

**House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa and International Terrorism and House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism Hold Joint Hearing on Terrorism**

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## **Body**

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House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee On The Middle East, North Africa And International Terrorism And House Homeland Security Subcommittee On Intelligence And Counterterrorism Hold Joint Hearing On Terrorism

September 18, 2019 02:00 P.M.

SPEAKERS:

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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REP. ELISSA SLOTKIN (D-MICH.)

REP. BENNIE THOMPSON (D-MISS.), EX-OFFICIO

REP. MARK WALKER (R-N.C.), RANKING MEMBER

REP. PETER T. KING (R-N.Y.)

REP. MARK E. GREEN (R-TENN.)

REP. MIKE D. ROGERS (R-ALA.), EX-OFFICIO

[\*]DEUTCH: This hearing will come to order. Welcome, everyone. The committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee of the Middle East and North Africa International Terrorism is meeting together today with the house committee on Homeland Securities Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism to hear testimony on the domestic and **global threat** of white national's terrorism. I want to thank my co-chair of today's hearing Intelligence and Counterterrorism Subcommittee Chair Max Rose. Thanks also to our Ranking Members Joe Wilson and Mark Walker. And I also want to thank the Homeland Security Chairman Bennie Thompson and Ranking Member Mike Rogers for hosting us in this really beautiful homeland security committee hearing room. And I especially want to thank our witnesses for being here with us today. I hope this will be a serious examination of the **threats** that we face here in the United States and overseas and the interconnectivity of these **threats**.

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

In recent months and years, it's become apparent that white nationalist terrorism is a growing **threat**, both here and abroad, and in order to solve this problem, we must first identify it. Our government, intelligence services, and law enforcement agencies use multiple terms for white nationalist terrorism, including racially motivated extremists and white supremacist extremists, among others. And when my subcommittee held a hearing with the State Department's Counterterrorism Coordinator in July, he unable to **call** this challenge by its name, white nationalist

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

In the last year, that led to other attacks at the (INAUDIBLE) Chabad of Poway, (PH) just north of San Diego, the Al-Nur Mosque and the Lynnwood Islamic Center in Christchurch, New Zealand, and the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh. These attacks were preceded by, among others in 2017, white nationalist terrorists attacked at the Islamic Cultural Center of Quebec city that killed six, the 2015 terrorist attack at the Emmanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston that killed nine, and the 2011 attacks by Anders Breivik that killed 77 people principally at a political youth camp in Norway.

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

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

The Internet services as a platform for white nationalists to disseminate this twisted ideology and even it broadcasts these attacks. Technology enables interconnectivity between decentralized white nationalists' terrorists, organizations and networks, and presents challenges to law-enforcement efforts to track, monitor, and disrupt plan violence.

White nationalist's terrorism is a challenge to--to Democratic governance, and its inherence dispels principles antithetical to both pluralistic values and to American ideals. It's also clear that the U.S. government, including the State Department, is not doing enough to counter white nationalist's terrorism and attract the **global** nature of this **threat**.

We must learn more about how these movements recruit and radicalize and how they share ideas across networks, just as we seek to understand the interconnectivity of other **threats**. If we are to marginalize and isolate white nationalist terrorism, a whole of society's effort is required, one that encompasses civil society and the private sector as well as government.

This hearing is a chance for our subcommittee to gain a greater understanding of how the domestic and international dimensions of white nationalist terrorism overlap, especially regarding ideology, motivations, uses of technology, radicalization, and recruitment. White nationalist's terrorism is not a democratic or republican problem. It is not just a domestic **threat** or solely an international challenge. I know we all take seriously the need to combat white nationalist terrorism, and I hope that our discussion today will help inform future efforts to meet this growing **global** challenge.

And I'm working with legislation to address our strategy to combat this **threat** that I hope, and I'm confident it can be bipartisan. I believe the insight and expertise of our witnesses will be an important contribution to our discussion going forward. I thank you for being here, and it's now my honor to recognize Ranking Member Wilson, for the purpose of making an opening statement.

WILSON: Thank you, Chairman Ted Deutch, Chairman Max Rose and Ranking Member Mark Walker for **calling** this joint subcommittee hearing today. There's no doubt that white supremacy extremism is a dangerous and hateful ideology, which must be addressed. In my capacity as the Ranking Member of the International Terrorism Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I am particularly interested in hearing more about the international dimension of this troubling phenomenon.

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Firstly, I'd like to learn more about the nature of this threat from our witnesses. How big of an international presence do white supremacy extremist groups have? How many international attacks of these kinds of groups claimed? Another important question is the organizational structure of the threat. The Islamic extremist terrorist threat that we have faced since September 11, 2001, appears to be much more organized in nature than the one that we're discussing today.

While lone-wolf attacks carried out by individuals radicalized by the ideology of Islamic extremist terrorists' groups have increased in recent years, there's still the exception to the more traditional model of attacks directed by a terrorist group. However, when we look at international white supremacy extremism attacks, they appear to be lone wolves inspired by perverted ideology. The terrorists who massacred 51 civilians at the Mosque Christchurch, New Zealand in March, claimed to be inspired by the Norwegian attacker who killed 77 people in Oslo in 2011. The shooter who killed 22 people in August at the Walmart in El Paso, Texas allegedly claimed to have been inspired by the manifesto of the Christchurch shooter.

Additionally, in some cases, it appears that the perpetrators of these attacks are inspired by a variety of hateful ideologies, not just white supremacy extremism. For example, the murders in New Zealand and El Paso also were described as eco-fascists. With these murderous acts are there bona fide linkages between the international white supremacist extremist attackers? Is this a real united movement or deranged and dangerous individuals inspired by toxic hate on the Internet?

And lastly, is this phenomenon as different enough in nature and structure from the current well-financed and organized Islamic extremist terrorist--terrorism threat that we face? Should we be approaching it in the same ways? Should we be using the same policy tools on problems that they could be fundamentally different? We are faced with these critical questions. I look forward to hearing from witnesses today. And with that, I yield back the balance of my time.

DEUTCH: Thank you, Mr. Wilson. I now recognize Chairman Rose for the purpose of making an opening statement.

ROSE: Thank you, Chairman Deutch, and--it's really great to have these subcommittees together today because we can't afford to really deal with this issue in a silo anymore. So thank you again for setting this up. I want to also thank our great partners and--witnesses here today I look forward to hearing from you. Your work and the work that we have seen thus far shows us that this white nationalist threat is a threat that cannot be ignored.

White nationalist terrorists have killed more people in recent years than any other type of domestic extremist. We also know that 78 percent of extremist-related murders in the United States last year were attributed to those adhering to a white nationalist ideology. On a larger scale, you know we--we considered things as most likely threat and most dangerous threat. And the most likely threat from a terrorist perspective in America today is that of a self-radicalized lone gunman or lone woman, and I think I speak for all of us today, that we do not care which ideology they ascribe, we just care whether it's an extremist and a global one or not.

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

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

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This threat knows no boundaries. It doesn't end at traditional borders, and it tears across continents. As elected officials, I think our number one priority is public safety and that--that's why I'm so proud that we are all focusing on this today. We have to make sure that the federal government is working better at data provision. Right now, the capacity of the government to provide high level an--analytics on the white nationalist threat, the white extremist threat, and domestic terrorism is not nearly satisfactory.

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

Lastly, and I--as I have said before, we have got to hold technology companies to a standard and I look forward to hearing your thoughts about how through public-private partnerships, we can hold them to a standard without--and do that in a constitutional--constitutional manner. You know this is a--we--we have set a framework for the last 20 years or so about what we should do in regards to jihadist-inspired global extremism, and now it is time for us to apply that framework in a responsible manner to this new threat that we--that we face.

We have got to consider how the State Department should expand force terrorist organization list to include these violent international white supremacist groups. Today if an American citizen swears allegiance to--to ISIS or another FTO and spreads their message of terror, there are several insignificant resources available to the federal government and their significant consequences for those actions. However, if that same American citizen swears allegiance to a white supremacist group based overseas and spreads their message of terror, the federal government does not have access to those same tools, and that is just plain and simple wrong.

So I look forward to hearing your opinions today in regard to the issues that I brought up. And with that, I thank the witnesses and the members for being here today, and I look forward to making progress on this important issue.

DEUTCH: Thank you, Chairman Rose. I'll now recognize Ranking Member Walker for the purpose of making an opening statement.

WALKER: Thank you much, chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to participate in today's hearing. This week marks 56 years since the vicious murderers of Addie May Collins, (PH) Cynthia Morris Wesley (PH), Kale Robberson (PH), and Carol Denise McNear (PH) at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan at the 16th St. Baptist Church in Birmingham, a place where I was there earlier this year honoring those lives. Over half a century later, we are still dealing with hatred, racism, and violence. There is no doubt that we must do more to counter these threats. The unfortunate reality is that no city in the United States is immune.

On August third, the country was horrified by a domestic attack at a Walmart store in El Paso, Texas, where the killer was directly all target--targeting immigrants and killed 22 innocent people and wounding 24 more. The very next day, a young man obsessed with violence and reportedly fueled by drugs carried out a deadly attack on a public street in Dayton, Ohio, killing nine people and wounding another 27 others.

Several other attacks were reportedly disruptive through good police work and alert family members reporting these concerns. We must not forget the other domestic terror attacks over the past few years, target--targeting radical and religious groups, including the Tree of Life synagogue, Chabad of Poway synagogue, and the Emmanuel African American Methodist Episcopal church.

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

The broad range of ideology to base hatred and societal obsession with violence has left scars across our country. I fully support an open and bipartisan discussion about the domestic, hateful ideologies, and recommendations for

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

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

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

DEUTCH: Thank--thank you, Mr. Walker. Without objection, all members may have five days to submit statements, questions, and extraneous materials for the record, subject to the length, limitations, and the rules.

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

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

And finally, Dr. Sharon Nazarian is senior vice president of international affairs at the Anti-defamation League where she had the ADL's work fighting anti-Semitism and racial hatred globally, including overseeing ADL's Israel office. She is also president of the Philanthropic Younes Nazarian Family Foundation, the founder of the Younes Nazarian Center for Israel Studies at UCLA and chair of its advisory board and member of the--of the Council of foreign relations. She received her BA, MA, and Ph.D. from the University of Southern California.

Thanks to all of you for being here today. Let me remind the witnesses to please limit your testimony to five minutes, and without objection, your prepared written statements will be made part of the hearing record. Thank you so much for being here today. And Dr. Miller-Idriss, we would start with you because you are--of where you're sitting and because you hold so many degrees from the University of Michigan. You're recognized.

(LAUGHTER)

MILLER-IDRISS: Thank you. Chairman Rose, Chairman Deutch, Ranking Member Walker, Ranking Member Wilson, members of the committee. I'd like to thank you for your service to this country and for calling attention to the critical threat from global white nationalist terrorism. I'm honored to be here.

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

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White supremacist extremism is currently the most lethal form of extremism in the U.S., causing at least 50 deaths in 2018. My written testimony documents rising trends in several areas' numbers of hate groups, propaganda, recruiting efforts, hate crimes, domestic terrorism arrest, and mass shooting plots.

In my oral remarks, I'd like to focus on how we should understand white nationalist ideology, it's growing global interconnections, and what kinds of strategies might help address it. White nationalism is a global ideology. It integrates racist and exclusionary beliefs with two core ideas, which both rely on mass violence as a solution. The first is the idea of a great replacement or white genocide, which is based on a paranoid belief in an orchestrated invasion of immigrants, Muslims, or Jews who will eradicate or replace whites.

These scenarios call whites to urge into action with appeals to protect and defend against a shared global threat of immigration and demographic change. They have inspired mass terrorist violence in recent years in Oslo, Pittsburgh, Christchurch, Poway, El Paso, and more. White nationalist terrorist believes that the only way to prevent the ultimate genocide of white populations by nonwhites is through an apocalyptic race war, which will result in a restored white civilizational rebirth.

Although there are important differences between Islamist and white supremacist extremism, there are striking similarities to the Islamist extremist effort to restore the caliphate. In this sense, Islamist and white nationalist terrorists share a similar apocalyptic vision and use similar violent strategies to get there.

White nationalist terrorist not only believe that a violent apocalypse is coming, but also that the fastest way to reach the phase of racial rebirth is to accelerate the path to a new white civilization by speeding up polarization and undermining social stability. Violence is foundational to this approach because violent acts create immediate societal panic, inspire copycat actors, and encourage reciprocal revenge terror attacks. For this reason, each violent act of terror is viewed as heroic, celebrated globally, and is understood to bring the movement one step further towards societal collapse and a new white civilization.

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

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

Social media, and online relationships, modes of communication are key to supporting all five of these global strategies and are essential to the radicalization pathways of youth. White nationalist terrorism will almost certainly continue to get worse. We face a highly contested election season, growing disinformation campaigns, increasing migration flows, and a social media landscape that enables hate to grow and thrive.

There are steps that Congress can take to address this growing threat. We need improved interagency coordination, a rethinking of the division between international and domestic terrorism and pass for cross-national collaboration with our allies. The federal and local law enforcement need resources and direction. We need improved national research capacity and expertise. And we need pathways to support local community engagement, communication, and preventative education for the safety and security of our nation, but also for the well-being of all youth, families, and local communities you represent. I urge this Congress to act to prevent violent terrorist attacks and help interrupt radicalization pathways before they begin. Thank you.

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

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PICCIOLINI: Thank you, Chairman Deutch, Chairman Rose, Ranking Member's Wilson, and Walker, and distinguished members of this vital committee, both vital committees, and institution. I'm honored by your invitation to testify today. I also want to acknowledge that I am privileged to be here, considering my past.

I am a former extremist. In 1987, I was recruited into America's first neo-Nazi skinhead group. And at 14 years old, became one of the youngest and earliest members of what was then a fringe hate movement. For the next eight years, I recruited other vulnerable youth, acting as a mouthpiece for hate, and wrote racist music that I performed for thousands of white supremacists across the United States and Europe.

I rose quickly through the ranks to become a leader of the same white nationalist movement that 30 years later on August 12, 2017, marched in Charlottesville, chanting, "the Jews will not replace us" and killed a young woman named Heather Heyer. I escaped extremism in 1996, through the compassion of people I least deserve it from black, and Latin Americans, Jews, people from the LGBTQI community, and Muslims who brought back to humanity.

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

What I've learned over 30 years is that the United States is losing vital ground in a battle we have yet to acknowledge exists on some levels. Violence by white--white supremacists has skyrocketed in America. Data from the FBI and groups like the Anti-Defamation League clearly document this disturbing trend, but the greater threat that has gone largely unnoticed and challenged for decades is how the tentacles of American white nationalism extend far beyond our borders and into a deep network of global terror.

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

In 2018, the FBI reported white supremacist from Scandinavia, northern Europe, and the United States were training as foreign fighters with foreign paramilitary groups like the neo-Nazi Azoff Battalion in Ukraine and in far-right partisan training camps in Russia. They inflict terror the same way as foreign terrorist groups, bombing government facilities, planned interruption of critical infrastructure, using high-capacity military-style assault weapons against soft civilian targets, assassinations, and the use of vehicles to target crowds.

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

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

When we think of terrorism by the so-called Islamic State, we acknowledge the international dimensionality and foreign special interest that allow it to exist and grow. We must do the same when it comes to white nationalist terrorism as a matter of national security. Adequate terrorism laws already exist to thwart and prosecute terrorists



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

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

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

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

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

I'm here today to speak to you about the internationalization and increasing interconnectedness of white supremacist ideology around the world, which aims to dehumanize, threaten, and eradicate whole communities. White supremacy is a transnational terrorist threat that has already begun to engulf us all. Of extremist related domestic murders in the U.S. in 2018, ADL has determined that 78 percent were perpetrated by white supremacists. The threat of homegrown terrorism inspired by Islamist extremist's propaganda remains clear and present.

In recent years, however, we have seen an increase in other types of violent extremism, and our government has failed to take sufficient measures to also address this rising threat. While white supremacists use various euphemisms to describe themselves, including white nationalists, race realists, and identarian there should be no uncertainty that the perpetrators of these attacks and the ideological community that inspired them are hateful supremacist.

Over the last pass--over the past eight years, more than 175 people have died at the hands of white supremacists worldwide. There is a through-line from Charlottesville, to Pittsburgh, to Christchurch, Poway, and El Paso. The Christchurch killer who slaughtered over 50 innocent people cited in as manifesto Dylann Roof, a Norwegian white supremacist Anders Breivik, who had perpetrated their own white supremacist terror attacks in 2011 and 2015. The Christchurch shooter, in turn, was cited as an inspiration by attackers at Poway, El Paso, and an attempted shooting at a mosque recently and Norway.

In a report ADL released today, titled Hate beyond Borders, that I have here with me, the internationalization of white supremacy, will detail this phenomenon. These findings are result are a collaboration that's unprecedented between researchers at ADL Center on Extremism and extremism researchers in five countries named the Amadou Antonia foundation in Germany, the community security trust in the UK, the Expo Foundation in Sweden, the Observatory of Political Radicalism in France, and the Never Again Association in Poland. The report chronicles the deepening ties between extremists in Europe and their white supremacist counterparts in America.

The Internet has increased the global interconnectedness of white supremacists, helping to accelerate their movement's deadly impact. The Internet also offers community. While most extremists aren't affiliated with organized groups, online forms allow isolated extremists to become more radicalized and dangerous. The most extreme forms of online content thrive in unregulated message boards like HN, Gap, and Fortune, but larger social media--platforms need to remain vigilant as well.

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

ADL endorses several pieces of legislation that would help as well, including the Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act, the Data Act, the No Hate Act, and the Disarm Hate Act.

In addition, Congress can strengthen laws against perpetrators of online misconduct and can encourage online forms to implement more robust governance against cyberhate.

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

Thank you for the opportunity to testify and for calling a hearing on this very important topic. We must act swiftly, decisively, and comprehensively to counter this threat and prevent it from metastasizing. On behalf of the ADL, we look forward to working with you, as you continue to devote your urgent attention to this issue. Thank you.

DEUTCH: Thank you so much, Dr. Nazarian. Thanks to all the witnesses for their testimony. We'll now move to member questions under the five-minute rule. Chairman Rose will begin followed by Ranking Member Walker. Chairman Rose.

ROSE: Thank you, Chairman Deutch. I--I thank you all for your testimony. I'd like to zero in on this issue of these--the--the actual infrastructure of these global organizations. Can you speak to from both a training as well as ideological communication? What do these organizations look like? Can you please include names? Can you please include where they're based out of? How many countries there--you don't have to be that specific, but regions? And most especially, can you please note their similarities to organizations like ISIS and Al Qaeda, not just as they just now, but especially as they existed in the late 80s and 90s before they started attacking the West with large-scale attacks. Dr. Miller-Idriss, we'll start with you.

MILLER-IDRISS: First, I'd like to say thank you for your service to this country, and I appreciate that. This is a very good question. I think--I'll speak primarily to the ideology and I will say I prefer not to name groups here, but I would be happy to do that off the record, just I don't want to give any additional oxygen to groups that will celebrate that in a video clip.

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

We know that there are training camps being run both in this you know overseas in this country. There are kind of militia trainings and--preparation in that way. And we know that--that they are working together in partnership to crowdsource kind of funding sometimes for activities, funding for legal--for legal troubles that they get themselves into and--and working in that way, kind of over--over the Internet to--to support each other.

ROSE: Okay. Thank you.

PICCOLINI: If I may, to add to what the doctor said, the tactics are similar. And first of all, when I was a 14-year-old, I didn't think I was joining a local group. I thought I was joining a global movement, so even 30 years ago, the idea of it being global existed.

Very quickly, I took my work overseas. I was in one of the first American neo-Nazi bands to leave the U.S. and performing Europe's, so there was money and propaganda being traded even then, before the Internet. This isn't

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something new because of the Internet, but to point out a specific group called Adam Waffen division here in the United States, which is responsible for at least five members in the last two years, operates very much like an ISIS terrorist cell. They're anonymous. They don't necessarily know who each other are. They do train in what they call hate camps. There has been a hate camp in Virginia, where they train with paramilitary style weapons, also in Nevada in the desert. And there is one being planned by a group that a splinter of Adam Waffen division that's called the base, which is a literal translation for Al Qaeda that is going to be training in Washington.

As far as ideology, it is consistent globally. There is very little difference, if anything, between the groups that operate internationally and the groups that operate here, but I also want to make clear that it is less about the group structure these days and is more about kind of what's being called the leaderless resistance. While the ideology controls what they're doing, there is no hierarchy in terms of structure for groups. So while we may see the group dynamic becoming less popular that--we shouldn't think that this is going away.

ROSE: Sure.

PICCIOLINI: What's happening over the last 30 years, is that the strategic plan was to become invisible. We encouraged people in the late 80s and 90s to not shave their heads, to not wear boots so that they can blend in. There was heat coming from law enforcement, and groups were being taken down, so they encouraged people to go out and try and radicalize others without bringing them into a group structure.

ROSE: Dr. Nazarian.

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

Online, what we're seeing as at--they're sharing podcast, gaming has become a huge platform. Something that most legislators and social and others are not paying attention to, and I would say that messaging boards like I mentioned HN, Gap, these are places where as--a the different way that from ISIS and Al Qaeda were there's no real physical place. This is a community that they belong to. This is truly a global effort, and it becomes a huge attraction point for disaffected men, youth--

ROSE: Sure.

NAZARIAN: Say that they feel that--

ROSE: Thank--thank you for your testimony. I just do want to put it out there that in the coming days we will be sending or distributing a letter to the Secretary of State identifying specific white nationalists foreign terrorist organizations or organizations that we believe should be FTOs and I--I certainly would appreciate the support of my colleagues here.

DEUTCH: Thank you, Chairman Rose. Ranking Member Walker, you're recognized.

WALKER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Dr. Miller-Idriss, I have a very important question too start with. I'm assuming by the colors that you are wearing today your allegiance would be Tara Penn more than Wolverine or is this just strictly a coincidence?

(LAUGHTER)

MILLER-IDRISS: (OFF-MIC) Well, I went to school at Cornelia--Cornelia, which is the big red as you know, so.

WALKER: All right, fair--fair enough. We'll move on from there. To your knowledge, have foreign-based members of white supremacist groups traveled to the U.S. to meet with groups or individuals here?

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MILLER-IDRISS: We know that they have. Individuals have come to Charlottesville, and we also have very good evidence of individuals from the U.S. going to Europe. So yes, I think in both directions there's--

WALKER: So you do have some cases here or there that you--you're seeing this?

MILLER-IDRISS: Yes.

WALKER: Okay, great. Thank you for answering that. Since the 911 terror attacks, the government and public has promoted the see something say something concept to help alert law enforcement two terror threats. It made the FBI testify that 50 percent of domestic terror investigations are open due to referrals from the public and other state and local partners. Do you have any recommendations to further improve the suspicious activity reporting system?

MILLER-IDRISS: I think the hardest thing about that is that the people who are most likely know something are peers or other young people. And we also know that there the least likely to come forward. I think that public education on that can go a long way. We have also seen parents in very recent years being a very good source of information, but I will say that one thing that we lack compared to Europe is that even when parents know something is going on.

They don't know who to call. They're reluctant to call the FBI. They're reluctant to call the police. I would suggest that if we had something like a suicide hotline number, a number--a phone number that parents could call that was to get information to--that you know we have resources, but parents who do fear that their--that their children are planning something, do not know how to get help in a way that there--that they think will be useful.

WALKER: Thank you. And Mr. Picciolini, if I have time and going to come back to you because I--I could tell that you might want to add something there. Let me go to Dr. Nazarian if I could please. I believe you mentioned the number over eight years, 175 deaths internationally. What--is that--is that--did I get that number correct?

NAZARIAN: Yes.

WALKER: Okay so, that's--that's--and ones too many. 21 per year--it--it's--and--and I think part of what we're doing today is--is as much as the numbers we're trying to prevent the trend as well in that direction. Could you answer the question that I have for you, how many deaths over that same eight-year period of time has been due to religious zealots? Dr. Miller-Ildriss mentioned that Islamists, some of the fundamentals there. Over that same eight-year period of time, how many murders, or death, or killings in that arena?

NAZARIAN: I--I don't have that number in front of me, so I can't tell you exactly. But what I want to be very careful about is this is not an either/or discussion.

WALKER: No, no and I'm getting to that, but my--I had a specific question. So, you have no idea of that?

NAZARIAN: I--I don't. I am happy to provide that to you in writing afterward. I don't have that number.

WALKER: Dr. Miller-Ildriss, would you have any idea on that number?

MILLER-IDRISS: Not also with my--in my documents here. Not on top of me.

WALKER: Because ultimately were wanting to be able to deal with both, so I think both those are important. Should maybe? You would agree with that?

NAZARIAN: Absolutely.

WALKER: According to CBS in 2017, they have a number of 84,000 that have been murdered, and I want to do some kind of back up. I'm just coming up this number the last hour or so. I want to make sure that number is valid but--but I just want to make sure that we are concerned about that. Let me have--I got a question. I've got time to get those in. Going back to Dr. Miller-Ildriss, given the concerns are raised here today about domestic terrorism, specifically white supremacy extremism. Do you have concerns about the ability of law enforcement to monitor

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domestic terror threats in locations where cities have put out the FBI's joint terrorism task force or the JTTF? San Francisco, Portland, and some others have pulled out, is that a concern for you at all?

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

WALKER: Quick, yes, or no question. Do you find it difficult to potentially create policy that remains cognizant of the Constitution and the U.S. citizen's rights, while also enabling law enforcement to direct and prevent Americans from being radicalized to the point of violence? Just--just for clarity. I know that's a struggle for us, sometimes liberty versus the privacy and all that.

MILLER-IDRISS: Yes, I think that is a very big concern, but I also think we have 20 years of experience now that we can draw on and seeing how we've done that with the American Muslim community to see what's gone wrong, what's gone bold right and I would encourage us to think about that.

WALKER: And I want to honor my word that I try to get back in. Mr. Picciolini, would you mind addressing for us some additional things that we can do from the question that I asked the doctor.

PICCIOLINI: Sure. And I just wanted to address that in my expanded statement I did name organizations that were global and domestic for that report. You know it's very difficult for--for peers to identify--

WALKER: I only have about 10 seconds, so I just want to honor to the rest of the members here, so--

PICCIOLINI: Sure. White supremacist have done a very good job of hiding themselves over the last 30 years. It's very difficult to identify them.

WALKER: Okay. All right. Thank you. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

DEUTCH: Thank--thank you, Mr. Walker. We are going to alternate between parties and between subcommittees. I'm going to defer for now and turn it over to Mr. Connelly.

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

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

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

MILLER-IDRISS: Yes, I believe that's a true statement in history. Yes.

CONNOLLY: So, when we look at the resources the federal government has marshaled to deal with say a jihadist terrorist threat, they're considerable. Would that be a fair statement?

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

CONNOLLY: In the tens of billions of dollars, maybe more? Now given the fact that the white supremacist terrorist threat, depending on how you measure it, is certainly equal to if not greater than domestically the--the jihadist

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terrorist threat surely the resources devoted to addressing the white supremacists threat are comparable to those of the jihadist threat. Is that fair?

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

CONNOLLY: They are not equal?

MILLER-IDRISS: No.

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

MILLER-IDRISS: They are not even close.

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

MILLER-IDRISS: Yes, there are consequences, and I will just say, this is from my written testimony, that the FBI has testified that 80 percent of their agents focus on international terrorism, 20 percent on domestic. They were able to stop 70 percent of terrorist activities from Islamist groups in 2018, but only 29 percent of the white supremacist attacks.

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

PICCIOLINI: Yes, sir. That is correct.

CONNOLLY: It would not be a jihadist culture, but it would certainly be a radical and extreme version of their version of Christianity in many cases.

PICCIOLINI: That's correct. And also, in many cases, they refer to themselves as white jihadists.

CONNOLLY: So in the time I have left, after Mr. Chairman having established that there's this disequilibrium and resources devoted to the actual measured threat which I think the subcommittee deserves credit for having that covered now, legislatively we'll address that. I'd like to give you an opportunity, Mr. Picciolini to talk a little bit about your story. I mean would it be fair to say that what motivated you way back when to join these groups or associate with them was maybe certainly two things. One was a sense of belonging, but the other was maybe fear and insecurity.

PICCIOLINI: Yes, sir, thank you for the question. You know ideology is really secondary to becoming radicalized. And I say radicalization starts the day we're born. For me it was searching for a sense of identity, community, and purpose all three of which I felt I didn't really have a grasp on in my life. My parents are Italian immigrants who came to the U.S. in the 60s, and as immigrants they had to work seven days a week, 16 hours a day, so I didn't see them very much, growing up. I knew they love to me and they still you know do, but I didn't see them, so I went searching for a family elsewhere and for a sense of agency and inclusion. I was idealistic as a--as a kid, but I certainly wasn't mature enough to know that I was making the right or wrong decisions at that time.

CONNOLLY: Am I up? Is my time up?

DEUTCH: The gentleman's time has expired.

CONNOLLY: I thank the chair, and I thank (INAUDIBLE). Thank you all for concurring to be here today. We really appreciate your testimony.

DEUTCH: Thank you, Mr. Connelly. Mr. Wilson, you're recognized for five minutes.

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WILSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank each of you for being here today. And Ms. Miller-Idriss, I particularly appreciate your comment about not identifying on particular groups to give them attention. I know that I was just mentioned to the chairman that I--I specifically never mention the name any of the mass murderers who have conducted their operations. I--they just should not be given personal recognition. It is--that's what they want.

MILLER-IDRISS: I absolutely agree.

WILSON: And so, with that in mind, you know, do--how do we do identify? And for each of you, the different extremist groups and where are they located? What kind of membership do they have? And then--not long ago, we all faced a very identifiable hate group of the Ku Klux Klan. What is the status of the KKK?

MILLER-IDRISS: The KKK is thriving. As--as our other groups, we see also international I will say they're one of the interesting things I've read recently showed that on when Facebook kicked the Ku Klux Klan off of Facebook, they migrated to a Russian platform called VContacta (SP). And then in the Ukraine, there were 60 separate KKK groups operating VContacta when the Ukraine banned that platform. And then they evolved, and those groups came back to Facebook, some of them by using the Cyrillic letters. They got smarter, so you know it's--it's also an example of a single platform banning doesn't always work. It can make the--the situation worse.

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

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

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

But there was a concern in strategy 30 years ago to really move away from the more visible elements of the movement into a more mainstreaming of the ideology. We encouraged people to not look extreme. We wanted them to go into things like the military to get explosives training, to join law enforcement, to run for office in some cases, and in some cases back in the 80s and 90s we were successful with that. This--the process was started in late 80s with David Duke (SP) who removed his clan robe and was elected to the House of Representatives. That really started the process of mainstreaming this ideology. And it's really taken on a life of its own since then.

NAZARIAN: I'd like to add that we have to keep in mind that most of the most violent shooters do not belong to specific groups. They are all lone wolves, and they are radicalized, so it's important to keep in mind that they're--really the most extreme ones are self-radicalized and that's why I want to bring attention to what's going on online. We at the ADL have actually brought members of law enforcement from across Europe to our advanced training school that we take--we do in--in Washington DC once or twice a year and we really train them, specifically about the symbology, about what kind cross polymerization going, the ideology, but it's really the Internet where we think platforms both mainstream and some of the ones I mentioned, and the gaming that I mentioned is the structures where we have to really look at. That's where they're meeting.

That is the community that they come to and believe in and feel a part of this global movement. So if I can reiterate one point, it's really about ourselves, the--the media companies, social media companies, the platform have to be responsible in helping us collect data, understand where the threats are coming from. They are talking about things and they--they're being monitored, so we have DNA that we should be able to have more transparency towards and to be able to see through where our the threats coming from, and we just don't have that transparency right now, so I think--the platforms really have a role here to play.

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WILSON: Well, thank you to then for raising these issues. And we look forward to working with you in the future. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

DEUTCH: I thank Mr. Wilson. Mr. Cicilline, you're recognized for five minutes.

CICILLINE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you to our witnesses and thank you, Chairman, for this really important and very sobering hearing. I want to just ask Dr. Miller-Idriss, you--you made reference in your written testimony that white supremacist extremism is the most lethal form of extremism in the United States right now with 50 deaths in 2018. The fourth deadliest year since 1970 that groups are at a record high, white nationalist groups increasing by 50 percent--50 percent in 2018.

And so, I guess my first question is, while we have to think about how do we protect the American people and be sure law enforcement has the resources and I'm interested to speak to Mr. Picciolini about ways to disengage people. And I guess the first question I have is, are there--is there research that shows like what is causing this? This is a significant increase, and it seems to me understanding what are some of the causes of this that we might prevent would be a very efficient way to start thinking about responding to this challenge.

MILLER-IDRISS: Yep. That's a great question, I think. What we know is that young people, especially I mean it's not only young people but young people, especially have a--have a set of grievances that relate to--that are--that are--then can be weaponized through online culture. They relate to a sense of feeling insecure, feeling excluded, feeling economically marginalized. We call it aggrieved entitlement, a sense that they deserve something better that they didn't get.

And then online, they meet these narratives that tell them you know that there's a pathway for you to make a difference, to be a part of something bigger and better than yourself, to enact a sense of meaning, to be a hero, and also a place to express anger. And we know that anger and rage is part of it as well, but it--but I think those emotional--and I really want to second what--what the Christian said that these emotional underpinnings are the draw, and then the ideology comes second. And so when we think about preventative work, we have to think about what it takes to offer young people places to enact meaning, places to be a hero, places to engage meaningfully in a moment where they are more isolated than we've ever seen young people before.

CICILLINE: I was a Mayor before I came to Congress, and that was very much the conversation we had in response to gang violence. The same ideas sort of connecting to something and being a part of something often replacing a family organization that didn't exist.

But you made reference I think Dr. Nazarian to the technology platforms and I'm just wondering whether--what the panelist think that the technology companies should be doing in terms of identifying threats, alerting government authorities, possibly banning or removing content. It feels like that one of the really big challenges here is that ease--that ease in which information is shared, misinformation, this ideology quickly with lots of people and is it time to impose a greater responsibility technology platforms should play a more active role in this space?

NAZARIAN: If I could add, I mean just in going back to the eye and the things that are adding to the--the sensitivity of youth. You know, even concepts like globalization, multiculturalism, what they're calling third worldism. Why is there such a reaction to nonwhite immigration to America? It's really this notion that whites are being replaced.

And what I can tell you from my travels around the world, especially to Europe is that Europe serves as a cautionary tale. American white supremacist are looking at in Europe, seeing the influx of Muslims because of the Syrian war and the Iraqi war, looking at coming--migrants coming in from Africa and they are being replaced. And their purity and the white race that they believe in is being invaded and being disseminated so that--that's first and foremost we have to keep in mind the connectivity of these threats and how they see it, so Europe services that.

Going now to the platforms, we talk about the responsibility of platforms to self-govern. They know how to do it. They're just refusing to do it right now. And it takes all of us our legislators, the private sector, NGOs like us to bear



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pressure to say you cannot only react after things happen after horrific acts happen. You have to be able to do it beforehand and help us to do together through gathering data and others.

CICILLINE: Yeah. And I also think it's obviously not helpful when we have political or civic leaders in the country that are using language that dehumanizes refugees or immigrants and speaks about invasions and infestations and all that kind of stuff. I just have a minute left, so I'd like to ask each of you. What's the one most important thing Congress can do right now to respond to this urgent challenge? Dr. Miller-Idriss, start with--

PICCIOLINI: Sorry, you know I would say we really need to treat this in two ways. One is a national security issue, but also as a public health crisis. The way to tackle deradicalization is in a public health because ideology really is secondary. People find their way to the ideologies, and it becomes the green light to be angry or the permission slip. So, if we want to solve this for future generations, we really need to focus on social services, early childhood education, and mental health care.

CICILLINE: Thank you. Dr. Miller.

MILLER-IDRISS: If I could pick one thing, I would urge you to--to think long-term about capacity building and expertise. And I would just say that you know the reason why I'm here today is because this government invested in me. It funded me to go to graduate school. The Javits Fellowship paid with the National Science Foundation, title VI money, title VIII money. All of my graduate school was funded through the act of you know acts of this government to fund me. It took 22 years for that expertise to come back to this room and help, I hope in this way, but so it's a long game to invest in that way, but I hope that those investments pay off over time. And I think that we had--we can't just think of this is a short-term you know how to shuffle money around and get immediate expertise on a kind of a whack a mole type of the way. We have to think long-term about what capacity might we need 20 years from now to solve whatever terrorist threats exist then. And I hope that long-term investments can be made.

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

CICILLINE: Absolutely.

(LAUGHTER)

MILLER-IDRISS: Thank you.

DEUTCH: Mr. Zeldin, you're recognized

ZELDIN: Thank you to the chairs for hosting today's hearing. This is an important conversation for us to be having in Congress. I appreciate the witnesses for being. In our country, the way that we define word, terms are important to help us to talk to each other as opposed to past each other. I know that the ADL has definitions for the term's white nationalism, white supremacy. I don't know if all three witnesses agree with those terms as defined ADL or if you had any other definition? To Dr. Miller or Mr.--

MILLER-IDRISS: I prefer the term white supremacist to extremism myself. As a--as the broadest overarching term, I think that white nationalism is a term that can soften the impact and that has also been used to deliberately, internally to kind of soften it by making it seem as if this is overblown patriotism, but I also think that it's not a good exercise in general for scholars or policymakers to spend too much time fighting over terminology and--and--and getting too caught up in those debates. I think that if we know what we're talking about and we can agree to disagree on the terminology.

ZELDIN: But generally, do--I guess the question is if you agree with the ADL definition? I was in asking for you to disagree and less you--I mean I guess you do.

MILLER-IDRISS: Yeah, right, sorry.

(LAUGHTER)

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PICCIOLINI: I don't know the exact definition but generally having done a lot of work with the ADL--

NAZARIAN: I have them. Yeah, happy to share.

ZELDIN: Dr. Nazarian, please.

NAZARIAN: So, the ADL defines white supremacy\*\*\* as the collection of movements sharing one or more of the following key tenants. Number one, white people should have dominance over people of over ethnic and racial backgrounds, especially in places where they may coexist. Two, white people should live by themselves in whites only society. Three, white people have their own culture that superior to other cultures. And four, white people are genetically superior to other people. So, they believe that the white race in danger of extinction due to a rising flood of non-whites, as we talked a little bit about their concerns.

PICCIOLINI: I would agree with that.

MILLER-IDRISS: I agree.

ZELDIN: I wasn't trying to provoke a disagreement.

What's interesting in our country is the term, nationalism gets discussed as well. And used with a different definition of white nationalism. Any of you want to offer a definition of what nationalism is?

PICCIOLINI: I would say that, white supremacists have always tried to find softer marketing terms and buzz words. White nationalist, alt-right are their terms to make them seem less racist. But, if I were to define nationalism, I would say, that the difference between nationalism and patriotism is being proud of your country, and being a patriot means you want share that with other people. While being nationalist means you want to exclusive and not really share those resources or talents with others.

ZELDIN: Does the ADL have a definition for nationalism? I don't know the answer for that.

NAZARIAN: I don't believe so, not that I'm familiar with. But, I think, I mean in general of love for country, I think as Mr. Picciolini referenced, is one that you share a pride versus one that is exclusionary and is against the interests of others. So, it's much more exclusionary feeling.

ZELDIN: You know, it's interesting, social media cuts both ways, especially anonymously you could say--I mean the lowest common denominator of the way either your internal compass is, or you view others, people can be the worst forms of themselves anonymously. Some people have, I've seen on social media, declared themselves nationalists. And then when you look at the way they're commenting on issues, they don't seem to meet the definition white supremacy or white nationalism. People who are saying that they're nationalists--so, it's interesting. One definition that gets used, identification with ones own national and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations.

And what's interesting about this widely used definition for nationalists is that people then see the definition and then they call themselves a nationalist. Not that they are excluding a specific person based off of race, or religion, that they believe that are supporting their country, and saying that we should prioritize our own interests over others. And if that person is white, then they called a white nationalist and then they end being called a white supremacist. It's just very interesting what I've seen on social media where people are declaring themselves to be nationalists, but they don't seem to be violent. They don't seem to have--express any type of hate toward people of other races, religions, genders, and that list goes on.

But I appreciate taking the time. This is something that's hard to justice for in five minutes. But, you know, our country on this topic does need to do a better job communicating with each other to make progress. And once again, thank you to the Chair's for hosting today's hearing.

DEUTCH: Mr. Malinowski, you're recognized for five minutes.

MALINOWSKI: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

A couple of issues I wanted to ask you all about. The question of whether we should be designating groups as terrorist organization often comes up. And it's, I think understandably very controversial with regard to domestic groups, even if they have international connections. But I wanted to ask you in particular about the practical merits or disadvantages of designation of foreign based white supremacist terrorist organizations. What--would there be practical benefits? Is that something that you would recommend? If not, why not?

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

MALINOWSKI: Right. So, it could prohibit material support. It would potentially help our law enforcement agencies track movement of people fighting for an organization based in Europe, tools that don't really exist right now. Ok.

Let me--a separate issue that Chairman Rose also mentioned. Others referred to as the whole problem of online radicalization. When we talk about this problem and the role that the social media companies play, we generally focus on deleting that content and removing bad people from the online platforms. I think its partly because we all understand that, you don't need technical expertise to understand the importance of getting rid of something that's bad. But it's also whack a mole. I doubt we'll ever get to 100 percent, given the billions of people who exist on these platforms. There are new platforms that people move to.

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

NAZARIAN: Recommended content.

MALINOWSKI: Recommended content. Now the social media companies argue, I think understandably, that they are not liable for the content that we post. If I libel you on Facebook, I'm libel for that not Facebook. But, would you agree that if Facebook or YouTube or Instagram is promoting content, writing an algorithm that causes that content to show up in my social media, because they have guessed that I might be interested it, that they are in fact more libel than they would be for the creation of the content itself? And should we do something about that?

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

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

MILLER-IDRISS: So, some of what--I mean, for example, Dylann Roof has been very clear about how he--his radicalization pathway starting with a Google search. And Google had made changes in the way that those searches work without actual legislative pressure. But, if those kinds of changes don't come about, I think we need legislation that would pressure it.

MALINOWSKI: Would you agree?

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

MALINOWSKI: Right.

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

MALINOWSKI: One final question. You spoke, Dr. Miller-Idriss about the--the anti-immigration aspect of the ideology. And obviously, immigration policy it's something we all debate, we have very different views, legitimate different views. Should we build a wall, not a build a wall, boarder security, immigration reform, but setting aside those legitimate differences, should any politician, candidate, office holder, use the phrase, immigrant invasion?

MILLER-IDRISS: No, they should not.

PICCIOLINI: 25 years ago I wrote a song about immigrant invasion that years later Dylann Roof posted the lyrics to online. And I was just an insignificant 17-year-old skinhead at the time. So, certainly people with responsibility for their words have a more of a responsibility.

MALINOWSKI: That is the rhetoric of terrorism, would you agree?

NAZARIAN: Absolutely.

MALINOWSKI: Thank you. I yield back.

DEUTCH: Thank you, Mr. Malinowski. Ms. Jackson-Lee, you're recognized.

JACKSON-LEE: Let me thank all of you for your presence. Mr. Chairman, thank you, Chairman persons plural, for this kind of meaningful and potent meeting.

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

MILLER-IDRISS: Yes.

PICCIOLINI: Yes.

NAZARIAN: Yes.

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

Another sense of good feeling, and this is not a partisan statement. But, when, in my party, I see the big tent with so many different people and we're all together. Tragically, another feeling of unity and being an American is in tragedy. I'll take the Mother Manuel(SP) killing and it was in a huge stadium. The funeral of one of the person's, but everybody from the community came. There was not a respective color or creed. And we were together embracing each other. I think you understand what I'm saying. There's actually physical feeling of goodness, that we're connected, that we're one and the same.

So, let me just ask this question to Mr. Picciolini. In 2017, reports said that Americans who identify as white and Christian has dropped below 50 percent. In 2018, it was reported that there were fewer births among whites than deaths. The report stated that deaths now outnumbered births among white people in more than half of the states in the country. Are these demographic changes being used by white nationalists, number one? And are there are finding success in recruiting based on these demographic changes? Mr. Picciolini?

PICCIOLINI: Yes. They're using exactly what you mentioned as fear mongering. But what I would even caution is 20 years down the road, that as our climate crisis ramps up, that we're going to see a refugee crisis like we've never

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seen before. And at that point, we will see this rhetoric ramp up, and I think that is something we must get ahead of now.

JACKSON-LEE: Secondly, you use the word education, I ask all three of you this question. For a period of time, the history of African Americans, people of color, were literally removed from the elementary and middle school educational curriculum. What does that do when we saw that video that went viral, I cried, little two-year olds running towards each other--if you haven't seen it pull it up and feel good. But the point is that we don't bring our children up to appreciate--understand--let me do this quickly since I see my time. The other is, I ask the FBI this morning, we were in a FISA hearing, which has to do various documents submitted to FISA Accord in the international terrorism utilized after 9/11. But what I tried to glean from this individual was what tools do we need to give them for domestic terrorism.

And so in the answer tell me, wouldn't it be important for the FBI to have tools that refer directly to domestic terrorism as we have had foreign operatives? We can't use those, those are foreign operatives, we can't spy on our citizen in the same way. But I believe there should be a domestic terrorism with civil liberties and civil rights involved, the structure, but the in the DOJ. So, if you three could answer the education and the enforcement part of it.

MILLER-IDRISS: On the second question, yes, I believe that we need to understand homegrown violent extremists as operating across the spectrum, domestic and international, in ways that our current definitions allow for. And that hampers our ability to enhance our national security.

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

JACKSON-LEE: Mr. Picciolini?

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

As far as education, yes, absolutely. Pre radicalization starts then. And it could be an extremist behavior like crime, drugs, prostitution, something like that. Those are all extremist manifestations. Or it could be flying to Syria or flying to the Ukraine to join a Neo Nazi group.

JACKSON-LEE: Thank you. Ms. Nazarian?

NAZARIAN: I can tell you that the ADL is the largest trainer of law enforcement in America of any non-government organization. So, we are training law enforcement representatives day in and day out, exactly on these issues about what white supremacists look like, what is their symbology, what is the ideology behind them. And we also happen to be one of the largest purveyors of anti-bias education in public schools in America. Over a million and a half students are educated by ADL on a day in and day out basis. So, absolutely, in both those issues, we feel they're very important and we have to expand them, we have to inoculate our communities, we have to inoculate our children. We also have to give the tools and knowledge to law enforcement to be able to understand, recognize what's going on in communities, and to help prevent them. So, absolutely.

JACKSON-LEE: Chairman, thank you. And I just want to put on the record that I did not, is that HCHAN(SP), and I didn't have time to ask that question. But, within the construct of civil liberties, first amendment, sites like that have to be addressed by the United States Congress. And they were one of the motivators of some of the horrors of some of the perpetrators of the most heinous mass shootings that we've had.

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

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DEUTCH: Thank you, Ms. Jackson-Lee. Mr. Green you're recognized for five minutes.

AL GREEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I thank all the Chairpersons as well.

I would like to acknowledge the words of Emily Dickinson. She reminds us that a word is dead when it is said, some say, I'd say it just begins to live that day. And I call these words to our attention because it's my belief that the tone and tenor is usually set at the top, the captain of the football team, the CEO of the corporation, the head of the nation. And I am concerned when I read in the intelligence that's been accorded to us, that soon after the March 2019 attack at Christ Church New Zealand, President Trump expressed doubt that white nationalism was a rising threat around the world. That caused me a good deal of consternation.

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

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

PICCIOLINI: This is neither a Democratic nor a Republican problem. This is a problem of American national security. And I would say that, just back to what I said earlier, there were words that I wrote 25 years ago that manifested in death with somebody like Dylann Roof. And we must be responsible for the words that we say, because while most people may not act on those words, there are--we know that there are some people who will. We've seen the effects of that. So, I think certainly we must all measure our words when it comes to something so sensitive.

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

AL GREEN: Were there any nice people among the folk who were screaming blood and soil, Jews will not replace us--Charlottesville? Any nice people among them?

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

AL GREEN: Finally, there some--I've lived a long time. Sometimes I think I've lived too long, to be quite honest. I have seen what racism can do to people. And I marvel now at how I've lived long enough to see the Klan come out of the robe, take the hoods off, march the streets openly and notoriously. I quite frankly, 20 years ago, would not have prognosticated that such would be the case. Something has happened to give them reason to believe that they can show their faces.

Please, I have one-minute left. What happened?

MILLER-IDRISS: A lot of things have happened that have brought--I would say the underlying racist--you know, things that people used to hide. So, it's not the fringes coming, its that the racism has moved more into the mainstream. And I think we're seeing that the way that social media operates, the kind of rhetoric that we hear political leaders and, in the media, has legitimized and reinforced those words. And I think the kind of manifestos and those global circulation of videos seems to empower these people as well.

AL GREEN: I know that you all have saline answer, but I have to ask this question quickly. Do you believe that those who tolerate bigotry and hate, perpetuate it? Toleration, perpetuation, acceptance, perpetuation, please respond.

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PICCIOLINI: From my--there are two things that extremists love and that's silence and violence. When we ignore them, they grow. When we are violent against them they use that as victim narrative. And we are quiet about what is happening in the world today, if we are not speaking truth to it, it will grow, it will fester like it has for 400 years. And we have an opportunity, I think, right now as a learning moment to really fix--acknowledge the problems, the failures that we've made, and work towards a solution that works for everybody.

AL GREEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You've been more than kind.

DEUTCH: Thank you, Mr. Green. I appreciate the questions I neglected to ask consent that you and Ms. Clark be able to ask questions as members of the full committee without objection. Ms. Clark you're recognized for five minutes.

CLARK: I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank both Chairman and the Ranking Member for holding this very important hearing.

And I just want to get some feedback on a number of the questions that were provided to us, you given a lot of really important testimony. Mr. Picciolini, I'm really interested in the deradicalization process. Were there certain messages or approaches that were most effective in your deradicalization process? And in your opinion, which aspects of current deradicalization efforts work and which do not? And I heard you mention about, sort of the early child education piece, but you recorded a later stage in life, so that would be very informative.

PICCIOLINI: You know, I do a lot of listening rather than debating or arguing. And what I learned from listening is what I call potholes. And those are the things that people run into in their life's journey, it could be trauma, it can be poverty, it could be joblessness, even privilege can keep us in a very isolated bubble. And what I do is fill those potholes in, I work with social services, psychiatrists, and other mental health professionals, job trainers, to really build resilience in people, without addressing the ideology. The way I address the ideology is through introducing them and immersing them with people that they think that they hate.

Now, that's a process that happened to me. I received compassion from the people I least deserved from, at a time that I least deserved it. And for me, that was the most powerful transformative thing, because I had never in my life had a meaningful interaction with the people, I thought I hated. I had been brought in at 14. Certainly not the responsibility of people of color, or potential victims, to do that, which I think means just need to be nice to everybody all the time, because we never know who we're dealing with. But, the most powerful thing for me is actually going through that process of human resilience building rather than debate.

CLARK: How do we engage and educate influencers within the communities that white nationalist terrorist groups target, to help counter message extremist propaganda?

PICCIOLINI: Is that for me?

CLARK: Yes.

PICCIOLINI: Well, I think we just need to acknowledge that we have a problem first. I think we're still debating about if this is a problem. Once we acknowledge that it's a problem, I also think we need institutional and systemic changes. Because the way its happening right now, what I do as far as deradicalization work, it's a band aid. You know, we have to treat it like polio. I treat the sick, but also have to inoculate the population from getting sick. And that is through systemic and institutional change. Otherwise, we just have a factory where we're churning out racists all the time.

CLARK: Very well.

And then I wanted to ask about women. We oftentimes hear about white males in this dynamic. But in some of the sort of visuals that I've seen, I've seen women in photos that espouse similar ideologies. Is there a place for women in the contemporary white nationalist moment? And if so, what does that look like? And that's for the entire panel.

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MILLER-IDRISS: We are seeing increasing participation of women in white supremacist groups, both in the US and in Europe, even in violent fringe groups, and even in terrorist violence. They are still by far the minority compared to men in terms of violence, but they are engaging. They're also engaging on channels like YouTube, setting up channels that promote the ideology that draw people in and that kind of soften it a little bit, and are supporters in that way, enablers I would say. So, I think they play a very important role and have been overlooked. And the other thing I will say is mothers play a very important role in some of the deradicalization work. And we've seen with that ISIS and foreign fighters, mother's groups and parenting groups, and I think we could similar kind of wave of parenting programs in the US around white supremacist extremism, as well.

NAZARIAN: And I can just add, that internationally we're also seeing a rise in terms in the role of women. Because the issues, you know, inflames them, such as anti-immigrant sentiment. It cuts across all gender lines. So, it's not an issue its more male or female, that they're feeling their culture, their beliefs are being overrun by immigrants being different beliefs, different religions, others. So, it definitely goes across line. And you see women also being much more animated and much more angry about the fact that their white culture is being diluted, that they're being replaced, internationally as well. So, unfortunately that goes across all genders.

PICCIOLINI: Just very briefly, women are being used as mouth pieces, as recruitment vessels. They are often the ones tasked with doing the podcast, making the videos. Because women attract more men to the organization. And I'll just point out, there was a report yesterday of a young woman who was arrested with an AR-15 in her trunk, who had made threats against shooting 500 people, and had drawn swastikas on her stuff. So this is something that we will start to see mimic ISIS in the way that happens, as well.

CLARK: (INAUDIBLE) your indulgence. I yield back.

DEUTCH: Thank you, Ms. Clark. And Ms. Omar, who is a member of the full committee, also has to ask questions. And without objection, you're recognized for five minutes.

OMAR: (INAUDIBLE) wonderful to the co-chairs of this committee. I really do appreciate the opportunity to be allowed to join you all. And to the testifiers, thank you so much for taking the time to have a really critical conversation on the ideology known as white nationalism.

The goal of these terrorists in this particular ideology is articulated after each attack. And its one that is consistent, as it is unhinged, to create a white ethnos state that excludes religion, ethnic, and racial minorities. Far right terrorists---far right terrorists were linked to every single extremist related murder in 2018. The most in any year since 1995, according to the Anti-Defamation League. The Southern Poverty Law Center reports 50 percent increase in white nationalist groups from 2017 to 2018. I will not speculate why that has happened. According to SPLC, 81 people were killed by those influenced by the Alt-Right since 2014.

So, I will repeat something I've said before, it is a statement of fact, white men driven by hateful ideology of white nationalism are committing the overwhelming majority of extremist attacks in this country. And we are not doing enough to confront it. This is not an indictment of all white men. Just like the despicable acts of few Al-Qaeda terrorists is not an indictment of all Muslims. It is rather a call for action. If we're going to take it serious, the threat of terrorism, we must truly do everything we can to minimize that threat.

So, I apologize if I missay your name, Mr. Picciolini?

PICCIOLINI: Very good.

OMAR: Ok. I wanted to ask you something that was written in your testimony. You said, adequate terrorism laws already exist to thwart and prosecute terrorists, as we do, plenty of capable and talented people who are ready to defend us from that threat of harm. The counter terrorism mandate doesn't provide for proper focus, resources, and funding. Or in some cases, the correct holistic approach to effectively counter terrorism.



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I worry about that, too, a lot. Of course, I agree, that white nationalism should be considered terrorism. But I'm concerned about repeating some of the policy mistakes we've made in the so-called Global War on Terror since 9/11. I've been working to get more transparency on the terrorist screening database. For example, I don't see a solution to white nationalism that simply to just add more people onto that list. We've gone down the wrong road. And if we start talking about taking Klansmen to Guantanamo, what are we really saying?

I believe in restorative justice. Some have faulted me for, you know, talking about ways that we should figure out how to rehabilitate people. And how that is actually one of the strongest counter terrorism acts that we could deploy. So, I'm--I believe it's a moral thing. But I also feel like, again, it is one of the best ways to fight terrorism and extremism. And so, I would love for you to sort of walk us through what are some of the holistic approaches we should take, and could that be something that could be deployed even abroad as we fight counter terrorism as well?

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

But in terms of the more holistic approach, it really is about prevention and inoculating the population. We can't just focus on the national security side if we're not ever going to turn the flow of the tab off to create more of these extremists. So, I think that we have to have more inclusive programs in school. We have to start teaching our history the right way. You know, not only about 1619, but also that we're teaching the Civil War different in different parts of the country. Where in some places its about northern aggression and in some places its about slavery. We don't even that sort of consistency.

So, in terms of a holistic approach it really is about looking at our policies and our institutional, in many cases racism, to try and make sure that we are creating an equitable foundation for young people moving forward. But, as far as holistic as well national security, it would be providing solutions for people who want to disengage, to disengage and to be able to do that. But certainly, you know, there is a national security threat that should be dealt with policy.

OMAR: I appreciate that. With that, I yield back my time.

DEUTCH: Thank you, Ms. Omar. Ms. Jackson-Lee had asked unanimous consent to enter three articles into the record. PBS article, White Christians are now a minority of the US population. New York Times article, Fewer births than deaths among whites in majority of US states. And an ABC News article, Experts dissect reasons while mass shooters target houses of worship. Without objection, they'll be entered into the record.

Finally, I will acknowledge myself.

I am--I'm really grateful for your being here today. I want to talk about two things. Mr. Picciolini, when--when--you've all talked about the--the responsibility the platforms have to do a better job. We often, we have this sense that there's a Facebook page, and people go to the Facebook page and they get radicalized. And that's not how it works. They're drawn in, Mr. Picciolini, right? And it's through the social media that we access. And then they are given the link to get to the dark web, the HCHAN, or get to the other site where they can watch--its' not a clean up version, where they can watch people out screaming horrible things on video, shooting off their AR-15's, talking about what they want to do to blacks and Jews and Muslims. Is that right?

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

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DEUTCH: Right. And so, what should we be--I think we need to stop tip toeing around this issue. We do this nicely, but the fact is, there is a way in. And if there's a way in, there's a way to block the way in, isn't there? So, what more, specifically, should we be doing? And I'll ask all of our witnesses. Dr. Miller-Idriss?

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

DEUTCH: Right.

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

DEUTCH: Right.

MILLER-IDRISS: Because we can't always--

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

PICCIOLINI: That's right. And there's so much content being uploaded that its really relied on AI to make those decisions right now.

DEUTCH: Right.

PICCIOLINI: But I would also caution, too, that so much of this propaganda is coming from outside of the US. And being bolstered--these messages here domestically being bolstered by places in Eastern Europe and in Russia, in troll farms. So, it's going to be difficult, because they are just marketing methods. And they've also created their own platforms. So, we can we deplatform(SP) all we want, but they have now created their social networks, and encrypted platforms.

DEUTCH: And we have--you talked about VCON(SP) tactics, so--right there, what's happening abroad on the social media and the 1,000's of people going to Ukraine. Dr. Nazarian, can you just touch on that for a second? And how social media and actual on the ground violence come together?

NAZARIAN: Well, we do so, actually the terminology involved in sharing with one another. So, we are seeing the use and cross polarization. And I talked about the use of terminology from Ukraine penetrating to America and vice versa. What I did want to say that, look, the terms of service of the platforms have to be more clearly adhered to. They're responsible, the platforms themselves, to make sure that the rules they have are enforced. And they're not doing a good enough job and do it at scale. So, there is room for improvement there.

And we would also, at the ADL, really like to see better governance. We want to see them scheduling external independent audits of the work. They're not really telling us how much information is coming in terms of data that's being flagged. We don't really know how much reporting is done. All they're telling us things they're moving on, that's actionable.

So, better transparency in terms of how much reporting of hate language is coming in. We don't really have that, as well. And that's a problem.

DEUTCH: We should have better transparency. And then one another, online, you mentioned online gaming.

MILLER-IDRISS: Yes.

DEUTCH: There is a tendency to some to blame video games for violence. That's not what I want to talk about. I want to talk about the actual conversations that are taking place that presumably those online companies have some access to. How does that work, Mr. Picciolini?

PICCIOLINI: So, yeah, what's happening is when young people or anybody really is playing a multi-player online game, they're wearing headsets. And they're usually playing with multiple people. And what happens, and I've witnessed it is, a recruiter will say something like the N word or make a joke, engage who laughs, who pushes up against it, and who doesn't say anything. Well, they know can go after the people who laughed, even it was a nervous laugh, from a 10-year-old, they know that they have an in there, and they send them down that spiral. But it's also happening in places like depression forums and autism forums online, where they are going, they're looking--

DEUTCH: --are those monitored? Is there a way to address that?

PICCIOLINI: Well, you know, I think that are probably moderators for all those rooms. But I don't think that they would be skilled in identifying--

DEUTCH: --is there a way that AI can be employed to identify those sorts of conversations?

NAZARIAN: Well, we do know that they're unregulated completely. So, the fact that we as legislators, as people, have to look at these sectors, that they need to be better regulated. And we know for a fact, right now they're not regulated.

DEUTCH: And finally, I just want to end with this. There's been conversation about the mainstreaming of ideology. And I started--we started by talking about the importance of identifying white nationalist terrorism, white supremacist ideology, a discussion of language. But, its not the mainstreaming of ideology, is it? It's the mainstreaming of what is that ideology. It's the mainstreaming of racism, and the mainstreaming of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, and xenophobia.

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

MILLER-IDRISS: Yes.

PICCIOLINI: You're absolutely correct.

NAZARIAN: Absolutely.

DEUTCH: I'm really grateful for the three of you coming and for this hearing, and the thoughtful exchanges that you had with my colleagues. I thank the members of both subcommittees for being here today.

Members may have some additional questions for you, and we ask our witnesses to please respond to those questions in writing. And I'd ask my colleagues and any witness questions for the hearing be submitted to the subcommittee clerks within five business days. And with that, without objection, the hearing is adjourned.

## Classification

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**Language:** ENGLISH

**Subject:** INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS & NATIONAL SECURITY (90%); TERRORISM (90%);

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

COUNTERTERRORISM (89%); US REPUBLICAN PARTY (88%); US DEMOCRATIC PARTY (88%); NATIONAL  
SECURITY (76%); FOREIGN POLICY (76%)

**Person:** MAX ROSE (92%); BRIAN MAST (79%); BRAD SHERMAN (79%); BRIAN FITZPATRICK (79%); COLIN  
ALLRED (79%); ELISSA SLOTKIN (79%); GUY RESCHENTHALER (79%); ILHAN OMAR (79%); JUAN VARGAS  
(79%); KATHERINE CLARK (79%); LEE ZELDIN (79%); MARK E GREEN (79%); MARK WALKER (79%); PETER  
T KING (79%); STEVE WATKINS (79%); TED DEUTCH (79%); TOM MALINOWSKI (79%); TED LIEU (72%);  
DAVID TRONE (71%); GERRY CONNOLLY (55%); JOE WILSON (55%); AL GREEN (55%); MICHAEL T  
MCCAUL (55%); MIKE ROGERS (55%); JAMES R LANGEVIN (55%); SHEILA JACKSON-LEE (55%); BENNIE  
THOMPSON (55%); ELIOT L ENGEL (55%); STEVE CHABOT (53%); WILLIAM KEATING (53%); ADAM  
KINZINGER (53%); DAVID CICILLINE (52%)

**Geographic:** TEXAS, USA (90%); RHODE ISLAND, USA (71%); NORTH CAROLINA, USA (54%); MISSISSIPPI,  
USA (52%); NORTHERN AFRICA (93%); MIDDLE EAST (93%)

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