

Written Statement of Professor Pete Simi for the U.S. House of Representative Select Committee
to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the U.S. Capitol

“Understanding Far-Right Extremism:
The Roots of the January 6th Attack and Why More is Coming”
March 31, 2022

Background and Professional Experience

I am currently a professor of sociology at Chapman University and a member of the Executive Committee leadership team at the recently awarded Department of Homeland Security Office of University Programs Center of Excellence on Terrorism Prevention and Counterterrorism Research, “NCITE.” As part of this work, I partner with Life After Hate, a community-based organization founded by former white supremacists dedicated to countering violent narratives and helping individuals leave the violent far-right and rebuild their lives. I have also served as an expert witness legal consultant on more than a dozen criminal and civil cases related to right-wing extremism and domestic terrorism.

In addition, I have authored or co-authored more than 60 scholarly articles and co-authored, along with Robert Futrell at the University of Nevada-Las Vegas, the book manuscript, *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate* which attempts to explain how white supremacy persists across a variety of social settings.

Starting in 1996, I began monitoring extremist websites doing simple key word searches on Internet browsers and reviewing hundreds of the already thousands of these hate sites that emerged in the early days of the web. Over the past two-and-half decades, I observed the growth of white supremacy in digital spaces to what it is today; a virtual buffet of hate found across mainstream platforms all the way to more secretive encrypted forums in the darkest regions of cyberspace.

In 1997, I began conducting what social scientists refer to as ethnographic fieldwork with anti-government and white supremacist extremists across the US and abroad. For this testimony, I refer to far-right extremism (FRE) as a broad constellation of individuals, informal groups, and formal organizations that hold some combination of the following beliefs: ultranationalism and racism (to include xenophobic and anti-immigrant); misogyny and homophobia; and anti-government (primarily focused on anti-federal government although some elements reject all forms of government). That fieldwork included, among other things, attending Ku Klux Klan cross burnings, neo-Nazi music shows, racist church services, and living with families to learn about their daily lives and how they came to embrace extremism. This type of research provided firsthand observation of how extremists manage to infiltrate various segments of society and blend into the mainstream. Our research has also involved conducting intensive life history interviews with more than 100 former white supremacists to obtain sensitive and in-depth details regarding individuals’ childhood and adolescent experiences prior to their extremist involvement as well as their experiences during their involvement and the factors that led to their disengagement. This work includes extensive collaboration with Kathleen Blee at the University of Pittsburgh, Matthew DeMichele at Research Triangle International, and Steven Windisch at Temple University.

My ethnographic fieldwork started with a self-defined militia group in the southwestern United States; a group that represents the hybrid nature of right-wing extremism blending anti-government extremism, Christian Identity (a white supremacist interpretation of Christianity), the skinhead subculture, and various other elements. There is a longstanding overlap between white supremacist extremism and militias. The overlap during the 1st wave of the militia movement in the early 1990s is well documentedⁱ.

January 6, 2021: The Attempted Insurrection

On January 6th, 2021, tens of thousands of President Trump supporters gathered in Washington DC to protest what they described (following President Trump) as a “stolen election.” The attempted insurrection that followed involved a broad constellation of right-wing extremists. The January 6th (J6) mob included well known hard-core white supremacists; flags and t-shirts emblazoned with the Confederate symbol; a “Camp Auschwitz” shirt; a noose hung outside the Capitol as part of a staged gallows to execute known “traitors”; and a substantial presence of the anti-Semitic Qanon movement. And, of course, there were large numbers of generic “MAGA” supporters, some of whom are now, more

than ever before, associated with the most extreme strands of the far right. In fact, in the immediate aftermath of J6, the radicalization of MAGA supporters was being hailed on various neo-Nazi Telegram channels.

Some people looked at the images of J6 and commented, “they don’t look like extremists or terrorists,” but that begs the question, “what do extremists or terrorists look like?” The answer is, of course, obvious; extremism and terrorism are not about what you look like; extremism and terrorism are defined by a person’s beliefs, feelings, and actions. If you think, feel, and act like an extremist then you are an extremist, and it should not matter whether you look like someone’s “next door neighbor” or co-worker. And, in some cases, extremists, and even terrorists, may wrap themselves in the US flag and/or hold positions within law enforcement and the military. As we struggle to address these issues, we should be cognizant of our perceptual biases that may lead to highly distorted interpretations regarding what extremism and terrorism look like.

Consider Senator Ron Johnson’s sincere but troubling comment regarding the J6 attempted insurrection, “Had the tables been turned, and President Trump won the election and those were tens of thousands of Black Lives Matter and Antifa protesters, I might have been a little concerned”ⁱⁱ. The senator’s statement clearly illustrates broader perceptual biases and an inconsistency as it relates to how we assess the relative threat of different types of political movements. That he would be less concerned about a mob with substantial segments of the far-right counted among them as compared to Black Lives Matter which has not been directly linked to any past lethal instances of violent extremism is inexplicable. Senator Johnson’s comments are reminiscent of what we have often heard over the years during law enforcement trainings focused on far-right extremism when officers or intelligence officials ask, “Why aren’t you focused on BLM or Antifa?” Further, I have been at far too many meetings with law enforcement where false equivalencies are made about the relative threat between Antifa and far-right extremism or as one Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent put it, “White supremacy is the new bright shiny ball. That’s why everyone is talking about.” The idea that an FBI agent who specializes in domestic terrorism would be this misinformed should be shocking but unfortunately it is not. Perceptual biases individuals may not be fully aware of co-mingle with far more explicit biases held among intelligence and law enforcement officials as evidenced by various web forum/chat room leaks that contain unabashedly racist, misogynistic, and xenophobic comments which are often expressed with little or no pushback from other usersⁱⁱⁱ. The net result is that the US has collectively ignored FRE, misunderstood its long history and how deeply rooted it is within American society, and consistently pointed to other types of extremism as representing a greater threat despite evidence to the contrary.

The Long Path Toward Insurrection: Missed Signals and Waves of Domestic Terrorism

Too many recent observers have characterized FRE as a “new” phenomenon neglecting the longstanding role this type of extremism including related violence has played throughout US history. Focusing on newness may help sell copy but does not further understanding. The focus on newness also unintentionally reinforces perceptual biases that historically have discouraged Americans from acknowledging the extent of this problem and continue to encourage a segment of the population even after the attempted insurrection to diminish the problem or characterize domestic terrorism in more flattering terms. For example, in a *Washington Post* poll, 36% of surveyed Republicans described January 6th as “mostly peaceful” despite the fact that protesters committed more than 100 assaults on over 140 police officers that day^{iv}.

Attorney General Merrick Garland stated in his confirmation hearing that there is a straight line that connects the founding of the Ku Klux Klan during the Reconstruction Era to the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and what happened in our nation’s capitol on January 6th, 2021^v. The straight line, if nothing else, tells us this problem is anything but new. As a way to understand that straight line, let us start with the post-Vietnam War Era. Beginning in the late 1970s, a paramilitary strategy emerged across the far-

right. Multiple white supremacist leaders with military experience, such as Louis Beam and Frazier Glenn Miller, two decorated Veteran War veterans, advocated different types of guerilla warfare and drew other veterans and currently enlisted personnel into their ranks to do battle against the US government and various “racial enemies”^{vi}. The paramilitary trend gained even greater traction during the 1980s when underground paramilitary cells like the Silent Brotherhood, armed encampments with military grade weapons like the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, and roving racist skinhead gangs attacked and murdered people across the country. The 1980s followed decades of KKK and other white supremacist inspired violence that included church bombings, political assassinations, and lynchings.

The most notable instance where military experience and domestic terrorism converged came during the Oklahoma City bombing on April 19, 1995. The attack claimed the lives of 168 Americans when a fertilizer bomb demolished the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, OK. The three individuals convicted in connection with the attack were all military veterans and, the primary culprit, Timothy McVeigh, was deeply inspired by neo-Nazi leader William Pierce’s novel *the Turner Diaries*. Just over a year later, another military veteran and far right terrorist, Eric Rudolph, targeted the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, GA killing two and injuring over 100. Prior to his arrest, Rudolph executed three other bombings targeting two healthcare clinics where abortions were performed and a gay nightclub.

In the final years of the 20th century, an African American was beheaded by three white supremacists in Jasper, Texas long before ISIS made news for their brutal violence using similar tactics. A year later, 1999 became known as “the summer of hate” when multiple white supremacist shooting rampages terrorized communities across the US. During this time, our country’s most lethal “school shooting” also occurred. Often mislabeled and disconnected from domestic terrorism, Columbine’s primary planner, Eric Harris, was obsessed with Adolf Hitler and Timothy McVeigh and designed Columbine to be a bombing attack followed by sniper shots aimed at those who managed to survive the explosives. The goal was to achieve a larger body count than McVeigh^{vii}.

Despite 60 violent plots traced to far-right terrorists in the ten years following the Oklahoma City bombing, most Americans did not recognize the growing threat and authorities did relatively little to quell it^{viii}. What is most shocking and saddening, is that even with this high level of targeted violence in what was clearly a wave of terrorism, many Americans failed to connect the dots. Had the perpetrators been people of color or Muslim, you can be sure the response would have been dramatically different; instead, America remained comfortable with its concerted or intentional ignorance about the longstanding threat from terrorists we preferred to think of as “the boy next door.”

In the aftermath of the September 11th, 2001 attacks, the threat of domestic terrorism received little attention^{ix}. In fact, in 2005, an internal Department of Homeland Security (DHS) document did not list far-right extremism as a domestic terror threat. Instead, federal resources focused on international and left-wing extremist threats, while media attention also ignored the far-right. And, while the 9/11 attacks exacted tremendous devastation, the number of far-right terror plots outpaced the international realm. The substantial presence of FRE continued until the 2008 election of our nation’s first Black President, Barack Obama, which was almost immediately met with an ever greater surge of far-right extremism including a second wave of the militia movement. The potential for change represented by the 2008 election helped catalyze what Carol Anderson refers to as “white rage” or a backlash with historical precedent dating back to at least the Reconstruction Era following the US Civil War. In the days following Obama’s election, for those who were monitoring the issue, it was a bleak time in terms of a looming threat of FRE terror^x. Anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim fervor had been building especially since September 11th and a new movement, “Birtherism,” emerged challenging the citizenship and, thus, the legitimacy of Obama’s presidency. Gun sales spiked as conspiratorial rumors about “Obama coming for our guns” spread across the country. Within the context of fear and paranoia surrounding the first Black President, social media emerged which accelerated and broadened the circulation of conspiracy theories and offered an already tech savvy far-right the means to further shape narratives and push propaganda.

In 2009, the Department of Homeland Security issued a brief report that warned about a resurgence of far-right extremism on the horizon, but the agency quickly retracted the report after critics blasted it for profiling conservatives and veterans^{xi}. Before long, the opportunity for a sustained discussion about domestic terrorism was lost and attention diverted to other issues. The malign neglect continued.

Combatting Misconceptions

Part of the confusion related to FRE is our penchant for a dizzying array of labels, over-distinctions, and false equivalencies. Observers often describe three types of right-wing extremists: white supremacist; anti-government/militia; and single-issue (e.g., anti-abortion, anti-immigrant, anti-gay etc.). While helpful, in some respects, these buckets oversimplify a reality that is far more convoluted where substantial overlap exists between each type. At the same time, the federal government recently adopted a categorization system that delineates between racially-motivated and anti-government extremists where the former includes both white supremacists and “Black Nationalists” and the latter includes both militia groups and left-wing anarchist type groups. The fact that white supremacists and Black Nationalists have virtually nothing in common is apparently lost on the federal government. Secondly, by using this categorization system, the federal government has formalized a distinction between white supremacists and anti-government militias that is questionable at best.

There is a longstanding tendency to gauge a problem like FRE by focusing on how many groups and members exist across the country. Those numbers are important but can be very misleading. FRE is not a membership-based movement and while organizations are important, what we are really dealing with is a worldview focused on ideas and emotions. The worldview spreads by shaping and promoting narratives about race, religion, gender and the like to ensure American society remains polarized. The goal is an America divided where white domination is framed as necessary to avoid social collapse which will inevitably result in untold “white victimization.”

We are not really dealing with a membership-based movement as much as we are dealing with a worldview with adherents. That means specific groups and leaders are less important than we often think and explains why something like Qanon can seemingly spring up overnight and attract millions. In fact, Qanon did not spring up overnight but was built on an infrastructure of ideas and feelings that have circulated for decades if not centuries. Leaders and formal groups are important for helping spread these ideas and feelings but much of the circulation happens through informal associations now more than ever facilitated by digital technology.

We spend too much time emphasizing the “newness” of Qanon when, in fact, Qanon represents mostly recycled ideas that have long existed. As a result, we downplay what is most important: 1) Qanon emerged as an adjunct to the MAGA Movement so it started with a built-in degree of legitimacy and potential base of followers quite different from other types of recycled fringe ideas; and 2) some of the most powerful and influential digital platforms were willing to “pimp” Qanon out in order to increase traffic on their sites.

Another mistake is our tendency to accept the self-definitions offered by FRE which, instead, should be seen as part of a front-stage marketing effort rather than an accurate description. While many groups like the Oath Keepers claim a “race neutral” ideology, this type of disavowal strategy is common across FRE groups, including those most observers would widely recognize as white supremacist (e.g., KKK factions). In other words, there are very few individuals or groups who openly self-identify as “white supremacist.” Representatives of the militia movement’s second wave may claim they were responding to federal overreach during Obama’s administration, but it is curious the second wave did not emerge during George W. Bush’s administration following the passage of the 2001 Patriot Act which some observers have described as one of the greatest threats to civil liberties in recent history^{xii}. Groups like the Oath Keepers and Three Percenters, in my experience, have a range of beliefs consistent with those found

among groups more commonly defined as white supremacist^{xiii}. Further, there is cross-fertilization among individuals associated with militia and white supremacist groups with some individuals going back and forth and other individuals simultaneously affiliated with both types of groups. The high degree of overlap can render clear delineations artificial and misleading.

Moreover, the idea that militias are race neutral is an illusion. Militias routinely oppose immigration and, in some cases, conduct armed patrols of the southern US border. Never, to my knowledge, have militia groups sent armed patrols to the northern border to monitor the flood of “illegals” from Canada. Militias also generally oppose Muslims as an existential threat to western civilization and more specifically (although inaccurate) as the primary source of terrorism. Militias’ selective opposition to immigration and rejection of Muslims can only be described as xenophobic and racist. In other cases, militias often hold views about the “New World Order” that quickly bleed into old tropes regarding the “International Jew” and views on citizenship that suggest “natural or sovereign citizenship” only applies to those who gained full rights prior to the 14th Amendment; a not so thinly veiled credo that would deny Blacks equal protection under the law.

Violence is at the core of far-right extremism but not always visible. Sometimes violence is camouflaged for the sake of appearance as part of an “optics war.” The extent to which the far-right camouflages violence is possibly best illustrated by their advocacy for lone-actor terrorism. Dating back to the Reconstruction Era when white supremacist snipers murdered thousands across the former Confederacy to dismantle policies to integrate Blacks and even assassinated President Lincoln, the lone actor approach became enshrined as a way to achieve political goals. In the 1950s and 1960s, eruptions of white supremacist violence targeted civil rights activists. Some of those incidents, like the assassinations of Medger Evers and Martin Luther King Jr., were perpetrated by lone actor terrorists. Over the past 50 years, books, speeches, and other propaganda celebrate the lone actor strategy and characterize killers as martyrs for the cause. Part of the lone actor strategy’s appeal is that the violence appears as isolated incidents rather than connected to a larger cultural context. This tendency to overlook the larger context of far-right violence has hindered greater awareness of this threat among the public, law enforcement, policymakers and the media. Today, we face an extension of lone actor violence with unprecedented levels of threats directed toward public officials. These incidents are also often perceived as isolated and disconnected from the larger culture where the threats emanate including various digital landscapes. In these virtual spaces, often anonymous, people find encouragement to threaten various types of public officials with varying degrees of specificity. Those threats also emerge offline as was the case in the alleged kidnapping plot targeting Governor Whitmer in Michigan.

Right Wing Extremism in Law Enforcement & the Military

One facet of our research program has involved examining various social institutions and how these can become breeding grounds for FRE. This work has focused on the US military, prison system, and law enforcement.

While conducting fieldwork, I discovered a perception among research subjects that they believe law enforcement is “on their side” and their agendas are complimentary. In some cases, they claimed to be employed in law enforcement positions or had positive relationships with law enforcement who allegedly understood they were involved in extremist groups and offered their explicit approval. In such cases, they claimed law enforcement officers encouraged them to “clean up the streets.” This is absolutely frightening. But we need not wonder if this issue only amounts to perceptions because those perceptions stem from the stark realities of racist policing which has an extensive history in the US. White supremacy is interwoven within law enforcement like few other institutions in our country’s history. That history can be traced, in part, to the first slave patrols, but it is recent history that should give us the most pause.

White supremacist police gangs have been documented in large and small cities across the country. One of the most notorious examples during the 1980s and 1990s involved a group of officers in the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, known as the Lynwood Vikings, who were described by a federal judge as a "neo-Nazi, white supremacist gang."^{xiv} Another particularly horrendous example involved the Chicago Police Department's "Midnight Crew," active in the 1970s and 1980s responsible for the torture and beating of hundreds of predominantly Black citizens.^{xv} And more recent history is also replete with such examples^{xvi}.

Since 2000, ties between law enforcement officers and far right extremist groups have been identified in at least 14 states^{xvii}. Since 2009, more than 100 police departments across the country have been implicated in incidents where officers have been identified sending overtly racist emails or text messages or posting racist comments using various social media platforms^{xviii}. At least 25 current and former law enforcement officers allegedly participated in J6^{xix}.

The military is another social institution where FRE has found refuge. A long history documents the organizational and membership overlap between FRE and the US military. For example, the Ku Klux Klan's founding members were former confederate officers and the Klan's first Imperial Wizard was a general in the Confederate Army^{xx}. More recently, between 1953 and 2012, at least nine major FRE organizations were founded by active military personnel^{xxi}. Many of these individuals have been high-ranking officers, including generals, rear admirals, commanders, lieutenant generals, and lieutenant colonels^{xxii}.

While the presence of FRE in the US military is not new, in the past five years, the issue has received growing attention. For example, a 2017 criminal investigation uncovered the founder of the white supremacist terror cell, the Atomwaffen Division (AWD), was actively enlisted in the Florida National Guard while plotting to target a nuclear power plant in the area. AWD promotes using violence to "accelerate" a "race war" and societal deconstruction and, along with other similar paramilitary cells, like the Base, has focused on recruiting active duty military personnel. Other investigations identified multiple AWD members who were active duty military, such as, Vasillios Pistolis, a Marine whose participation in the violent 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, VA included assaulting victims with flag poles and "curb stomping" individuals he believed to be "enemies" of the white supremacist movement^{xxiii}. More recent, an active duty member of the US Army was charged with conspiring and attempting to murder US nationals, conspiring and attempting to murder military service members, providing and attempting to provide material support to terrorists, and conspiring to murder and maim in a foreign country which was related to their alleged involvement in the Satanic, neo-Nazi, Order of the Nine Angles (O9A)^{xxiv}.

To underscore the prevalence among far-right terrorists with military backgrounds, in our research we found that among far-right terrorists active during the 1980s and 1990s, approximately one-third had military experience^{xxv}. Our findings foreshadowed the more recent research conducted by Michael Jensen and colleagues regarding the number of individuals among the January 6th (J6) insurrectionists with military experience. Their analysis is ongoing, as information continues to be uncovered, but the latest figures suggest at least 17% of the individuals arrested on charges related to J6 had military experience^{xxvi}. The disproportionate number of far-right extremists with military experience reflects two different trends. First, as indicated by the FBI, far-right extremists have for decades advocated an infiltration strategy encouraging adherents to secretly immerse themselves in various social institutions including the military and law enforcement as part of a guerilla warfare strategy^{xxvii}. Second, far-right extremist organizations often intentionally target those with military experience (currently enlisted or more likely veterans) to exploit the individuals' training and to heighten their group's status^{xxviii}.

Where to go from here?

The suggestion that we have waited too long to address white supremacist and anti-government extremism seems undeniable, but our history of inaction should provide a sense of urgency not defeatism. We need short and long-term commitments to provide additional monitoring, investigation, and prosecution of domestic terrorism and related hate crimes.

If white supremacy is a virus, it is not a foreign agent attacking us from abroad. This is a virus of our own making. It is institutionalized, embedded in our culture, and etched so very deeply in our collective psyche that we are often unaware of our own collaboration with this system. And white supremacist violence is the only form of terrorism in our country's history that has been state-sanctioned. This problem has existed for too long unnamed, unacknowledged, and without systematic efforts in place to combat it.

Because our country is so far behind in terms of seriously addressing the issue of white supremacist extremism and adjacent threats, we tend to overestimate the "newness" of the problem. The problem, however, has been hiding in plain sight for far too long. Mischaracterizing old trends as new ones does not help us clarify the problem. In fact, it does the opposite. Treating an old problem like a new one fundamentally distorts the problem and potential solutions you may develop to the problem. As such, we lose the forest through the trees because of over specification. At the same time, action should be deliberate and mindful of unintentional consequences.

To address the problem of law enforcement radicalization, in particular, a national tracking system for extremist-related officers, should be developed. To date, there has not been a comprehensive national initiative to compile such data. Much like recent calls for better tracking of police-involved shootings, we have a desperate need to track officers with known affiliations to white supremacist and anti-government groups and officers who post on social media and other digital platforms words and images that express adherence to the hallmarks of white supremacy. Police accountability and reform is a complex issue but one piece, in my estimation, should involve rooting out extremists who hold a badge. Given an officer's unique authority, it is vital that we identify these individuals during the hiring process as well as during ongoing monitoring as part of performance evaluation.

In addition to more scrutiny in terms of monitoring and tracking, more training is required across all law enforcement levels. This training should focus on the threat of extremist infiltration (so called insider threats) in their ranks to raise awareness and clarify departmental policies regarding social media endorsements of extremism and offline affiliation with such groups. The Orange County Sheriff's Department in southern California recently implemented additional curricula in their required training for new and existing officers around these issues and could serve as a model for additional departments in this respect.

While I appreciate the Constitutional complexities, we should abandon any illusion that such people simply hold hateful beliefs, and those beliefs have little or no impact on their professional conduct. This idea is completely at odds with what we know about human behavior. In short, ideas matter because ideas influence behavior. Human behavior may not always reflect a coherent set of ideas but having hateful, racist ideas swirling around your mind most certainly affects how you perceive and judge other people as well as interpret different types of environmental contexts. Allowing white supremacists and anti-government extremists to hold positions of law enforcement authority betrays possibly the most fundamental American legal principle: equal protection under the law. Considering the gravity of this problem, a commitment is required to develop a comprehensive, national effort so that extremists in law enforcement can be systematically identified, monitored, and removed from these positions.

But as the saying goes, "You can't arrest your way out of a problem" and that is no less true as we consider how to deal with this issue in a more serious manner. As part of a greater commitment to non-

law enforcement prevention and intervention, the development of early anti-racist curriculum, classrooms, and schools should be a priority. We also need additional investment in disengagement/deradicalization programs to help provide “second chances.” We need more creative ways of addressing the digital landscape of hate and extremism beyond de-platforming efforts and part of that discussion should include how regulation could be used to stem the tide of digital extremism. In short, we need a major multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary effort that seeks to rebuild trust in government and reduce polarization with an emphasis on “truth and reconciliation.” Until we are willing to confront these harsh realities with open and honest dialogue, our country will remain polarized and unable to fully appreciate the true richness of a multicultural democracy.

Finally, we should not see January 6th as either new or an aberration. When people say, “as Americans, we don’t do this,” I appreciate the sentiment, but the sentiment is wrong. As Americans, we do this, and we have a long history of doing this. Pretending otherwise does not help address the problem. Violent right-wing extremism (like we saw at the Capitol) has been allowed to fester for decades as these networks built a massive infrastructure in online and offline spaces where highly emotive propaganda is created and widely shared. For too long, the US has denied and minimized this problem. That time should end.

ⁱ See *American Militias: Rebellion, Religion, and Racism* (1996). Richard Abanes, Intervarsity Press; *A Force Upon the Plains* (1997). Kenneth Stern, University of Oklahoma Press; *Rage on the Right: The American Militia Movement from Ruby Ridge to the Trump Presidency* (2019). Lane Crothers, Rowman&Littlefield.

ⁱⁱ Quoted in *Politico*

<https://www.politico.com/news/2021/03/13/ron-johnson-black-lives-matter-antifa-capitol-riot-475727>

ⁱⁱⁱ See <https://www.thedailybeast.com/congress-eyeing-dumpster-fire-of-hate-talk-in-spy-agency-chat-rooms>.

^{iv} See DOJ: <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/one-year-jan-6-attack-capitol>; *Washington Post*: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/01/01/post-poll-january-6/>.

^v Garland, Merrick. Congressional Confirmation Hearing, February 22nd and 23rd, 2021. [Domestic Terrorism Is 'More Dangerous' Post-Jan. 6, Biden AG Pick Says \(businessinsider.com\)](https://www.businessinsider.com/domestic-terrorism-is-more-dangerous-post-jan-6-biden-ag-pick-says)

^{vi} Simi, Pete and Robert Futrell. 2010. *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement's Hidden Spaces of Hate*. Rowman&Littlefield.

^{vii} See Cullen, Dave. *Columbine*. (2010). NY: Twelve.

^{viii} Sothorn Poverty Law Center. 2005.: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2005/almost-60-terrorist-plots-uncovered-us-oklahoma-city-bombing>.

^{ix} Daryl Johnson, *Right-Wing Resurgence: How a Domestic Terrorist Threat is Being Ignored* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012); Simi and Futrell 2010 *ibid*.

^x Anderson, Carol. 2016. *White Rage: the Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

^{xi} Johnson 2012 *ibid*.

^{xii} See “Threats to Civil Liberties,” Timothy Lynch, CATO Institute. 2004.

^{xiii} See for example Shane Bauer (2016) <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/10/undercover-border-militia-immigration-bauer/>;

^{xiv} See Darren Thomas et al. v. County of Los Angeles et al. (1992: 513)

^{xv} See *Beyond the Usual Beating: the Jon Burge Police Torture Scandal and Social Movements for Police Accountability in Chicago* (2020). Andrew Baer. University of Chicago Press.

^{xvi} Johnson, Vida. 2019. “KKK in the PD: White Supremacist Police and What to do about it.” *Lewis & Clark Law Review* 23, 1: 205-61.

^{xvii} German, Mike. 2020. “Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism, White Supremacy, and Far Right Militancy in Law Enforcement.” Brennan Center for Justice. [Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism, White Supremacy, and Far-Right Militancy in Law Enforcement | Brennan Center for Justice](https://www.brennancenter.org/hidden-in-plain-sight-racism-white-supremacy-and-far-right-militancy-in-law-enforcement); See also, Johnson *ibid*.

^{xviii} Johnson 2019. *ibid*.

^{xix} <https://extremism.gwu.edu/Capitol-Hill-Siege>.

-
- ^{xx}. Betty A. Dobratz and Stephanie L. Shanks-Meile, *White Power, White Pride: The White Separatist Movement in the United States* (Baltimore, MA: John Hopkins University Press, 1997).
- ^{xxi}. Daryl Johnson, *Right-Wing Resurgence: How a Domestic Terrorist Threat is Being Ignored* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012).; Matt Kennard, *Irregular Army: How the U.S. Military Recruited Neo-Nazi's, Gang Members, and Criminals to Fight the War on Terror* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2012).
- ^{xxii}. Simi, Pete, Bryan Bubolz, and Ann Hardman. 2013. "Military Experience, Identity Discrepancies, and Far Right Terrorism: An Exploratory Analysis. *Studies of Conflict & Terrorism* 36:654-71.
- ^{xxiii} PBS Frontline. 2017. "Documenting Hate: Charlottesville."
- ^{xxiv} Dickson, EJ. 2020. "US Soldier Indicted for Plotting Attack on his own Unit with Satanic Neo-Nazi Group." *Rolling Stone*:
<https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/army-soldier-ethan-melzer-order-nine-angels-o9a-indictment-1019331/>.
- ^{xxv} Ibid. Simi et al. 2013.
- ^{xxvi} Jensen, Michael, Elizabeth Yates, and Sheehan Kane. 2022. "Radicalization in the Ranks," START: College Park, MD (February). <https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/Final%20Report%20for%20SAF%20CDM.pdf>.
- ^{xxvii} "White Supremacist Infiltration of Law Enforcement," Federal Bureau of Investigation, Intelligence Assessment. October 16, 2006; Simi, Pete and Robert Futrell. 2010. *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement's Hidden Spaces of Hate*. Rowman&Littlefield.
- ^{xxviii} See Johnson *ibid*.