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November 30, 2017

The Honorable Michael McCaul
Chair
House Committee on Homeland Security
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Bennie Thompson
Ranking Member
House Committee on Homeland Security
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman McCaul and Ranking Member Thompson:

As the House Committee on Homeland Security holds hearings on "World Wide Threats: Keeping America Secure in the New Age of Terror," we write to provide the views of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and ask that this statement be included as part of the official hearings record.

The Anti-Defamation League

Since 1913, the mission of the Anti-Defamation League has been to "stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all." For decades, the League has fought against bigotry and anti-Semitism by exposing extremist groups who spread hate and incite violence. The League is now the foremost non-governmental authority on domestic terrorism, extremism, organized hate groups, and hate crimes. Through our Center on Extremism, whose experts monitor a variety of extremist and terrorist movements, ADL plays a leading role in exposing extremist movements and activities, while helping communities and government agencies alike in combatting them. ADL's team of experts – analysts, investigators, researchers, and linguists – use cutting-edge technology to track and disrupt extremists and terrorists worldwide. The League provides law enforcement officials and the public with extensive resources, such as its analytic reports on extremist trends and its Hate Symbols¹ and Terror Symbols databases.

Assisting Law Enforcement

ADL is the largest non-governmental provider in the United States of training for law enforcement on hate crimes, extremism, and terrorism, as well as on building trust between police and the people and communities they serve. Each year, ADL experts deliver customized, in-depth training on these subjects to more than 15,000 federal, state, and local law enforcement personnel at hundreds of agencies. ADL's dual role as a preeminent civil rights organization, and as a strong and trusted partner of law enforcement, gives us the credibility to offer a continuum of service that influences the way law enforcement fights hate and interacts with the communities they serve. ADL provides law enforcement with information, expertise, and actionable intelligence to prevent, disrupt, and respond to those extremists who cross the line from espousing hateful ideologies to committing violent, criminal acts, thus protecting the Jewish community and all Americans. ADL's Advanced Training School, a highly acclaimed

¹ <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols>

ADL Community Support Center

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and sought after three-day program on domestic and international terror threats, has trained more than 1,100 senior law enforcement executives since it was launched in 2003.

Identifying the Threat

In the United States, adherents of a variety of extremist movements – from white supremacists to black nationalists to Islamist extremists – perceive Jews as their enemy and target the Jewish community with propaganda, violence, or both. Extremists also target other communities of minorities, as well as the democratic foundations of government that protect everybody's rights. Understanding the diverse list of perpetrators that threaten the Jewish and other minority communities is the first step to protecting them from violent extremism.

The Impact and Disturbing Prevalence of Anti-Semitism and Hate Violence

All Americans have a stake in effective response to violent bigotry. These crimes demand priority attention because of their special impact. Bias crimes are intended to intimidate the victim and members of the victim's community, leaving them feeling fearful, isolated, and vulnerable. Failure to address this unique type of crime often causes an isolated incident to explode into widespread community tension. The damage done by hate crimes, therefore, cannot be measured solely in terms of physical injury or dollars and cents. By making members of targeted communities fearful, angry, and suspicious of other groups – and of the power structure that is supposed to protect them – these incidents can damage the fabric of our society and fragment communities.

Data must drive policy. The first step in addressing the problem of anti-Semitism and hate violence is to know its nature and magnitude.

ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents

Since 1979, the Anti-Defamation League has been compiling an annual *Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents* ("the *Audit*"). We track anti-Semitic incidents not only because we are a Jewish community civil rights organization, but because anti-Semitism, the longest and most persistent form of prejudice, threatens security and democracy and is an indicator of the health of a society as a whole.

The Audit includes both criminal and non-criminal acts of harassment and intimidation, including distribution of hate propaganda, threats, and slurs. Compiled using information provided by victims, law enforcement, and community leaders, each recorded incident specifically was evaluated by a member of ADL's professional staff who personally verified the information. In short, our Audit provides an annual snapshot of one specific aspect of the nationwide bias crime problem and sheds light on broader trends. The Audit assists ADL in developing and enhancing our education, training, and outreach programs to counter and prevent the spread of anti-Semitism and other forms of hate and bigotry.²

Through the *Audit*, ADL has modeled the role that communities can take in elevating the need for monitoring and reporting hate crime. We strongly have promoted the notion that if the Jewish community wants law enforcement officials to take anti-Semitic acts seriously, we must do so – and report them to the police.

² For example, after three years of tracking significant data increases, ADL drafted the first model state hate crime penalty-enhancement law and promoted its enactment across the country. Today, the federal government and 45 states and the District of Columbia have enacted hate crime laws, modeled on, or similar to, our original draft. <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/combating-hate/ADL-updated-2016-Excel-State-Hate-Crime-Statutes.pdf>

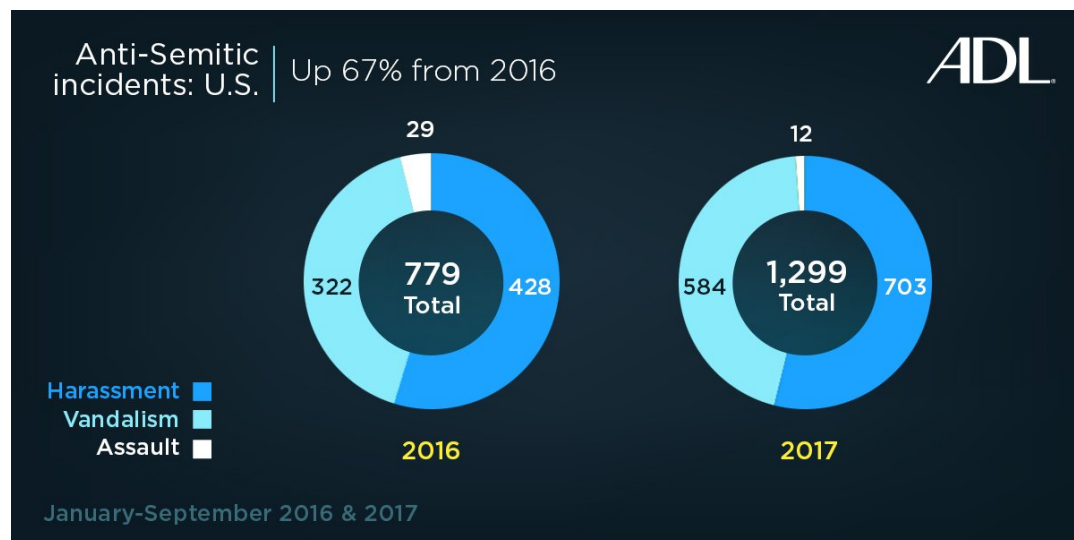
New *Audit* data released earlier this month shows that the number of anti-Semitic incidents remains significantly higher in 2017 compared to 2016, with an increase of 67 percent over the first three quarters of the year. In addition to the significant bump in the first quarter of this year, we also saw a distinct increase after the “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in August.

Specifically, our report³ documented that from January 1 to September 30 there were 1,299 anti-Semitic incidents across the United States, including physical assaults, vandalism, and attacks on Jewish institutions. And the total already exceeds the 1,266 incidents reported in all of last year.

Compared to 2016, each of the first three quarters of 2017 had a higher number of incidents. These incidents peaked during the first quarter of 2017, and the pace slowed somewhat in the second and third quarters. Of all 1,299 anti-Semitic incidents so far in 2017, a majority (667) occurred in the first quarter of the year. An additional 632 anti-Semitic incidents were reported in the second and third quarters of the year, surpassing the 488 incidents reported during the same period in 2016.

From January through September 30, there were:

- 703 incidents of harassment, including 162 bomb threats against Jewish institutions in three dozen states;
- 584 incidents of vandalism, including 52 against Jewish institutions; and
- 12 physical assaults.



ADL 2017 Audit: Comparison of Quarters 1-3 Totals

These incidents⁴ took place across the country, but consistent with prior reports, the states with the highest number of incidents tend to be those with the largest Jewish populations. These

³ <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-data-shows-anti-semitic-incidents-continue-surge-in-2017-compared-to-2016>

⁴ <https://www.adl.org/news/domestic-anti-semitism-selected-incidents-across-the-country-in-2017>

include New York State (267 incidents); California (197); Massachusetts (117); Florida (69); and Pennsylvania (58).⁵

Tracking and Responding to Hate Crimes in the United States

The FBI has been tracking and documenting hate crimes reported from federal, state, and local law enforcement officials since 1991 under the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990 (HCSA).⁶ Though clearly incomplete (as discussed below), the Bureau's annual HCSA reports provide the best single national snapshot of bias-motivated criminal activity in the United States.⁷

In 2016, the most recent report available, the FBI documented 6,121 hate crimes reported by 15,254 law enforcement agencies across the country – a five percent increase over 2015 figures (5,850), with nearly one hate crime committed every 90 minutes of every day.⁸ Of the 6,121 total incidents, 2,922 were motivated by racial bias (47.7 percent), 1,076 by sexual orientation bias (17.6 percent), and 1,273 by religious bias (20.8 percent).

Crimes directed against Jews increased three percent,⁹ and reported crimes against Muslims increased 16.3 percent, from 257 in 2015 to 307 in 2016. The number of reported anti-Muslim hate crimes in 2016 was, in fact, the second most ever – second only to the series of backlash crimes in 2001 after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.¹⁰

In 2016, 15,254 law enforcement agencies participated in the HCSA data collection effort – more than ever before. However, the FBI report documented 92 cities over 100,000 in population that either affirmatively reported zero (0) hate crimes – or did not participate in the program at all.¹¹ Accurate, reliable data is essential to build community trust and shape law enforcement tactics and deterrent policies.

Extremists and Hate Groups Emboldened

It is important to understand that the vast majority of anti-Semitic incidents and other hate crimes are not carried out by extremists or organized hate groups. But the extraordinarily polarizing and divisive election campaign – which featured harshly anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant rhetoric, as well as anti-Semitic dog whistles – coarsened the public discourse and fostered an atmosphere in which white supremacists and other anti-Semites and bigots felt

⁵ A state-by-state breakdown of the incidents in the *Audit* is here: <https://www.adl.org/news/adl-2017-audit-of-anti-semitic-incidents-a-breakdown-of-the-numbers-state-by-state>

⁶ 28 U.S.C. § 534 (1990).

⁷ The Act has also proven to be a powerful mechanism to confront violent bigotry, increasing public awareness of the problem and sparking improvements in the local response of the criminal justice system to hate violence – since in order to effectively report hate crimes, police officials must be trained to identify and respond to them.

⁸ <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2016>. The FBI's HCSA training manual is now the single most important, most inclusive hate crime training resource available for law enforcement officials. <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime-data-collection-guidelines-and-training-manual.pdf>

⁹ As has happened every year since 1990, a disturbingly high and disproportionate percentage of the total number of reported religion-based crimes (54 percent) were directed against Jews and Jewish institutions. In fact, since 1990, anti-Jewish hate crimes have been between 50 and 85 percent of the religious-based hate crimes – an especially disturbing fact when you consider that Jews are less than three percent of Americans.

¹⁰ Primarily because of mistrust of police, crimes against Muslim Americans are underreported. Muslim Advocates has earned a reputation as an essential complement to FBI numbers, the most important non-governmental source of information on anti-Muslim hate crimes and vandalism directed against Mosques. The organization maps anti-Muslim hate crimes and maintains a portal for individuals to report incidents online. <https://www.muslimadvocates.org/map-anti-muslim-hate-crimes/>

¹¹ <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/FBI%20HCSA%202015%20Cities%20that%20DNR%20or%20Reported%20Zero%20ML.pdf>

emboldened and believed that their views were becoming more broadly acceptable. This trend has continued with the Trump administration's repeated flirtation with these elements – retweeting their content and quoting their heroes. And the President's repeated reluctance to address extremism, hate, and anti-Semitism – or implied approval of the same – has helped to mainstream these toxic ideas.

Right Wing Extremism

Over the past 10 years (2007-2016), domestic extremists of all kinds have killed at least 372 people in the United States. Of those deaths, approximately 74% were at the hands of right-wing extremists such as white supremacists, sovereign citizens, and militia adherents.¹² Right-wing extremists have been responsible for plotting at least 150 acts of terror in the United States over the past 25 years.¹³

Right-wing extremists choose many targets for their anger, most frequently government, law enforcement, and racial and religious targets. The most common religious targets are Jews and Muslims, while the most common racial targets were African Americans, including multi-racial targets.

The white supremacists who target minority communities for acts of terror and violence include adherents of every major segment of their movement, including neo-Nazis, racist skinheads, the religious sect Christian Identity, and the Alt Right. The militia movement has especially embraced a particular type of bigotry: anti-Muslim hatred. This Islamophobia has taken numerous forms, from armed protests in front of mosques to a major terrorist plot in October 2016 in Garden City, Kansas, where three militia members were arrested in connection with an alleged plot to blow up an apartment complex that primarily housed Muslim Somali-American residents. We should be concerned that the militia movement could produce similar terror attempts aimed at Muslims in the future.¹⁴

The social networking revolution from 2006-2009 made it easier for extremist ideas and tactics to spread very far, very quickly. This facilitated the emergence of new extremist movements, such as the white supremacist alt right, to quickly gain followers, and helped established movements, such as the sovereign citizen movement, to rapidly resurge. Social networking has also provided opportunities for extremists to meet each other and even to plot online. The October 2008 school attack plot in Tennessee and the Georgia militia plot of February 2014 are two examples where extremists who connected online later met in person to plot terrorist acts.¹⁵

White Supremacists on Campus: Unprecedented Recruitment Efforts Underway

ADL has documented that white supremacists are engaged in unprecedented outreach efforts on American college campuses – another sign that these hate groups feel emboldened by the current political climate.¹⁶ ADL's Center on Extremism has documented 309 incidents of white supremacist flyers, posters, stickers, or banners on 201 different college campuses in 42 states since September 1, 2016. Of those 309 incidents, 127 have occurred since the beginning of the fall semester this year (September 1, 2017). This is a significant increase compared to the same period in 2016 (from September 1, 2016, to November 27, 2016, we counted 30

¹² <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/murder-and-extremism-in-the-united-states-in-2016>

¹³ <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-report-exposes-right-wing-terrorism-threat-in-the-us>

¹⁴ <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/dark-constant-rage-25-years-of-right-wing-terrorism-in-united-states>

¹⁵ <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/dark-constant-rage-25-years-of-right-wing-terrorism-in-united-states>

¹⁶ <https://www.adl.org/blog/white-supremacists-on-campus-unprecedented-recruitment-efforts-underway>

incidents). Furthermore, Richard Spencer continues to make efforts to speak at public universities around the country in an attempt to promote white nationalism to young audiences.

White supremacists are mobilizing in hopes of translating their online activism to “real world” action, and campuses – and young people – are prime targets, in part because they are still figuring out who they are, and what they believe. Extremists also undoubtedly see value in recruiting a new generation that can carry the movement for years to come.

Longtime white supremacist Jared Taylor recently wrote on his website, American Renaissance, that colleges are of special interest “because they are bastions of anti-white propaganda.” Before he imploded publicly in February, Islamophobic and misogynist gadfly Milo Yiannopoulos told CNN, “I am speaking on college campuses because education ... is really what matters. It’s a crucible where these bad ideas are formed. Bad ideas like ... progressive social justice, feminists, Black Lives Matter...”¹⁷

Yiannopoulos’ appearances (some of which were cancelled) seem to have had an energizing impact on other racists. Nathan Damigo, founder of the white supremacist group Identity Evropa, has called Yiannopoulos “an inspiration,” and showed up at the (ultimately cancelled) Yiannopoulos speech at UC Davis, hoping to poach a few fans for his own cause, which he outlined in a tweet: “We will not rest until Alt-Right ideas are represented on campuses nationwide.”

While the vast majority of white supremacist campus actions involve hateful fliers (e.g., “Imagine a Muslim-Free America,”) and stickers (e.g., “Make America White Again”), white supremacists have also sent anti-Semitic faxes and, in the case of white supremacist Richard Spencer, delivered speeches on campus. Many of these incidents are linked to larger coordinated promotional efforts by white supremacist groups, like Identity Evropa’s “Project Siege,” which includes actual campus recruitment visits, and American Vanguard’s “Northern Propaganda Campaign.” Not coincidentally, these two groups are responsible for the majority of the white supremacist fliers and events tracked over the last several months.

In January, American Renaissance launched a hate-filled campus campaign, which for now seems to be limited to hanging “pro-white” propaganda posters. “Racial activists,” Jared Taylor wrote on the American Renaissance website, should place the “attractive posters” in “high-traffic areas” around campus. Racist fliers and posters have adorned parking garages, street signs, billboards, utility poles, and corridors.

Andrew Auernheimer, a white supremacist hacker known as “Weev,” took targeting to the next technological level when he sent out anti-Semitic and racist fliers via many thousands of campus printers across the country. One flier, decorated with swastikas, read in part, “I unequivocally support the killing of children. I believe that our enemies need such a level of atrocity inflicted upon them ... So the hordes of our enemies from the blacks to the Jews to the federal agents are deserving of fates of violence so extreme that there is no limit to the acts by which can be done upon them in defense of the white race.” The fliers referenced *The Daily Stormer*, Andrew Anglin’s notoriously hateful neo-Nazi website.

These days, white supremacists are taking more forceful steps to establish a physical presence on campus. Identity Evropa was clear in its goals – and used fittingly “academic” language –

¹⁷ <http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/02/us/milo-yiannopoulos-ivory-tower/index.html>

when describing its “Project Siege” plans for the 2016-17 school year of talking to actual students: “Project Siege is the beginning of a long-term cultural war of attrition against the academia’s cultural Marxist narrative that is maintained and propagated into society through the indoctrination of the future managerial class. If we are to be successful in combating the current paradigm,” the online message read. “It is imperative that we create space for our ideas at universities across the country. Speaking with students and helping them unpack some of their assumptions while gaining name recognition for our organizations are the ways in which we will create the foundation for that space.”

White supremacist events on campus face particular scrutiny and, in some cases, speakers are able to circumvent the school altogether, avoiding heated debates over free speech rights. In December, when Richard Spencer spoke on the Texas A&M campus, he wasn’t there as a guest of the University. Instead, he spoke to supporters and onlookers in a room rented for the occasion by local neo-Nazi Preston Wiginton.

The Alt Right

The alt right is the newest segment of the white supremacist movement, a movement that already encompasses neo-Nazis, racist skinheads, “traditional” white supremacists such as Ku Klux Klan groups, Christian Identity adherents, and white supremacist prison gangs. The alt right emerged in the late 2000s from a variety of sources, including the online subculture of message boards and image boards like 4chan, 8chan, and Reddit, the online gaming subculture, the so-called men’s rights movement, and others. Richard Spencer emerged as its most well-known American spokesperson.

The ideology of the alt right, such as it is, is based on standard white supremacist beliefs about the need to protect the white race from a “rising tide of color,” combined with anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, nationalism, misogyny, and anti-LGBTQ beliefs. Demographically, the alt right is quite young and largely male; significantly, most adherents of the alt right are new to white supremacy and have not previously been part of other segments of the movement.

For most of its brief history, the alt right has largely existed online, with few entities that could be considered alt right “groups,” and few events related to the alt right taking place in the physical world. The 2016 presidential election campaign, however, changed the trajectory of the alt right, luring it more into the real world. Generally speaking, the alt right strongly supported Donald Trump’s candidacy and became active in supporting Trump and attacking his foes. After his victory, the alt right – mistakenly thinking it had played a significant role in Trump’s election, but correctly realizing it had grown considerably in 2016 thanks in large part to all the media attention it garnered – became emboldened, with many alt right activists more eager to organize or attend events in the real world.

As the alt right became more and more identified as part of the white supremacist movement, those adherents who shared most or all of its convictions – except overt white supremacy – sought to distance themselves from the white supremacists. Some of them began to refer to themselves as the “New Right,” but alt right white supremacists derisively referred to them as the “alt lite.” A public feud developed between the two factions in 2017.

One thing the factions could still agree on was hatred of the left. Left and progressive groups and movements in the United States reacted negatively to the election of Donald Trump, holding large protests after the election, at the inauguration, and afterwards. In particular, the antifa (short for anti-fascist), a collection of anarchist and far left groups, networks and individuals,

became active protesting at some events involving hateful speakers such as Milo Yiannopoulos and Ann Coulter.

As antifa targeted what they perceived as bigotry and hate speech, the alt right and alt lite began showing up in public to confront them. So too did another segment of the far right, the militia movement. Part of the anti-government extremist sphere of the American far right rather than the white supremacist sphere, the militia movement has historically concentrated its anger on the federal government, which it views through a hostile, suspicious, and highly conspiratorial lens. However, the election of Trump, a candidate supported by the militia movement, caused the movement to look for new enemies other than the federal government and it quickly found them in the antifa, whom they described as “domestic terrorists,” and claimed were being trained in Syrian terrorist training camps, and who were covertly led and funded by liberal, Jewish philanthropist George Soros in an attempt to undermine and overthrow the Trump administration.

Throughout 2017, then, adherents from these various far right movements showed up at events, or arranged their own events, designed to clash with protesters from the left, especially antifa. From Boston to Berkeley, Portland to Houston, these confrontations took place, some of them violent. Often the only meaningful result from these events was to leave people wanting even more confrontation.

It is against this backdrop that the events at Charlottesville played themselves out.

Spotlight on Charlottesville: What Happened and Why

In the broadest sense, what took place in Charlottesville was due primarily to two factors: 1) the growth of the alt right and its transition from being largely an online phenomenon into one also active in “real world” events and activities, and 2) the effects the 2016 presidential election results have had on a number of ideological movements in the United States.

On August 11-12, 2017, a large white supremacist event dubbed “Unite the Right” occurred in Charlottesville, Virginia, ostensibly to protest the removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee in a local park. A torchlit parade the first evening of the event became violent, with clashes between white supremacists/neo-Nazis and counter-protesters; the violence continued and increased the next day, with the white supremacists responsible for the bulk of it. The worst example of such violence occurred when a white nationalist from Ohio drove his car into a crowd of protesters, killing one woman and injuring many more.

The Unite the Right rally was actually the third white supremacist event Charlottesville residents had had to endure this year. The first event occurred on May 13, when around 100 white supremacists gathered to protest the city council’s decision to remove Confederate monuments from local parks. In the afternoon, they arranged a “flash mob” march to the Robert E. Lee monument, where speakers such as Richard Spencer and Nathan Damigo addressed the crowd of white supremacists. The crowd, in turn, chanted slogans such as “they will not replace us” and “Russia is our friend.” That evening, the white supremacists returned to the park, with Tiki torches, to hold a torchlight parade.

That torchlight parade got considerable attention from both traditional and social media, causing organizers of the event to consider it a major success and to seek more of the same.

On July 8, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan staged their own rally in Charlottesville, with around 50 Klan members and supporters attending. They were opposed by more than a

thousand counter-protesters, but law enforcement used physical barriers to separate the sides and escorted the white supremacists in and out of the park where they rallied. Several counter-protesters were arrested prior to the event for trying to block entrance to the park, while more were arrested after the event. Eventually police fired several tear gas canisters into the crowd to force its dispersal. Overall, 22 people were arrested at the event. Authorities were criticized after the event by counter-protesters for what they termed an overreaction. These two circumstances – counter-protesters trying to get at the Klan members and criticism of the police response – may have had an effect on efforts to control the Unite the Right rally the following month.

Indeed, well before the Klan event took place, organizers of the May Charlottesville event and others had already begun to plan and organize the United the Right rally, which they viewed as a larger and grander sequel to their May event. They began their preparations months in advance, reaching out for speakers, publicizing the event on social media, and getting groups and individuals alike interested in attending.

The Violence

Historically, white supremacists are often on the defense in clashes at events involving white supremacists and counter-protesters, in part because they are typically heavily outnumbered and in part because antifa are often determined to physically confront the white supremacists.

Unite the Right was different, however. In part, this was because there were more than 10 times as many white supremacists at the event than at a typical public white supremacist event, giving them numbers they do not usually have. Indeed, ADL identified white supremacists from at least 35 states at the Unite the Right rally. Another factor was that throughout the spring and summer, far right groups at such events had increasingly been adopting “street fighting” stances, including manufacturing or purchasing a wide variety of offensive and defensive gear to employ during street confrontations. In fact, a significant number of white supremacists and supporters came to the Unite the Right rally openly carrying firearms. The right-wing extremists had been unusually aggressive at a number of events in 2017, compared to past years.

The white supremacists were outnumbered by counter-protesters, but the great bulk of the people opposing the white supremacists were peaceful protesters, many from local church or community groups. There were some antifa, as well as representatives of other confrontational left-wing groups such as Redneck Revolt, but the ratio of forces was quite different than at other events, including the previous Klan event in Charlottesville.

The violence started on the evening of August 11, when the torch-carrying marchers arrived at the University of Virginia’s Rotunda building, where they encountered and overpowered a small group of counter-protesters at the Jefferson monument, some using their torches as bats. The marchers dispersed after law enforcement finally stepped in. and there are reports, particularly from leaders in the faith community, of counterprotestors providing protection from white supremacist violence when law enforcement was unavailable.

The next morning, Unite the Right rally-goers began to show up at Emancipation Park, in groups small and large, from a variety of locations and staging areas (rather than, as at the previous event, arriving at one staging area and being brought to the event area by law enforcement). As counter-protesters were doing the same, numerous encounters occurred between the white supremacists and counter-protesters, some of which turned violent. Most of the violence seemed to have been started by the white supremacists.

The most notorious occurred when James Alex Fields, Jr., of Maumee, Ohio, allegedly drove his vehicle into a crowd of counter-protesters, injuring large numbers of them and killing Heather Heyer. In another incident captured on video, several white supremacists and hate group members severely beat a Black counter-protestor, DeAndre Harris, in a parking garage. Harris was later arrested based only on the word of one of his assaulters, a hate group leader, that Harris actually attacked him.

The Significance of Charlottesville

First and foremost, Charlottesville was a tragedy, involving an assault on a community, the attempted intimidation of marginalized people across the country, and the murder of Heather Heyer. Adding to that is the tragic loss of Lieutenant H. Jay Cullen and Trooper-Pilot Berke M. M. Bates, two Virginia state troopers who died in a helicopter crash while on their way to monitor the event.

But the event also served—and needs still to serve—as an important wake-up call, alerting people to the problems that radical right-wing movements legitimately pose in the United States. The year 2017 is not yet over, but the country has already seen a variety of murders, shootings, hate crimes, and violent plots and acts by white supremacists, anti-government extremists, and other right-wing extremists.

The events in Charlottesville that weekend captured the attention of and shocked most Americans, many of whom had no idea that right-wing extremists had become so numerous or so bold. One of the most enduring moments related to Charlottesville was President Trump's statement that there were "very fine people on both sides" of the Unite the Right rally, a statement that further emboldened the extremists and added injury to those already under assault. Though violence stemming from right-wing extremism actually occurs frequently in the United States, such incidents are not always well-reported by the national media, and people often have little understanding of its scope. Thus, Charlottesville, and the concerning response to it from the White House, came as a wake-up call for many.

The events in Charlottesville also had an outsize impact on the Jewish community. For many younger Jews, hearing white supremacists chanting "Jews will not replace us" may have been their first encounter with public anti-Semitism.¹⁸ For Jewish adults and seniors, watching Nazi salutes and hearing chants of "sieg heil" and "blood and soil" (the latter is a translation of the Nazi slogan "Blut und Boden") evoked memories or family recollections of the most overwhelming trauma in modern Jewish history. The white supremacist groups that participated in the Charlottesville rally have a well-established record of anti-Semitism, and individual leaders of the movements present at the rally, including former Klansman David Duke, are prolific promoters of anti-Semitism in the U.S.

Anti-Semitic incidents spiked on the days of the Charlottesville march and rally and immediately following. Of the 306 incidents documented in our *Audit* that were reported in the third quarter, 221 took place on or after the August 11 rally.

While not ignoring other types of extremist threats to the peace and tranquility of the United States, Charlottesville requires us to ask what the country can do to better combat the threat of

¹⁸ <https://www.adl.org/blog/anti-semitism-on-full-display-in-charlottesville>

right-wing extremist violence, as well as how to demonstrate conclusively that such violence goes against what the American experiment stands for.¹⁹

Left Wing and Black Nationalist Violence

While in no way comparable to the nature and magnitude of the threat posed by right-wing and white supremacist groups, we have taken note of several recent incidents of violent activity by left-wing groups and individuals with black nationalist beliefs.

On Wednesday, June 14, a congressional baseball team in the midst of a morning practice in Alexandria was attacked by a lone gunman. The U.S. House Majority Whip, Rep. Steve Scalise (R-LA), was seriously injured, and several others were also shot. In recent months, the ADL has been warning law enforcement personnel about the possibility of an increase in left-wing violence as a result of the growing anger directed at President Trump, his administration, and political allies. The shootings in Alexandria appear to be an example of this.²⁰

Over the course of the past year, at least two individuals with Black Nationalist beliefs have violence has taken a deadly toll, responsible for the deaths of eight police officers in Dallas and Baton Rouge in 2016.²¹ In July 2016, Micah Xavier Johnson, who had ties to black nationalist groups such as the New Black Panther Party, killed five police officers (and injured nine others) in Dallas, Texas, in an ambush attack aimed at police who were maintaining public order at a Black Lives Matter protest. That same month, Gavin Eugene Long ambushed and shot six police officers, three of them fatally, in Baton Rouge. Long, like Johnson, was an adherent of Black Nationalism and a military veteran, as well as a member of the anti-government sovereign citizen movement. Both incidents appear to have been motivated by anger in response to police shootings of African American men.²²

As described above, law enforcement officers across the United States have recently faced the challenge of keeping the peace at a number of far-right rallies and demonstrations. Their task, to secure both safety and First Amendment rights, has been made more difficult not only by the white supremacists and other bigots who have shown up in Charlottesville²³, Berkeley, and Boston, but also by a relatively small number of counter-protesters who engage in confrontational tactics, including violence, in their opposition to the right-wing extremists. For example, the August 27th anti-racist march in Berkeley, attended by thousands of peaceful counter-protesters, turned chaotic when a number of anarchists appeared and allegedly attacked several right-wing or pro-Trump attendees.

Extremism Sparked by Radical Interpretations of Islam

One of the most striking elements of today's domestic threat picture is the role that a growing number of American citizens and residents motivated by radical interpretations of Islam have played in criminal plots to attack Americans in the U.S. and abroad. Over the past 10 years, about 24 percent of victims killed by domestic terrorists were at the hands of domestic Islamic extremists. Just last month, eight people were killed and almost a dozen others injured when a 29-year-old Sayfullo Habibullaevic Saipov ran people over with a truck on a busy bicycle path near the World Trade Center in Manhattan. Authorities found a note near the truck claiming the

¹⁹ The fact that Congress enacted a joint resolution addressing the violence, with specific policy recommendations and objectives, also distinguishes the impact of the violence in Charlottesville.

²⁰ <https://www.congress.gov/115/plaws/publ58/PLAW-115publ58.pdf>

²¹ <https://news.vice.com/story/extremism-experts-are-starting-to-worry-about-the-left>

²² <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/murder-and-extremism-in-the-united-states-in-2016>

²³ <https://www.adl.org/blog/fresno-shootings-latest-incident-in-rise-of-black-nationalist-violence>

²³ <https://www.adl.org/blog/violence-and-hate-unite-the-right>

attack was made in the name of the Islamic State (ISIS). ADL's report earlier this year, titled "A Changing Landscape of Threats," outlined changing tactics of such extremists, including how more extremists are using non-traditional weapons (knives, cars) in their attacks and how plots are increasingly focused on public spaces rather than symbolic targets.²⁴

Indeed, four of the five deadliest ideologically motivated attacks in the U.S. have been inspired by Islamic extremist ideology, including attacks in Fort Hood, TX, San Bernardino, CA, and Orlando, FL, the worst mass shooting in American history, in which Omar Mateen opened fire inside Pulse, a gay nightclub in Orlando, killing 49 people. During the shooting, Mateen, an American citizen born in New York, declared his allegiance to ISIS. As demonstrated by this horrific shooting, it is clear that there are deliberate attempts by international terrorist groups that justify and sanction violence to appeal to and engage sympathizers in the U.S.

A disturbing number of cases also demonstrate the degree to which hatred of Jews and Israel play a part in the radicalization process of homegrown extremists. However, efforts to explore these legitimate security concerns should not be overwhelmed by the kind of unfair stereotyping and prejudice that has too-frequently accompanied recent public debates.

Terrorist Exploitation of Social Media

As internet proficiency and the use of social media grow ever-more universal, so too do the efforts of terrorist groups to exploit new technology in order to make materials that justify and sanction violence more accessible and impactful. Terrorist groups are not only using various online and mobile platforms to spread their messages, but also to actively recruit adherents who live in the communities they seek to target.

While the fundamental ideological content of terrorist propaganda has remained consistent for two decades – replete with militant condemnations of perceived transgressions against Muslims worldwide, and appeals for violence and anti-Semitism – terrorist groups are now able to reach, recruit, and motivate extremists more quickly and effectively than ever before by adapting their messages to new technology.

In the past, plots were directed by foreign terrorist organizations or their affiliates, and recruitment and planning generally required some direct, face-to-face interaction with terrorist operatives. Indoctrination came directly from extremist peers, teachers, or clerics. Individuals would then advance through the radicalization process through constant interaction with likeminded sympathizers or, as the 2007 New York Police Department report on radicalization described, with a "spiritual sanctioner" who gave credence to those beliefs. Today, individuals can find analogous social networks, inspiration, and encouragement online, often packaged neatly together with bomb-making instructions. This enables adherents to self-radicalize without face-to-face contact with an established terrorist group or cell.

Individual extremists, or lone wolves, are also increasingly self-radicalizing online with no physical interactions with established terrorist groups or cells – a development that can make it more difficult for law enforcement to detect plots in their earliest stages. Terror groups are

²⁴https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/CR_5062_Domestic%20Islamic%20Extremism%20Report_vF1.pdf

taking full advantage of this virtual audience, and regularly publish detailed instructions for lone-wolf terror attacks²⁵ using knives, as well as cars, trains,²⁶ and other modes of transportation.

Approximately half of the 150 terrorist incidents described in a 2017 ADL report on 25 years of right-wing terrorism were perpetrated by lone wolf offenders.²⁷ Today, thanks to the internet, it is easier than ever for someone to become steeped in extremist ideologies, even to the point of being willing to commit acts of great violence, without ever being involved in an organized extremist group. The overwhelming majority of American citizens and residents linked to terrorist activity motivated by Islamic extremism in the past several years – including at least 63 U.S. residents in 2015 – actively used the internet to access propaganda or otherwise facilitate their extremist activity.

Funding CVE – and the Need for a Holistic Approach

Because modern technology has provided new fuel for extremists, including using “cyberhate” to attack marginalized groups on social media and coordinate terror attacks more easily, ADL supports properly crafted Countering Violent Extremism (“CVE”) programs. We believe an “all hands on deck” holistic approach is required to confront the sophisticated recruitment efforts employed by domestic extremist groups and by ISIS and other terror groups. Through the CVE program launched under President Obama, the Department of Homeland Security had administered federal grants to nongovernmental organizations and higher-education institutions to carry out programs that counter the potential for violence from domestic terrorists and homegrown violent extremists.

In May, the League expressed concerns about press reports that the administration was proposing to cut funding for its CVE programs entirely.²⁸ And in June, ADL expressed concerns as DHS announced their 2017 two-year CVE funding grantees.²⁹ Funding for Life After Hate, a successful and in-demand program to de-radicalize neo-Nazis, white supremacists, and others, was not renewed. *Politico* reported that, since Election Day, Life After Hate has seen a twenty-fold increase in requests for help “from people looking to disengage or bystanders/family members looking for help from someone they know.”³⁰ At a time when right-wing extremist groups are experiencing rising membership and expanding influence, we believe DHS must invest in community-based organizations that work to counter these groups.

In addition, the 2017 list of CVE grantees³¹ indicates a shift in funding focus away from community-based civil society organizations and toward law enforcement agencies. Police play a critical role, but we cannot enforce our way out of this problem. Community-based organizations must help lead this work. These groups are much more likely to have credibility and trust needed to reach the targets of extremists, which include many disaffected or vulnerable youth. The League called on DHS to clarify its funding criteria and demonstrate that

²⁵ <https://www.adl.org/blog/isis-supporters-distribute-series-of-articles-encouraging-lone-wolf-attacks>

²⁶ <https://www.adl.org/blog/al-qaedas-latest-inspire-magazine-details-train-derail-operations>

²⁷ <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/dark-constant-25-years-of-right-wing-terrorism-in-united-states>

²⁸ <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-concerned-over-reports-of-trump-administration-proposing-to-cut-entire>

²⁹ <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-welcomes-homeland-security-grants-to-counter-terrorist-recruitment-and>

³⁰ <http://www.politico.com/tipsheets/playbook/2017/06/23/what-mcconnell-is-thinking-winners-losers-in-gop-health-care-bill-obama-speaks-dawsey-download-wapo-trump-talks-russia-every-morning-pelosis-future-220996>

³¹ <https://www.dhs.gov/cvegrants>

it is committed to funding the full range of programs – domestic and international – designed to counter all forms of violent extremism.³²

Importantly, ADL has also strongly advised the administration against focusing its CVE program solely on extremism motivated by radical interpretation of Islam. We responded to press reports³³ that the administration wanted to change the name of the government initiative from “Countering Violent Extremism” to “Countering Islamic Extremism” or “Countering Radical Islamic Extremism” by stating that such a change would be damaging to the American Muslim community and dangerously narrow.³⁴ Singling out Muslims and the American Muslim community for special scrutiny or suspicion is discriminatory, offensive, ineffective, and counterproductive. In fact, one essential focus of our nation’s CVE programs should be to build trust within Muslim communities to reduce radicalism, not to further foster mistrust.

This is especially true now, because over the past few months, ADL and others have documented an objectionable, intensified level of anti-Muslim bigotry in a variety of public forums. For example, according to a recent Pew Research Center publication on Muslim Americans’ place in society,³⁵ nearly half of Muslims (48%) say they have experienced at least one form of discrimination over the past year. Of those whose appearance is identifiably Muslim, nearly two-thirds (64%) say they have experienced at least one of the specific types of discrimination asked about in the survey. Three-quarters (75%) of Muslim respondents say there is “a lot” of discrimination against Muslims in the U.S., with Muslim women more likely than Muslim men to hold this view (83% versus 68%). These findings reinforce an ADL survey on anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim discrimination published this past year.³⁶ Our survey revealed that 89 percent of Muslim Americans are concerned about violence directed at them and Islamic institutions in the U.S., and 64 percent said that they do not believe the government is doing enough to ensure their safety. While most Muslims don’t feel the need to hide their faith, 66 percent said they feel less safe in America since President Trump was elected.

Limiting CVE programs to only focus on Islamic extremism would not only isolate the Muslim American community, but would also exacerbate the problem of how little prevention-based programming right-wing extremists are receiving.³⁷ At a time when our research indicates that right wing extremists are more visible and emboldened,³⁸ the government should focus on all types of extremism, whether it comes from terrorists motivated by extreme interpretations of Islam or white supremacists.

Relationship with the Tech Industry

Over the past decade, the League has worked closely with the internet industry and they have been very responsive to information regarding terrorist and extremist exploitation of their platforms. Our relationship has led to increased successes in mitigating the exploitation of platforms by groups such as ISIS. In addition, working with industry officials, the League

³² <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-welcomes-homeland-security-grants-to-counter-terrorist-recruitment-and>

³³ <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-extremists-program-exclusiv-idUSKBN15G5VO>

³⁴ <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-limiting-scope-of-countering-violent-extremism-programs-places-nation-at>

³⁵ <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/07/26/findings-from-pew-research-centers-2017-survey-of-us-muslims/>

³⁶ <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/in-first-new-adl-poll-finds-majority-of-americans-concerned-about-violence>

³⁷ <http://time.com/4671901/donald-trump-extremism-terrorism-muslims/>

³⁸ <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-report-exposes-right-wing-terrorism-threat-in-the-us>

developed the ADL Cyber-Safety Action Guide,³⁹ a user-friendly online platform where consumers can learn how and where to report bigoted, bullying, or hateful speech to the major internet providers and social media platforms.

The League has also convened a Working Group on Cyberhate to develop recommendations for the most effective responses to manifestations of hate and bigotry online.⁴⁰ The Working Group includes representatives of the internet industry, civil society, the legal community, and academia. The Working Group input and guidance has been invaluable and is reflected in a set of Best Practices⁴¹ that provides useful and important guideposts for all those willing to join in the effort to address the challenge of cyberhate.

Legislative and Administrative Policy Recommendations

Bully Pulpit

- The **President, cabinet officials, and Members of Congress must call out bigotry at every opportunity, especially when it comes from our public officials.** The right to free speech is a core value, but the promotion of hate should be vehemently rejected. Simply put, you cannot say it enough: America is no place for hate.
- The Administration must send loud, clear, and consistent messages that violent bigotry is unacceptable – and ensure that the FBI and the Civil Rights Division will enforce relevant federal laws and vigorously investigate and prosecute hate crimes.

Improved Coordination

- The Department of Justice should host periodic interagency meetings to promote cross-agency collaboration and to address prevention of and response to extremism and hate violence. This initiative should involve both lead enforcement agencies and agencies working to expand anti-bias and hate crime prevention training and outreach – including Department of Education, Department of Homeland Security, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS).

Countering Violent Extremism

- The administration and Congress should do all in their power to promote trust and encourage stronger relationships to counter attempts by both international terrorist organizations and domestic hate groups to recruit disaffected or alienated Americans. The administration should fully resource and staff efforts at both security and non-security Executive branch agencies to implement programs aimed at preventing and intervening in the process of radicalization to violence. DHS should clarify its funding criteria and demonstrate that it is committed to funding the full range of programs – domestic and international – designed to counter all forms of violent extremism.⁴²

³⁹ <http://www.adl.org/press-center/press-releases/discrimination-racism-bigotry/new-adl-platform-helps-consumers-take-action-against-internet-hate-speech.html#.Vi58MX6rTct>

⁴⁰ For a comprehensive review of the League's work addressing the scourge of online anti-Semitism since pre-Internet days -- when dial-up bulletin boards were a prominent communications tool – see *Report of the Anti-Defamation League on Confronting Cyberhate to the 5th Global Forum for Combating Anti-Semitism*, May, 2015, http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/ICCA-report-2015-With-hyperlinks-May-8-2015_final.pdf

⁴¹ <http://www.adl.org/combating-hate/cyber-safety/best-practices/#.Vi58F36rTcs>

⁴² <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-welcomes-homeland-security-grants-to-counter-terrorist-recruitment-and>

Improved Federal Hate Crime Data Collection

- DoJ should incentivize and encourage state and local law enforcement agencies to more comprehensively collect and report hate crimes data to the FBI, with special attention devoted to large underreporting law enforcement agencies that either have not participated in the FBI Hate Crime Statistics Act program at all or have incorrectly reported zero hate crimes.
- To create incentives for participation in the FBI's HCSA program, certain Department of Justice funds should only be made available to agencies that are demonstrating credible participation in the HCSA program. Whether a specific state or local law enforcement agency is participating in the HCSA program should be included in the rating and scoring criteria as applications for Justice Department funding are considered.
- The administration, DHS, and DoJ should take steps to ensure that it is efficient and safe for all crime victims to contact the police. If marginalized or targeted community members – including immigrants, people with disabilities, LGBT community members, Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, South Asians, and people with limited language proficiency – cannot report, or do not feel safe reporting crimes, law enforcement cannot effectively address these crimes, thereby jeopardizing the safety of all.
- Congress should support congressional legislation to improve hate crime data collection and reporting, such as the NO HATE ACT.⁴³
- In conjunction with the Department of Homeland Security, the Justice Department should comprehensively implement the implicit bias training initiative announced in June for all federal law enforcement officials and federal prosecutors.⁴⁴ The training should include how to recognize, investigate, and respond to hate crimes.

Improved Training on Campus

- In recent months, ADL Regional Directors and our Campus and Center on Extremism professionals have met with university administrators to tailor best practices for addressing white supremacist and other extremist rallies and outreach on campus. Our outreach is intended to ensure that administrators, faculty, staff, and students all understand that they have a direct responsibility to respond to hate speech and extremism – and that they have the resources, tools, and intervention strategies to do so most effectively.

Conclusion

Sixteen years after the September 11 terrorist attacks, we very much hope that these hearings – and any that come after them – will acknowledge and highlight the extraordinary, successful efforts of federal, state, and local law enforcement officials to prevent and deter terrorism on our shores. But police and counterterrorism officials do not work in a vacuum; they cannot do their job without community relationships, cooperation, trust, and a shared sense of responsibility for public safety. ADL will continue to advocate – in Congress and in the courts – for law enforcement officials to have investigative tools sufficient to deter and prevent terrorism, while appropriately balancing national security and individual rights.

⁴³ HR 1566/ S. 662 <https://www.congress.gov/115/bills/hr1566/BILLS-115hr1566ih.pdf>

⁴⁴ <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/department-justice-announces-new-department-wide-implicit-bias-training-personnel>

As the Committee and Congress continue to examine the nature of the current threat to our nation, the Anti-Defamation League hopes to play an ongoing, helpful, and constructive role by offering its expertise in documenting the domestic and international terror threats from across the ideological spectrum, while urging members of Congress and other public officials to make every effort to explore this serious issue without creating an atmosphere of blame and suspicion.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jonathan A. Greenblatt". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Jonathan A. Greenblatt
CEO