

The Ugliness of White Supremacy Extremists

Field Notes from 2019

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Table of Contents

Section	Page Number
About the Editor	3
Introduction	4
The Aryan Brotherhood of Texas	9
The Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act	11
Resolution Condemning White Supremacist Terrorism	12
Selected Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives in the hearing Confronting White Supremacy (Part I): The Consequences of Inaction	14
Selected Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives on FBI Efforts to Combat an Increasing Threat of White Supremacy and White Extremism	25
Selected Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives on Confronting White Supremacy (Part II): Adequacy of the Federal Response	30
Three Members of White Supremacist Group Sentenced for 2017 “Unite the Right” Rally Charlottesville	37
Selected Legislative Comments on Gilroy, El Paso, Dayton	40
The Historic FBI Investigation of the Klu Klux Klan	44
History - Civil Wrongs and Civil Rights: U.S. Marshals Upholding the Constitution	54

About the Editor

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Books by Michael Erbschloe

Extremist Propaganda in Social Media: A Threat to Homeland Security (CRC Press)

Threat Level Red: Cybersecurity Research Programs of the U.S. Government (CRC Press)

Social Media Warfare: Equal Weapons for All (CRC Press)

Walling Out the Insiders: Controlling Access to Improve Organizational Security (CRC Press)

Physical Security for IT (Elsevier Science)

Trojans, Worms, and Spyware (Butterworth-Heinemann)

Implementing Homeland Security in Enterprise IT (Digital Press)

Guide to Disaster Recovery (Course Technology)

Socially Responsible IT Management (Digital Press)

Information Warfare: How to Survive Cyber Attacks (McGraw Hill)

The Executive's Guide to Privacy Management (McGraw Hill)

Net Privacy: A Guide to Developing & Implementing an e-business Privacy Plan (McGraw Hill)

Introduction

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK, the Klan), founded in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, was established as a direct response to the South's defeat in the Civil War. As a secret vigilante group, the Klan targeted black freedmen and their allies; it sought to restore white supremacy by threats and violence, including beatings, lynchings, and murder. Blacks lived in fear of groups like the Klan who exerted reign of terror across the South where their crimes were rarely prosecuted.

In the 1870s, the U.S. Congress took action to curtail the violence and the organization by using Enforcement Acts to prosecute Klansmen. The Klan experienced a resurgence in 1915 with the release of the W.D. Griffith's film "Birth of a Nation" and the murder trial and subsequent lynching of Jewish-American factory owner Leo M. Frank. Revived near Atlanta, Georgia, the new KKK's rapid growth was based not only on the idea of white supremacy, but also on anti-immigration, anti-Catholicism, Prohibition, and anti-Semitism. The KKK reached its peak nationwide in the 1920s.

After WWII, the name Ku Klux Klan was used by numerous groups throughout the South who opposed the civil rights movement and desegregation. These groups used cross burnings, beatings, bombings, and murder to intimidate civil rights activists and local black communities. During this period, the groups often forged alliances with police departments and state offices to further their cause. The U.S. government revived the Force Acts in 1963, when Mississippi officials refused to prosecute KKK members for the murder of three civil rights workers, James Earl Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner.

During the late 1960s and 1970s, the KKK shifted its focus to one opposing affirmative action, immigration, and court-ordered school busing. In 1971, KKK members blew up school buses in Pontiac, Michigan in an attempt to stop a court-ordered school desegregation plan. Today, researchers estimate that there are as many as 150 Klan chapters active in the U.S. with between 5,000 and 8,000 members nationwide. That was just the beginning.

An April 6, 2017 report from the General Accountability Office stated that white supremacists, anti-government extremists, radical Islamist extremists, and other ideologically inspired domestic violent extremists have been active in the United States for decades. Examples of attacks include the 1993 World Trade Center bombing by radical Islamists, in which 6 persons were killed; and the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building by anti-government far right individuals, in which 168 lives were lost. The September 11, 2001, attacks account for the largest number of fatalities in the United States in a single or closely-related attack resulting from violent extremism in recent decades. While the September 11, 2001, attacks were perpetrated by foreign violent extremists, from September 12, 2001 through December 31, 2016, attacks by domestic or "homegrown" violent extremists in the United States resulted in 225 fatalities, according to the ECDB. Of these, 106 were killed by far right violent extremists in 62 separate incidents, and 119 were victims of radical Islamist violent extremists in 23 separate incidents. Since then hundreds of people have been killed by domestic terrorist, crazy deranged evil white guys.

In 2018, there were 50 domestic extremist murders, all of which were committed by perpetrators with ties to right-wing extremists, and 78% of which were committed by white supremacists.

Right-wing extremism is also responsible for 73% of extremist killings over the last decade, compared to 23% for Islamist extremism and 3% for left-wing extremism. The FBI also found a 17% increase in reported hate crimes in 2017 from the previous year and a 31% increase since 2014.

Under the Trump Administration, DHS appears to have significantly reduced resources and infrastructure that would address the increasing threat of white supremacist extremism. Reportedly, DHS recently disbanded a group of analysts focused on domestic terrorism in the Office of Intelligence and Analysis, reducing the number of analytic reports on white supremacists.

Violent White Supremacist Extremists (WSE) are defined as individuals who seek, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence, to support their belief in the intellectual and moral superiority of the white race over other races. The mere advocacy of political or social positions, political activism, use of strong rhetoric, or generalized philosophic embrace of violent tactics may be constitutionally protected activities. A DHS reference aid discussed trends with WSE targeting and tactics, historical attack data and examples of lethal attacks in the United States since 2012, their geographic location, mobilization to violence as lone offenders or members of small cells, social media use, and common behavioral indicators during their radicalization to violence.

Key Points

- **Targets and Tactics:** WSE violence often targets racial, ethnic, and religious minorities, as well as government and law enforcement officials. Attacks are often against targets of opportunity rather than pre-meditated plots against previously identified targets. Since 2010, firearms were the most common weapon used in recent WSE attacks followed by knives and other edged weapons.
- **Attack Numbers:** Between 2000 and August 2016, there were 28 attacks in the United States committed by WSEs, which collectively resulted in 51 fatalities.
- **Geographic Dispersal:** Given social media's ability to virtually connect WSEs and the decline in the membership and influence of historically prominent WSE groups, WSEs are increasingly geographically dispersed throughout the nation.
- **Lone Offenders and Small Cells:** Most recent attacks have been by male lone offenders or small cells, who are not acting under the formal direction of an organized group.
- **Social Media:** While typically constitutionally protected speech, there has been an exponential growth online over the past few years in WSE themes and messages. Many WSEs use social media, as well as websites promoting WSE narratives, to share their views and connect with like-minded individuals.

Examples of Lethal Attacks

- **Charleston, SC:** Dylan Roof on 17 June 2015 shot and killed nine individuals at a historic black church. He published his manifesto online ahead of time in which he chronicled his disdain for minorities, especially African-Americans. Police arrested Roof the following day, and he was sentenced to death in January 2017 in a federal court after a jury convicted him of murder and hate crime charges.

- Overland Park, KS: Fraizer Glenn Miller, who hated and desired to kill Jews, on 13 April 2014 shot and killed three people who were outside two Jewish centers. He was sentenced to death in November 2015 after being found guilty of capital murder, aggravated assault, and discharging a firearm into an occupied building.
- Oak Creek, WI: Wade Michael Page—who was a member of the racist skinhead group Hammerskins—on 5 August 2012 shot and killed six individuals and wounded four others at a Sikh temple. Page also wounded a police officer who arrived at the scene. After he was shot in the stomach by another officer, Page committed suicide.

Behavioral Indicators of Possible Radicalization to Violence

A US Government review of recently mobilized violent extremists produced the below list of common, observable activities many of the individuals engaged in during their radicalization to violence. Some of the observed activities include constitutionally protected activity, which by itself may not be indicative of criminal activity associated with terrorism. Posting on the internet or social media sites one's desire to pursue acts of violence in the United States on behalf of WSE goals;

Communicating with known or suspected US or overseas-based violent extremists in person or on websites promoting WSE narratives or social media sites;

Attempting to recruit or radicalize others to pursue acts of violence in the United States on behalf of WSE goals;

Seeking religious or political justification for engaging in or supporting violence in the United States;

Performing internet research for target selection and/or acquisition of technical capabilities, without a reasonable explanation, could be indicative of planning for attacks in the United States;

Newly engaging in firearms or physical training while expressing a desire to pursue plotting in the United States on behalf of WSE goals;

Conducting suspicious financial transactions to obtain the funds to acquire weapons, explosives, or precursors to build improvised explosive devices;

Destroying electronic media and deactivating social media accounts that individuals previously used to post their support for WSE goals;

Using cover stories to mask nefarious activities, such as plans to engage in or support violence; and

Giving away or selling possessions such as cars and electronics, maxing out credit cards, taking out money from student loan accounts, or borrowing money from friends and relatives, in conjunction with an expressed desire to pursue acts of violence in the United States on behalf of WSE goals.

In May of 2012 an FBI press release reported that it was a gruesome and hateful crime—three men with white supremacist tattoos punching and kicking the face and body of an African-

American man at a bus stop in Houston last summer simply because of the color of his skin. All three were recently convicted of the attack, following an investigation by the FBI and its partners.

It's not an isolated case. It seems like a throwback to a different era, but white supremacy—which sees whites as inherently superior to those of other races—still exists in America today. Having those kinds of beliefs is not against the law...as a matter of fact, it's protected by the First Amendment. But white supremacy becomes a crime—and for the FBI, a form of what we call extremism—when it is furthered through threatened or actual use of force or violence or other illegal activity.

The Bureau has been investigating the criminal activities of white supremacy extremists like Ku Klux Klan members since as early as 1918. Today's extremists are more challenging than ever. They're affiliated with a variety of white supremacy groups, and they can be motivated by any number of religious or political ideologies. There are also more lone offenders and small, violent factions of larger groups at work, which makes detection of these crimes tougher.

White supremacy extremists specifically target racial, ethnic, and religious minorities; the federal government; and in some instances, even each other. Their tactics include assault, murder, threats and intimidation, and bombings. They also commit other kinds of crimes—like drug trafficking, bank and armored car robberies, and counterfeiting—to fund their hate-filled activities.

Over the years, the federal government has successfully charged white supremacy extremists using a number of federal statutes, including civil rights violations, racketeering, solicitation to commit crimes of violence, firearms violations, explosives violations, counterfeiting and forgery, and witness tampering.

The FBI has led or participated in several significant investigations involving violence or attempted violence by self-admitted white supremacists. A few examples:

In February 2012, an Arizona man was sentenced to federal prison after pleading guilty to possessing and transporting improvised explosive devices near the U.S.-Mexico border. [Details](#)

In January 2012, the last of four Arkansas defendants charged with firebombing the home of an interracial couple was sentenced to federal prison. [Details](#)

In December 2011, a Washington man was sentenced to 32 years in prison for attempting to bomb a Martin Luther King, Jr. Unity Day march in Spokane. [Details](#)

In May 2010, an Oregon man pled guilty to mailing a hangman's noose to the home of the president of a local NAACP chapter in Ohio. [Details](#)

Moving forward, there are three keys to turning back the ongoing scourge of white supremacy extremism:

An increased emphasis on the lawful gathering, analyzing, and sharing of intelligence on current and emerging trends, tactics, and threats.

Continued collaboration with our local, state, tribal, and federal partners, especially on our Joint Terrorism Task Forces around the nation.

And most importantly, the support of Americans who find these types of crimes abhorrent and antithetical to our way of life.

The Aryan Brotherhood of Texas

On August 10, 2017 the last of 89 members/associates of Aryan Brotherhood of Texas and Aryan Circle sentenced to 20 years in federal prison; represents the largest case prosecuted in US focusing on white supremacist prison gang members. The Investigation targeted white supremacists with long and violent criminal histories who were selling illegal drugs in North Texas communities.

Prosecutors in the Northern District of Texas wrapped up what was believed to be the largest prosecution in the nation's history of individuals connected to violent white supremacist gangs, announced John Parker, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Texas.

This investigation was led by the Texas Department of Public Safety (DPS-CID) Gang Unit and the Dallas Police Department Criminal Intelligence Unit with assistance from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement's (ICE) Homeland Security Investigations (HSI); the Garland (Texas) Police Department Neighborhood Police Officer Unit; the Collin County (Texas) Sheriff's Office; and the Texas police departments of Mesquite, Sherman, Denison and Sulphur Springs.

The 89th and last defendant to be sentenced in this case, Jeramy Weatherall, 29, of Dallas, Texas, was sentenced by U.S. District Judge Jane J. Boyle to 20 years in federal prison, following his guilty plea in March 2017 to one count of possession of methamphetamine with the intent to distribute.

Out of 91 defendants charged, 89 were convicted, one remains a fugitive and was believed to be in Mexico, and one died before trial began. Those convicted received a combined total of 1,070+ years in federal prison. Casey Rose, 36, of Mesquite, Texas, was sentenced to life in federal prison, following his conviction at trial in September 2015 on conspiracy, drug trafficking and firearm charges.

"The Aryan Brotherhood of Texas and the Aryan Circle have essentially been decimated in North Texas," said U.S. Attorney Parker. "The outstanding collaborative work of the Texas Department of Public Safety and the Dallas Police Department helped ensure that each of the 89 defendants who were arrested have now been convicted and sentenced."

"Strong law enforcement partnerships and the hard work of all those involved led to a successful investigation and the resulting prosecutions," said Department of Public Safety Region 1 Commander Jack Webster. "We continue to work with our law enforcement partners to proactively protect the citizens of Texas in an ever-changing threat environment."

"The Dallas Police Department is proud to have participated in this investigation that resulted in 89 convictions of dangerous gang members who terrorized communities with their criminal activity," said Interim Dallas Police Chief David Pughes. "It is a great example of the success of local and Federal Law Enforcement working together with the United States Attorney to ensure that the worst career criminals are brought to justice."

The defendants were members of the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas (ABT), the Aryan Circle, the "Irish Mob," the "Dirty White Boys," the "White Knights," and the "Peckerwood" – all of which

are violent white supremacist gangs. Each of these gangs is an organized crime group, but in recent years, the white supremacy ideology of each of these groups has taken a backseat to traditional criminal ventures, such as drug-dealing. The defendants in this case included several high-ranking members of these organizations.

Particularly noteworthy is that collectively, the defendants were held accountable for 956 kilograms (about 2,108 pounds) of methamphetamine, with a conservative street value of just under \$10 million, as well as possessing and using 88 firearms and dangerous weapons.

Combined, the 89 defendants had been previously convicted of 736 crimes. Of the 736 previous convictions, 234 were drug-related offenses; 76 were violent offenses; 36 were gun offenses; 37 were burglaries; seven were sex or child abuse offenses; and one was a murder conviction. Fifteen of the defendants were deemed “career offenders” under the U.S. Sentencing Guidelines. Some defendants had as many as 25 prior convictions. And only six of the 89 had no prior convictions.

Assistant U.S. Attorney P. J. Meitl, Northern District of Texas, was in charge of these prosecutions.

The Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act

On March 27, 2019 U.S Senator Tim Kaine joined Senator Dick Durbin to introduce legislation to address the growing threat of white supremacists and other violent right-wing extremists. The Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act would enhance the federal government's efforts to prevent domestic terrorism by requiring federal law enforcement agencies to regularly assess this threat and provide training and resources to assist state, local, and tribal law enforcement in addressing it.

“The rise of white supremacy is an undeniable threat to the safety of our communities. In 2017, violent white supremacists brought their hate to Virginia when they marched through the streets of Charlottesville. As the threat of violent white supremacy continues to mount, we must do more to ensure law enforcement has the training and resources they need to detect, deter, and investigate these acts of terrorism,” Kaine said.

According to a May 2017 intelligence bulletin by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), white supremacist extremism poses a persistent threat of lethal violence, and white supremacists were responsible for 49 homicides in 26 attacks from 2000 to 2016—more than any other domestic extremist movement.

The bill requires the Justice Department (DOJ), DHS, and FBI to monitor, analyze, investigate, and prosecute domestic terrorist activity. The agencies would be tasked with (1) issuing joint annual reports to the House and Senate Judiciary, Homeland Security, and Intelligence Committees that assess the domestic terrorism threat posed by white supremacists; (2) analyzing domestic terrorism incidents that occurred in the previous year; and (3) providing transparency through a public quantitative analysis of domestic terrorism-related assessments, investigations, incidents, arrests, indictments, prosecutions, convictions, and weapons recoveries. The DOJ, DHS, and FBI offices would be required to focus their limited resources on the most significant domestic terrorism threats, as determined by the number of domestic terrorism-related incidents outlined in the joint report.

The bill requires DOJ, DHS, and the FBI to provide training and resources to assist state, local, and tribal law enforcement in understanding, detecting, deterring, and investigating acts of domestic terrorism. The legislation also requires the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Forces and state, local, and regional fusion centers, which coordinate with DHS, to (1) share intelligence to address domestic terrorism activities; (2) conduct annual, intelligence-based assessments of domestic terrorism activities in their jurisdictions; and (3) formulate and execute a plan to combat domestic terrorism activities in their jurisdictions. Finally, the legislation would establish an interagency task force to combat white supremacist and neo-Nazi infiltration of the uniformed services.

Resolution Condemning White Supremacist Terrorism

On April 9, 2019 Congressman Malinowski introduced a Resolution condemning white supremacist terrorism and the anti-immigrant rhetoric that inspires it. The bill addresses the deadly white supremacist attacks on Jewish and Muslim communities that have been motivated by virulent anti-immigrant propaganda.

The gunmen responsible for the terrorist attacks against a synagogue in Pittsburgh and a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand both echoed white supremacist rhetoric claiming that immigrants are “invading” the United States and other Western countries. This resolution condemns that baseless allegation and the leaders who repeat and propagate it, while recognizing that immigration has strengthened the United States.

To reinforce the opposition to this vile rhetoric, the “whereas” clauses of the resolution are taken entirely from President Ronald Reagan’s final speech as president, in which he extolled the benefits of immigration to the United States.

“It is time to take the transnational threat of white supremacist terrorism as seriously as we’ve rightly taken the threat posed by other international terrorist organizations. It is time to give our law enforcement and intelligence agencies the mandate and resources they need to keep us safe from this threat. And it is time to stop tolerating words spoken by any political leader that echo the propaganda of terrorists that immigration poses some intrinsic threat to our society. Those words are not only cruel. Those words can kill,” said Congressman Tom Malinowski.

“Too often in recent memory, horrific acts of violence and terror have been carried out by avowed white supremacists inspired by anti-immigrant rhetoric and propaganda. However, these events are not anything new; they carry with them a long history of hatred that has festered in this country. This hatred is now emboldened more than it had been for generations, and we are witnessing its horrific consequences” said Congressman Elijah E. Cummings. “I am proud to stand with my colleagues as we condemn this hateful violence and propaganda, and I pledge to continue to work to ensure that those responsible for white supremacist violence are held to account and brought to justice.”

“We cannot ignore the rise in extremist violence in our country and around the world. Rather, we must acknowledge the hateful motivations behind the recent spate of deadly attacks committed by white supremacists. Our nation must take these threats seriously and invest the necessary federal resources to prevent them,” said Congressman Ted Deutch.

“We must confront hate and put a stop to the spread of disinformation that only serves to divide us. Unfortunately, white supremacist and hate-filled rhetoric and attacks built on these ugly sentiments have become all too common. This resolution is another step toward combatting hate that leads to violence, and I am proud to cosponsor it,” said Congresswoman Nita Lowey.

“White nationalist terrorism poses a clear threat here in the United States and around the world. I’m proud to join Representative Malinowski in condemning this horrific ideology that has resulted in so much vile, hate-filled violence. As Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee,

I'll continue working on ways to combat the scourge of white supremacy anywhere it exists," said Congressman Eliot Engel.

The bill had over 60 original co-sponsors including: Elijah Cummings (D-MD), Jerrold Nadler (D-NY), Barbara Lee (D-CA), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Eliot Engel (D-NY), Zoe Lofgren (D-CA), Mark Takano (D-CA) Earl Blumenauer (D-OR), Debbie Wasserman-Shultz (FL-CA), Kim Schrier (D-WA), Joseph Morelle (D-NY), Veronica Escobar (D-TX), David Trone (D-MD), Gilbert Ray Cisneros (D-CA), Katie Porter (D-CA), Ilhan Omar (D-MN), Dean Philips (D-MN), Debbie Mucarsel-Powell (D-FL), Raja Krishnamoorthi (D-IL), Denny Heck (D-WA), Salud Carbajal (D-CA), Mikie Sherrill (D-NJ), Frank Pallone (D-NJ), Colin Allred (D-TX), Ron Kind (D-WI), Lori Trahan (D-MA), Jamie Raskin (D-MD), Donald Norcross (D-NJ), Sean Casten (D-IL), Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC), TJ Cox (D-CA), Lizzie Fletcher (D-TX), Alexandria Ocasio Cortez (D-NY), Katie Hill (D-CA), Bill Pascrell (D-NJ), Janice Schakowsky (D-IL), Adriano Espaillat (D-NY), James McGovern (D-MA), Madeleine Dean (D-PA), Ayanna Pressley (D-MA), Steve Cohen (D-TN), Julia Brownley (D-CA), Sylvia Garcia (D-TX), Jason Crow (D-CO), Hank Johnson Jr. (D-GA), Nydia Velazquez (D-NY), Jeff Van Drew (D-NJ), Abigail Spanberger (D-VA), Betty McCollum (D-MN), Ann McLane Kuster (D-NH), Yvette Clarke (D-NY), Gregory Meeks (D-NY), Andre Carson (D-IN), Harley Rouda (D-CA), Dina Titus (D-NV), Jim Cooper (D-TN), Debra Haaland (D-NM) and Danny Davis (D-IL).

Selected Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Oversight and Reform Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties in the hearing Confronting White Supremacy (Part I): The Consequences of Inaction

On May 15, 2019 **Roy L. Austin, Jr.** (A partner at the law firm Harris, Wiltshire & Grannis, LLP in Washington, DC. He is the former Deputy Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs, Justice & Opportunity, a former Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice and a former hate crimes' prosecutor.) testified in the hearing Confronting White Supremacy (Part I): The Consequences of Inaction.

Among many points he asserted that disappointingly, we do not have the slightest idea how many hate crimes there are in America. And we have never known. The numbers currently kept by the FBI are largely useless. While a small handful of states and law enforcement agencies seem to take the collection of hate crime numbers seriously, the majority of states and vast majority of law enforcement agencies either do not bother to report or do not bother to report accurate numbers. The best inference that can be drawn from the current data is that in the environment created by the current presidential administration, things have gotten worse/hate crimes have increased.

What is particularly shocking about this is that law enforcement agencies regularly speak about the importance of using data to perform better and keep the country safer. Increasingly, law enforcement agencies want to use artificial intelligence to engage in what they call predictive policing. But artificial intelligence with bad data is nothing more than junk science – also described as garbage in, garbage out. If we as a country were serious about using science and data to stop crime and particularly hate crimes. We would fix our data tomorrow. It's not that hard.

The importance of collecting good data could hardly be overstated. While every crime is significant, the harm can be exponential when the subject targeted the victim based on his or her actual or perceived race, ethnicity, religion, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability. The pain or fear from hate crime reaches a broader community; the act is anathema to who we are as a nation built on diversity. While we and every Black church in America mourned the murder of nine Black people in Emanuel AME in Charleston, S.C., the congregation of every Black church asked whether they might be next. While we and every Synagogue in America mourned the murder of eleven Jewish people at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, P.A., the parishioners of every synagogue in America asked whether they might be next. And sadly, the parishioners of the Chabad of Poway Synagogue in San Diego, C.A. know that the fear is justified.

Basically, the Federal Government seems happy to get whatever it gets from jurisdictions and put those numbers out publicly. But what do these numbers mean? What policy decisions can be made based on these numbers? What enforcement decisions can be made based on these numbers? Sadly, the answers to all of these questions is close to “nothing” or “none.”

My criticism of the numbers is not meant to criticize the individuals who work for the FBI's Criminal Justice Information Services Division (CJIS). As someone who worked with this team both when I was at the Department of Justice and the White House, I know it to be a team of smart and hard-working individuals who care deeply about their work collecting crime data. This team is willing to provide individualized training to any agency that needs help reporting hate crime numbers—but few take them up on this offer. The problems are structural. The team is under-resourced for work this important and where there are no incentives for providing this data, their task is largely impossible. This problem would be relatively easy to fix – make federal government funding contingent on providing accurate hate crime data. But, where we do not even mandate that law enforcement agencies provide general crime statistics, it will require serious leadership to move the ball in this direction on hate crime statistics.

What exacerbates the problem is the fact that the federal government does not even publish its own hate crimes numbers. The FBI works on hate crimes cases around the country with the Civil Rights Division and U.S. Attorney's Offices and none of those DOJ components regularly publishes in an easily accessible location any data about those cases. How can the federal government expect state and local law enforcement to publish data when it does not do so itself?

It only requires a quick look at the FBI Hate Crimes statistics to realize how unhelpful they are. The first thing one might notice is that the most up to date statistics are from 2017. We are now almost halfway through 2019 and we still do not have national statistics for 2018. Second, there are approximately 18,000 law enforcement agencies in the United States and around 2,000 agencies did not respond to the FBI request for hate crime information – and they suffered no consequences for not doing so. From the 16,149 agencies that at least responded, there were only 7,175 reported hate crime incidents – Of course this is more than 1,000 more than there were in 2016, which had almost 300 more than there were in 2015.

Of the reported incidents in 2017, California reported 1,094 incidents; New York reported 552; but Alabama reported just 9 incidents; and Mississippi reported just 1 incident. (UCR Table 12). For unclear reasons, the State of Hawaii does not participate at all. What also stands out are the number of large and good sized cities that report that they did not have a single hate crime in 2017 (Table 14): Mobile, AL; Tempe, AZ; Chula Vista, CA; Glendale, CA; Miami, FL; St. Petersburg, FL; Savannah-Chatham Metropolitan, GA; Cedar Rapids, IA; Des Moines, IA; Overland Park, KS; Baton Rouge, LA; Springfield, MO; Las Vegas, NV; Newark, NJ; Winston-Salem, NC; Oklahoma City, OK; Tulsa, OK; Columbia, SC; Brownsville, TX; Corpus Christi, TX; Garland, TX; Grand Prairie, TX; Irving, TX; Provo, UT; Roanoke, VA; and Cheyenne, WY.

How else do I know that these numbers are laughable bad. The same Department of Justice that publishes the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) also publishes the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). According to the NCVS there were over 200,000 hate crimes in 2017. Of those, the victims said that they reported over 100,000 to the police and of those, in more than 15,000 victimizations, the victim said that the police acknowledged that it was a hate crime. How do we get from 200,000 to 7,175 – only through intentional irresponsibility? Here are some suggestions for how the federal government could improve the current system:

1. Stop vilifying Muslims, LGBTQ individuals and immigrants and stop calling white supremacists fine people. This should be obvious, but sadly it needs to be said.
2. Treat all hate crimes the same – It should not matter who the perpetrator is or who the victim is. If a crime is motivated in whole or in part by an offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity, it is a hate crime and call it one.
3. Stop using bad data to make law enforcement policy and decisions – Until our data is better, do not rely on that data or lack of data to infringe on people's First Amendment rights. We do not need new legislation to help us prosecute hate crimes. Until proven otherwise, we have the laws we need.
4. Encourage people to report – The government could sponsor a public service campaign to encourage victims and witnesses to report hate crimes.
5. Instruct students in school about hate crimes and teach kids how yesterday's hate-filled vandalism or Facebook rant, becomes today's cross burning, becomes tomorrow's murder.
6. Make reporting mandatory – Congress should pass a law that makes law enforcement agencies that fail to provide accurate hate crimes' data ineligible for federal law enforcement grants and equipment from the Department of Justice or any other federal agency.
7. Audit reports – The FBI should have a team that audits the reports provided by law enforcement agencies to ensure accuracy.
8. Publish the data quarterly – The FBI's hate crime statistics are collected quarterly. If the FBI actually published quarterly, it would not only provide data in a more timely fashion, but it would give more transparency to the effort. By publishing quarterly, individuals who are aware of hate crimes would be better equipped to force their jurisdiction to correct mistakes.
9. Work with affinity groups to encourage reporting – Hate crime collection can be challenging because it requires work with communities who are often distrustful of law enforcement because of bad prior experiences or lack of language access. Affinity groups may be better positioned to collect the information and report it to law enforcement even in situations where the victim does not want to participate in a prosecution.
10. Get federal agencies to report – The FBI, Civil Rights Division and the U.S. Attorneys' Offices should be required to report at least quarterly and those reports should be prominently displayed.
11. Better reports – Considering all of the improvements in how data can be displayed, the FBI's UCR website is woefully outdated. The data should be displayed in a way that is easily navigable with maps and charts to help make the information more digestible.

We cannot fully understand hate crimes without good data. We will also not be able to determine what works and does not work to end hate crimes if we do not improve the data. There is no good reason not to address this problem immediately.

Also on May 15, 2019 Ms. **Susan Bro** Co-Founder, President and Board Chair, Heather Heyer Foundation testified before the House Committee on Oversight and Reform Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

Chairman Raskin, Ranking Member Roy, Members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. My name is Susan Bro and I am the mother of Heather

Heyer. I am the co-founder and president of the Heather Heyer Foundation, which was created to honor the memory of Heather, a young civil rights activist who dedicated her life to promoting equal rights for all people. The foundation has established a scholarship program to provide financial assistance to individuals passionate about positive social change.

Allow me to tell the story of why I am testifying before you today. Several years ago, as a black student in Charlottesville City Schools studied Civil War history, she questioned why there were statues celebrating Confederate war heroes in the city parks. She began a petition to have them removed. She gathered enough signatures to bring to the city council. In February 2017, the Charlottesville City Council voted to remove the statues.

A local self-proclaimed white supremacist organized a protest to the statue's removal. He was joined by national leaders from a variety of white supremacist movements, including the KKK, The Traditionalist Worker Party, the Alt Right, and neo-Nazis from 35 states. The call was sent out under the pretense of protecting freedom of speech and white rights.

They opened the weekend with a tiki torch march on the University of Virginia lawn on the evening of Friday, August 11, 2017, clashing violently with students and faculty. The night rang with chants of "Blood and Soil" and "Jews will not replace us!" They also chanted, "You will not replace us," and "Into the ovens!"

Saturday's protest was to begin at noon on August 12, 2017. As early as 8:30 in the morning, hate-filled protestors began to arrive and converge on the downtown park by the statue. Some arrived with knuckles taped for fighting, carrying shields, bats, wooden poles, and wearing helmets. Some arrived with semi-automatic weapons. Some carried knives. Violent clashes with counter-protestors erupted throughout the day.

My daughter, Heather, was part of a group of peaceful counter-protestors who stayed away from the areas of violence. They gathered along the opposite side of the downtown mall from the areas of fighting while chanting and singing songs of solidarity. As Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe declared a state of emergency, the Virginia State Police declared the assembly unlawful and the park by the statue began to clear out.

My daughter was caught on film talking to one of the helmeted girls as they were packing up their cars and leaving. Heather asked her why she was there and if she could talk about why she felt hate for others. The girl simply answered, "No comment," to every question.

Heather's group was joined by other counter protestors who were relieved it was all over and the haters were leaving. The group decided to head up Fourth Street to meet up at the downtown mall for celebrating. What they did not know was a young man from Ohio was sitting at the top of the hill of that street watching them.

Earlier in the day, he was filmed chanting Nazi slogans and marching with a Nazi shield, while wearing the white polo and khakis requested by organizers. He had started down the street in his car a few minutes before and then backed up to sit a moment. Seeing a diverse crowd, he

perceived to be in support of black and brown people, he hit the accelerator, and drove his car into the people gathered.

Bodies flew into the air or were smashed into the ground. My daughter spun through the air, smashing his front windshield, leaving behind blood and skin. Her body then fell to the ground. As he began to shift into reverse, people raced up to smash his rear windshield trying to stop him. He raced back up the street, running over some people coming and going. He ran over others who had raced down the street to help. Between 30 to 40 people were injured that day. My daughter died almost immediately as she bled out internally and externally.

Hate crimes are on the rise in this country. According to the FBI's released statistics for 2017, there was a 17% increase in hate crime from 2016 to 2017. This is the third consecutive increase in reported hate crime. In Virginia, there was an almost 50% increase in hate crime reported for 2017.

Yet we have major loopholes in the hate crime reporting system that result in local agencies failing to accurately report hate crimes. None of the victims of the car attack in Charlottesville are included in the FBI's 2017 Uniform Crime Reporting data, despite being some of the most high profile hate crimes of 2017. In fact, Charlottesville Police only reported one hate crime for 2017, and it occurred a few months after the car attack. I was saddened to learn that Heather's murder was not the only hate crime to go unreported. Exactly one year to the day prior, the hate crime murder of Khalid Jabara in Tulsa, Oklahoma also went unreported.

We do not have accurate information about the actual number of hate crimes that occur. To offer an accurate diagnosis, a doctor must have a full understanding of the symptoms. To adequately address the crisis of hate crimes, we need an accurate picture of how many hate crimes occur. That is why it is imperative that congress take up legislation that would address the issue of underreporting. I understand there is currently draft legislation in circulation, the focus of which is the improved hate crime data collection and reporting. The proposed title of this legislation is the "Khalid Jabara and Heather Heyer Hate Crime Reporting Act."

Accurate reporting of hate crime data will allow us to better combat this scourge of hate, provide for increased law enforcement training, and determine how to best allocate resources. Addressing hate crimes is not a partisan issue. I am confident that Members of Congress can work together to address this crisis. Coming together to improve hate crime reporting can serve as a unifying first step.

It is my hope that the work we do here today can prevent other mothers and fathers from feeling the pain of losing a child to hate.

Michael German, Fellow Brennan Center for Justice at New York University Law School also testified at the hearing: Confronting White Supremacy on May 15, 2019. He stated that organized white supremacist violence has posed an enduring threat in the United States since its founding. The debate over what to call this violence, however, is relatively new, as are current and former Justice Department officials' claims that they need new laws to properly address it.

This argument came as a surprise to me, because when my fellow FBI agents asked me to go undercover against violent neo-Nazis in Los Angeles in 1992, no one at the Justice Department questioned our legal authority to do so, or hesitated to call the violent acts that white supremacists committed “terrorism.” That operation was opened as a domestic terrorism investigation supported by the Joint Terrorism Task Force. We solved several bombings, seized dozens of illegal weapons, and prevented other planned acts of violence. Using traditional law enforcement tactics, we obtained criminal convictions under a variety of federal statutes.

Today, when white supremacists commit deadly attacks such as the recent mass shooting at a San Diego synagogue, their crimes often fit the federal definitions of both domestic terrorism and hate crimes, as well as state statutes like murder. Though the laws governing these crimes all carry substantial penalties, the designation as either “domestic terrorism” or “hate crimes” is important chiefly because Justice Department policies de-prioritize hate crimes investigations. The Justice Department often arbitrarily categorizes white supremacist violence that targets people based on their race, religion, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability. But this has significant consequences for how federal officials frame these crimes in public statements, how they prioritize and track them, and whether they will investigate and prosecute them.

Terrorism investigations are the FBI’s number one priority and are well-resourced. They tend to look broadly to determine if an ongoing criminal organization may have supported the terrorist attack or are planning new ones. Civil rights violations like hate crimes rank fifth out of eight investigative priorities and investigations tend to focus narrowly on an individual attack or attacker. To make matters worse, the Justice Department, as a matter of policy and practice, defers the vast majority of hate crimes investigations to state and local law enforcement, without any federal evaluation to determine if the perpetrators are part of a larger violent far-right group. State and local law enforcement are often ill-equipped or unwilling to properly respond to these crimes. As a result, the Justice Department doesn’t know how many people militant white supremacists attack, injure, or kill each year in the United States, which leaves intelligence analysts and policy makers in the dark about the impact this violence inflicts on our society, or how to best address it. More importantly, the failure to properly label and respond to far-right violence deprives victimized communities of basic human dignity and equal protection of the law.

Though white supremacist attacks represent just a tiny proportion of the violence that takes place in the U.S. each year, they require specific attention because they pose a persistent threat to vulnerable communities, particularly communities of color, immigrants, LGBTQ people, women, the disabled and religious minorities. These communities are already disproportionately victimized by other forms of violent crime, including police violence, many of which are never prosecuted. Additionally, the organized nature of the white supremacist groups that often commit this type of violence allows them to quickly replace any member who is arrested and incarcerated, and to continue threatening further acts of violence after any individual crime is successfully prosecuted. Finally, hate crimes are intended to inflict injuries beyond their direct victims, threatening and intimidating entire communities of people who share similar attributes and inflicting a greater social harm. These crimes demand a more comprehensive and strategic government response that recognizes and more effectively redresses this broader injury rather

than simply increasing criminal penalties. Developing more effective federal policies to address far-right violence requires a new approach that better protects vulnerable communities from all forms of deadly violence, and remediates the communal injuries these crimes inflict through restorative justice practices.

Recent evidence suggests the Justice Department is continuing to treat protests as terrorism, particularly in its monitoring of minority-led movements like Native American water protectors and Black Lives Matter activists, falsely framed as “black identity extremists.” Its failed attempt to prosecute more than 200 anti-Trump activists who were near where some windows were broken and a limousine was lit on fire during the #J20 post-inauguration protests stands in sharp contrast to the relative handful of federal arrests arising from more than two years of far-right rioting across the country where journalists and counter-protesters were beaten, stabbed, shot, and killed. The Intercept published an analysis of 752 cases the Justice Department classified as domestic terrorism since 9/11, and found only 268 involved far-right defendants who were charged with crimes that met the federal definition of terrorism.

Federal law defines domestic terrorism as illegal acts occurring in the U.S. that are “dangerous to human life” and appear to be “intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population.” Though this statutory definition does not itself impose any criminal liability, Congress identified 51 “federal crimes of terrorism” targeting the types of violent acts domestic far-right militants commonly commit, and passed a 52nd law that further prohibits material support toward the commission of these crimes.

The Justice Department recognizes an overlap between organized white supremacist violence that meets the definition of domestic terrorism and hate crimes. FBI policy instructs agents conducting a federal hate crime investigation to open a parallel domestic terrorism investigation whenever the suspect has “a nexus to any kind of white supremacist group.” It appears, however, that the FBI does not always follow this policy. Despite the Attorney General calling the Charlottesville vehicle attack an act of terrorism, the FBI and U.S. Attorney’s office labeled the investigation of Alex Fields’ murder of Heather Heyer during the 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville a “civil rights investigation,” seemingly ignoring that it took place during a pre-planned white supremacist riot. To be clear, the decision to ultimately charge Fields under federal hate crimes statutes exposes him to severe punishment, including the death penalty, so no new laws are necessary to fully address his crime even if none of the 51 “federal crimes of terrorism” could have been charged. But labeling a case as a hate crime investigation at the onset narrows the scope of these inquiries to the individual act, rather than examining it as a part of a potentially larger and ongoing domestic terrorism conspiracy.

The Justice Department’s failure to prioritize the white supremacist terrorism, hate violence, and police violence affecting these communities undermines the rule of law and threatens social cohesion, which ultimately undermines the nation’s security. Rethinking this problem requires that we reorient our security efforts and resources to reduce and protect all Americans from all forms of violence.

Mr. George Selim, Senior Vice President, Programs, ADL also testified Before the Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Subcommittee of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee at a hearing on Confronting White Supremacy. He pointed out that On October 27, 2018, America witnessed the deadliest attack on Jews in its history when Robert Bowers allegedly stormed a Pittsburgh synagogue armed with an assault rifle and three handguns, shouting “All Jews must die,” and killed eleven people in their place of worship. Less than five months later, Brenton Tarrant allegedly perpetrated the deadliest attack against Muslims in New Zealand’s history, slaughtering 50 people who had gathered for prayer at two mosques. On April 27, 2019, alleged assailant John Earnest opened fire in a synagogue in Poway, California, killing one congregant and wounding several others. These were not the first tragedies at the hands of white supremacist terrorists, and, unfortunately, they will not be the last.

He also reported that according to ADL’s latest report on extremist-related murders, “Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2018,” 78% of the 50 murders committed by extremists in 2018 were tied specifically to white supremacy.³ The ten-year overview tells a similar story: Of the 313 people killed by right-wing extremists between 2009 to 2018, 76% were killed by white supremacists, making white supremacists the deadliest extremist movement in the United States over the past decade.

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

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

He said that in our 2018 report, “New Hate and Old: The Changing Face of White Supremacy in the U.S.” we found that the white supremacist “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017 that tragically killed Heather Heyer – whose mother I am honored to share a panel with today – attracted some 600 extremists from around the country. The

movement is not as obvious about its true objectives as it was in the 1980s and early 1990s, when racist skinheads dominated white supremacists' ranks. Today, many of white supremacists seek to dress non-descriptly and use coded language. Within the white supremacist community, there is some disagreement on strategy. Some factions feel the need to adhere to "optics" and purposefully obfuscate their views in order to infiltrate mainstream politics (an approach decried by Bowers immediately before his alleged attack), whereas others seek "accelerationism," hoping to purposefully spark a race war. With one approach involving secrecy and coded language, and the other sometimes including seemingly random acts of violence, both approaches are alarming in their potential to shift from seemingly innocuous to tragedy.

Our 2018 data show a 182% increase of white supremacist propaganda incidents, with 1,187 cases reported, compared to 421 in 2017.⁸ While hate on campuses is still at a relatively high point, on-campus incidents increased only modestly (9%) compared to 2017. However, off-campus incidents spiked – a 572% increase, year-on-year. The propaganda, which includes everything from veiled white supremacist language to explicitly racist images and words, often features a recruitment element, and frequently targets minority groups, including Jews, Blacks, Muslims, non-white immigrants, and the LGBTQ community. These trends are troubling, and we urge your committee to regularly consult our Hate, Extremism, Anti-Semitism, and Terrorism (HEAT) Map, which provides the public with an ongoing opportunity to observe incident and propaganda data from throughout the country, updated regularly.

While many white supremacists do not belong to one specific group, much of this propaganda is pushed by a several organized groups. For example, in 2018, the ADL recorded 319 incidents of white supremacist propaganda on 212 college and university campuses in 37 states and the District of Columbia. Much of that propaganda came from active alt right groups, such as Identity Evropa, (which in early 2019 rebranded itself as the American Identity Movement, or AIM) which proliferated 191 pieces of propaganda on college campuses and Patriot Front, responsible for 51. Off-campus, Patriot Front led propaganda distribution with 324, followed closely by 312 from Identity Evropa, 97 by the North Carolina-based Loyal White Knights, 97 by the Ku Klux Klan, and Daily Stormer with 34. Although the Klan may be in decline compared to previous periods, 2018's figure represents a 20% increase from 2017. To a smaller extent – but no less concerning – approximately 5% of off-campus flier propaganda in 2018 was from neo-Nazi groups, such as Atomwaffen Division, National Alliance, National Socialist Legion, National Socialist Movement, and Vanguard America.

Other propaganda efforts include podcasts, videos, banners along highways, private events like the Hammerfest hate rock concert, which garnered 150 attendees in San Diego last year, and public events, including "flash" demonstrations whereby unannounced events gain exposure but mitigate negative media coverage. In this era, it goes without saying that social media exacerbates the potency of these methods and – in addition to acting as a source for instructions for lone actor attacks, such as via stabbings or car-rammings – it is a propaganda tool in itself.

He said that when he worked for the federal government to counter ISIS, he saw this terrorist group abuse social media resources like Facebook and Twitter, before migrating to less-common platforms like Telegram. White supremacists similarly avail themselves of both mainstream platforms ranging from Facebook and Twitter to Reddit and Tumblr, and also those less

scrutinized by the public eye. For example, largely as a response to being removed from Twitter for violating its terms of service, the alt right has created its own version of Twitter, Gab, where they feel at liberty to share content that typically would not survive standard social media platform content policy. Gab was the preferred platform of Robert Bowers, the alleged perpetrator of the murderous attack on worshippers at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh.

One of the most significant and underreported-on social platforms is 4chan, a 15-year-old “imageboard,” which serves as a key source of internet memes.¹⁴ Its “politically incorrect” /pol sub-forum includes an anarchic collection of posts that range from relatively innocuous to highly offensive. 4chan’s success at proliferating offensive memes has borne imitators, such as 8chan, the virulent racism on which is virtually unmatched.

8chan recently made headlines as the preferred platform of John Earnest and Brenton Tarrant, the alleged perpetrators of the Poway, California and Christchurch, New Zealand massacres. Both Bowers and Tarrant were keenly interested in the concept of “white genocide,” which has proven one of the most virulent conspiracy theories among white supremacists. Tarrant posted his manifesto and goaded potential followers on 8chan, the same type of proselytizing and incitement to violence that, if it were by an ISIS supporter, would inspire significant government reaction to counter and prevent. As described in our April 2019 report with analysis from the Network Contagion Research Institute, the Pittsburgh and Christchurch massacres both involved online announcements of their intentions, both subscribed to the same violent extremist ideology, and both used their respective platforms – Gab and 8chan – as key tools in advancing their cause. Both alleged killers announced their violent plans to their preferred internet forums, Gab and 8chan, and were consumed by the white supremacist conspiracy theory of “white genocide,” which is frequently referenced on both sites. Both Gab and 8chan are rife with white supremacist, anti-Semitic, and hateful content. Earnest, inspired by Tarrant, attempted to livestream his attack in Poway and replicate the carnage of Christchurch.

Mr. George Selim contended that the proliferation of hate and the dangerous ideology of white supremacy put our communities at risk. From Charlottesville to Pittsburgh to Poway, American communities are under attack. In a time of crisis such as this, one might expect a complete overhaul of the priorities, policies, and resources that the U.S. government brings to bear to counter and prevent this ideology from claiming its next victims. Instead, Americans have been met with an abdication of that duty, while the government in fact has reduced resources to counter domestic terrorism, leaving our communities vulnerable to the next inevitable tragedy.

Mr. George Selim also said that there are a range of ways that public officials could improve capacity to counter white supremacist extremism. First, they could forcefully and clearly speak out against white supremacy and express support for its victims. Even beyond sentiment, the insufficient actions of our government to confront the pervasive and growing threat of white supremacy are a very clear dereliction of its duty to protect our communities. With such a threat, the government should be increasing its attention to countering extremism. Instead, there is insufficient coordination, accountability, and transparency within government institutions and little reporting on the government’s view of the threat or specific activities to counter it. In short, there has not been an effort to scale resources to counter the threat of domestic extremism on par with what I saw during the rise of ISIS. Instead, the opposite has proven to be the case.

He pointed out that the Trump administration's decision to cut funding for efforts to prevent all forms of domestic extremism, and its continued use of harsh and discriminatory policies, illustrate that we cannot rely solely on the federal government's leadership. Congress must authorize and appropriate funds to build partnerships for a comprehensive and holistic approach to prevention. Civil society, academic institutions, state and local actors, the technology sector and others have a role to play in preventing hate from manifesting, and to prevent it from becoming extreme and violent. Non-government partners cannot truly invest in their own prevention efforts without financial and collaborative support from the federal government. Current efforts are drastically under-funded and profoundly overly focused on the Islamist threat and law enforcement support. Congress must empower civil society and others to prevent white supremacy in their home communities.

He closed by saying that social media and other technology platforms have helped spread tactical information and propaganda for white supremacists, and as such, those platforms must be part of the solution. Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act protects tech platforms from being liable for content posted by users. This law is the fundamental bedrock for much of what has been transformative for good in the development of an open internet promoting free speech, community, access to knowledge, education and creativity. Legislating content moderation would have unintended consequences, including removing extremist and unlawful content to places where it cannot easily be found and preempted or prosecuted by law enforcement. As such, we believe most liability protections should stay intact. However, that does not mean tech platforms should be completely free from policing their platforms – particularly in light of the latitude to do so afforded to them by Section 230 – and as such, Congress should explore some way of bridging this gap. More immediately, the government should pursue partnerships with tech platforms to help them understand the challenges, as well as for tech companies to better understand the gravity of their role in society. The ADL has formed a Problem Solving Lab with certain companies such as Twitter, Facebook, and others in the hopes of having constructive exchanges of information to help them understand how white supremacists abuse their platforms and how they might better stop that abuse. The government should consider its own problem-solving partnerships in this regard.

Selected Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties addressing the “FBI efforts to combat an increasing threat of white supremacy and white extremism”

Todd Bensman Former Manager, Counterterrorism Intelligence Texas Department of Public Safety Intelligence and Counterterrorism Division testified on June 4, 2019 before

He stated that like any crime, domestic terror risk ebbs and flows over time in reaction to complex interplays of factors, morphing but never disappearing entirely. I believe the threat was in a comparative ebb tide for most of the last decade, in Texas. The United States, for instance, experienced high levels of domestic terror attacks in the 1960s, which eventually slowed under law enforcement pressure in the 1970s.

Likewise, from the 1980s and through to the period after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, dangerous militia and Christian Identity groups conducting mortal attacks proliferated, ranging from the Republic of Texas separatists and Christian Patriots to the extremist militias and Richard Butler’s Aryan Nations. Attacks and criminal activity slowed after the Oklahoma City bombing under increased law enforcement pressure (the FBI hired 570 new counterterrorism agents the next year), which put the last of the 1990s leaders in prison. The 9/11 attacks only suppressed recruitment to the militia movement, it being unfashionable to overthrow a federal government busy fighting Islamist terrorism at home and abroad.

He reported that he has seen a resurgence in attacks and plots now from not just white supremacists but domestic extremists of various kinds on the right and left. All the hallmarks of resurgence are in evidence, in arrests, foiled plots and funerals. Law enforcement is already pivoting to brace the resurgent problem because law enforcement leaders are the types that need no prompting when they see danger rising. He provided detail on several white extremist groups as follows.

The sovereign citizen movement is not an organized group but an ideology that sometimes has drawn loosely affiliated individuals into small groups throughout Texas and the United States. Sovereign ideology has some roots in white supremacy, but mostly their beliefs are rooted in the idea that governments have no legal authority over them, especially in matters of taxation and the levying of government fees. There are black sovereign citizen groups with unique ideologies, for instance. As a consequence of their rejection of most government authority, some have shot and killed police officers who have stopped them for traffic violations. Others have engaged police in violent armed standoffs. In 2010, sovereign citizen Victor White fired on DPS officers, helicopters and armored vehicles in a 22-hour standoff during which thousands of rounds of ammunition were exchanged. In 2013, a self-described member of the “Moorish Nation,” a mostly African-American sovereign movement, exchanged fire with a Colleyville Police Officer and was wounded.

Many are involved in “paper terrorism” schemes that involve harassing public officials and perceived enemies through the filing of false property liens. In 2017, nine members of a

sovereign group with Texas members, called “Continental uNited States of America,” were convicted in Colorado on racketeering conspiracy crimes in an attempt to influence public servants in a legal matter related to one of its members. Members of the same group attempted prison break in New Mexico by posing as U.S. Marshals.

Atomwaffen Division (Neo-Nazis) This racist and anti-Semitic organization, which is made up of small-cell groups, endorses violence as a strategy to ignite a race war to establish national socialism in the United States. National leaders are based in Montgomery County, Texas. Some members in other states have been implicated in killing one another, plotting to murder rival supremacists.

In 2017, ProPublica published reputed outtakes from private online chats among Atomwaffen leaders in Texas that mentioned an aspirational desire that a revolution “would” work well if infrastructure were bombed and murders committed. In Florida, police found the components of a radioactive dirty bomb. Members have conducted military-style arms training in Texas.

Anti-fascist (Antifa movement) From November 2016 through the spring of 2017, a series of melees initiated by antifascist group members at the State Capitol resulted in 18 arrests for aggravated assault with a deadly weapon, assault, evading arrest, interfering with police, disorderly conduct. Protest violence and arrests were continuing in Austin until I left in August 2018. Members of an armed Antifa cell in Austin known as The Red Guard have trained in military assault tactics at an East Texas ranch property. A number of Antifa adherents are on terrorism watch lists.

Antifa activists attacked state troopers and supporters of Donald Trump. No alt-right protestors were arrested and charged during this time period. Anti-gentrification activists associated with the Antifa movement have targeted a local Austin business, vandalizing it and spray painting threatening messages. Numerous Antifa followers have traveled overseas to fight with communist Kurdish separatists in Iraq and Syria. Some of the Kurdish groups are closely tied to U.S.-designated terrorist groups.

Black Nationalism/Separatism In 2015 and 2016, individuals associated with extremist black nationalist groups, and triggered over perceived unlawful police shootings of black men, killed or wounded 25 police officers, in Dallas (5 dead), Houston (1 dead), and Baton Rouge (3 dead) beginning in 2016 and continuing. These attacks raised concern for the first time in years that black nationalist ideology may be in resurgence. At least five other attacks against police officers are documented. In 2017, A Dallas man linked to black separatist groups killed his roommate, injured a neighbor, and shot at police before committing suicide. In 2015, two black nationalist extremists were convicted in a plot to murder the police chief of Ferguson, Missouri and to bomb the Gateway Arch.

Anti-government/anti-federalist militias Texas individuals have been linked with anti-federalists individuals who carried out the 2014 Bundy Ranch standoff In Nevada and, in 2016, the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge standoff in Oregon. Separately, a Texas militia group protesting the Islamic Society of North America conference in Houston clashed with protestors, including members of the New Black Panther Party, injuring one. In January 2017, a Texas-

based individual involved in an online militia group burned a Victoria Texas mosque to send a message to the Muslim community. Mark Vincent Perez was found guilty in July 2018 of a hate crime. His social media pages contained hate messages about Muslims.

In a Statement Before the House Oversight and Reform Committee, Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties in Washington, D.C. on June 4, 2019 entitled *Confronting White Supremacy* **Michael C. McGarrity**, Assistant Director, Counterterrorism Division and Calvin A. Shivers Deputy Assistant Director, Criminal Investigative Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) they testified that the FBI applies the expertise, passion, and resources of both the Counterterrorism and Criminal Investigative Divisions to these overlapping threats, working to prevent the threats on the horizon and provide justice to the victims of hate crimes. Because individual incidents may be investigated as both domestic terrorism and as a hate crime, we bring the force of the FBI to bear against any event that may fall into these categories, investigating crimes through the lenses of both divisions unless or until one avenue is foreclosed or eliminated.

The FBI's counterterrorism mission is dedicated to the disruption of terrorist actors and the prevention of terrorist attacks in the homeland. The FBI's hate crimes mission is to enforce federal civil rights statutes and ensure the protected rights of all persons are preserved. In furtherance of these intersecting missions, our Counterterrorism and Criminal Investigative Divisions are often focused on prevention and enforcement, respectively. While the Counterterrorism Division tends to be more prevention driven, focusing on identifying, disrupting, and dismantling terrorists before they act, our teams devoted to hate crimes concentrate on the victims of attacks and ensuring they are provided the justice they deserve. We would like to take the opportunity to discuss both of these complementary missions with you in further detail, and to explain how we believe each division serves as a force multiplier for the other.

He contended that while the threat posed by terrorism has evolved significantly since 9/11, preventing terrorist attacks from foreign and domestic actors remains the FBI's top priority. We face persistent threats to the homeland and to U.S. interests abroad from foreign terrorist organizations (FTO), homegrown violent extremists (HVE), and domestic terrorists, also referred to as domestic violent extremists. The threat posed to the United States has expanded from sophisticated, externally directed plots to attacks conducted by self-radicalized lone actors who mobilize to violence based on international and domestic violent ideologies.

He explained that the FBI categorizes terrorism investigations into two main programs: international terrorism and domestic terrorism. International terrorism includes cases in which subjects are members of designated FTOs, state sponsors of terrorism, and HVEs. The latter are individuals inside the United States who are inspired by international terrorism who have been radicalized to violence primarily in the United States, and who are not receiving individualized direction from FTOs. Domestic terrorists are individuals who commit violent criminal acts in furtherance of ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as racial bias and anti-government sentiment.

He also reported that the operational tempo has risen significantly in the last few years and remains high. Still, the FBI along with our law enforcement partners, face significant challenges in identifying and disrupting HVEs and domestic terrorists who seek to perform terrorist attacks within the United States. This is due, in part, to the ease of online self-radicalization to violence and the corresponding lack of direct connections between known terrorists or FTOs and unknown radicalized violent extremists, which shortens the window of opportunity for our investigative teams to identify and disrupt an individual before that individual decides to act.

He explained that domestic terrorism is defined by statute as any act dangerous to human life that violates U.S. criminal laws and appears to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping. The act in question must occur primarily within the jurisdiction of the United States. We assess domestic terrorists pose a persistent and evolving threat of violence and economic harm to the United States; in fact, there have been more domestic terrorism subjects disrupted by arrest and more deaths caused by domestic terrorists than international terrorists in recent years. We are most concerned about lone offenders, primarily using firearms, as these lone offenders represent the dominant trend for lethal domestic terrorists. Frequently, these individuals act without a clear group affiliation or guidance, making them challenging to identify, investigate, and disrupt but also said that no FBI investigation can be opened solely on the basis of First Amendment-protected activity. Rather, domestic terrorism investigations on individuals are opened on the basis of information concerning the occurrence or threat of violent criminal actions by the individual in furtherance of an ideology.

The current racially motivated violent extremist threat is decentralized and primarily characterized by lone actors. These actors tend to be radicalized online and target minorities and soft targets using easily accessible weapons. Violent extremists are increasingly using social media for the distribution of propaganda, recruitment, target selection, and incitement to violence. Through the Internet, violent extremists around the world have access to our local communities to target and recruit like-minded individuals and spread their messages of hate on a global scale. The recent attack at the Chabad of Poway Synagogue in Poway, California, not only highlights the enduring threat of violence posed by domestic terrorists, but also demonstrates the danger presented by the propagation of these violent acts on the Internet. The attacker in Poway referenced the recent mosque attacks in Christchurch, New Zealand, and we remain concerned that online sharing of livestreamed attack footage could amplify viewer reaction to attacks and provide ideological and tactical inspiration to other domestic terrorists in the homeland.

He said that the FBI takes very seriously the threat of domestic terrorism, and we have aligned our resources to reflect this. Every FBI field office has at least one counterterrorism squad, and some offices have a squad solely dedicated to domestic terrorism investigations. At FBI Headquarters, we have an entire section of agents and analysts dedicated to support and enable field investigations, in addition to intelligence units which provide critical information to decision makers and help the FBI think strategically about the domestic terrorism threat.

As the threat to harm the United States and U.S. interests evolves, we are adapting to and confronting these challenges. In April 2019, the FBI established the Domestic Terrorism-Hate

Crimes Fusion Cell to address the intersection of the complementary FBI missions to combat domestic terrorism and provide justice to those who are victims of hate crimes. Comprised of subject matter experts from both the Criminal Investigative and Counterterrorism Divisions, the cell offers program coordination from FBI Headquarters. This fusion cell helps ensure seamless information sharing across divisions and augments investigative resources to combat the domestic terrorism threat, ensuring we are not solely focusing on the current threat or most recent attack, but also looking to the future to prevent the next one.

He said that due to the devastating impact hate crimes have on individuals, families, and communities, these crimes are a priority for the FBI's Criminal Investigative Division. The FBI investigates hundreds of cases every year and works to detect and deter further incidents through law enforcement training, public outreach, and partnerships with community groups. Historically, the FBI's investigation of hate crimes focused on crimes in which the perpetrators acted based on a bias against the victim's race, color, religion, or national origin. Investigations were restricted to those where the victim was engaged in a federally protected activity. With the passage of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr., Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009, the FBI was authorized to also investigate crimes committed against a person or property motivated by bias against race, religion, ethnicity/national origin, disability, sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity.

The FBI is the lead investigative agency for criminal violations of federal civil rights statutes, and we work closely with our local, state, tribal, and federal law enforcement partners around the country in many of these cases, even when federal charges are not brought. FBI investigative resources such as experts in handling electronic devices or data, or forensic expertise from the Evidence Response Team and FBI Laboratory, and agents experienced in identification and proof of bias motivations often provide an invaluable complement to local law enforcement. Many cases are also prosecuted under state statutes such as murder, arson, or state hate crime laws.

The FBI forwards results of completed investigations to local U.S. Attorneys Offices and the Civil Rights Division at the Department of Justice, which decide whether a federal prosecution is warranted. Many cases are also prosecuted under state statutes such as murder, arson, or more recent local ethnic intimidation laws. Once the state prosecution begins, the Department of Justice follows the proceedings to ensure that the federal interest is vindicated and the law is applied equally among the 94 U.S. Judicial Districts. To be clear, state and federal prosecutions are not mutually exclusive.

In October 2018, the FBI, along with the Civil Rights Division, the Office of Justice Programs, the Community Oriented Policing Service, the Executive Office of United States Attorneys, and the Community Relations Service launched a website as a centralized portal for all of its hate crimes resources for law enforcement, media, researchers, victims, advocacy groups, and other related organizations and individuals. The website aims to educate the public on hate crimes and encourage hate crime reporting.

Selected Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Committee on Oversight and Reform on June 4, 2019 Confronting White Supremacy (Part II): Adequacy of the Federal Response

Lecia Brooks is a member of the senior leadership team at the Southern Poverty Law Center which is a civil rights organization founded in 1971 and based in Montgomery, Alabama, with offices in five Southern states. For more than three decades, the SPLC been monitoring, issuing reports about, and training law enforcement officials on far-right extremist activity in the United States. Each year since 1990, they have conducted a census of hate groups operating across America, a list that is used extensively by journalists, law enforcement agencies and scholars, among others. She spoke directly to the topic saying she would like to make three main points:

First, we are witnessing a surging white nationalist movement in the United States that is part of a larger, global movement linked by the idea that white people are being displaced, in part by migrants, in countries they believe should belong to them. This extremist movement represents a global terrorist threat and should be treated as such, though there is no such focus by our international intelligence agencies. Unfortunately, the words and actions of our president have energized and emboldened the white nationalist movement in the United States.

Second, this movement is rooted in a toxic, anti-democratic white supremacist ideology that is metastasizing on social media networks and other websites that traffic in hate. These networks are not only radicalizing people but are, in effect, incubating new terrorists – typically young white men who are motivated to act by what they call “white genocide.”

Third, the federal government has for many years, and particularly under the current administration, neglected to commit the resources needed to adequately combat this threat.

She declared that **The White Nationalist Movement Represents a Global Terrorism Threat and Has Been Energized, Emboldened in the United States by the Current Administration.**

She reminded everybody that on March 15 of this year, President Trump reacted to the massacre of 50 Muslim worshipers at two mosques that same day in Christchurch, New Zealand, by a white supremacist terrorist who livestreamed one of the attacks on Facebook. On the killer’s weapon was written the white supremacist slogan known as the 14 words – “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children” – and coined by the infamous neo-Nazi terrorist David Lane. The Christchurch killer also left a manifesto that bore the unmistakable fingerprints of the so-called alt-right, both in tone and reference. It celebrated the Norwegian terrorist Anders Breivik as well Charleston terrorist Dylann Roof. It spoke of “invaders” who “replace” white people – the same kind of language used by Roof and other white supremacist terrorists.

When asked after the Christchurch massacre if he believed white nationalists were a growing threat, the president said, “I don’t really. I think it’s a small group of people that have very, very serious problems. It’s certainly a terrible thing.” The president is wrong to dismiss the significant

threat of violence represented by this movement. In fact, as we have seen in recent months, one terrorist inspires another to act.

On April 27, five weeks after Christchurch, a gunman walked into the Chabad of Poway synagogue in California and opened fire. A 60-year-old woman observing Passover was killed. Many more might have been slaughtered if the gunman's assault rifle had not jammed. The man accused of the murder, John Earnest, posted an "open letter" littered with the same racist and antisemitic tropes that other white nationalist terrorists wrote before him. He praised Brenton Tarrant, the man charged in Christchurch, writing that Tarrant "was a catalyst" for him. "He showed me that it could be done. It needed to be done."

The Poway shooting occurred exactly six months after 11 Jews were massacred at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh by a man who reportedly shouted "All Jews need to die" before he opened fire.

The "small group of people" that President Trump referenced has now spawned the likes of Dylann Roof, killer of nine African-American worshipers in Charleston; Anders Breivik, killer of 77 people in Norway; Robert Bowers, the accused Pittsburgh shooter; Wade Michael Page, murderer of six Sikhs at a Wisconsin temple; and James Alex Fields, killer of anti-racist protester Heather Heyer in Charlottesville, Virginia. Many other white nationalists in recent years – far too many to list – have also committed hate-inspired violence or been arrested before they could launch terror attacks.

She reported that according to the SPLC's analysis, at least 81 people in the United States and Canada have been killed in attacks committed by extremists linked to the white supremacist movement – or alt-right – since 2014. All of the 17 men responsible for these attacks were radicalized online. In our view, the most important factor driving this movement and its violence is the fear and resentment over the nation's changing demographics. The U.S. Census has projected that sometime in the 2040s white people will no longer be a majority in the United States.

She stated that this nativist fear is not new. We began to see sharp increases in the number of U.S.-based hate groups around the turn of the century, following a decade in which the unauthorized immigrant population doubled, rising from 3.5 million to 7 million. In 1999, we counted 457 hate groups. That number more than doubled – to 1,018 – by 2011, two years into the Obama administration. But, after that peak, the number began to decline steadily, to a low 784 by 2014.

Then Donald Trump began his campaign for president with a speech at Trump Tower in which he claimed that immigrants from Mexico were bringing drugs and crime, and were "rapists." Since that day, he has continued to use dehumanizing language to refer to immigrants from Mexico and Central America. He has vilified them "criminals," "animals," and "bad hombres" who "infest our country." He has claimed that immigrant gang members "take a young, beautiful girl, 16, 15 and others and they slice them and dice them with a knife because they want them to go through excruciating pain before they die." Along the border, he has claimed without any evidence at all, "[w]omen are tied up, with duct tape on their faces, put in the backs of vans."

She contends that white nationalists were electrified by Trump's campaign. Eleven days after Trump's election, white nationalist leader Richard Spencer spoke to a conference of the alt-right in the Ronald Reagan Building in Washington, D.C., just blocks from the White House. He told his audience that "America was until this past generation a white country designed for ourselves and our posterity." He added, "It is our creation. It is our inheritance. And it belongs to us." Spencer punctuated his speech with these words: "Hail Trump! Hail our people! Hail victory!" Members of the audience stood and gave Spencer the Nazi salute.

Since the campaign she said Trump has continued to energize the white nationalist movement through both his words and his policies. For example, he famously insisted there were "very fine people" among the hundreds of neo-Nazis and other white supremacists who marched in the streets of Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017, shouting slogans like "Jews will not replace us." In 2018, he called Haiti and majority-black countries in Africa "shithole countries." He has also implemented draconian policies at the U.S.-Mexico border, separating migrant children from their families, imprisoning tens of thousands of immigrants, and virtually shutting down the asylum system.

In some cases, violent acts by extremists appear to have been motivated by Trump's words or by support for him. In March, Cesar Sayoc, a Trump supporter, pleaded guilty to charges related to a mail bomb campaign in which he sent devices to Democratic politicians, media figures, and other prominent critics of the president last October, just before the midterm elections. At the time, Trump was raging about the so-called caravan that was bringing an "invasion" of migrants to the United States. Sayoc's targets included George Soros, a Jewish billionaire who funds progressive causes. Soros was the subject of a false alt-right conspiracy theory – spread on social media and even parroted by mainstream politicians – that claimed he was orchestrating and funding the caravan. The theory dovetailed with white nationalist notions that Jews, more generally, are working to facilitate immigration. Similarly, a study released in March 2018 found that President Trump's tweets on Islam-related subjects were highly correlated with anti-Muslim hate crimes and that a rise in anti-Muslim hate crime since Trump's campaign was concentrated in counties with a high Twitter usage.

White supremacists hoping to disseminate their propaganda have been helped immeasurably by social media companies that are, in some cases, unwilling to moderate hateful or extremist content. Twitter, for example, allows some of the most prominent leaders of the white nationalist movement – including David Duke and Richard Spencer – to maintain accounts. YouTube is one of the most efficient radicalizing forces on the internet, one that white nationalists frequently credit with first introducing them to ethnonationalist ideas. Its algorithm serves up increasingly extreme content to users, because it keeps them on the site longer and, in turn, increases the company's ad revenue. YouTube is, in other words, profiting off of far-right radicalization.

When tech companies do decide to act against hate, it is often only after a violent attack has occurred. They need to proactively address the problem of extremist content on their platforms rather than simply react after people have been killed.

She continued stating that most people who associate with the white nationalist movement do not belong to a formal hate group but act as part of loosely organized communities of extremists who congregate around online propaganda hubs. The neo-Nazi website Daily Stormer, for instance, has cultivated a massive following of readers who daily consume content that tells them that the Holocaust was a hoax, that Jews are committing a genocide against white people, and that there is an impending race war in the United States. The site often presents this content under layers of humor that are designed to desensitize readers to grossly racist content and ease them into the world of hate. This is part of its strategy to recruit impressionable young people. Andrew Anglin, who runs the Daily Stormer, has said that his site is “mainly designed to target children.”

Social media and sites like the Daily Stormer have helped to cultivate an enormous online white nationalist movement – one that is now actively embracing violence as a solution to “white genocide.” Though many extremists see Trump as a fellow traveler – or even as a champion of their movement – they are frustrated with the pace of political change and, therefore, increasingly believe that they can bring about their ethnonationalist vision only through acts of violence.

Violent attacks by far-right extremists are growing in frequency and becoming more deadly. In a recent report, the Anti-Defamation League found that domestic extremists killed 50 people in 2018 – up from 37 in 2017 – and that “every single extremist killing – from Pittsburgh to Parkland – had a link to right-wing extremism.” Violence in the name of white supremacy encourages others to carry out similar attacks. A recent analysis by The New York Times showed that “at least a third of white extremist killers since 2011 were inspired by others who perpetrated similar attacks, professed a reverence for them or showed an interest in their tactics.”

As Lecia Brooks was wrapping up her testimony she pointed out that there are entire online spaces – including the forum Fascist Forge, threads on the social media sites Gab and Telegram, and podcasts on the site Radio Wehrwolf, among many others – that exist solely to provide training and advice about how to carry out acts of violence; to disseminate polemical texts that promote racial terrorism; to encourage followers to commit their own violent attacks; and to venerate those who have carried out acts of domestic terrorism in the name of white supremacy. These online spaces are incubating future terrorists.

Many adherents to white nationalist ideology look upon white supremacist mass killers with a degree of religious reverence; it is not difficult to find images on social media of men like Roof, Bowers, and Earnest depicted as saints. Until the SPLC recently brought to the attention of the website Teespring, T-shirts and mugs with the images of six white supremacist killers under the words “Praise the Saints” were available for purchase on the site. Men who commit acts of terrorism in the name of white supremacy are, in effect, promised they will be canonized within the movement.

These websites are not only radicalizing potential terrorists, they are injecting toxic white supremacist ideology and other extremist ideas into the mainstream. A Twitter employee who works on machine learning told Vice recently that Twitter has not taken an aggressive approach to removing white supremacist content from its platform because any algorithm it would use to identify objectionable content would also flag the accounts of some Republican politicians.

“Banning politicians wouldn’t be accepted by society as a trade-off for flagging all of the white supremacist propaganda, he argued.” The president himself has retweeted content that originated in white nationalist networks, such as in August 2018 when he tweeted about the “large-scale killing” of white farmers in South Africa. He also has praised the reputation of far-right, internet conspiracy theorist Alex Jones as “amazing.” Jones is a man who has claimed that the Sandy Hook massacre of schoolchildren was a hoax and that Hillary Clinton “has personally murdered and chopped up and raped children.”

In written **Testimony Elizabeth Neumann**, Assistant Secretary, Threat Prevention And Security Policy, U.S. Department Of Homeland Security before the Hearing On “Confronting White Supremacy: Adequacy Of The Federal Response” United States House Of Representatives Committee On Oversight And Reform Subcommittee On Civil Rights And Civil Liberties June 4, 2019 she stated that Homegrown Violent Extremists (HVE), or individuals radicalized within the United States and inspired to commit attacks on behalf of a foreign terrorist organization, were the primary focus of prevention efforts in recent years and remain a key focus area today.

Now, unfortunately, we have domestic terrorist movements borrowing from the ISIS handbook and using social media to recruit, radicalize, inspire, and mobilize Americans to violence. We know the rise in violent white supremacy is partly fueled by their use of social media platforms that connect like-minded individuals who are geographically isolated to share hate-filled, violent material. This latest evolution in terrorist threats occurs in relative isolation and involves a smaller window between radicalization and violent acts. Together, these factors make it extremely difficult for law enforcement to detect and thwart potential attacks.

Our post 9/11 CT capabilities, underpinned the by authorities provided by Congress and legal framework for prosecutions, as robust as they are, were not designed to deal with this type of threat. And, while we have made progress in developing the tools necessary for this new threat, the solutions need to be scaled to be effective.

The United States is in the midst of a multi-year trend of increased targeted attacks and hate crimes. The majority of this violent activity is perpetrated by disaffected, mentally unwell, violence-prone individuals informed by online content while searching for a social connection and sense of self-worth. Ultimately, these individuals connect with a violent extremist cause or formulate a grievance to satisfy their longing for self-worth, and the resulting act of violence is usually in furtherance of an ideological cause, but unrelated to a specific terrorist or violent extremist group.

For nearly 25 years, the U.S. Secret Service has conducted evidence-based research on individuals that carry out acts of targeted violence through the National Threat Assessment Center (NTAC). Last year, the NTAC published findings from their study on 28 incidents of mass attacks in 2017. This study defined mass attacks as incidents, “during which three or more persons were harmed, [and] were carried out in public places within the United States The resulting loss of 147 lives and injury to nearly 700 others had a devastating impact on our nation as a whole.” Critically, the NTAC research demonstrated that “regardless of whether the attacks

were acts of workplace violence, domestic violence, school-based violence, or terrorism,” similar themes were evident among the perpetrators, including:

- Nearly half were motivated by a personal grievance related to a workplace, domestic, or other issue.
- Over half had histories of criminal charges, mental health symptoms, and/or illicit substance use or abuse.
- All had at least one significant stressor within the last five years, and over half had indications of financial instability in that timeframe.
- Over three-quarters made concerning communications and/or elicited concern from others prior to carrying out their attacks. On average, those who did elicit concern caused more harm than those who did not.

Likewise, research demonstrates remarkable similarities among individuals who have radicalized to carry out acts of violence, regardless of the ideology motivating the attack. For example, a 2016 study from DOJ’s National Institute of Justice conducted a significant comparison of lone actor terrorists and mass murderers and concluded that “both offenders are very similar in terms of their behaviors – this in turn suggests that similar threat and risk assessment frameworks may be applicable to both types of offenders.” Whether it is an attack on a school, a nightclub, a synagogue, mosque or church, a government facility, or a public space – it needs to stop.

Last month, Acting Secretary McAleenan announced the creation of the Office of Targeted Violence and Terrorism Prevention (TVTP), which builds on previous DHS initiatives and supports the recently released National Strategy for Counterterrorism by emphasizing the importance of preventing terrorist radicalization and recruitment while also countering targeted violence, such as mass casualty shootings and school violence. TVTP will serve as the headquarters office responsible for coordinating the existing DHS terrorism prevention enterprise, which is outlined in the appendix. TVTP will also work closely with our federal partners at DOJ, FBI, the National Counterterrorism Center, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Education, and others who have important roles in the prevention mission to coordinate federal efforts.

Further, TVTP is developing the prevention framework that DHS will implement over the coming years. The framework will leverage the findings from the grants, which are being evaluated now, as well as the results of a study the Department funded from the RAND Corporation. This summer we are also engaging in further dialogue and meetings with stakeholders to ensure the framework appropriately incorporates various perspective and needs.

DHS will continue to build upon its current training and awareness briefings for our governmental and non-governmental partners at the state, local, tribal, and territorial levels. We need law enforcement to protect our communities, and we need mental health professionals, social services, and civil society to get involved where law enforcement cannot or should not take the lead. In addition, we will evaluate the grant program, which ends this year, to determine its effectiveness and how to appropriately allocate funding to enable local capacity building and innovative solutions to counter the threat, which will continue to evolve.

As Elizabeth Neumann was wrapping up she stated that although our primary focus is building local capacity, we also recognize there is another indispensable role for the Federal Government – to enhance federal coordination and support for our partners. We will continue to ensure that threat information on all types of violent extremism is shared with state, local, tribal, and territorial partners. We will also work to combat terrorists’ use of the Internet to plot attacks or radicalize individuals to violence. All while, of course and without question, fully respecting and protecting civil rights, civil liberties, and privacy—leveraging the expertise of the Department’s Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties and Privacy Offices.

On July 19, 2019 Three Members of California-Based White Supremacist Group Sentenced on Riots Charges Related to August 2017 “Unite the Right” Rally in Charlottesville

Charlottesville, VIRGINIA – Benjamin Daley, Michael Miselis, and Thomas Gillen, members of the white-supremacist organization formerly known as the Rise Above Movement (RAM), were sentenced today in U.S. District Court in Charlottesville for violence they committed as part of their conspiracy to riot, including at the August 2017 Unite the Riot Rally in Charlottesville, and other alleged political rallies in California. The announcement was made by United States Attorney Thomas T. Cullen, Special Agent in Charge David W. Archey of the FBI’s Richmond Division, and Colonel Gary T. Settle of the Virginia State Police.

Daley, 26, of Torrance, Calif., was sentenced today to 37 months in prison. Gillen, 25, of Redondo Beach, was sentenced to 33 months in prison. Miselis, 30, of Lawndale, Calif., was sentenced to 27 months in prison. A fourth defendant, Cole Evan White, will be sentenced at a future date. All four defendants previously pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy to riot.

“These defendants, motivated by hateful ideology, incited and committed acts of violence in Charlottesville, as well at other purported political rallies in California,” U.S. Attorney Cullen stated today. “They were not interested in peaceful protest or lawful First Amendment expression; instead, they intended to provoke and engage in street battles with those that they perceived as their enemies. I am grateful for the diligence and hard work of the FBI and Virginia State Police in bringing these violent white supremacists to justice.”

“The sentences imposed today demonstrate the U.S. Government’s intolerance of the use of violence, by anyone, to infringe upon the right of others to assemble peacefully,” Special Agent in Charge Archey of the FBI said today. “The FBI applauds today’s sentences and will continue to aggressively investigate allegations of such activity with its law enforcement partners. We are grateful for the efforts and partnership of the Office of the U.S. Attorney and the Virginia State Police in this investigation.”

“Thanks to the concerted and dedicated efforts of local, state and federal law enforcement and the U.S. Attorney's Office of the Western District of Virginia, justice has been served this week for multiple individuals who perpetrated the violence and extreme hate witnessed during the events of August 12, 2017 in Charlottesville,” said Colonel Gary T. Settle, Virginia State Police Superintendent. “Every one of their sentences should stand as evidence that Virginia has zero tolerance for such criminal activity.”

According to court documents, Daley, Gillen, and Miselis, were members of RAM, a now-defunct, California-based, combat-ready, militant group that represented itself as part of the new nationalist and white supremacy movement. RAM openly identified as “alt-right” and “nationalist” and its members and associates frequently posted photographs and videos online of themselves engaging in physical training and mixed martial arts street-fighting techniques, along with messages and propaganda related to their alt-right, anti-Semitic, and white-supremacist

views. RAM members and associates espoused and committed acts of violence against those who they believed held opposing political views.

From March 2017 to August 2017, RAM and its members, including Daley, Gillen, and Miselis, traveled to multiple political rallies and organized demonstrations in Virginia and California where they prepared to, and engaged in, acts of violence. RAM regularly held hand-to-hand and other combat training for members and associates to prepare to engage in violent confrontations with protestors and other individuals at purported political rallies. They attended these rallies with the intention of provoking physical conflict with counter-protestors, which they believed would justify their use of force against the counter-protestors and shield them from prosecution for their acts of violence. Daley, Gillen, and Miselis attended several such training events and rallies.

On March 25, 2017, Daley, Gillen, and Miselis attended a political rally in Huntington Beach, Calif., with several RAM members. At that event, several RAM members pursued and assaulted groups of protestors and other individuals. Following the rally, photographs depicting RAM members assaulting protestors and other individuals were covered on local news stations and on the “front page” of various Neo-Nazi and white-supremacist websites. RAM members celebrated this coverage and used the internet to post statements, photographs, and videos of the assaults committed by RAM members at this rally to recruit members to engage in violent confrontations at future events.

On April 15, 2017, Daley, Gillen, Miselis, and other RAM members attended a rally in Berkeley, Calif. The defendants and other RAM members were dressed in gray clothing, goggles, and black scarfs or masks to cover the lower half of their faces. Throughout the day, there were violent clashes between some rally attendees and individuals protesting the rally. At one point, RAM members, including Daley and Miselis, crossed a barrier separating the attendees and the protestors, and assaulted protestors and other individuals.

In August 2017, Daley, Gillen, and Miselis planned to travel to Charlottesville to attend the Unite the Right Rally. At the time of their travel, the defendants expected the event would become a riot and that their experience in riots at Huntington Beach and Berkeley would be valuable.

On August 11, 2017, the evening prior to the scheduled Unite the Right Rally, Daley, Gillen, and Miselis, and other members of RAM, joined hundreds of individuals in a torch-lit march on the grounds of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. Throughout the march, participants chanted, “Blood and Soil!” and “Jews will not replace us!” The march culminated near a statue of Thomas Jefferson where a small group of students gathered to protest white supremacy. Violence erupted among the crowd, with some punching, kicking, spraying chemical irritants and swinging torches. During and in furtherance of this riot, Daley punched multiple individuals. As part of their pleas, the defendants admitted these actions were not in self-defense.

On the morning of August 12, 2017, Daley, Gillen, and Miselis, and other members of RAM, with their hands wrapped in white athletic tape, were part of a large group of over 40 individuals seeking entry into Emancipation Park by way of Second Street when they were told by law

enforcement to enter at a different location. The group, including Daley, Gillen, Miselis, and other RAM members, turned, lined up, and began to make their way through a group of over 20 individuals who had come to the rally to protest against discrimination. As they made their way through the group of protestors, the RAM members collectively pushed, punched, kicked, choked, head-butted, and otherwise assaulted several individuals, resulting in a riot. As part of their pleas, the defendants admitted these actions were not in self-defense.

The investigation of the case was conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Virginia State Police. United States Attorney Thomas T. Cullen, Assistant United States Attorney Christopher Kavanaugh, and Assistant United States Attorney Justin Lugar are prosecuting the case for the United States.

Selected Legislative Comments on Gilroy, El Paso, and Dayton

Rep. Hayes: Our Country Has A Gun Violence Problem And A White Nationalism Problem. These Problems Are Inextricably Linked. August 5, 2019

In the wake of the recent mass shootings at the Gilroy Garlic Festival in California, Cielo Vista mall in El Paso, Texas, and in Dayton, Ohio, Congresswoman Jahana Hayes (CT-05) released the following statement on gun violence and white nationalism in America:

“Over the past few days, three cities in the United States have become the latest victims of America’s gun violence epidemic. Gilroy, El Paso, and Dayton are in very different parts of the country. But, today, they share the same tragic fate of having to make sense of an entirely senseless act, while grieving for those who will never return home.”

“These cities have been added to an ever-growing monument to inaction. When we lost 26 members of our own community, we hoped we would be the last ones to carry this terrible burden. Unfortunately, that has been far from the case.”

“Let us call these recent shootings what they are: acts of white nationalism, fueled by an increase in racist and xenophobic rhetoric.”

“The problem of gun violence and the problem of white nationalism are inextricably linked, and these tragedies will continue until we put an end to both.”

In the 217 days this year, there have been more than 33,000 shooting incidents in the United States of America, resulting in almost 10,000 deaths and nearly 20,000 injuries. Included in that number are the three murdered in Gilroy, 20 killed in El Paso, and nine dead in Dayton.

FBI Statement Regarding Shootings in El Paso and Dayton August 4, 2019

The attack in El Paso, Texas, underscores the continued threat posed by domestic violent extremists and perpetrators of hate crimes. The FBI is supporting its state and local partners in Texas through investigative, intelligence, and technical assistance. The El Paso investigation is also being supported by the FBI’s Domestic Terrorism-Hate Crimes Fusion Cell, which was established in spring 2019. Composed of subject matter experts from both the Criminal Investigative and Counterterrorism Divisions, the fusion cell offers program coordination from FBI Headquarters, helps ensure seamless information sharing across divisions, and augments investigative resources.

The FBI is also providing assistance to the Dayton (Ohio) Police Department’s investigation into the shooting in Dayton, through the Bureau’s Cincinnati Field Office, with support from FBI Headquarters personnel.

“On behalf of the FBI, I offer sincere condolences to the victims, families, and communities affected by this weekend’s violence, and we stand by them during this difficult time. We will

bring the full resources of the FBI to bear in the pursuit of justice for the victims of these crimes.” said FBI Director Christopher Wray. “I am proud of our state and local law enforcement partners and the immediate response of FBI agents, analysts, and professional staff, working in close coordination to assist them. I have been in contact with the president and the attorney general, and they both have expressed their support for the FBI’s work in the wake of these tragedies.”

The FBI remains concerned that U.S.-based domestic violent extremists could become inspired by these and previous high-profile attacks to engage in similar acts of violence. The FBI asks the American public to report to law enforcement any suspicious activity that is observed either in person or online.

Shootings in El Paso, Dayton

August 5, 2019, Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Democratic Leader Chuck Schumer released the following statement after President Trump delivered remarks on the recent mass shootings in El Paso and Dayton:

“In February, the new Democratic House Majority promptly did its duty and passed the Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019, which is supported by more than 90 percent of the American people and proven to save lives.

“However, Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell has called himself the ‘grim reaper’ and refuses to act on this bipartisan legislation. It is incumbent upon the Senate to come back into session to pass this legislation immediately.

“It took less than three hours for the President to back off his call for stronger background check legislation. When he can’t talk about guns when he talks about gun violence, it shows the President remains prisoner to the gun lobby and the NRA.

“The public must weigh in and demand passage of this legislation for the safety of our children.”

August 05, 2019 Udall Responds to President Trump’s Comments on El Paso, Dayton

Shootings Rejects offensive link between gun safety bills and Trump immigration agenda; calls on Republican leadership to allow the Senate to vote urgently on common-sense gun violence prevention measures

U.S. Senator Tom Udall responded to President Trump’s comments in the wake of the El Paso and Dayton shootings. Earlier today, President Trump tweeted that congressional action on gun violence should be paired with action on the Trump administration’s immigration agenda. Udall issued the following statement:

“In the wake of an act of anti-immigrant, white supremacist terror, President Trump is now proposing that any action to prevent gun violence should be paired with restrictions on immigration. The president’s suggestion is offensive, and it validates and fuels the same kind of anti-immigrant bigotry that was behind the evil El Paso attack. Insisting that sensible gun safety

measures be paired with the president's anti-immigrant agenda is tantamount to giving into the hateful ideology that motivated this terrorist attack – that immigrants are somehow to blame for this white supremacist violence.

“The president’s proposal to link action on gun violence with his toxic immigration wish-list, is likely nothing more than an attempt to ensure that Congress continues to do nothing on guns. But the American people cannot afford more inaction. Senate Majority Leader McConnell has had months to act on the bills passed by the House to expand background checks, address gun violence, and save lives. How many more tragedies will it take before Republican leadership stops standing in the way of action to address this epidemic?”

A Sickness in Our Nation August 5, 2019

Republican Whip Steve Scalise (R-La.) released the following statement in the wake of mass shootings in El Paso and Dayton:

"There is a growing sickness in our nation. Our religious and community institutions — the very glue that holds us together — are declining as a central force in American society, while the politicization of every aspect of our lives is on the rise. These shooters turned to hatred and violence, and as a result, dozens of Americans are dead.

"These events should be classified as domestic terrorism, and I'm glad that in the case of El Paso, the FBI is treating it as such. We must better equip our law enforcement agencies to prevent these massacres before they happen. There is clearly a culture of death in America today. Violence is glorified and normalized on our screens every day. Instead of seeking professional help for mental health problems, men are being radicalized in online forums. This must stop.

"In a media culture that encourages viewing people solely through hyper-partisan lenses, and not as neighbors and fellow citizens, dangerous division and hatred of those you disagree with is the outcome. This can often lead to violent consequences, as I have personally experienced.

"These events are tragedies. Reducing them to talking points and name-calling in support of narrow political agendas only further divides our country.

"Jennifer and I pray for the people of El Paso and Dayton. May God help us and heal this great nation."

Todd Spangler August 5, 2019 Michigan Republicans largely silent on specific gun control changes after El Paso, Dayton shootings

In the wake of deadly shootings in Texas and Ohio over the weekend, Michigan's Democratic members of Congress called on a Republican-led Senate to pass legislation tightening background checks for firearm purchases.

Republicans, on the other hand, were largely silent on any specific policy changes involving guns. U.S. Reps. Brenda Lawrence, D-Southfield, Dan Kildee, D-Flint Township; Elissa Slotkin, D-Holly; Haley Stevens, D-Rochester Hills and Dingell have all called for the Senate to take action while also calling for steps to address what Stevens called "white nationalist extremism."

Schumer Statement On Recent Shootings In Dayton, Ohio And El Paso, Texas August 4, 2019

U.S. Senator Chuck Schumer today released the following statement on recent shootings in Dayton, Ohio and El Paso, Texas:

“One awful event after another. Leader McConnell must call the Senate back for an emergency session to put the House-passed universal background checks legislation on the Senate floor for debate and a vote immediately.

“When President Trump spends more time and energy denouncing Rep. Elijah Cummings and Baltimore than he does denouncing right-wing extremists who often traffic in hate and white nationalism, it shows his priorities are un-American and way off balance.”

The Historic FBI Investigation of the Klu Klux Klan

Part 1: Let the Investigations Begin: In February 1915, the D.W. Griffith movie later titled *The Birth of a Nation* premiered in a Los Angeles theater. Though considered progressive in its technique and style, the film had a decidedly backwards plot that glorified a short-lived, post-Civil War white supremacist group called the Ku Klux Klan. The movie's broad release in March provoked riots and even bloodshed nationwide.

It also revived interest in the KKK, leading to the birth of several new local groups that summer and fall. Many more followed, mostly in southern states at first. Some of these groups focused on supporting the U.S. effort in World War I, but most wallowed in a toxic mix of secrecy, racism, and violence.

As the Klan grew, it attracted the attention of the young Bureau. Created just a few years earlier—in July 1908—the Bureau of Investigation (as the organization was known then) had few federal laws to combat the KKK in these formative days. Cross burnings and lynchings, for example, were local issues. But under its general domestic security responsibilities, the Bureau was able to start gathering information and intelligence on the Klan and its activities. And wherever possible, we looked for federal violations and shared information with state and local law enforcement for its cases.

Early files show that Bureau cases and intelligence efforts were already beginning to mount in the years before 1920. A few examples:

- In Birmingham, a middle-aged African-American—who fled north to avoid serving in the war—was arrested for draft dodging in May 1918 when he returned to persuade his white teenage girlfriend to marry him. A Bureau agent looking into the matter discovered that the local KKK had gotten wind of the interracial affair and was organizing to lynch the man. The agent came up with a novel solution to resolve the draft-dodging issue and to protect the man from harm: he escorted the evader to a military camp and ensured that he was quickly inducted.
- In June 1918, a Mobile agent named G.C. Outlaw learned that Ed Rhone—the leader of a multi-racial group called the Knights of Labor—was worried by the abduction of another labor leader by reputed Klansmen. “This uneasiness of the Knights of Labor,” our agent noted, “is the first direct result of the Ku Klux activities.” Agent Outlaw investigated and assured Rhone we would protect him from any possible harm.
- At the request of a Bureau agent in Tampa, a representative of the American Protective League—a group of citizen volunteers who helped investigate domestic issues like draft evasion during World War I—convinced an area Klan group to disband in August 1918.

World War I effectively came to an end with the signing of a ceasefire in November 1918, but the KKK was just getting started. Pro-war oriented Klan groups either folded or began to coalesce around a focus on racial and religious prejudice. Teaming up with advertising executive Edward Young Clarke, the head of the Atlanta Klan—William Simmons—would oversee a rapid rise in KKK membership in the 1920s.

Part 2: Trouble in the 1920s: The Roaring Twenties were a heady time, full of innovation and exploration—from the novelty of “talking pictures” to the utility of mass-produced Model Ts...from the distinct jazz sounds of Duke Ellington to the calculated social rebellion of the “flappers”...from the pioneering flights of Charles Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart to the pioneering prose of F. Scott Fitzgerald and William Faulkner.

It was also a lawless decade—an age of highly violent and well-heeled gangsters and racketeers who fueled a growing underworld of crime and corruption. Al Capone and his archrival Bugs Moran had formed powerful, warring criminal enterprises that ruled the streets of Chicago, while the early Mafia was crystallizing in New York and other cities, running various gambling, bootlegging, and other illegal operations.

Contributing to criminal chaos of the 1920s was the sudden rise of the Ku Klux Klan, or KKK. In the early 1920s, membership in the KKK quickly escalated to six figures under the leadership of “Colonel” William Simmons and advertising guru Edward Young Clarke. By the middle of the decade, the group boasted several million members. The crimes committed in the name of its bigoted beliefs were despicable—hangings, floggings, mutilations, tarring and featherings, kidnappings, brandings by acid, along with a new intimidation tactic, cross-burnings. The Klan had become a clear threat to public safety and order.

Matters were getting so out of hand in the state of Louisiana that Governor John M. Parker petitioned the federal government for help. In a memo dated September 25, 1922 J. Edgar Hoover—then assistant director of the Bureau—informed Director Burns that a reporter had brought a personal letter from Parker to the Department of Justice. “The Governor has been unable to use either the mails, telegraph, or telephone because of interference by the Klan ... Conditions have been brought to a head at Mer Rouge, when two white men ... were done away with mysteriously,” Hoover wrote. He also said that the governor was seeking assistance because “local authorities are absolutely inactive” and because he feared judges and prosecuting attorneys had been corrupted.



Robed members of the KKK marching down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C., with American flags and the U.S. Capitol in the background in 1927.

The Department responded, immediately sending four Bureau agents—A. E. Farland, J. D. Rooney, J. P. Huddleston, and W. M. Arkens—to work with the Louisiana attorney general to gather evidence of state and federal crimes. The agents soon found the bodies of the two men and pinpointed members of the vigilante mob that kidnapped and brutally murdered them. They also identified the mob’s leader—Dr. B.M. McKoin, the former mayor of Mer Rouge.

The agents’ work put their own lives in danger. On November 13, 1922, an FBI Headquarters memo noted that “confirmation has just been received of the organized attempt of klansmen and their friends to arrest, kidnap, and do away with special agents of the Department who were in Mer Rouge.” To make matters worse, the plot was “stimulated by the United States Attorney at Shreveport,” reportedly an active KKK member. The U.S. attorney had already ordered the investigating agents, detailed from the Houston Division, to leave the area or be arrested because he thought they had no business investigating those matters. “Only their hurried exit saved them,” the memo said. Still, the agents continued their work.

In 1923, McKoin was arrested and charged with the murders of the two men. Despite National Guard security, witnesses were kidnapped by the Klan, and other attempts were made to sabotage the trial. The grand jury refused to return an indictment. Other KKK members, though, ended up paying fines or being sentenced to short jail terms for miscellaneous misdemeanors related to the murders.

Despite the Bureau’s work, the power of the KKK in certain places was too strong to crack. But as revelations of leadership scandals spread and figures like Edward Young Clarke went to jail, the Klan’s membership dropped off precipitously. By the end of the decade, thanks in part to the Bureau, the KKK had faded into the background—at least for a time.

Governor John M. Parker Memo to the Bureau

September 25, 1922

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BURNS

Mr. Paul Wooton, Washington correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune, presented a letter addressed to the Attorney General, by Governor John M. Parker of Louisiana, asking for assistance in investigation of Ku-Klux matters in northern Louisiana. Mr. Wooton’s address is 611 Colorado Building, and his telephone is Main 4047.

The Governor has been unable to use either the mails, telegraph, or telephone because of interference by the Klan. He has received a large number of anonymous and other communications, and much of mail, particularly from Monroe, has been opened. The Postmaster at Monroe is understood to be a member as are a number of prominent officials and business men.

Conditions have been brought to a head at Mer Rouge, when two white men, one an ex-sargeant, were done away with mysteriously (the case of ex-sargeant

F.W. Daniel already has been called to our attention by Senator Wadsworth and Joseph Morningstar, of New York).

The other victim was named Rogers. One of these men is supposed to have been burned to death in a barbaric manner, and the other weighted down with chains and irons and dropped into a lake. Neither of the bodies has been found.

Mr. Wooton already has seen Mr. Simmons, Chief Post Office Inspector, who has promised to send an inspector from Washington, to cover the Post Office angles. This man probably will leave tomorrow, as the Postmaster General has approved such action.

The local authorities are absolutely inactive, and they have been unable to get any action by the Grand Jury at Mer Rouge. The Governor has tried to get the State legislature to pass a law requiring registration with the Secretary of State, but failed. He is confident that the Sheriffs, Prosecuting Attorneys, and Judges have all been reached. The attitude of the Attorney General of the State, Mr. Coco, is not exactly pleasing. It is imperative that any one sent there interview the Governor before approaching Mr. Coco.

Representative Sandlin, of the 4th District, and Riley J. Wilson of the 5th District, are believed also to be involved, while both of the Senators from the State are understood to have a great mass of information and of course to be opposed to the organization. Senator Ransdell leaves tonight, and he will have to be interviewed immediately. The Governor's telephone wire has been tapped and he is unable to conduct even ordinary conversation without interference, and as the telegraph companies are incompetent, the only way to feel safe and to get the matter before our attention was to send Mr. Wooten here and to bring back a letter from the Attorney General to support his former request for assistance.

All of the activities involved are of recent occurrence so that Messrs. Bales, Farland, and Shipp could not have covered them at the time in that vicinity. The Mer Rouge case is merely the climax of a series of events, and the principal reason for the Governor calling it to our attention.

Mr. Wooten is to have luncheon with Senator Ransdell and would like to be communicated with.

Respectfully,

Part 3: Standing Tall in Mississippi: Special Agent James IngramAs the civil rights movement began to take shape in the 1950s, its important work was often met with opposition—and more significantly, with violence—by the increasingly resurgent white supremacists groups of the KKK.

FBI agents in our southern field offices were on the front lines of this battle, working to see that the guilty were brought to justice and to undermine the efforts of the Klan in states like Mississippi. That was often difficult given the reluctance of witnesses to come forward and

testify in court and the unwillingness of juries to convict Klansmen even in the face of clear evidence.

Fortunately, the struggles and insights of many of these agents have been recorded for posterity, and transcripts are available for review by the general public—thanks to the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI and the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Foundation.

These transcripts include many memorable discussions with our agents concerning their work against the KKK. One came from FBI Agent James Ingram (pictured), who served from 1957 to 1982 and played a key role in many civil rights investigations. Agent Ingram was assigned to the newly opened Jackson Field Office in Mississippi in 1964. A retired agent and colleague in Jackson, Avery Rollins, interviewed Ingram before his death:

Special Agent Rollins: “You said that your average work week was six-and-a-half days. I would assume that your average work day was anywhere from 10 to 12 hours long?”

Special Agent Ingram: “Oh, it was. ... That’s why we defeated the Klan. ... there was never a defeatist attitude because we were all on the same schedule. And everyone knew that we had to work.”

That work continued following passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

Special Agent Ingram: “There was one thing about [the law], Mr. Hoover knew that it was important. He gave Inspector Joe Sullivan and [Jackson Special Agent in Charge] Roy Moore a mandate. And he said, ‘You will do whatever it takes to defeat the Klan, and you will do whatever it takes to bring law and order back to Mississippi.’”

The threats to FBI agents were real:

“Agents would always watch. They’d look underneath their cars to make sure we did not have any dynamite strapped underneath ... Then you’d open your hood and make sure that everything was clear there. We had snakes placed in mailboxes. We had threats.”

But using informants and other tools, the tide began to turn:

“[W]e infiltrated the Klan in many ways. We had female informants. ... And we had police officers that were informants for us.”

“When you look back, the FBI can be proud that they stopped the violence [of the KKK]. We had the convictions. We did what we had to do from Selma, Alabama to Jackson, Mississippi to Atlanta, Georgia.”

In the words of Special Agent Rollins, “...the FBI broke the back of the Klan in Mississippi. And eradicated it...”



Special Agent James Ingram In His Own Words:

“... [O]ne Klan businessman in Philadelphia, Mississippi said, ‘I’ll whip any FBI agent that walks into my store.’ John Proctor, who was the [supervisory agent] in Meridian [Mississippi] ... went into the store... And, with the store filled with customers, said, ‘Mr. So and So, I understand that you’re going to whip any FBI agent that walks into your store. I’m not armed, but I wanted to let you know if you would like to whip me, let’s get started.’ (laughs) And the man grumbled and said, ‘Look, that was a misunderstanding. I didn’t say it.’ ... So Proctor said, ‘You put the word out that you didn’t mean it. You also put the word out that I’ve been instructed by Jim Ingram, my supervisor, and Roy Moore, my agent in charge, that any other Klansman that’s interested in whipping an FBI agent, just let us know.’”

“We had our problems, but FBI agents stood tall. Oh my goodness, did they stand tall.”

Part 4: A Leader Emerges: Roy Moore had seen the Klan in action, and he knew what he was up against.

While head of the FBI’s office in Little Rock, he was asked to lead a special squad investigating the KKK’s 1963 bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, which had killed four African-American girls and injured many more.

So when the call came on July 2, 1964 from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Special Agent in Charge Moore was ready. Later that afternoon, the historic Civil Rights Act would be signed into law, and President Lyndon B. Johnson had already instructed Hoover’s FBI, which was about to gain new authorities, to establish a stronger presence in Mississippi. Hoover chose Moore—a trusted Bureau veteran who’d joined the FBI in 1938 and earned his stripes finding the culprit of a massive mid-air explosion in 1955—to set up a new field office in Jackson.

At the time, Mississippi was the epicenter of violent Klan activity, and Hoover wanted to send a powerful message that the FBI was in business there and was determined to reassert the rule of law. So he asked Moore to make preparations quickly and quietly as part of what Hoover considered a “psychological operation” against the KKK in the state.

The morning after the July 4 holiday, Moore reported to Jackson. A week later, he joined Hoover, the Mississippi attorney general, and others in announcing the formal opening of the office in a rented downtown bank building.

Moore’s immediate job was to help solve the KKK-fueled murder of three civil rights workers—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner—in Neshoba County less than a month earlier. What became known as the infamous “Mississippi Burning” case gained national

attention and helped spur the passage of the landmark civil rights bill. With his support, the FBI located the three men's bodies buried under an earthen dam and fingered a series of suspects by year's end.

For Moore, it was just the beginning. Over the next seven years, he spearheaded the Bureau's work to loosen the Klan's stranglehold in Mississippi and restore law and order through a series of investigations and other efforts.

Moore was well respected by the agents who worked with and for him. He was considered a tough, demanding boss but an "outstanding individual" and "one of the great leaders of that time." According to Special Agent James Ingram, "He expected people to work six-and-a-half days a week ... Sunday mornings were for church and laundry, [but] by 1 p.m. you were back to work."

Moore's leadership made a critical difference in turning the tide against the Klan in the 1960s. He was reassigned to Chicago in 1971, then retired in December 1974—moving back to Mississippi, where he lived out his days. When Moore died in 2008, veteran Mississippi journalist Bill Minor was quoted as saying in a Washington Post obituary, "How close Mississippi stood in the 1960s to being taken over by the law of the jungle is still a frightening thought... There was only one reliable law enforcement agency in Mississippi at the time, and that was the FBI, headed by Roy Moore."

Recollections on Roy Moore

A few thoughts on Special Agent in Charge Moore from agents who worked for him:

- Special Agent Billy Bob Williams, who was having trouble investigating the brutal murders of two 19-year-old African-American men in southwest Mississippi in 1964, recalled telling Moore, "We're losing the battle down there... And somebody's going to get hurt pretty quick if we don't get a handle on this." Williams said that Moore thought for a second, then started writing out a list of 25 agents on a piece of paper, which he then gave to his secretary so she could contact them. Moore then called FBI Headquarters and said he'd sent for these agents and would need them to stay a while.

- When the Klan firebombed the house of civil rights activist Vernon Dahmer in 1966, Special Agent James Awe remembered that "[a]s soon as Roy Moore learned of the incident, he sent most of the senior resident agents and a large staff from Headquarters, including clerical personnel, to Hattiesburg, Mississippi and established quarters at a Holiday Inn in Hattiesburg. And that personnel stayed there until that case was completed ... Roy Moore himself went down to head that particular case and he stayed down there..."

- In the mid-1960s, a Mississippi Klan leader named Devers Nix threatened Agents Awe and Ingram with arrest when they tried to interview him at his house, claiming that they were intimidating him. Nix went down to the police station and had arrest warrants filed. The agents went back and told Moore, “Well, perhaps we shouldn’t work in Jones County anymore because there are two arrest warrants for us down there.” Awe recalled that “Roy Moore was not amused... He said, ‘You will work in Jones County, and you will not allow yourselves to become arrested.’” The agents were never arrested and carried on their work.

- Special Agent E. Avery Rollins remembers that Moore “... was able to get a higher than average number of law enforcement officers from Mississippi to go to the National Academy. You know, usually a state would be restricted to one officer, maybe two officers a year, but that Roy, through his influence, was able to make sure that anywhere from two to four officers a year went through the National Academy ... You get some officers who have the experience of going up there and you suddenly start developing ... a good relationship with these guys.”

Part 5: Trouble in Texas: A husband and wife chatted as they passed an energy plant in north Texas.

“I hate to be that way, but if it has to be...” the wife said matter-of-factly after she and her husband realized that blowing up the natural gas processing facility would kill many people, including young children at a nearby school.

Husband and Wife Suspects in Operation Sour Gas. The year was 1997. The couple belonged a regional extremist group called the True Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and was casing the plant for a Klan operation. Along with two other True Knights, their plan was to build a homemade bomb—like the one used in Oklahoma City two years earlier—and explode it near large storage tanks at the facility. They hoped that the resulting explosion would release a cloud of hydrogen sulfide—so-called “sour gas”—that would kill hundreds of people. The children were just collateral damage.

As grisly as that sounds, it was just the beginning of their plan. The bombing was simply a cover to distract law enforcement while the Klan robbed an armored car of some \$2 million on the other side of town. In fact, to add to the chaos and help clear the way for the robbery and getaway, the plot called for detonating a second bomb when law enforcement and first responders arrived at the scene of the explosion.

And the point of the robbery? To raise money to go to war with the U.S. government in the run-up to the millennium, when paranoia among homegrown extremists was rising.

It was no idle talk. “They were building and testing improved explosive devices,” says Special Agent John Fraga, who led the Operation Sour Gas investigation while supervising our North Texas Joint Terrorism Task Force and is now the acting head of the Terrorist Explosive Device Analytical Center in the FBI Laboratory. “They knew how to rupture the tanks.”

What the Klan members didn’t know was that the FBI office in Dallas was well aware of the entire scheme—thanks to a well-placed source within the True Knights. Its multi-agency terror task force was watching the group’s every step and had even bugged the cab of the couple’s truck as they callously dismissed the possible outcome of the attack while driving past the facility.

With plenty of evidence in hand, we arrested all four conspirators in April 1997 before they could carry out their sinister plot. Each pled guilty by early October and was ultimately sentenced to jail.

“This case was one of the Bureau’s first weapons of mass destruction preventions,” says Fraga. And it was yet another successful victory in the FBI’s fight against the KKK, which started in the years prior to World War I and continues to this day.

Over that time, the Klan has continued to morph and change. Today, it’s a shadow of its brazen, lawless self in the 1950s and 1960s—thanks in large part to the dogged work of the FBI and its partners during that era—but as the Texas case demonstrates, the threat remains.

On May 15, 2014 A Former Alabama KKK Leader was Sentenced to Prison for Cross Burning and Obstruction of Justice.

Steven Joshua Dinkle, 28, former exalted cyclops of the Ozark, Alabama chapter of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), was sentenced today by Chief U.S. District Judge W. Keith Watkins to serve 24 months in prison to be followed by three years of supervised release for his role in a cross burning in 2009, announced the Justice Department and the U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Middle District of Alabama.

On February 3, 2014, Dinkle pleaded guilty to hate crime and obstruction of justice charges related to the cross burning. Specifically, he pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy to violate housing rights, one count of criminal interference with the right to fair housing and two counts of obstruction of justice.

According to documents filed with the court, Dinkle and one of his KKK recruits, Thomas Windell Smith, met at Dinkle’s home on May 8, 2009, and decided to burn a cross in a local African-American neighborhood. Dinkle constructed a wooden cross about six feet tall, wrapped jeans and a towel around it to make it more flammable, and loaded it into Smith’s truck. Around 8:00 p.m., Dinkle and Smith drove to the African-American neighborhood in Ozark. Dinkle unloaded the cross at the entrance to the community and dug a hole in the ground. He poured

fuel on the cross, stood it up in the hole in view of several houses, and set it on fire. Dinkle and Smith then drove away.

During sentencing, Chief U.S. District Judge Watkins said that it was clear that the purpose of Dinkle's conduct was "to terrorize people in the community" and that his "message was one of intimidation and violence."

When questioned by local investigators, Dinkle falsely denied his involvement in the incident and said that he had resigned his office and withdrawn from the KKK months before the cross burning. When approached by the FBI, Dinkle again lied and told a special agent that he had been at home with his girlfriend when the cross burning occurred. He further claimed that he did not know a person who was, in fact, one of his superiors in the KKK at the time of the cross burning.

During the plea hearing, Dinkle admitted that in burning the cross, he intended to scare and intimidate residents of the African-American community by threatening the use of force against them. He further admitted that he burned the cross because of the victims' race and color and because they were occupying homes in that area.

"Defendant Dinkle chose to burn the cross at the very entrance to an African-American neighborhood so that anyone coming or going would see the fiery cross," said Acting Assistant Attorney General Jocelyn Samuels for the Civil Rights Division. "He intended to intimidate the community's residents in their own homes and neighborhood. There is no place for such conduct in our society and the department will continue to prosecute these violent acts of hate."

"It is sad that, in this day and age, people are still filled with such hate," said U.S. Attorney George L. Beck, Jr. for the Middle District of Alabama. "To act on such hate and burn a cross turns that hate into a crime which should not, and will not, be tolerated. Prosecuting these type crimes will continue to be a priority of my office."

Dinkle's co-conspirator, Smith, pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy to violate housing rights in December 2013, and he is scheduled to be sentenced on August 19, 2014. Dinkle's mother, Pamela Morris, is charged with two counts of perjury arising out of the investigation into the cross burning. Her trial is scheduled to begin August 4, 2014.

This case was investigated by the FBI with the assistance of the Dale County Sheriff's Office and the Ozark Police Department. The case is being prosecuted by Assistant U.S. Attorney Jerusha T. Adams of the Middle District of Alabama and Trial Attorney Chiraag Bains of the Civil Rights Division.

History - Civil Wrongs and Civil Rights: U.S. Marshals Upholding the Constitution

Washington, D.C. is not your ordinary American city and Sunday, October 28, 1990 was not just another ordinary day in the nation's capital. Congress was still trying to finalize the 1991 budget. The White house was considering its response to Saddam Hussein's bellicose rhetoric from the Mid-east. And a District Court Judge was granting the KLI Klux Klan permission to march down Constitution.

For most Washingtonians, tensions at home and abroad become very common place events and are generally taken very calmly. However, the idea of a Ku Klux Klan march on the city's streets was a different matter. As word of the Klan rally raced through D.C. neighborhoods, local law enforcement officials became concerned and apprehensive.

The issue of granting marching permits to the Klan provoked some interagency tensions among police departments. However, one agency silently kept its vigil on events to come, and prepared for the worst. That agency was the district office of the U.S. Marshals Service.

The court order which permitted the Klan to march was issued at 1:30 a.m. on Sunday. But for U.S. Marshal Herbert M. Rutherford, III, it came as no surprise. Since he was familiar with past rallies in the city, he also knew that there would probably be counter-demonstrations which would likely bring the potential for violence to the streets of Washington. Using his authority as the top-ranking federal law enforcement official in the city, Rutherford began to coordinate and federalize operations for the rally through the U. S. Marshals Service's Headquarters.

With the immediate approval of senior officials, a major call up of Deputy Marshals was initiated for the District and Superior Courts of Washington, D.C., the Eastern District of Virginia and the District of Maryland to provide supply and logistical support. By 7 a.m.. only five and one-half hours after the Federal district Judge issued his order, the operational command staff had assembled. An hour later, full coordination had begun with the U.S. Park Police and U.S. Capitol Police Intelligence.

By 10 a.m., more than 80 Deputies and administrative personnel had assembled and were receiving their briefings. Because the D.C. Metropolitan Police Department was tasked with primary coverage of the march route, the Marshals had a different mission. Rutherford issued directives for the Marshals to stage as the final protective line for all police departments involved and to seal any breeches that developed in the police lines and make demonstrator arrests.

Some U.S. Marshals were also designated as transportation teams to take arrestees away on large USMS buses and vans. Additionally, members of the Special Operations Group arrived in a team element to support the rapid deployment of Deputies. Their prompt arrival maintained the Group's reputation for quick response.

All in all, the Marshals Service was able to deploy more than 80 people within three hours of the Klan march and have them fully equipped to provide an enforcement role equal to the other participating police agencies. The Marshals remained involved throughout the demonstration.

which eventually resulted in 40 demonstrators being arrested and seven police officers injured, one with a fractured neck.

The Klan march in Washington was not a new experience for the Marshals Service. Such civil rights disturbances and crowd control events are part of the Marshals' history - in fact, much of the Service's visibility came from participation in actions to enforce civil rights laws. During these fast paced and rapidly changing days of the 1900s, it appears only a select few remember the tense days of 1962 when U.S. marshals escorted James Meredith to the University of Mississippi amid strong and dangerous protest.

Meredith was a black American who wanted an education at the college of his choice, which happened to be the University of Mississippi. When a Federal court ordered that Meredith be allowed to register at the University, Deputy marshals enforced the order. Those Marshals were present during the extremely volatile demonstrations and riots that resulted. Though facing constant harassment and assault, they diligently exercised constraint and discipline and still held the line.

Another example of the Marshals involvement in crowd control and civil disturbances took place in 1968. That year widespread rioting, arson, and looting took place in the streets of the District of Columbia. Once again U.S. Marshals were on the scene, making arrests and protecting the citizens of our capital.

And what about the Ku Klux Klan and the streets of Washington D.C.? Will the U.S. Marshals face a similar situation in the future? Probably so. If a return visit does come about, the preparations of law enforcement agencies may be different. In the early 1990's, the U.S. Marshal met with the heads of all participating agencies to discuss new strategies. These included meetings with the Metropolitan Police Department to devise a system to avoid costly court battles with rallying groups, provide adequate protection, and ultimately prevent an excessive financial burden on the taxpayer.