, yes, we will work on funding where we need it. I agree with the Ranking Member that where we can put good resources to use we will.

But what I would really like to call on is, and if this is equally across the spectrum a problem as has been testified to today, which I am not sure that I believe that, but if it is then I hope that we will be able to call it out, because right now we do see an ideology that has permeated in a far left mentality that has attracted thousands of people.

I hope that I can count on the Ranking Member to call that out. If and when we find out that there is an ideology that is associated with the other side that we can do the same. I think the safety and security of the Jewish community has been threatened.

I am glad that we are holding this hearing to figure out some of the facts with more research to be done to understand where legislation can be helpful and what we need to do to take the next steps because this isn't a bipartisan issue. This is a nonpartisan issue.

It is not just the Jewish community. It is every community that could be targeted in one way or another. We 100 percent have to recognize that, but right now it is the Jewish community that is being targeted and that is unacceptable.

So, I thank the Ranking Member and the Members who joined this hearing. I thank our witnesses and commit to continuing to combat this and continuing to find good solutions.

I want to say to the Members of the subcommittee that if you have additional questions for the witnesses we would ask the witnesses to respond to those in writing. Pursuant to our committee rule (VII)E, the hearing record will be open for the next 10 days.

Without objection, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:24 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

