

ACTION CALENDAR January 29, 2019

To: Honorable Mayor and Members of the City Council

From: Councilmembers Cheryl Davila and Ben Bartlett

Subject: Adopt a resolution to denounce and oppose white nationalist and neo-Nazi

groups including their actions.

RECOMMENDATION

Adopt a resolution denouncing and opposing, in words and actions, white nationalist and neo-Nazi groups including their actions in the City of Berkeley.

FISCAL IMPACTS OF RECOMMENDATION

No general fund impact.

ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

No ecological impact. Supports an environment in which all people's dignity, rights and civil liberties are protected and defended regardless of race, ethnicity, national origin, religious affiliation, kinship, belief, or practice, gender, sexuality or ability and where people most targeted by prejudice can be free from hate speech that questions their humanity and status as equal human beings.

BACKGROUND

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, "white nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of nonwhites. Groups listed in a variety of other categories - Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederate, neo-Nazi, racist skinhead, and Christian Identity - could also be fairly described as white nationalist."

As documented in the November 3, 2018 cover article of the New York Times Magazine, since 9/11, U.S. counter-terrorism policy has focused almost entirely on

¹ Southern Poverty Law Center: https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/white-nationalist.

combating American and foreign-born "jihadists," failing to recognize the growing threat of far-right extremism. This has contributed to widespread vigilante attacks on, government surveillance and repression of, and sweeping policies that discriminate against Muslim, Arab and South Asian communities. Meanwhile, it has failed to address the growing threat and presence of white nationalists and neo-Nazis across the U.S.²

As Janet Reitman's article documents, according to the data, far-right extremists have killed more people since 9/11 than any other category of domestic terrorism. According to the Anti-Defamation League, "71% of extremist-related deaths between 2008 and 2017 were committed by members of a far-right movement, while Islamic extremists were responsible for 26%." Meanwhile, "between 2002 and 2017, the U.S. spent \$2.8 trillion on counterterrorism. In that time frame, terrorist attacks by Muslim extremists killed 100 people in the U.S. Between 2008 and 2017, meanwhile, domestic extremists killed 387 people."

Researchers at the University of Maryland published a report in 2017 showing an increase in attacks by right-wing extremists, from 6% in the 2000s to 35% in the 2010s. Quartz further confirmed that the trend persisted in 2017, when most attacks in the U.S. were committed by right-wing extremists. Out of 65 incidents last year, 37 were explicitly motivated by racist, anti-Muslim, homo/transphobic, anti-Semitic, fascist, anti-government, or xenophobic ideology.⁴

Reitman concludes, "These statistics belie the strident rhetoric around 'foreign-born' terrorists that the Trump administration has used to drive its anti-immigration agenda." Similar conclusions were reached by The Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law. Their report, *Wrong Priorities on Fighting Terrorism*, warns, "Some in the Justice Department are calling for new laws to fight domestic terrorism. But existing laws provide plenty of authority to prevent, investigate, and prosecute attacks. And passing new ones could worsen existing racial and religious disparities in who the government targets. Instead, we need a smarter approach that ensures resources are directed toward the deadliest terrorist threats. And we need to evaluate those threats based on objective evaluations of potential harm, not political considerations that prioritize some communities over others."⁵

² Reitman, Janet. U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It. *New York Times Magazine*. November 3, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/magazine/FBI-charlottesville-white-nationalism-far-right.html.

³ Ibid

⁴ Romero, Luiz. US terror attacks are increasingly motivated by right-wing views. *Quartz*. October 24, 2018. https://qz.com/1435885/data-shows-more-us-terror-attacks-by-right-wing-and-religious-extremists/.

⁵ German, Michael and Sara Robinson. Wrong Priorities on Fighting Terrorism. *The Brennan Center for Justice*. October 31, 2018. https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/wrong-priorities-fighting-terrorism.

The report documents the ways in which while right-wing acts of mass violence are on the rise, the government is focused on an ideological war against Muslims and failing to address the rise of white nationalism and neo-Nazi threats despite the documented acts of violence they inspire and hateful goals of their activities. In addition, the report documents the decision of the Trump administration to not add white nationalist and neo-Nazi groups, both domestic and international, to the list of foreign or domestic terrorist organizations.⁶ Furthermore, it demonstrates that instead the federal government has consistently targeted social and environmental justice organizations over right-wing groups threatening and enacting mass violence.

As their report shows, in 2010, even the Justice Department criticized the FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force for a number of investigations of animal rights, peace, and social justice advocates for treating trespassing, nonviolent civil disobedience, and vandalism as "acts of terrorism." Similarly, the report goes on to say, "in the weeks before the deadly Charlottesville, Virginia, "Unite the Right" rally, the FBI's Domestic Terrorism Analysis Unit warned law enforcement that "Black Identity Extremists" posed a deadly threat, despite the fact that no such movement exists."

Meanwhile, the Justice Department failed to bring federal charges after a series of violent far right riots around the country, in Sacramento, Anaheim, and Seattle – all before Charlottesville, left anti-racist counter-protesters stabbed, beaten, and shot.⁷ In contrast, under Trump, "federal prosecutors aggressively pursued more than 200 felony conspiracy cases against activists and journalists who attended a January 20, 2017, anti-Trump protest, where some in the crowd broke store windows and set a limousine on fire. After two trials of the first dozen activists ended with acquittals and the judge ruled prosecutors illegally withheld evidence from defense attorneys, the Justice Department dropped the remaining cases."

The report concludes that "there is reason to fear that new laws expanding the Justice Department's counter-terrorism powers will not make Americans safer from terrorist violence. Instead, they may further entrench existing disparities in communities the government targets with its most aggressive tactics, with serious implications for Americans' free speech, association, and equal protection rights. Treating civil disobedience and property crimes as "terrorism" diverts resources from more serious and deadly crimes and chills political activism."

⁶ Ibid, page 4.

⁷ Ibid, page 2.

⁸ Ibid, page 3.

⁹ Ibid, page 3.

We have seen this very dynamic play out in Berkeley. White nationalists and neo-Nazis in collaboration with a broader spectrum of extreme right-wing groups and individuals have been allowed to use public university spaces and gather with police protection while anti-racist activists faced arrests and public exposure. In keeping with our resolution of non-participation with the so-called "Muslim-ban" and threatened registry and support for Berkeley communities, residents, families, students and workers being targeted by both, as well as our commitment to ending the use of exposing those arrested at protests on social media and thereby exposing them to targeting by white nationalists, we need to denounce white nationalist and neo-Nazi groups and actions.

Increasingly, civil liberty organizations, law schools and anti-hate groups are recognizing that while free speech protects the rights of white nationalists and neo-Nazis to say some things, it does not protect their right to say anything nor to gather with the intent of inciting violence or hurling hate speech at individuals. Furthermore, organizations from the ACLU to the Center for Constitutional Rights to the National Lawyers Guild are engaging in questions about the valuing of "free speech" at the expense of other basic constitutional rights, particularly those most targeted by racist, xenophobic, sexist, homo/transphobic violence. 11

CONTACT PERSON

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ATTACHMENTS:

- 1: <u>U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It.</u> New York Times Magazine, November 3, 2018.
- 2: <u>US terror attacks are increasingly motivated by right-wing views.</u> Quartz, October 24, 2018.
- 3: <u>Wrong Priorities on Fighting Terrorism.</u> The Brennan Center for Justice. October 31, 2018.
- 4: <u>The White Nationalists Are Winning: Fox News anchors and high-profile politicians are now openly pushing the racism of the alt-right. The fringe movement's messages have permeated the mainstream Republican Party.</u> The Atlantic. August 10, 2018.
- 5: <u>Democrats ask Trump administration for answers on rise of white nationalism in US.</u> CNN Politics. November 27, 2018.
- 6: Southern Poverty Law Center page on white nationalist hate groups: https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/white-nationalist

Campbell, Alexia Fernandex. The limits of free speech for white supremacists marching at Unite the Right 2, explained: The First Amendment doesn't protect targeted racial slurs that could spark violence. Vox. Aug 12, 2018.
Blasdel, Alex. How the resurgence of white supremacy in the US sparked a war over free speech. The Guardian. May 31, 2018.

- 7: The limits of free speech for white supremacists marching at Unite the Right 2, explained: The First Amendment doesn't protect targeted racial slurs that could spark violence. Vox. Aug 12, 2018.
- 8: <u>How the resurgence of white supremacy in the US sparked a war over free speech.</u> The Guardian. May 31, 2018.
- 9: <u>Powerful photo essay on the rise of white nationalism Documenting the Rise of White Nationalism</u>. The New York Times. October 17, 2018.
- 10: Georgetown Institute for Constitutional Advocacy & Protection: Prohibiting Private Armies at Public Rallies: https://www.law.georgetown.edu/icap/wp-content/uploads/sites/32/2018/04/Prohibiting-Private-Armies-at-Public-Rallies.pdf.

RESOLUTION

CITY OF BERKELEY DENOUNCES AND OPPOSES WHITE NATIONALIST AND NEO-NAZI GROUPS AND ACTIONS.

WHEREAS, throughout the course of U.S. history, white nationalism has promoted intimidation and violent repression of individuals solely on the basis of their race, ethnicity, religion and immigration status; and

WHEREAS, today, white nationalism has attempted to reinvent itself, self-identifying as the "Alt-Right," yet their present day rhetoric and terrorism conjure painful memories of our nation's past; and

WHEREAS, white nationalism and neo-Nazism seek to intensify racial animosities and inequities, further divide people in their shared interests in freedom, justice and humanity and foment hatred, classism, racism, xenophobia, anti-Muslim prejudice, antisemitism and ethnic eradication; and

WHEREAS, across the country there has been a rise in public expressions and violence by self-proclaimed white nationalists and neo-Nazis;¹² and

WHEREAS, 71% of extremist-related deaths between 2008 and 2017 were committed by members of a far-right movement and there has been an increase in attacks by right-wing extremists, from 6% in the 2000s to 35% in the 2010s;¹³ and

WHEREAS, out of 65 incidents in 2017, 37 were explicitly motivated by racist, anti-Muslim, homo/transphobic, anti-Semitic, fascist, or xenophobic ideology; ¹⁴ and

WHEREAS, while free speech and assembly are bedrock civil liberties, while nationalists and neo-Nazi groups promote agendas that are in irreconcilable conflict with other fundamental rights including liberty and justice for all; and

WHEREAS, the white nationalist and neo-Nazi messages of racial and social intolerance have led to senseless acts of violence that continue to terrorize members of ethnic, racial and religious communities; and

¹² Southern Poverty Law Center: https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/white-nationalist.

¹³ Reitman, Janet. U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It. *New York Times Magazine*. November 3, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/magazine/FBI-charlottesville-white-nationalism-far-right.html.

¹⁴ Romero, Luiz. US terror attacks are increasingly motivated by right-wing views. *Quartz*. October 24, 2018. https://gz.com/1435885/data-shows-more-us-terror-attacks-by-right-wing-and-religious-extremists/.

WHEREAS, the federal government has failed to address the rising violence of white nationalists and instead focused its effort on a broad, sweeping attack against what is perceives as a foreign terrorist threat abroad and at home, despite the numbers showing double the attacks by the former over attacks by the later;^{15,16, 17} and

WHEREAS, recent tragic and terrorizing events in Berkeley, Charlottesville, Sacramento, Anaheim, Portland and Seattle have proven that white nationalists and neo-Nazis remain a very real threat to safety, humanity and racial justice.

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the City of Berkeley strongly denounces and opposes the fascistⁱ impulses, violent actions, xenophobic biases, and bigoted ideologies that are promoted by white nationalists and neo-Nazis; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the City of Berkeley will not tolerate discrimination or hate in any form or manifestation and that we stand united with resolve to promote and continue to secure equality for all people.

ⁱ "The common elements of fascism — extreme nationalism, social Darwinism, the leadership principle, elitism, anti-liberalism, anti-egalitarianism, anti-democracy, intolerance, glorification of <u>war</u>, the supremacy of the state and anti-intellectualism — together form a rather loose doctrine." Ian Adams, <u>Political Ideology Today</u>.

¹⁵ Reitman, Janet. U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It. *New York Times Magazine*. November 3, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/magazine/FBI-charlottesville-white-nationalism-far-right.html.

¹⁶ German, Michael and Sara Robinson. Wrong Priorities on Fighting Terrorism. *The Brennan Center for Justice*. October 31, 2018. https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/wrong-priorities-fighting-terrorism.

¹⁷ Democrats ask Trump administration for answers on rise of white nationalism in US. CNN Politics. November 27, 2018.