June 9, 2015

The Honorable Michael McCaul
Chairman
Committee on Homeland Security
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Bennie G. Thompson
Ranking Member
Committee on Homeland Security
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman McCaul and Ranking Member Thompson,

We write to provide the views of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) for the Committee on Homeland Security’s June 3 hearings entitled, “Terrorism Gone Viral: The Attack in Garland, Texas and Beyond” and ask that this statement be included as part of the official hearings record.

The Anti-Defamation League

The Anti-Defamation League is the foremost non-governmental authority on domestic terrorism, extremism, organized hate groups, and hate crimes. In the United States, adherents of a variety of extremist movements – from white supremacists to Islamic extremists – perceive Jews as their enemy and target the Jewish community with both propaganda and violence. Extremists also target other communities or minorities, as well as the democratic foundations of government that protect everybody’s rights.

Through its Center on Extremism, whose experts monitor a variety of extremist and terrorist movements, ADL plays a leading role in exposing extremist movements and activities, while helping communities and government agencies alike in combatting them. The League also provides the public with extensive resources, such as its analytic reports on extremist trends and its Hate Symbols and Terror Symbols databases, which have generated more than 10.5 million views.

Assisting Law Enforcement: ADL is the largest non-governmental provider in the United States for law enforcement training on hate crimes, extremism, and terrorism. Each year, ADL experts deliver customized, in-depth training on these subjects to over 10,000 federal, state, and local law enforcement officers. ADL arms law enforcement with the information it needs to respond to those extremists who cross the line from

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1 http://www.adl.org/combating-hate/hate-on-display/#.VVtmlvlVhHw
espousing hateful ideologies to committing violent or criminal acts, thus protecting the Jewish community and all Americans.

Involvement in Countering Violent Extremism: ADL professionals were directly involved in the February, 2015 White House Summit on Countering Violent Extremism. Convened by President Obama, the three-day program involved experts from around the world working to develop an action plan to address violent domestic and international extremism. Oren Segal, Director of ADL’s Center on Extremism, provided insight into the nature of violent extremist movements in the U.S., as well as how Americans of all religions, races, and backgrounds are being recruited by international terrorist organizations online.

The Summit also provided a showcase for pilot programs in three cities, which have developed collaborative networks of government and non-governmental stakeholders. ADL is a partner in the Boston area pilot program, which developed a framework for prevention and intervention strategies in the wake of the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing. Under the leadership of Carmen Ortiz, United States Attorney for Massachusetts, the collaborative has been meeting since the fall of 2014. The Framework developed by the Boston collaborative, including the League’s New England Regional Director, Robert Trestan, takes a multi-disciplinary and community-wide approach to addressing the threat posed by violent extremists.

In advance of the White House Summit, ADL issued an online report titled “Homegrown Islamic Extremism in 2014: The Rise of ISIS & Sustained Online Recruitment,”2 which includes the League’s research and detailed analysis on homegrown violent extremism motivated by radical interpretations of Islam in 2014 and the influence of ISIS and its use of social media for recruitment purposes.

Relationship with Tech Industry: Over the past decade, the League has worked closely with the Internet industry and they have been very responsive to information regarding terrorist and extremist exploitation of their platforms. Our relationship has led to increased successes in mitigating the exploitation of platforms by groups such as ISIS. In addition, working with industry officials, the League developed the ADL Cyber-Safety Action Guide,3 a user-friendly online platform where consumers can learn how and where to report bigoted, bullying, or hateful speech to the major Internet providers and social media platforms.

The League has also convened a Working Group on Cyberhate to develop recommendations for the most effective responses to manifestations of hate and bigotry online. The Working Group includes representatives of the Internet industry, civil society, the legal community, and academia. The Working Group has met four times, and its members have shared their experiences and perspectives, bringing many new insights and ideas to the table. Their input and guidance have been invaluable, and are reflected in a set of Best Practices,4 which provide useful and important guideposts for all those willing to join in the effort to address the challenge of cyberhate.

4 http://www.adl.org/combating-hate/cyber-safety/best-practices/#.VXXCzc9VhHw
**Terrorist Exploitation of Social Media**

As Internet proficiency and the use of social media grow ever-more universal, so too do the efforts of terrorist groups to exploit new technology in order to make materials that justify and sanction violence more accessible and practical.

Terrorist groups are not only using Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and various other platforms to spread their messages, but also to actively recruit adherents who live in the communities they seek to target.

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

In the past, plots were directed by foreign terrorist organizations or their affiliates and recruitment and planning generally required some direct, face-to-face interaction with terrorist operatives. Indoctrination came directly from extremist peers, teachers or clerics. Individuals would then advance through the radicalization process through constant interaction with likeminded sympathizers or, as the 2007 New York Police Department (NYPD) report on radicalization described, with a “spiritual sanctioner” who gave credence to those beliefs.

Today, individuals can find analogous social networks, inspiration, and encouragement online, packaged neatly together with bomb-making instructions. This enables adherents to self-radicalize without face-to-face contact with an established terrorist group or cell.

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

The overwhelming majority of American citizens and residents linked to terrorist activity motivated by Islamic extremism in the past several years actively used the Internet to access propaganda or otherwise facilitate their extremist activity. One hundred percent of the U.S. residents linked to Islamic extremist activity in 2015 have used the Internet for those purposes.

The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is particularly aggressive in pursuing multiple sophisticated online recruiting and propaganda efforts. ISIS’s far-reaching propaganda machine has not only attracted thousands of recruits, but has also helped Syria and Iraq emerge as the destinations of choice for this generation of extremists.

Twitter is ISIS’ platform of choice, in part because it is able to conceal the identities of its users more effectively than on forums and other social networking sites. And while accounts are regularly shut down by Twitter, new ones can almost always be immediately established.

ISIS’ Twitter presence is worldwide, and presented in multiple languages, as is the propaganda it distributes via Twitter. The terror group regularly releases magazines in Arabic, English, and
French, and it has also released propaganda statements and videos in other languages, including Hebrew, Spanish, Turkish, Russian, Kurdish, and German.

Official ISIS accounts are augmented by supporters, some of whom seem to have quasi-official status. These supporters both share official propaganda and contribute to the barrage of online voices supporting terrorist ideology. Some supporters add personal details about their experiences in the group – information that adds to the authenticity of their narratives by providing concrete experiences.

ISIS supporters are also active on a variety of platforms beyond Twitter, including the social networking site Facebook, the picture-sharing site Instagram, the chat services Kik and WhatsApp, the video sharing site YouTube, and the question and answer service Ask.FM. These individuals also encourage direct contact with potential recruits via encrypted messaging services such as SureSpot.

Many ISIS supporters also take advantage of websites Justpaste.it and its Arabic-language counterpart Manbar.me, which enable them to quickly publish content to unique URLs online, which can then be shared on social media.

ISIS supporters have used these sites to publish links to downloadable propaganda materials, instructions for traveling to Syria and Iraq, manifestos encouraging lone wolf attacks, and more. Because terrorist accounts are regularly removed from Twitter and Facebook, terrorist groups and supporters have occasionally attempted to move to other platforms or create new ones, albeit with limited success.

In July of 2014, for example, ISIS announced that its official Internet presence was moving from Twitter to alternate social media sites Friendica and Quitter. Following exposure by the ADL, however, all ISIS presence was quickly deleted from Friendica and Quitter, and the group returned to Twitter.

Since at least November 2014, ISIS supporters have successfully broadcast terrorist propaganda on the website Mixlr, a platform that enables users to broadcast live audio “to the world” and to “chat, engage and interact with your listeners in real time.” A number of ISIS supporters maintain blogs on which they detail their extremist ideology and narratives of an idealized day-to-day life, which they hope will appeal to potential recruits. There have also been instances of ISIS supporters creating new websites to make ISIS propaganda even more accessible.

In February 2015, an ISIS supporter created a website called IS-Tube that featured a searchable archive of ISIS propaganda videos, including videos depicting 14 beheadings. The site was hosted on a Google-owned IP-bloc, and was removed after ADL alerted Google to its presence.

**Shooting in Garland**
Prior to the shooting in Garland, Texas, terror supporters on Twitter had been calling for violence against the event in Texas, which featured anti-Muslim activists Pamela Geller\(^5\) and Geert

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The Garland shooters, Elton Simpson and Nadir Soofi, are part of the unprecedented number of individuals living in the United States linked to plots, conspiracies, and other activity on

Wilders, as well as a contest in which participants were asked to draw cartoons of the Muslim prophet Muhammad.

One ISIS supporter, for example, tweeted, “Brothers in Garland Texas Please go to there with your weapons, bombs or with your knives. Threaten your enemies & the enemies of Allaah,” and, “I think thy forgotted the previous attack [against the Charlie Hebdo magazine, which printed cartoons about Mohamed] done by our french bros, walahi [indeed] we wil kill u if u dare to insult our Prophet.” Following the attack, that same individual tweeted that Simpson “was favouriting my stuff about the Texas event.”

One of the alleged shooters, Elton Simpson, maintained an active presence on Twitter, with at least 8 accounts that he used to network with ISIS supporters and share extremist ideas. Prior to the attack, ADL had been monitoring at least one account believed to be his, under the name “Sharia [Islamic jurisprudence] is Light.” His profile picture was that of Anwar al-Awlaki, an American propagandist for Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, killed in 2011, who has been cited as an inspiration by many American Islamic extremists. Simpson used the profile to tweet propaganda favoring the ISIS as well as to share the names of new ISIS supporter accounts that replaced accounts previously suspended for promoting terrorism.

Simpson is believed to have interacted with Mohamed Abdullahi Hassan, a permanent U.S. resident who was indicted in 2009 for travelling to Somalia to join Al Shabaab. Through his extensive social media networks, Hassan (also known as Mujahid Miski or Muhammad Miski) actively supported and promoted terrorist propaganda.

In April, Simpson asked Hassan to follow his Twitter account so the two could privately exchange messages. Then, on April 23, Hassan wrote a tweet urging attacks against the event at the community center that stated, “The brothers from the Charlie Hebdo attack did their part. It’s time for brothers in the #US to do their part.” Later that day, Simpson tweeted at Hassan, “When will they ever learn. They are planning on selecting the best picture drawn of Rasulullah (Muhammad)… in Texas.” Hassan retweeted the tweet.

Hassan’s online activity serves as proof of the recruiting power that just one online English speaker can have. In fact, he may have inspired as many as 11 people living in the U.S. to take action in the last two years. Douglas McAuthur McCain, an American who died fighting with ISIS in August 2014, is alleged to have had contact with Hassan as well. Following McCain’s death, Hassan retweeted multiple statements from McCain’s Twitter profile, @iamthetooth, and wrote, “‘The Hardest thing in Jihad is when a brother u’ love is granted Shahadah [martyrdom]. Today im experiencing those feelings. May Allah accept @iamthetooth.”

**Homegrown Islamic Extremism in 2015**

The Garland shooters, Elton Simpson and Nadir Soofi, are part of the unprecedented number of individuals living in the United States linked to plots, conspiracies, and other activity on
behalf of foreign terrorist groups motivated by Islamic extremist ideologies in the several months of 2015.

Forty-two Americans have been linked to terrorism\(^\text{10}\) motivated by Islamic extremism in 2015, including two men, David Wright and Usaama Rahim, who allegedly plotted to behead a police officer in Boston last week. The overwhelming majority of the cases involved individuals who accessed English-language terrorist propaganda online – particularly propaganda distributed by ISIS.

The forty-two thus far in 2015 surpasses the total of each of the past two years: 26 individuals\(^\text{11}\) living in the U.S. were linked to such terrorism in all of 2014 and 22 in 2013.\(^\text{12}\)

These numbers include individuals arrested and charged as well as individuals who died abroad allegedly fighting with terrorist organizations and individuals who have traveled or attempted to travel to join terrorist organizations abroad but who have not been arrested or charged at this time.

They do not, however, include the many individuals believed to have traveled abroad to join terrorist groups who have not yet been identified by name. In March 2015, FBI Director James Comey stated that approximately 180 Americans have traveled to join the conflict in Syria and Iraq, an unknown number of whom may have joined terrorist organizations.

This year’s increase is related to a particular foreign terrorist organization. All but two of the Americans linked to terrorism in 2015 acted in support of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria\(^\text{13}\) (ISIS) – and one of the other two apparently supported ISIS even though he is accused of having fought with Jabhat al Nusra,\(^\text{14}\) Al Qaeda in Syria.

Indeed, 55 of the 66 U.S. residents linked to terrorism motivated by Islamic extremist ideologies since 2014 have supported ISIS – representing about 83% of the total number. This support is related at least in part to the group’s sophisticated use of social media communication and recruitment,\(^\text{15}\) as well as the high volume of coverage surrounding its activity and the ongoing presence of conflict in Syria and Iraq.

An analysis of those individuals who have been arrested in 2015 may yield greater understanding of the demographics and risk factors of Americans who seek to propagate extremism at home and abroad.

- The individuals linked to terrorism in 2015 range in age from 16 to 47. The average age is approximately 27. These numbers partially validate the understanding that individuals are most likely to engage in terrorist activity in their twenties, but also demonstrate that there is no one age demographic that can be associated with violent extremism.


\(^{13}\) [http://blog.adl.org/tags/isis](http://blog.adl.org/tags/isis)


Two of the individuals linked to terrorism in 2015 are minors, aged 16 and 17. Five minors were detained while allegedly attempting to travel to join ISIS in 2014 but charges have not been issued in those cases.

Five of the individuals linked to terrorism motivated by Islamic extremism in 2015 were women,\(^ {16}\) resulting in a total of 14 women linked to Islamic extremism since the start of 2014. Women engaging with terrorist groups is not a new phenomenon,\(^ {17}\) but these numbers represent a significant increase, which may result in part from direct recruitment of women\(^ {18}\) by ISIS. ADL documented a total of 12 U.S. women charged with terror offenses motivated by Islamic extremist ideology in the 11 years between 2002 and 2013.

At least nine of the individuals arrested in 2015, or about one-fifth, were converts to Islam. That percentage is comparable to the percentage in 2014.\(^ {19}\)

At least six of the individuals linked to terrorism in 2015 had a prior criminal record: Jonas Edmonds\(^ {20}\) had been convicted of a felony for robbing a McDonald’s restaurant, Joshua Ray Van Haftan was a convicted sex offender, Miguel Moran Diaz had been convicted of cocaine trafficking, Elton Simpson had been convicted of lying to federal agents about his plans to join Al Shabaab, Nadir Soofi had been convicted of minor offenses including unlawful possession of drugs, and Leon Nathan Davis III had been convicted of drug trafficking.

The arrests in 2015 have taken place in 12 states, including seven individuals arrested in California (two of whom were Minnesota residents), six individuals arrested in New York, five in Minnesota, four in Illinois, three in Missouri, and two each in Ohio, Kansas and Florida. Other states represented are Wisconsin, Florida, Virginia, New Jersey, South Carolina, Texas, Georgia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania.

Sixteen of the individuals linked to terrorism in 2015 also planned or discussed the possibility of a domestic plot. Five of those 11 also planned to travel to join ISIS. (Four of those five were also charged with material support; one was not charged with terror charges.) Eight of the plots in 2015 were intended to support ISIS and one was intended to support either ISIS or Jabhat al Nusra,\(^ {21}\) Al Qaeda in Syria. They include:

- **Christopher Lee Cornell**\(^ {22}\) of Ohio was arrested in January for his alleged plot to attack the U.S. Capitol after failing to connect with ISIS members abroad.

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\(^ {17}\) [http://archive.adl.org/nr/exeres/ae217e06-4e37-4f14-806c-0f3bc470b461.8c8c250f-da79-405f-b716-d4409cab5396.frameless.html](http://archive.adl.org/nr/exeres/ae217e06-4e37-4f14-806c-0f3bc470b461.8c8c250f-da79-405f-b716-d4409cab5396.frameless.html)

\(^ {18}\) [http://blog.adl.org/extremism/isis-recruitment-women-terrorism-syria-iraq](http://blog.adl.org/extremism/isis-recruitment-women-terrorism-syria-iraq)


- **Abdirahman Sheikh Mohamud** of Ohio was arrested in February and charged in April with joining Jabhat al Nusra. He allegedly returned to the U.S. with the intention of perpetrating an attack against a military base in Texas. Court documents indicate that Mohamud supported both ISIS and Jabhat al Nusra, although he had fought with Jabhat al Nusra.

- **Abdurasul Juraboev** and **Akhror Saidakhmetov** of New York were arrested in February and charged with material support for terror. Court documents state they were attempting to join ISIS and discussing the possibility of a domestic attack.

- An **unnamed** minor from South Carolina was arrested in February, accused of formulating a plot to attack a North Carolina military base, and then travel abroad to join ISIS.

- **Hasan** and **Jonas Edmonds** of Illinois were arrested in March, charged with attempting to join ISIS, and plotting an attack against a military base.

- **Noelle Velentzas** and **Asia Siddiqui** of New York were arrested in April for allegedly purchasing bomb-making equipment with plans for an attack.

- **John T. Booker** and **Alexander Blair** of Kansas were arrested in April for allegedly attempting to undertake a suicide attack at the Ft. Riley military base.

- **Miguel Moran Diaz** of Florida was arrested in April on charges that he was a felon in possession of a firearm. Reports indicated that he planned to target Miami residents.

- **Elton Simpson and Nadir Soofi** of Arizona were shot and killed when they attempted to undertake a shooting at Garland, Texas community center.

- **David Wright and Usaama Rahim** of Massachusetts allegedly plotted to behead a police officer.

**Encouraging Attacks**

The following is a small sampling of calls for homegrown attacks in the U.S by foreign terrorist organizations since 2014:

- **May 2015:** ISIS supporters called for attacks against the Draw Mohamed contest set to take place in Garland, Texas. These calls were acted upon by Elton Simpson and Nadir Soofi.

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*April 2015:* A video released by ISIS\(^30\) in German with English subtitles encouraged lone-wolf attacks against Western countries, including the U.S. The video showed individuals preparing for different types of attacks, including a stabbing, a car bomb, and a suicide bombing in Times Square, as well as learning about gun use and bomb-making online. Videos showing how individuals could learn about perpetrating attacks online provided an apparent example for would-be domestic attackers and acknowledged the importance of online terrorist propaganda.\(^31\)

*April 2015:* A video released by ISIS titled “We Will Burn America”\(^32\) featured footage and praise of the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center along with narration in Arabic with English subtitles stating, “September 11 will be repeated.” It also featured images from the attack on the Paris kosher supermarket\(^33\) and shootings in Canada, both of which were undertaken by individuals acting in ISIS’s name, as well as images of beheadings by ISIS.

*February 2015:* Al Shabaab released a video\(^34\) documenting its 2013 attack against the Westgate Mall in Kenya and calling on its supporters to undertake similar attacks against “American and Jewish-owned shopping centers around the world.”

*December 2014:* The sixth issue of ISIS’s English-language magazine *Dabiq* praised individual attacks on various Western countries including the U.S., Canada, Australia and France, stating, “There will be others who follow the examples set by Man Haron Monis and Numan Haider in Australia, Martin Couture-Rouleau and Michael Zehaf-Bibeau in Canada, Zale Thompson in America, and Bertrand Nzohabonayo in France, and all that the West will be able to do is to anxiously await the next round of slaughter.”

*December 2014:* The thirteenth issue of AQAP’s *Inspire*\(^35\) magazine called for attacks on American, French and British airlines and assassinations of prominent Western financial leaders. Quotes included, “The Lions of Allah who are all over the globe – some call them lone wolves – should know that they are the West’s worst nightmare,” and, “It’s not necessary to do what Mohammed Atta (of the 9/11 attack) did, it’s enough to do what Nidal Hasan\(^36\) (the Ft. Hood shooter) did.”

*October 2014:* The fourth issue of ISIS’s *Dabiq* magazine included the text of a speech released in September (see below) that called for attacks on the West. It also included an image of individuals in business suits walking on a sidewalk with the caption “Cruiser ‘Civilians.’”

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\(^36\) [http://archive.adl.org/main_terrorism/fort_hood_shooting.html#VJsBfV4CA](http://archive.adl.org/main_terrorism/fort_hood_shooting.html#VJsBfV4CA)
➤ **September 2014:** ISIS released a text version of a speech by Abu Mohammed al-Adnani, the group’s primary spokesman calling for attacks in the West. Initially released in English, French, and Hebrew, this was the first significant instance where ISIS incited home-grown attacks rather than encouraging travel to Iraq and Syria. Excerpts from the speech include: “If you can kill a disbelieving American or European – especially the…French – or an Australian, or a Canadian…kill him in any manner or way however it may be. Do not ask for anyone’s advice and do not seek anyone’s verdict. Kill the disbeliever whether he is civilian or military.…”

➤ **August 2014:** A special edition AQAP English-language magazine titled “Palestine: Betrayal of the Guilty Conscience” attempted to harness anti-Israel sentiment to call for attacks against the U.S. and the U.K. The magazine reprinted instructions for building pressure-cooker bombs and car bombs from previous issues of *Inspire*. Quotes included, “We tell the Muslims in America and Europe: There is a better choice and easier one to give support to your ummah (the Muslim community). That is individual work inside the West such as the operations of Nidal Hasan (the Ft. Hood shooter) and Faisal Shazad (attempted Times Square bomber).”

➤ **May 2014:** Al Shabaab released a video that called on Muslims living abroad to either join the group in Somalia or undertake “a lone wolf mission” in their home country.

➤ **March 2014:** The twelfth issue of AQAP’s *Inspire* magazine provided instructions for making car bombs along with a list of potential targets in the U.S., U.K., and France. Statements encouraging attacks on the West include, “Whether the brother has a channel to join the brothers [abroad] or not it is better for him to perform his duty of Jihad in the West. On the battlefield, you are just another soldier, but in the West you are an army on your own.”

We appreciate the opportunity to provide our views on this issue of high priority to our organization. Please do not hesitate to contact us if we can provide additional information or if we can be of assistance to you in any way.

Sincerely,

Barry Curtiss-Lusher
National Chair

Abraham H. Foxman
National Director

Deborah M. Lauter
Director, Civil Rights

37 http://blog.adl.org/international/isis-spokesman-blames-jews-for-conflict-calls-for-lone-wolf-attacks
40 http://archive.adl.org/main_terrorism/times_square_car_bomb.html?Multi_page_sections=sHeading_1
41 http://blog.adl.org/extremism/al-shabaab-english-video-includes-calls-for-lone-wolf-attacks