

Testimony of

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On

"Confronting White Supremacy (Part I): The Consequences of Inaction"

House Committee on Oversight and Reform

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Chairman Raskin, Ranking Member Roy and honorable members of the Oversight subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, my name is Omar Ricci, and I would like to thank the Committee for the opportunity to testify on the impact of white supremacy and white supremacist violence on American Muslims.

I am here today to share my experiences as an American Muslim, the Chairperson of the Islamic Center of Southern California and as a law enforcement officer. I am not testifying in my capacity as an officer of the Los Angeles Police Department and the views shared in this testimony are mine alone.

While I identify as a Muslim, my testimony today is rooted in an identity that is wholly American and a reflection of my concern as an American citizen. White supremacy is an evil that harms all Americans, regardless of race or religion, because it is one that is founded on a hateful and false sense of superiority. My hope is that my testimony can serve as a voice for all who have been scarred and impacted by the increase in white supremacist motivated attacks

I am 50 years old, born in New York City to a Pakistani immigrant mother and a second generation Italian/Irish father. I moved to the great city of Los Angeles in 1972 and it has been home ever since. I attended Fairfax High School in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood, and graduated from California State University Northridge. I am married and have four daughters, one of which is accompanying me at this hearing.

For the past 10 years it has been my incredible honor and privilege to be a reserve police officer with the Los Angeles Police Department, a police agency that sets a global model. I have worked several assignments including basic patrol, counter terrorism/special operations, and community engagement.

I am also the current Chairperson of the Islamic Center of Southern California, an organization I have been a part of for most of my life. It is the institution that founded the concept of an "American Muslim identity" that makes clear there is no conflict between being a proud American and a practicing Muslim.

I am also a past national Chair and current board member of the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) whose mission is to "improve public understanding and policies that impact American Muslims by engaging our government, media, and communities." Founded in 1988, the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) is a national public affairs nonprofit organization working to promote and strengthen American pluralism by increasing understanding and improving policies that impact American Muslims. Over the past 30 years, MPAC has built a reputation of being a

dynamic and trusted American Muslim voice for policymakers, opinion shapers, and community organizers across the country.

Finally I also serve on the board of the ILM Foundation, a non-profit organization whose mission is to "teach life skills to economically underprivileged youth and adults so that social ills are replaced with opportunities for intellectual and economic empowerment." "ILM" roughly translates into "knowledge" in Quranic Arabic, and is used by this organization as an acronym to stand for "Intellect, Love, Mercy."

I. MY ROLE AS A POLICE OFFICER

As a reserve police officer in the State of California, I do everything you think a police officer does, except I do it for \$50 per month. I have gone through the same rigorous training academy, swore an oath to protect and defend the United States Constitution, wear a badge, carry a gun, make traffic stops, deal with domestic violence situations, chase down fleeing suspects, help lost children, and generally keep order by respectfully protecting and serving. I do this job with a deep sense of pride, honor, and satisfaction with a police agency I am truly proud of.

While I am a Muslim, my work as a LAPD officer is not limited to the Muslim community. I help all Los Angeles residents and serve wherever I am needed. My role as a police officer gives me much pride and I feel like I am giving back to my community in a really deep and meaningful way.

Indeed, it was my faith combined with a childhood dream that led me to dedicate myself to protecting my fellow Americans. In fact, knew I wanted to become a police officer before I knew I was a Muslim. The 1970's TV show "Adam-12" inspired me and a generation of others to become police officers, to protect and to serve.

The journey to become a police officer, no matter your background, starts with a fundamental trait. One must have an innate desire to protect and serve the public with integrity while upholding the Constitution. For an American Muslim, I felt an added sense of responsibility because so many Americans assumed that I was not part of their community. I felt as if being a police officer would allow me to give back to my community in a profound way.

But in being a police officer, I seek to carry on an important tradition of our country, and a mandate of my faith - one of public service.

Beyond civic tradition, my faith plays an equally important role. Muslims are taught that one cannot be an idle member of society. In Islam, a manifestation of faith is to actively contribute to the betterment of life, even though doing so may be difficult.

Islam teaches in the Quran in Chapter 4, verse 95:

"Such of the believers as remain passive - other than the disabled - cannot be deemed equal to those who strive hard in God's cause with their possessions and their lives: God has exalted those who strive hard with their possessions and their lives far above those who remain passive..."

But as one would expect, being a police officer is very much a "street level" job, where the dirt and grit of the city gets under your fingernails. There are experiences that can only be had as a police officer, and during these moments none of your other identities matter. On my first week of patrol I was partnered with a female Orthodox Jew who served in the Israeli Defense Forces. Together we chased down and tackled a suspect high on drugs running through a public park playground. While she and I may have political and religious differences, those vanished when we were thrown into the cauldron. When on patrol we depend on each other for our lives. This "only in America," transformative experience is one of many that has contributed to my love for police work.

The principles found in our Constitution, the freedoms we enjoy in this nation, the rights our citizenry have, the mosaic of our people, this and much more make it the greatest nation on earth. I am truly proud and blessed to be an American. And I am blessed to have been raised a Muslim. I proudly follow the religion of Islam, a faith that calls for equality, mercy, freedom, peace, and justice.

II. MY ROLE AS THE CHAIRMAN OF A MOSQUE

The Islamic Center of Southern California is one of the most prominent and active Muslim institutions in the United States. Our congregants number roughly 1,000 and we are a mosaic of people from around the world, as well as 2nd and 3rd generation U.S. born Muslims. While we are in the Los Angeles region, we strive towards becoming a global model for mosques and Islamic institutions. We also strive to take a progressive and enlightened approach to our faith all the while meeting the dynamic needs of our community. We are responsible participants in civic affairs, have robust and decades old interfaith relations, and are a local source on all things Islam or Muslims for the media.

We pride ourselves on not taking any funds from foreign governments or entities.

As the current elected Chairperson, my role is many fold. It is to lead a collective effort to grow the organization and have it thrive; in light of the current domestic political climate and global events, it is to ensure our members feel safe coming to our programs and facilities; it is to be an

effective and responsible voice for our community in civic, interfaith and media affairs; and most audaciously, I believe part of my role is to help spur a global renaissance.

In 2016, as the November Presidential elections approached, and into 2017, particularly, after Trump's Muslim travel ban was announced, the Islamic Center received a death threat (as legally defined) and numerous articles of hate mail.

In the case of the death threat, in September 2016 a male called our Islamic Center and threatened to kill our staff member that answered the phone. This was reported to the LAPD, who conducted an investigation and arrested a person who, upon a search of his home, had multiple semi-automatic weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition.¹

Around March 13, 2017, a letter was sent to me personally at the Islamic Center which contained feces smeared pages of the Quran.

In addition it contained a hate letter which read:

"Hey sandnigger: you and all other arab pigfuckers will NEVER be Americans as you are a bunch of degenerate fucking scum with diapers wrapped around you fucking heads. You are a bunch of stinking islamic scum who will NEVER be wlcome [sic] in America so fuck you, fuck allah and fuck mohmmand [sic]!!!

Another letter was received at the Islamic Center on or around November 22, 2016. It read: "To the children of Satan, you Muslims are a vile and filthy people. Your mothers are whores, and your fathers are dogs. You are evil, but your day of reckoning has arrived. There's a new sheriff in town – President Donald Trump. He's going to cleanse America and make it shine again. And he's going to start with you Muslims. He's going to do to you Muslims what Hitler did to the Jews. You Muslims would be wise to pack your bags and get out of dodge. This is a great time for patriotic Americans. Long live president trump and God bless the USA."

This hate and vitriol, its frequency and intensity, not to mention its direct correlation to the timing of statements or actions made by President Trump, is even greater than what American Muslims experienced after 9/11.²

¹ Abigail Hauslonher and Alice Crites, *California Man Who Threatened to Kill had a Stockpile of Weapons and a 'Hatred for Muslims,"*

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/10/25/california-man-who-threatened-to-kill-had-a-stockpile-of-weapons-and-a-hatred-for-muslims/?utm_term=.0c947a5104b9

² Kishi, Katayoun, *Assaults Against Muslims in U.S. Surpass 2001 Level,* https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/15/assaults-against-muslims-in-u-s-surpass-2001-level/

After 9/11, then President George W. Bush used his position to counter any sentiment of hate against Islam and Muslims. Speaking at the Islamic Center of Washington, DC six days after the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, President Bush said that "Islam is peace" and that "those who feel like they can intimidate our fellow citizens to take out their anger don't represent the best of America, they represent the worst of humankind, and they should be ashamed of that kind of behavior." Through his rhetoric, he expressed support for the American Muslim community and understood that that we were not to blame for such heinous acts of violence.

Since the attacks of September 11th, many American Muslims have feared for their safety in public. After the horrific attacks on that day, American Muslims (and those perceived to be Muslim) were victims of hate crimes by those who thought that all Muslims had attacked the Twin Towers on that day. What many Americans may not realize is that Muslims around the country not only fear terrorism, but they have the added fear that a white supremacist will attack them. As American Muslims, we live in a constant state of fear.

III. IMPACT OF WHITE SUPREMACY ON MINORITY COMMUNITIES

This fear was amplified during the candidacy of Donald Trump, his subsequent election and his current Presidency. One of the first things Donald Trump did post-inauguration was sign the Muslim ban. We saw an immediate spike in hate crimes and they have continued ever since.

Our fears were significantly heightened during the terrorist attack on our Jewish brothers and sisters at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, PA on October 27, 2018. The perpetrator of that attack explained that he was attacking the Synagogue because he was upset that the congregation was helping Muslim refugees resettle into the country. The act of terror motivated by white supremacist hate was reflected in deluded and irrational statements made by the terrorist that Jews were helping to bring Muslims and other immigrants into the United States as "invaders that kill our people." The interconnectedness of hatred for Jews and Muslims by white nationalists could not have been more clear than with the devastating murder of 11 Jewish worshippers at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, PA in October 2018. The murderer posted online: "It's the filthy EVIL jews Bringing the Filthy EVIL Muslims into the Country!!" The shooter targeted the Tree of Life Synagogue, in part, because of its affiliation with the refugee resettlement and protection organization, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS).

While many in the media repeat the false claim that American Muslims and American Jews are fundamentally opposed to each other, the rise in hate crimes has shown us that the people attacking our communities are one in the same. Furthermore, white supremacy is linking a

³ President George W. Bush, *Islam is Peace*, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html

disturbing trend connecting anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim violence. Anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim hate share the same rotted root- and that is white supremacy.

The white supremacist terror attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand on March 15, 2019 was devastating to our communities. What was once worry based on events happening elsewhere in the country or the world, now turned to a degree of fright of what could happen locally, at the very mosque my congregation attends.

Friday at 1pm is the weekly congregational prayer for Muslims (the equivalent of Sunday Church). News of the New Zealand attacks broke on a Thursday night. Within minutes of the news breaking, I started receiving text messages, phone calls, social media messages with the same question that straddled my role as both Chairperson and police officer: what are we doing to protect the Islamic Center at the following day's prayers, is it safe to go to the Islamic Center? Do we anticipate a copy cat attack?

A palpable fear had taken root in the community. We considered shutting down the on-site school and were preparing to inform parents.

However, an important line of communication with the LAPD was established that night. It allowed for a quick response and police deployment plan to be formulated for the following day. We conveyed this to our community late on Thursday, and by Friday a deep appreciation for their response, and a feeling of safety had emerged.

In addition, the attacks brought together our interfaith partners, particularly our Jewish friends who were still collectively reeling from the Tree of Life Synagogue attacks in Pittsburgh. In addition Christians, Sikh's, Mayor of Los Angeles Eric Garcetti, other civic leaders, and local and federal law enforcement leaders showed up to a press conference we conducted on Friday to show solidarity in the face of evil.

The Tree of Life Synagogue and the Christchurch, New Zealand attacks has forced mosques and Islamic institutions around the nation to redirect the limited money they have and spend it on security measures. It has forced a culture of a mosque being an open space for those seeking community and spirituality, to adapt a tactical mindsight and have active shooter trainings.

IV. HATE CRIMES ON THE RISE IN THE UNITED STATES

Hate crimes have been on the rise in the United States. Between November 2016 (the day after Election Day) and February 2017, over 1,370 hate crime and bias incidents were reported, but

the Muslim community bore the brunt of the violence.⁴ While those four months generated an extraordinary number of hate crimes and bias incidents, the Muslim community in the United States suffered the highest increase in reported hate crimes. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) statistics on total hate crimes in the U.S. in 2016 show a near 200% increase in hate crime incidents toward Muslims since 2001.⁵ In fact, the number of assaults against Muslims in the United States rose significantly between 2015 and 2016, easily surpassing the modern peak reached in 2001, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of hate crimes statistics from the FBI.⁶ Further, the number of anti-Muslim hate groups nearly tripled—from 34 in 2015 to 101 in 2016—fueling a 67% increase in hate crimes since 2015 alone.⁷

According to the Anti-Defamation League, white supremacist murders more than doubled in 2017.8 That same year, our nation witnessed a white nationalist "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, VA, where white supremacists, self-avowed Nazis, gathered to spew hate and violence.9 In Portland, OR, we saw two brave men lose their lives and a third critically wounded while defending women of color—one of whom was Muslim and wore a headscarf—from a vicious attack by a white nationalist. In his court appearance, the alleged killer shouted defiantly, "you call it terrorism; I call it patriotism!" In

We must call it what it really is: white supremacy and it is a threat to our nation's security. The senior most federal law enforcement official, FBI Director Christopher Wray, concluded that the

⁴ Hatewatch Staff, *Post-Election Bias Incidents Up to 1,372; New Collaboration with ProPublica*, Southern Poverty Law Center: Hatewatch (February 10, 2017),

https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/02/10/post-election-bias-incidents-1372-new-collaborations-propublica.

⁵ Hatewatch Staff, *Anti-Muslim Hate Crimes Surged Last Year, Fueled by Hateful Campaign*, Southern Poverty Law Center: Hatewatch (November 14, 2016),

https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2016/11/14/anti-muslim-hate-crimes-surged-last-year-fueled-hateful-campaign.

⁶ Federal Bureau of Investigations, 2016 Hate Crime Statistics,

https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2016/hate-crime

⁷ Phil McCausland, *Huge Growth in Anti-Muslim Hate Groups During 2016: SPLC Report*, NBC News (February 16, 2017, 6:07 AM),

https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/huge-growth-anti-muslim-hategroups-during-2016-splc-report-n 721586.

⁸ ADL Report: White Supremacist Murders More Than Doubled in 2017,

https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-report-white-supremacist-murders-more-than-doubled-in-2017.

⁹ Joe Heim, *Recounting a day of rage, hate, violence and death,* https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/?utm_term=.eaa4ef5db931

¹⁰ Haag, Matthew, and Jacey Fortin. "Two Killed in Portland While Trying to Stop Anti-Muslim Rant, Police Say." The New York Times. The New York Times, 27 May 2017.

¹¹ Press, Associated, and Nahal Toosi. "Portland Stabbing Suspect: 'You Call It Terrorism, I Call It Patriotism!" Politico. Politico.com, 30 May 2017.

danger of white nationalist and white nationalist extremists in America is "significant," adding that they are a "persistent, pervasive threat." ¹²

In October of 2016, a terrorist group called The Crusaders planned to bomb an apartment complex in Kansas—home to 120 Somali immigrants—with the rabid ideological desire to "wake people up." If their plot had not been thwarted by FBI agents who recognized and took the threat seriously, it could have resulted in one of the deadliest bombings in recent history.

Muslims are not the only target of hate by white nationalists. In 2015, our nation reeled from an attack on an African American church in Charleston, South Carolina by white supremacist Dylan Roof, who snarled at his victims that they were "taking over the country," before brutally and mercilessly shooting them.¹⁴

Houses of worship are increasingly becoming a target for violence and hate crimes. In 2019 alone, in the cases of the two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, the Chabad of Poway Synagogue in Poway, CA, and the Islamic Center of Escondido, the assailants all identified their ideological driver: white supremacy. In fact, the shooter that targeted the Poway Synagogue and the arsonist that targeted the Escondido mosque, was the same hateful white supremacist who listed in his manifesto his inspiration: the Christchurch, New Zealand mass shooter, Brenton Tarrant

A recent Pew survey of 15 Western European countries found that "attitudes toward Jews and Muslims are highly correlated with each other.¹⁵ People who express negative opinions about Muslims are more likely than others to also express negative views of Jews." In the U.S., a Gallup study in 2010 found that people "who say they feel 'a great deal' of prejudice … toward Jews are about 32 times as likely to report feeling 'a great deal' of prejudice toward Muslims." Put simply, the kind of people who hate one group is more likely to hate the other too.

V. The Trump Effect

As members of a minority faith community, we should not be tasked with the responsibility of repeating the warnings from intelligence and law enforcement agencies about the rising threat of

¹² Coaston, Jane, *FBI Director: White Nationalist Violence is a "Persistent, Pervasive Threat,"* https://www.vox.com/2019/4/4/18295358/fbi-white-nationalism-christchurch-usa-violence

¹³ Potter, Tim, and Amy Renee Leiker. "Three Charged in Kansas Plot to Bomb Homes, Worship Center for Somalis." Kansas City Star. Kansascity.com, 14 Oct. 2016.

¹⁴ "Charleston Shooting." NPR. NPR.org

¹⁵ Diamant, Jeff, Q & A: Measuring Attitudes Towards Muslims and Jews in Western Europe, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/06/01/qa-measuring-attitudes-toward-muslims-and-jews-in-western-europe/

¹⁶ Carroll, James, *How to Spot an Islamophobe*, https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-to-spot-an-islamophobe?ref=scroll

white supremacy. We have been raising the red flag for years; in fact, shortly after the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Trump's Muslim ban, a mosque was burned in Victoria, TX.¹⁷ The correlation between rhetoric and policies and the real-world impact on minority communities is very real. The responsibility for taking this issue seriously should come from the President and sadly, his silence on this matter is deafening. He has abdicated this very critical responsibility.

Negative rhetoric from politicians and other public figures further drive hate and bias-related attacks on Muslim communities. ¹⁸ In fact, a recent study conducted by the University of North Texas professors Regina Branton and Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and PhD candidate Ayal Feinberg, found that hate crimes increased by 226% in places candidate-Donald Trump held campaign rallies in 2016. ¹⁹ Even more disturbing is the insistence by President Trump that the rise of white supremacy, and subsequently white nationalist violence, does not exist despite evidence proving the contrary.

After the massacre in New Zealand, President Trump still made it a point to announce that he did not believe white nationalism was a rising threat. In fact, his administration has a history of cavorting with white nationalists, and working against the movement trying to combat white nationalism.²⁰ For example, White House Senior Advisor Stephen Miller²¹ is linked to notorious white supremacist Richard Spencer, who sees Miller as an ally of the movement. Former White House Chief Strategist Stephen Bannon,²² who came from the white nationalist Breitbart News. Both of these individuals are the architects of the Muslim travel ban. And then there's former

¹⁷ Park, Madison, *Man Found Guilty of Hate Crime in Burning of Texas Mosque*, https://www.cnn.com/2018/07/17/us/texas-mosque-fire-hate-crime/index.html

¹⁸ Brian Levin, *Special Status Report: Hate Crime in The United States, 20 State Compilation of Official Data*, Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism, California State University, San Bernardino (2016), https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3110202-SPECIAL-STATUS-REPORT-v5-9-16-16.html. ¹⁹ David Choi, *Hate crimes increased 226% in places Trump held a campaign rally in 2016, study claims*, https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-campaign-rally-hate-crimes-study-maga-2019-3.

²⁰ Jessica Schulberg, *Trump Homeland Security Official Suggested Antifascists Were 'The Actual Threats'*

 $https://www.huffpost.com/entry/dhs-violent-extremism-katie-gorka-life-after-hate-mpac-antifa_n_5ca787d\\7e4b0a00f6d3f2e73$

²¹ Josh Harkinson, *Trump's Newest Senior Adviser Seen as a White Nationalist Ally,* https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/12/trumps-newest-senior-adviser-seen-ally-white-nationalists/

²² Reilly, Steve and Brad Heath, *Steve Bannon's own words show sharp break on security issues*, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/01/31/bannon-odds-islam-china-decades-us-foreign-policy-doctrine/97292068/

Deputy Assistant to the President Sebastian Gorka²³, who is associated with the Hungarian Nazi-tied group Vitézi Rend.²⁴

When it came time for Trump to disperse a grant through the Department of Homeland Security that focused on combating various types of violent extremism, Katie Gorka, a Trump administration political appointee in DHS and wife to Sebastian Gorka, made it a point to rescind the grant from a group called Life After Hate. Life After Hate is an organization that works to de-radicalize neo-Nazis and white supremacists. Their grant was revoked weeks before the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, VA.

The consequences of ignoring a "Trump effect" is detrimental to our nation's security, and in some cases, deadly for communities. According to ADL's 2016 data, a number of reported hate crimes reference Trump, and research conducted by Tufts University also found that reading or hearing Trump's statements of bias targeting particular communities, increases the likelihood that people will write offensive things about those targeted groups.²⁵ Effectively, Trump's rhetoric is radicalizing and fomenting hate and violence among some of his supporters. Elected officials must continue to push back against divisive and marginalizing rhetoric.

For American Muslims living in a climate of increasing anti-Muslim rhetoric, the perceived and real threats of hate-motivated violence are an everyday reality. When a hate crime occurs, there is a significant impact on not just the victim, but the entire community, engendering feelings of vulnerability and isolation. Effective enforcement of hate crimes laws can serve as a deterrent to future offenders. The bleak reality remains true, however; we may have the most effective strategies in place to combat this violent threat, but as we've seen since the candidacy of Donald Trump, one tweet or comment can undo any safeguards.

VI. Recommendations

In light of the testimony above, I offer the following recommendations:

- 1. Under the authority of the Oversight Committee, investigate the federal strategy to combat white supremacy and consider white supremacy as a terrorist threat;
- 2. Mandate hate crime reporting from federal law enforcement agencies;

²³ Allegra Kirkland, *How Did Sebastian Gorka Go From The Anti-Muslim Fringe To White House Aide?*, https://talkingpointsmemo.com/dc/sebastian-gorka-washington-experts-dc-anti-islam-ties

²⁴ Larry Cohler-Esses, *Sebastian Gorka's Ties to Nazi-Allied Group Stretch Back Decades*, https://forward.com/news/369683/exclusive-sebastian-gorkas-ties-to-nazi-allied-group-stretch-back-decades/

²⁵ Schaffner, Brian, *Follow the Racist? The Consequences of Trump's of Prejudice for Mass Rhetoric*, http://www.ashford.zone/images/2018/09/followtheracist_v2.pdf

- 3. Conduct a comprehensive study on gaps in federal and state hate crime reporting tools;
- 4. Comprehensive training of law enforcement agencies on investigating and reporting of hate crimes;
- 5. Build trust between law enforcement and impacted communities by using best practices among agencies that have developed a good model of community oriented policing
- 6. Recognize the invaluable services of American Muslims in our government, law enforcement, military, and civil society

Mr. Chairman, I thank you once again for giving me the opportunity to shed light on the horrific impact of white supremacy on American Muslim communities. Our nation has been built by people of diverse backgrounds who work for something larger than themselves, and in the process make our society stronger, our nation greater, and our world freer. Along with fellow Americans in other fields of public service, we walk the sometimes arduous path of civic duty, a patriotic endeavor to be sure, all in pursuit of building a more perfect union for future generations. Everyone in society has a role to play in countering white supremacy and the dangers it poses to our security.