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**AMERICA'S THREE DOMESTIC THREATS AND THE NEED FOR A REFORM OF DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE**

by

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The United States today faces three big threats domestically: Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power competition (GPC), which can be characterized from a homeland security perspective as "great power incursion." Instead of focusing their efforts on a single threat, such as the Soviet Union during the Cold War, or Al-Qaeda right after 9/11, the current homeland intelligence structure consisting of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and state, local, tribal, and territorial (SLTT) law enforcement agencies now must focus attention on multiple threats simultaneously. Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, or great power incursion could target the American homeland at any one time, and present DHS, FBI, and SLTT resources may not be enough to effectively combat them all. Under these circumstances, this thesis examines the following research question: In light of these dynamic homeland security threats, is there a need for a new, purely domestic intelligence service in the United States? This thesis discusses these threats and analyzes the current DHS, FBI, and SLTT law enforcement postures toward them. The research conducted for this thesis suggests that the current domestic intelligence agencies are not able to address this new confluence of threats sufficiently. Although no single, new domestic intelligence agency is needed, significant reform is necessary.

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# AMERICA'S THREE DOMESTIC THREATS AND THE NEED FOR A REFORM OF DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

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# ABSTRACT

The United States today faces three big threats domestically: Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power competition (GPC), which can be characterized from a homeland security perspective as “great power incursion.” Instead of focusing their efforts on a single threat, such as the Soviet Union during the Cold War, or Al-Qaeda right after 9/11, the current homeland intelligence structure consisting of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and state, local, tribal, and territorial (SLTT) law enforcement agencies now must focus attention on multiple threats simultaneously. Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, or great power incursion could target the American homeland at any one time, and present DHS, FBI, and SLTT resources may not be enough to effectively combat them all. Under these circumstances, this thesis examines the following research question: In light of these dynamic homeland security threats, is there a need for a new, purely domestic intelligence service in the United States? This thesis discusses these threats and analyzes the current DHS, FBI, and SLTT law enforcement postures toward them. The research conducted for this thesis suggests that the current domestic intelligence agencies are not able to address this new confluence of threats sufficiently. Although no single, new domestic intelligence agency is needed, significant reform is necessary.

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# LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| CISA | Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency |
| DHS | Department of Homeland Security |
| DOJ | Department of Justice |
| DSAC | Domestic Security Alliance Council |
| FBI | Federal Bureau of Investigation |
| FTO | foreign terrorist organization |
| GPC | great power competition |
| HSI | Homeland Security Investigations |
| I&A | Office of Intelligence and Analysis |
| ICE | Immigration and Customs Enforcement |
| IP | intellectual property |
| IRTPA | Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act |
| ISIS | Islamic State of Iraq and Syria |
| JTTF | Joint Terrorism Task Force |
| NCTC | National Counterterrorism Center |
| NTAS | National Terrorism Advisory System |
| NYPD | New York City Police Department |
| OPS | Office of the Private Sector |
| SPLC | Southern Poverty Law Center |
| SLTT | state, local, tribal, and territorial |

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# I. INTRODUCTION

As the United States adjusts to the changing international security environment, the threats to its security at home and abroad will continue to build. Since 9/11, Jihadist terrorism has been the focal point of defensive effort within the American homeland. These dangers stemmed initially from Al-Qaeda due to their involvement in the 9/11 attacks. However, the Jihadist threat now includes both the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), and lone-wolf actors who have undertaken recent acts of terrorism such as the San Bernardino and Pulse Nightclub massacres.[1] Even as Jihadist terrorism remains a formidable threat to the American homeland, Alt-Right terrorism has recently become the more deadly threat.[2] Alt- Right-motivated attacks such as the 2018 Tree of Life Synagogue and 2015 Charleston church shootings have added another domestic threat that the United States must face.[3] In addition to Jihadist and Alt-Right terrorism, the resurgence of great power competition (GPC) has unfortunately led to increased activity by both Russia and China within the American homeland. This activity can be characterized as "great power incursion." While Russia meddled in the 2016 election cycle,[4] it has also proven its ability to target critical infrastructure systems through offensive cyber-attacks.[5] Similarly, China continues to be involved in multiple instances

[1] John Haltiwanger, "ISIS in America: How Many Times has the Islamic State Attacked the U.S.," *Newsweek*, December 11, 2017, https://www.newsweek.com/islamic-state-america-attacks-744497.

[2] Vera Bergengruen and W. J. Hennigan, "We are Being Eaten from Within. Why America Is Losing the Battle against White Nationalist Terrorism," *Time*, August 8, 2019, https://time.com/5647304/white-nationalist-terrorism-united-states/.

[3] Campbell Robertson, Christopher Mele, and Sabrina Tavensise, "11 Killed in Synagogue Massacre; Suspect Charged with 29 Counts" *New York Times*, October 27, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/27/us/active-shooter-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting.html.; Jason Horowitz, Nick Corasaniti, and Ashley Southall, "Nine Killed in Shooting at Black Church in Charleston," *New York Times*, June 17, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/18/us/church-attacked-in-charleston-south-carolina.html.

[4] United States Senate, *Report of the Select Committee On Intelligence United States Senate on Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election, Volume 2: Russia's Use Of Social Media With Additional Views* (Washington, DC: Senate, 116th Cong.1, 2018), 4, https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume2.pdf.

[5] Dustin Volz and Timothy Gardner, "In a First, U.S. Blames Russia for Cyber Attacks On Energy Grid," Reuters, March 15, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-russia-sanctions-energygrid/in-a-first-u-s-blames-russia-for-cyber-attacks-on-energy-grid-idUSKCN1GR2G3.

of intellectual property (IP) theft against American companies,[6] and has openly targeted American academia in order to gain the upper hand in GPC.[7]

Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion are the three biggest threats to the American homeland today. Arguably, the combination of these threats is one of the hardest challenges the domestic intelligence structure of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and state, local, tribal, and territorial (SLTT) law enforcement agencies have ever faced. While foreign terrorist organizations (FTO) like Al-Qaeda and ISIS could still attack the homeland, American lone-wolf Jihadist and Alt-Right terrorist attacks have been extremely successful in recent years. Furthermore, great power incursion is a reality that could hurt America's standing in the overall fight of GPC if it is not dealt with effectively. Essentially, these three threats could simultaneously target the American homeland at any one time, and DHS, FBI, and SLTT resources may not be enough to effectively combat them. Under these circumstances, this thesis answers the following research question: In light of these dynamic homeland security threats, is there a need for a new, purely domestic intelligence service in the United States?

## A. PROBLEM STATEMENT

As the United States maintains its position as a world leader, the threats against it will continue to mount. Currently, Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion present the DHS, FBI, and SLTT agencies with formidable challenges. As DHS focuses a lot of effort on border security and infrastructure defense.[8] The FBI is a case-centric organization that investigates areas such as terrorism, counterintelligence,

[6] Kimberly Underwood, "Troubling Intellectual Property Theft and Cyber Threats Persist," *AFCEA*, October 7, 2019, https://www.afcea.org/content/troubling-intellectual-property-theft-and-cyber-threats-persist.

[7] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "China's Threat to Academia," July 2019, https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/china-risk-to-academia-2019.pdf/view.

[8] Federal Emergency Management Agency, *Strategic Foresight Initiative* (Washington, DC: FEMA, June 2011), 2, https://www.fema.gov/pdf/about/programs/oppa/critical_infrastructure_paper.pdf.

IP theft, and hate crimes.[9] SLTT agencies are also vital because they are often the first responders to a terrorist or infrastructure attack. Essentially, the American homeland's current domestic intelligence system revolves around these three entities. While no single agency is in charge overall, they all contribute. However, can these three entities respond sufficiently to address today's threats to the homeland?

Additionally, the question of a purely domestic intelligence agency for the United States is notable because America is one of only a few major countries not to have such an agency. The United Kingdom's Security Service or MI5[10] and Canada's Security Intelligence Service or CSIS[11] show how a domestic intelligence agency can be successful within a country's national framework. Many scholars and organizations such as Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs have studied the pros and cons of a domestic intelligence service.[12] The arguments and lessons provided from this research will be examined in the literature review below.

Even though the current American political climate does not support an agency dedicated to domestic intelligence, the new and emerging threats within the past five years call for the reexamination of the current domestic intelligence posture, and this thesis provides that examination. This research contributes to the discussion of examining American domestic intelligence, and provides evidence to support certain reforms such as a congressional and bipartisan commission to review the American homeland's current intelligence strengths and weaknesses toward countering the threats of Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion.

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[9] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Cyber Crime," accessed June 14 2020, https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/cyber.

[10] The Security Service, "What We Do," accessed November 4, 2019, https://www.mi5.gov.uk/what-we-do.

[11] Canadian Security Intelligence Service, "Home," accessed November 4, 2019, https://www.canada.ca/en/security-intelligence-service.html.

[12] Erik Rosenbach and Aki J. Peritz, *Domestic Intelligence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Kennedy School of Government, 2009), https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/files/publication/domestic-intelligence.pdf.

## B. LITERATURE REVIEW

While this thesis provides three chapters dedicated to the threats of Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism and great power incursion, this literature review examines previous scholarly works about domestic intelligence that are relevant to policymakers who could be in charge of creating reforms based off the research provided in chapters II, III, IV, and V. It will first look at works focusing on the debates about civil liberties; then it will shift toward discussions about the United Kingdom's domestic intelligence agency, MI5, which is often described as effective. Finally, it will conclude with literature concerning the current United States domestic intelligence structure and recommendations to change it.

### 1. Civil Liberty Debates and Issues

Although the United States appears to currently be in uncharted territory based on these three challenging threats, the debate on domestic intelligence is not new. The initial debate over national security vs. civil liberties was sparked by the Church Committee findings of 1976, in which Congress noted that both the FBI and CIA violated the constitutional rights of Americans through the surveillance of their activities.[13] As this committee questioned both agencies on Capitol Hill, it became clear that the FBI and CIA thought their actions were warranted in terms of national security.[14] As a result of this, there is often a bureaucratic battle of national security vs its citizens' civil liberties.

This dynamic that pits national security against its citizens' civil liberties is an essential debate for American democracy. Genevieve Lester argues that if a new domestic counterterrorism agency is to be formed, it must be transparent, and must conform to the current system of checks and balances that other government agencies

[13] Kate Martin, "Domestic Intelligence and Civil Liberties," *The SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 24, no.1 (Winter 2004): 8, https://search.proquest.com/docview/231327340/fulltextPDF/1441B87820314B1DPQ/1?accountid=12702.

[14] Martin, "Domestic Intelligence and Civil Liberties," 8–9.

abide.[15] She compares Americans' view of their civil liberty rights as a pendulum.[16] In time of war such as World War II or Post 9/11, the American people tend to focus on national security. They are concerned more about the collective security of the nation instead of their individual freedoms. However, Lester claims that after the perceived threat is neutralized, the pendulum swings back fairly quickly from a sense of collective security, to the want of protecting civil liberties.[17] Similarly to Lester, Nancy Baker claims that Americans often give the government a sort of "special salience" in wartime when it comes to certain civil liberty impingement.[18]

Kate Martin also provides perspectives concerning the domestic intelligence versus civil liberty debate. Martin discusses how domestic intelligence just by its very nature is a constant threat to civil liberties.[19] She argues that due to intelligence being secret, it is often hard for proper oversight by the legislative body to be conducted.[20] Furthermore, she conveys that domestic intelligence not only leads to inherent civil liberty infringement, but also can lead to inadvertent social profiling.[21] This is an important point of discussion because if intelligence wanted to be gained on Jihadist or Alt-Right terrorists within the homeland, a certain level of profiling could easily occur, as most Alt-Right and Jihadist terrorists such as Patrick Crusius or Omar Mateen are either young white or Arab men. However, it is certainly unfair to label all young white or Arab men as potential terrorists.

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[15] Genevieve Lester, "Societal Acceptability of Domestic Intelligence," in The Challenge of Domestic Intelligence in a Free Society: A Multidisciplinary Look at the Creation of a U.S. Domestic Counterterrorism Intelligence Agency ed. Brian A. Jackson (Santa Monica: RAND, 2009), 80, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg804dhs.11?refreqid=excelsior%3A8ecf3404f012beacbdf06811b41d22d3&seq=12#metadata_info_tab_contents.

[16] Lester, "Societal Acceptability of Domestic Intelligence," 90.

[17] Lester, "Societal Acceptability of Domestic Intelligence," 90.

[18] Nancy Baker, "National Security vs Civil Liberties," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (September 2003): 547, http://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2013.787753.

[19] Martin, "Domestic Intelligence and Civil Liberties," 7.

[20] Martin, "Domestic Intelligence and Civil Liberties," 8.

[21] Martin, "Domestic Intelligence and Civil Liberties," 9.

As Lester, Martin, and Baker have argued these important points about civil liberties, their ideas have also been countered. Erik Dahl counters Lester's claim of the "pendulum" by reasoning that balance between current security and civil liberty is actually not balanced, but rather heavily favors security.[22] In essence, he argues the pendulum has been tilted toward security ever since 9/11 and has not reset.[23] This leaning toward security can be seen in current domestic transportation security measures and the FBI's robust usage of national security letters that are used to monitor Americans without the need of a formal court order.[24]

### 2. MI5: The United Kingdom's Effective Domestic Intelligence Agency

One of the most successful domestic intelligence agencies is the United Kingdom's (UK) MI5. Presently, the UK states the mission of MI5 is to "Keep the Country Safe, Now and In the Future."[25] By design, MI5 is supposed to be the vital link of intelligence gathering for UK's law enforcement. James Burch argues that one of the main reasons MI5 is effective is simply due to the UK's geography.[26] As a small island nation, the UK has both fewer people and less area for MI5 to monitor.[27] Furthermore, Burch argues that MI5 is very good at embedding itself, and the information it provides, into the overall security process. It is quickly and effectively able to share information with the UK's 56 different police authorities.[28] Similarly, Todd Masse argues that MI5 is successful due to its unique domestic experience with IRA terrorism.[29] Essentially, the

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[22] Erik J. Dahl, "Domestic Intelligence Today: More Security but Less Liberty?" *Homeland Security Affairs* 7, The 9/11 Essays (September 2011): 4–5, https://www.hsaj.org/articles/67

[23] Dahl, "Domestic Intelligence Today," 4–5.

[24] James Burch, "A Domestic Intelligence Agency for the United States? A Comparative Analysis of Domestic Intelligence Agencies and Their Implications for Homeland Security," *Homeland Security Affairs* 3, no. 2 (June 2007), 3, https://www.hsaj.org/articles/147

[25] The Security Service, "What We Do."

[26] Burch, "A Domestic Intelligence Agency," 5.

[27] Burch, "A Domestic Intelligence Agency," 5.

[28] Burch, "A Domestic Intelligence Agency," 6.

[29] Todd Masse, *Domestic Intelligence in the United Kingdom: Applicability of the MI-5 Model in the United States*, CRS report No. RL31920 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2003), 7, https://fas.org/irp/crs/RL31920.pdf

United Kingdom had to establish an effective domestic intelligence apparatus due to its internal threats, it had no other option. The experiences of IRA terrorism have made domestic intelligence a well-established norm in the UK.[30]

In contrast to Burch and Masse, Larry Irons argues that MI5 is actually not effective and has certain organizational bias that could affect overall security. If MI5 does not believe something is a threat, then it will not alert local police forces, and action will not be taken. This lack of action due to MI5's internal feelings about a threat could be deadly.[31] Jim Edwards also disagrees with Burch and Masse's arguments. He asserts that MI5 deals with many of the same issues that grip American intelligence.[32] Often MI5 resources are spread thin, and coordination between other government agencies and police forces is not always foolproof.[33]

### 3. U.S. Domestic Intelligence Structure

Domestic intelligence within the United States is usually the responsibility of the FBI. However, the creation of DHS has blurred some of the jurisdiction lines. Richard Posner argues that domestic intelligence needs to be given its own agency within the American government.[34] He asserts that there are many options to create the agency, but the most attractive is one within DHS.[35] This would be a structure similar to that in the UK, as MI5 reports to its Home Secretary.[36]

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[30] Masse, *Domestic Intelligence*, 7.

[31] Larry Irons, "Recent Patterns of Terrorism Prevention in the United Kingdom," *Homeland Security Affairs* 4, No.1 (January 2008), 1, https://www.hsaj.org/articles/127.

[32] James Edwards, "A Former MI5 Agent Told Us Why It's So Easy For Islamic States Terrorists To Move Around Without Being Noticed," Business Insider, January 16, 2016, https://www.businessinsider.com/mi5-agent-how-surveillance-of-islamic-state-terrorists-works-2016-1.

[33] Edwards, "A Former MI5 Agent Told Us."

[34] Richard A. Posner, *Remaking Domestic Intelligence* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2010), 41–42.

[35] Posner, *Domestic Intelligence*, 42.

[36] Posner, *Domestic Intelligence*, 42.

James A. Lewis, in contrast, does not support an MI5-type agency because of the inherent differences between our societies in terms of government and civil liberties.[37] While the UK's geography and parliamentary system make it easier to centralize intelligence, our dispersed federal system and larger country do not.[38] However, Lewis does indicate that the UK's practices of quality information sharing and "seamless" integration of intelligence certainly need to be adopted in the United States.[39] Similarly to Lewis, and in juxtaposition to Posner, Matthew Waxman argues that a new federal agency could undermine domestic intelligence efforts at the state, local, and tribal levels.[40] He asserts that the new federal agency would not only get most of the funding, but it also could cause more confusion in the decision making process.[41] Lastly, James Burch in his report argues that the key to success is not large-scale domestic intelligence change, but rather smaller scale changes that would improve the effectiveness of the intelligence system.[42] He also argues, similar to Waxman, that a move toward full- scale national intelligence centralization may actually reduce overall effectiveness.[43]

## C. RESEARCH DESIGN

This research centered on the three current threat areas in the order of Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion. Although Jihadist terrorism and GPC also occur against U.S. interests abroad, this research focuses on these three as domestic threats to the homeland. A chapter is devoted to the examination of each of these threats. First, the nature of the threats is examined, then the current DHS, FBI, and

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[37] James A. Lewis, "Why Can't the U.S. Have Its Own MI5?" *CSIS,* August 2006, 4. https://www.csis.org/analysis/why-cant-us-have-its-own-mi5.

[38] Lewis, "Why Can't the U.S.," 4.

[39] Lewis, "Why Can't the U.S.," 4.

[40] Matthew Waxman, "American Policing and The Interior Dimension Of Counterterrorism Strategy," in *Domestic Intelligence: Our Rights And Safety, ed. Faiza Patel* (New York: New York University School of Law), 42–43, https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2019-08/Report_Domestic-Intelligence-%20Our-Rights-Our-Safety_0.pdf

[41] Waxman, "American Policing," 45.

[42] Burch, "A Domestic Intelligence Agency," 19.

[43] Burch, "A Domestic Intelligence Agency," 19.

SLTT entities' postures toward these threats are discussed. Each chapter then concludes with analysis into how these postures can be improved.

## D. ARGUMENT

Although many scholars have written about the need for improved domestic intelligence, most of these works were written soon after 9/11 and focus on how to defend American soil against Jihadist FTO operatives. While this threat is still important today, it has been joined by Alt-Right terrorism and great power incursion. Instead of only having to focus on a single threat such as the Soviet Union during the Cold War, or Al-Qaeda right after 9/11, DHS, FBI, and SLTT agencies now must focus attention on multiple threats simultaneously.

## E. THESIS OVERVIEW

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter II addresses Jihadist terrorism. The third chapter discusses Alt-Right terrorism. The fourth chapter describes great power incursion. Chapter V reviews the findings of the previous chapters and provides recommendations for reforming for the current American intelligence system.

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# II. THE JIHADIST THREAT

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, elevated awareness of the threat of Jihadist terrorism to the forefront of American consciousness. Today, Americans still fear this threat in their everyday lives. In a recent poll, voters from both the Democratic and Republican parties still place heavy emphasis on their prospective candidates' policies toward combating Jihadist terrorism.[44] Nineteen years after 9/11, Jihadist terrorism remains an ever-present danger that will continue to target America and its allies. Even though a peace agreement in Afghanistan has been signed with the Taliban, and the United States begins to draw down its troop levels in Iraq and Syria, militant groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Al-Qaeda are still in operation.[45]

This chapter will first discuss the nature of the current Jihadist threat to the United States in regard to ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and lone-wolf attacks. It will then examine the current domestic intelligence structure designated to defend the homeland against it. Lastly, it will provide analysis of this structure and its effectiveness against the current Jihadist threat.

## A. NATURE OF THE CURRENT JIHADIST THREAT

The current Jihadist threat against the American homeland does not consist of one sole enemy, it is rather a blend of both foreign terrorist organizations (FTO) such Al-Qaeda or ISIS, and homegrown Jihadists. As Al-Qaeda and ISIS can target the American homeland, many of the recent attacks have actually come from American citizens who act as lone-wolf actors. This reality not only stresses the current intelligence structure, but also blurs the once conventional expectation of a Jihadist being an operative who enters the United States from overseas, like those on 9/11. Today, the American homeland must be ready for both of these Jihadist threats.

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[44] John Mueller and Mark G. Stewart, *Public Opinion and Counterterrorist Policy* (Washington, DC: CATO, 2018), https://www.cato.org/publications/white-paper/public-opinion-counterterrorism-policy.

[45] Mike Giglio and Kathy Gilsinan, "The Inconvenient Truth about ISIS," *The Atlantic*, February 14, 2020, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/02/kurdish-leader-isis-conflict-iraq-iran/606502/.

### 1. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

In 2014, ISIS conquered large territories throughout Iraq and Syria. As the world looked on, massive cities and cultural centers such as Raqqa, Syria, and Mosul, Iraq, fell victim to its onslaught.[46] In seeking to establish a so called "caliphate," ISIS militants began to terrorize the local populations. Videos of public beheadings, and reports of genocide began to circulate.[47] In Eastern Syria, a small tribe called the Shaytat was completely massacred for refusing to follow the full teachings of Sharia Law as defined by ISIS.[48] After the somewhat materialization of its caliphate, ISIS began to orchestrate bombings and mass shootings across the world.[49] The ISIS "directed" attacks on Paris and Brussels in 2015 and 2016 show how ISIS operatives can come directly from its territories and infiltrate Western societies to carry out atrocities.[50]

In recent years, the constant pressure of coalition airstrikes and ground campaigns have caused ISIS to lose large amounts of previously conquered territories. But today, even though almost all of their territory has been lost, ISIS still poses a grave threat to the American homeland. In a recent U.N. report, ISIS has "begun to reassert itself" into both the Syria and Iraq.[51] The recent reduction of coalition ground troops in the region has also led to the uncertain fate of over 100,000 former ISIS fighters who are currently held in detention centers.[52] If released, these fighters could recapture old territory and launch more attacks around the world. According to the *New York Times*, ISIS attacks are

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[46] David Remnick, "Telling the Truth About ISIS and Raqqa," *The New Yorker*, November 22, 2015, https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/telling-the-truth-about-isis-and-raqqa

[47] Remnick, "Telling the Truth."

[48] Seth Frantzman, "ISIS Massacred the Shaytat Tribe, Now They Helped Play A Role in Its Defeat." *After ISIS*, February 1, 2019, https://afterisis.com/2019/02/01/isis-massacred-the-shaytat-tribe-now-they-helped-play-a-role-in-its-defeat/.

[49] Tim Lister et al., "ISIS Goes Global: 143 Attacks in 29 Countries Have Killed 2,043," CNN, February 12, 2018, https://www.cnn.com/2015/12/17/world/mapping-isis-attacks-around-the-world/index.html.

[50] Lister et al., "ISIS Goes Global."

[51] Burke, "ISIS Starting To Reassert Itself in Middle East Heartlands, UN says," *The Guardian*, January 30, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/30/isis-islamic-state-starting-reassert-itself-middle-east-heartlands-un-warns.

[52] Burke, "ISIS Starting to Reassert Itself."

currently surging across Iraq in rural areas. While the report claims ISIS is currently choosing not to conduct mass casualty attacks against western cities, ISIS could shift back to those operations in the future.[53] If ISIS regains its legitimacy in Iraq and Syria, a directed attack against the American homeland like those carried out in Paris and Brussels could be inevitable.

### 2. Al-Qaeda and Its Network

Directly after the 9/11 attacks, the destruction of Al-Qaeda became the United States' top priority. After a decade of war against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Iraq, American special operations forces in 2011 killed its leader, Osama Bin Laden. Since then, Al-Qaeda has fallen lower on Washington's list of priorities due to the resurgence of GPC and the arrival of ISIS.[54]

However, Al-Qaeda still poses a very credible threat to the American homeland. In 2018, the current leader of Al-Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri, proclaimed that the United States remains the "First Enemy of Muslims."[55] Unlike ISIS which operates as one main political organization with only a few associated groups, Al-Qaeda maintains its legitimacy through a vast network of affiliates.[56] According to a report, Al-Qaeda currently has over twenty known affiliations around the world. These groups are not only in the Middle East, but are also active in the Caucasus', Southeast Asia, and Africa.[57] While these groups maintain local goals within their respective regions, they are beginning to branch out into transnational operations.[58] For example, the Al-Qaeda

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[53] Alissa J. Rubin, Lara Jakes, and Eric Schmitt, "ISIS attacks surge in Iraq Amid Debate on U.S. Troop Levels," *New York Times*, June 10, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/10/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-strategic-dialogue-troops.html

[54] Asfandyar Mir, "Al-Qaeda's Continuing Challenge to the United States," *Lawfare,* September 8, 2019, https://www.lawfareblog.com/al-qaedas-continuing-challenge-united-states.

[55] Mir, "Al-Qaeda's Continuing Challenge."

[56] Stanford Center for International Security and Cooperation "Al-Qaeda Current Network," accessed March 5, 2020, http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/maps/view/alqaeda.

[57] Stanford Center for International Security and Cooperation, "Maps," accessed March 5, 2020, https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/al-qaeda#highlight_text_13302.

[58] Mir, "Al-Qaeda's Continuing Challenge."

affiliates of Hurras and Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) have both been developing their own cells dedicated to launching attacks abroad.[59] Even though American priorities have shifted toward GPC and ISIS, Al-Qaeda and its affiliates such as AQAP could also potentially target the American homeland based on their newly developed transnational attack cells.

### 3. Lone-Wolf Actor

Although ISIS and Al-Qaeda can target the American homeland, the most recent and biggest threat of Jihadist terrorism has actually been from lone-wolf terrorists already residing in the United States. In a lone-wolf Jihadist attack, the terrorist often works alone, and has been inspired by the Jihadist ideologies taught by groups like ISIS and Al-Qaeda. This type of attack is thus classified as an "inspired" attack, in which the terrorist often pledges allegiance to the terrorist group before committing the atrocity.[60]According to a Department of Justice report, recently introduced social media platforms have helped ISIS and Al-Qaeda to "broadcast their views, provoke negative sentiment, and incite people to violence."[61] Social media has essentially become the catalyst for driving Jihadist "inspired" attacks.[62]

Most acts of Jihadist terrorism since 9/11 against the homeland have been undertaken by an American citizen or permanent resident.[63] Some tragic examples of these attacks have been the Pulse Nightclub shooting in Orlando, Florida, and the San Bernardino massacre. In both events, the attackers were found to have gone through online Jihadist radicalization.[64] This internet-fueled radicalization process then pushed these terrorists such as Omar Mateen to undertake violence against his fellow Americans.

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[59] Mir, "Al-Qaeda's Continuing Challenge."

[60] Haltiwanger, "ISIS in America."

[61] Department of Justice, "Awareness Brief: Online Radicalization to Violent Extremism," 2014, https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/2018-07/RadicalizationtoViolentExtremismAwarenessBrief.pdf.

[62] Department of Justice, "Awareness Brief."

[63] Peter Bergen, David Sterman, and Melissa Salyk-Virk, "Terrorism in America 18 Years After 9/11," *New America*, September 2019, 29, https:// www.newamerica.org/in-depth/terrorism-in-america.

[64] Bergen, Sterman, and Salyk-Virk, "Terrorism in America."

While the Jihadist ideology is still a very credible danger, its threat nature has changed significantly since 9/11. While Jihadism first appeared to be a threat posed only by FTOs, it is now one dominated by lone-wolf actors.

## B. CURRENT INTELLIGENCE POSTURE TO ADDRESS JIHADISM

As the threat of Jihadist-terrorism continues, the domestic intelligence structure is vital to defend the American homeland against it. The four main entities critical in the collection and analysis of intelligence against Jihadism are the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), and the respective State, Local, Territorial, and Tribal (SLTT) law enforcement organizations.

### 1. Department of Homeland Security (DHS)

As the scope of DHS's mission has increased over the years, the bulk of its intelligence and information gathering remains postured to combat the threat of FTOs such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda from carrying out directed attacks on the homeland. A key function described in DHS' current counterterrorism strategy is their ability to detect and stop terrorists before they are able to enter the American homeland.[65] In support of this strategy, DHS personnel work daily to enforce national borders and vet individuals entering the homeland.[66] DHS also deploys personnel abroad to work with foreign intelligence officials, in order to share information about possible FTO Jihadists seeking to gain entry to the American homeland.[67] Inside our borders, DHS's collection infrastructure consists of the state-run fusion center network, its investigation element called Homeland Security Investigations (HSI), and its National Terrorism Advisory

[65] Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Targeted Violence* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2019), 17, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/19_0920_plcy_strategic-framework-countering-terrorism-targeted-violence.pdf.

[66] Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 18.

[67] Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 18.

System (NTAS) which couples with its public "If you see something, say something" campaign.[68]

Some scholars, such as Amy Zegart, say that the lack of intelligence sharing and communication between different federal departments prior to 9/11 contributed to the attacks being ultimately successful.[69] Although not officially a part of DHS, the current network of fusion centers aims to help with better information cohesion between the federal government and SLTT entities to prevent another attack like 9/11. A fusion center is a state-owned and operated threat evaluation facility that has support from both the Department of Justice (DOJ) and DHS in its operations.[70] Its main objective is to help "detect, prevent, protect against, and mitigate threats."[71] President Obama's 2010 *National Security Strategy* specifically identifies the importance of fusion centers.[72] In the fight against Jihadist terrorism, they are designed to give intelligence that is known to the federal government to SLTT entities and vice versa. Even though the individual centers report to their respective state governors instead of the DHS Secretary, their network is heavily discussed as an integral part for the DHS' intelligence mission.[73]

In addition to fusion centers and international outreach conducted by DHS, its investigation element of HSI also plays a role against Jihadist terrorism. While HSI covers a wide variety of mission sets as a part of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), its main contribution to intelligence against Jihadism is its Counterterrorism and Criminal Exploitation Unit.[74] This unit's mission is designed to "prevent terrorists and

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68 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 13.

69 Amy Zegart, *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), chap.1.

70 Department of Homeland Security, "Fusion Centers," accessed April 18, 2020, https://www.dhs.gov/fusion-centers.

71 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 5.

72 White House, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: White House, 2010), 20, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf

73 Department of Homeland Security, "Fusion Centers."

74 Immigration and Customs Enforcement "Counterterrorism and Criminal Exploitation Unit," accessed March 8, 2020, https://www.ice.gov/counterterrorism-and-criminal-exploitation-unit.

other criminals from exploiting the nation's immigration system."[75] The unit's main priority is to track and scrutinize the activities of possible known Jihadist terrorists who have gained access into the American homeland legally but then seek to carry out possible attacks.[76]

DHS's NTAS and public "If you see something, say something" campaign are also two other avenues in which the department seeks to gather intelligence against Jihadist terrorism. NTAS tries to effectively communicate information about terrorist threats to the American public and encourages the general population to realize that it shares a collective responsibility for national security.[77] In a July 2019 NTAS Bulletin, DHS said that the United States, "is in a generational fight against terrorists who seek to attack the American people, our country, and our way of life."[78] Additionally, the bulletin states that an "informed, vigilant, and engaged public remains one of our greatest assets to identify potential terrorists and prevent attacks."[79] Even though this specific NTAS bulletin did not say the words "Jihadist terrorism," it is clear by the bulletin's diction that its main focus  resides on FTOs such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda. Terms such as "foreign terrorist organizations" and "terrorist groups using their battlefield experiences," show the bulletin is FTO focused.[80] At the bottom of the bulletin, it specifically asks that if an American sees something suspicious to contact a fusion center.[81] A call by an American citizen could then hopefully help DHS' gain intelligence on possible Jihadist terrorism activities.

The final element engaged in intelligence gathering against Jihadist terrorism is DHS's internal Office of Intelligence and Analysis (I&A). DHS I&A's main mission is to

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[75] Immigration and Customs Enforcement, "Counterterrorism and Criminal Exploitation Unit."

[76] Immigration and Customs Enforcement, "Counterterrorism and Criminal Exploitation Unit."

[77] Department of Homeland Security, "National Terrorism Advisory System (NTAS)," accessed 08 March 2020, https://www.dhs.gov/national-terrorism-advisory-system

[78] Department of Homeland Security, "National Terrorism Advisory Bulletin," July 18, 2019, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/ntas/alerts/19_0718_ntas-bulletin_0.pdf

[79] Department of Homeland Security, "National Terrorism Advisory Bulletin."

[80] Department of Homeland Security, "National Terrorism Advisory Bulletin."

[81] Department of Homeland Security, "National Terrorism Advisory Bulletin."

supply and disseminate all intelligence materials that the rest of the department needs to protect the homeland.[82] While fusion centers, DHS agents, and the NTAS program help procure intelligence, I&A is the main authority to have it processed and then disseminated.[83]Whereas DHS helps support a vast system of fusion centers, and has many internationally-deployed agents to fight against Jihadist terrorism, it is not the only federal agency charged with this mission set.

### 2. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

Before the founding of DHS in the months after 9/11, the FBI was the main line of effort against terrorism in the homeland. Today, that mission still continues, and has even expanded. According to a report, "the FBI's overriding priority is to protect America from terrorist attack."[84] In its execution of counterterrorism, the FBI breaks down its investigations into two areas, international terrorism and domestic terrorism.[85] The investigation program of international terrorism investigates members of "foreign terrorist organizations, state sponsors of terrorism, and homegrown violent extremists.[86] Therefore, every act of Jihadist terrorism undertaken against the homeland falls under the umbrella of international terrorism. Since 9/11, the FBI has undertaken modifications to its force structure to better posture against the Jihadist threat. It has shifted some agents to counterterrorism from criminal investigations, and has also doubled its amount of employed intelligence analysts.[87] In 2014, the FBI also elevated intelligence to be one of

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[82] Department of Homeland Security, "Office of Intelligence and Analysis," accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.dhs.gov/office-intelligence-and-analysis

[83] Department of Homeland Security, "Office of Intelligence and Analysis."

[84] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Counterterrorism" (Washington, DC: FBI Counterterrorism Report, 2011), https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/about-us/ten-years-after-the-fbi-since-9-11/just-the-facts-1/counterterrorism-1.

[85] Matthew Alcoke, *The Evolving and Persistent Terrorism Threat to the Homeland* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy Counterterrorism Lecture Series. 2019), https://www.fbi.gov/news/speeches/the-evolving-and-persistent-terrorism-threat-to-the-homeland-111919.

[86] Alcoke, *The Evolving and Persistent Terrorism Threat to the Homeland*.

[87] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Counterterrorism."

its main functional branches.[88] If the terrorist threat is deemed a priority like ISIS or Al-Qaeda, internal FBI intelligence "fusion" cells will work to collect large amounts of information against them.[89]

In addition to the FBI's internal Counterterrorism division and Intelligence branch, it is also the lead-agency for Joint-Terrorism Task Forces (JTTF).[90] A JTTF is described as the American homeland's "front line" against terrorism and consists of members from many different federal agencies.[91] Currently, there are roughly 200 JTTFs around the American homeland, and at least one task force exists in every FBI Field Office.[92]

### 3. National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC)

The most important national counterterrorism measure undertaken in response to 9/11 was the establishment of the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). The Intelligence Reform and Prevention Act (IRTPA) of 2004 established the center as a focal point in the gathering of information on possible terrorist activities.[93] Executive Order 13354 signed by then President George W. Bush established the NCTC.[94] The order states the NCTC will "serve as the primary organization in the United States Government for analyzing and integrating all intelligence possessed or acquired by the United States Government pertaining to terrorism and counterterrorism, except purely domestic counterterrorism information."[95] Essentially, the NCTC serves as is the "central

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[88] Federal Bureau of Investigation "Intelligence Branch," accessed April 20, 2020, https://www.fbi.gov/about/leadership-and-structure/intelligence-branch.

[89] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Counterterrorism."

[90] Federal Bureau of Investigation "Joint Terrorism Task Forces," accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism/joint-terrorism-task-forces

[91] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Joint Terrorism Task Forces."

[92] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Joint Terrorism Task Forces."

[93] Intelligence Reform And Terrorism Prevention Act Of 2004, Public Law 108-458, U.S. Statutes at Large 118 (2004): 3644–3684, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PLAW-108publ458/pdf/PLAW-108publ458.pdf.

[94] Exec. Order No. 13354, 3 C.F.R. 1 (2004), https://www.dni.gov/files/NCTC/documents/RelatedContent_documents/eo13354.pdf.

[95] Exec. Order No. 13354.

bank" for all information about suspected terrorists, international terrorist groups, and their ways and means of waging war against the United States.[96] Due to this mission, NCTC is expected to be the link between all the different federal agencies with regard to the intelligence for counterterrorism efforts.[97] It is also mandated to operationally plan and coordinate counter-terrorism activities across the nation and abroad.[98]

#### 4. State, Local, Tribal, Territorial (SLTT) Law Enforcement

As DHS, FBI, and NCTC hold federal responsibility for defense regarding Jihadist terrorism, the various SLTT departments and agencies are just as vital. A key difference between a federal agency like the FBI and an individual SLTT department is the standards for gaining intelligence and valuing a mission like counterterrorism. For example, the NYPD places heavy value on the mission of counterterrorism due to various events throughout its history like 9/11.[99] Internally, NYPD has both a full counterterrorism and intelligence division dedicated to this mission set.[100] But no other local law enforcement agency has the capability that the NYPD does. In juxtaposition, the Anne Arundel County Police department in Maryland which covers the area between Washington, DC, and Baltimore to include Annapolis, only has a small unit dedicated to counterterrorism.[101] Due to the wide spectrum of mission priorities and even funding between various SLTT departments, federal agencies need to drive the importance of the intelligence mission.

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96 Exec. Order No. 13354.

97 The National Counterterrorism Center "What We Do," accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.dni.gov/index.php/nctc-what-we-do.

98 The National Counterterrorism Center, "What We Do."

99 City of New York Police Department, "Counterterrorism," accessed March 11, 2020, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/bureaus/investigative/counterterrorism.page.

100 City of New York Police Department, "Counterterrorism."

101 Anne Arundel Country Police Department, "Homeland Security and Intelligence Unit," accessed March 11, 2020, https://www.aacounty.org/departments/police-department/homeland-security/.

## C. ANALYSIS OF CURRENT POSTURE

Through analysis of both the Jihadist threat and the domestic intelligence posture against it, there are two major themes that need to be addressed. First, the intelligence reforms after 9/11 focus the majority of effort on keeping FTO operatives out of the country. Second, the nature of the threat has shifted from on that is FTO-centric threat to the majority of recent attacks being undertaken by lone-wolf actors.

This mission of not letting FTO operatives into the homeland can be seen in the establishment of both the NCTC and DHS. Even today, senior level policymakers still place emphasis on keeping terrorists outside of the American homeland. Based on the current *National Strategy to Combat Terrorist Travel*, the focus appears to still be on the identification and deterrence of terrorists coming from overseas.[102] Similarly, the current *National Strategy for Counterterrorism* also places the bulk of its priorities on efforts overseas in order to target "key terrorists and key terrorist groups."[103] Furthermore, DHS states it has a footprint in over 75 countries,[104] while the FBI maintains agents in more than 180 countries worldwide.[105] Even SLTT entities like the NYPD currently maintain a contingent of officers in cities such as Jerusalem, Israel, and Amman, Jordan.[106] While these priorities and missions are certainly relevant to protect the homeland against Jihadists coming in from abroad, they badly miss the mark for those who already live among us.

While every Muslim in the United States is certainly not going to engage in Jihadist activities, the lone-wolf threat has been the most-deadly form of Jihadism since

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102 White House, *National Strategy to Combat Terrorist Travel* (Washington, DC: White House, 2018), https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/NSCTT-Signed.pdf.

103 White House, *National Strategy for Counter-Terrorism* (Washington, DC: White House, 2018), https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/NSCT.pdf.

104 Department of Homeland Security, "International Engagement Overview," accessed April 20, 2020, https://www.dhs.gov/international-engagement-overview.

105 Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Overseas Offices," accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/legal-attache-offices.

106 Johnathan Dienst et al, "I-Team: NYPD Embeds Intelligence Officers in 13 Cities Overseas since 9/11," NBC 4 New York, November 16, 2016, https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/nypd-stationed-overseas-increasing-global-terror-threat/1151214/.

9/11. Former Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano said in 2011, "one of the most striking elements of today's threat picture is that plots to attack America increasingly involve American citizens and permanent residents."[107] According to a *New York Times* report, since 2001, half of Jihadi terrorist attacks on the homeland were undertaken by men who were American citizens.[108] Another quarter were naturalized citizens, and only one attacker did not have a legitimate green card.[109] This reality illustrates a shift in the nature Jihadist terrorism that requires our domestic intelligence structure to change. According to a Risa A. Brooks, attacks undertaken by Muslim Americans are "less likely to be foiled through premature arrests."[110] A Muslim-American just like a White American who may engage in Alt-Right terrorism, is entitled to the same protections as any other citizen under the Fourth Amendment. If their activities never alert SLTT, DHS or FBI authorities, an attack could be impossible to foil.

## D. CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the current threat of Jihadist terrorism, and the current intelligence structure the American homeland utilizes in order to defend against it. It then provided analysis into how the threat spectrum has shifted from FTOs to a bigger threat of lone-wolf actors. It then discussed some shortfalls within national strategy that fails to recognize this shift toward a lone-wolf Jihadist. As countering Jihadism is still a huge part of homeland security, it is only one of the three big threats facing the American homeland. The new threats Alt-Right terrorism and great power incursion will only continue to strain the homeland defenses and will be focused on in the next chapters.

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[107] Janet A. Napolitano, "Understanding the Homeland Threat Landscape—Considerations for the 112th Congress," testimony before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, 112th Cong., 1st sess., February 9, 2011, https://www.dhs.gov/news/2011/02/09/secretary-napolitanos-testimony-understanding-homeland-threat-landscape.

[108] Sergio Pecanha and K.K. Rebecca Lai, " The Origins of Jihadist-Inspired Attackers in the U.S.," *New York Times*, December 8, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/11/25/us/us-muslim-extremists-terrorist-attacks.html.

[109] Pecanha and Lai, "The Origins."

[110] Risa Brooks. "Muslim 'Homegrown' Terrorism in the United States: How Serious Is the Threat?" *Quarterly Journal: International Security*, vol. 36. no. 2. (Fall 2011): 11, https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/Muslim%20Homegrown%20Terrorism%20in%20the%20United%20States.pdf.

# III. THE ALT-RIGHT THREAT

Another recently deadly threat is the rise of the Alt-Right within the homeland. Even though terrorism has closely been associated with Jihadism in the post 9/11 world, there has been a rise in domestic terrorism associated with the Alt-Right across the United States. In fact, since 9/11, the Alt-Right has carried out three times as many attacks as Jihadist terrorists in the United States.[111] From 2009–2018 alone, the Alt-Right was responsible for 73 percent of the extremist attacks on the homeland.[112] Its recent resurgence adds another dimension in which the domestic intelligence structure must manage to protect American lives. This chapter will first discuss the nature of the Alt-Right and its threat to the homeland. It will then illustrate how the current domestic intelligence structure is postured to defend against it. Lastly, it will discuss and analyze the structure's effectiveness against the Alt-Right threat.

## A. NATURE OF THE CURRENT ALT-RIGHT THREAT

The nature of Alt-Right terrorism, like Jihadism, is actually a very complex system that encompasses many different ideologies and organizations. As Jihadist terrorist groups like ISIS and Al-Qaeda utilize various dogmas to influence disenfranchised, or otherwise susceptible Muslims around the world, the Alt-Right movement follows a very similar tactic in the homeland.[113] This threat analysis will first provide historical origins of the extreme right and discuss the variations of contemporary right-wing ideology with recent case examples. Then, it will discuss the Alt-Right organizations in the American homeland. It will conclude with analysis into the relationship between social media radicalization and Alt-Right lone-wolf attacks.

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111 Bergengruen and Hennigan, "We are Being Eaten."

112 Bergengruen and Hennigan, "We are Being Eaten."

113 Matt Lewis, "What the Alt-Right Has Learned From Al-Qaeda," Daily Beast, August 21, 2017, https://www.thedailybeast.com/what-the-alt-right-has-learned-from-al-qaeda.

### 1. The Alt-Right Ideology

Although the recent rise of the Alt-Right has been deadly in the homeland, it is not the first far right movement in world history. Indeed, in the 20th century, Fascist Nazi Germany was built in juxtaposition to the Communist Soviet Union. The far-left Soviet Union under Vladimir Lenin and Josef Stalin focused on the disestablishment of societal inequality and sought to establish a worker's paradise within Russia. As Lenin and Stalin built the Soviet system on the premise of social equality, Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler was constructed on the belief that the German-Aryan people were the superior race within the global landscape. Hitler and his Nazi party then sought to eradicate races that they deemed to be inferior through conquest. While Lenin and Stalin certainly killed their political enemies, they did not center their cruelty on the basis of race. However, under Hitler, race cruelty was paramount. Millions among Europe's Jewish populations were murdered in the Holocaust, and Hitler also sought to enslave the supposedly "inferior" Slavic people of the Soviet Union through conquest.[114] While communist regimes still exist today in places like China, Cuba, and Vietnam, the majority of fascist regimes such as Hitler's Germany have disappeared from the global landscape. However, the disappearance of fascist governments has not stopped the proliferation of racial and cultural ideas that the Alt-Right currently exploits.

In order to fully understand the Alt-Right movement in the United States, it is important to first discuss the different types of beliefs that right-wing extremists often exhibit both in the United States and around the globe. Analysts have described far right extremism as having two different categories, the Radical and the Extreme.[115] For example, according Tore Bjorgo and Jacob Aasland Ravndal, the Radical right preaches the idea that democracy within a nation should be kept, but the elites who run government institutions should be replaced by representatives who actually represent the

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[114] Ian Carter, "Operation 'Barbarossa' and Germany's Failure in the Soviet Union," *Imperial War Museums*, June 27, 2018, https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/operation-barbarossa-and-germanys-failure-in-the-soviet-union.

[115] Tore Bjorgo and Jacob Aasland Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism: Concepts, Patterns, and Responses*, ISSN 2468–0486 (ICCT Policy Brief, September 2019), 3, https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Extreme-Right-Violence-and-Terrorism-Concepts-Patterns-and-Responses.pdf.

common man within the country.[116] In contrast, the Extreme right argues that democracy needs to be overthrown completely because it placates too much for minority groups.[117]

Most of these extremist movements also believe in some form of cultural, ethnic, or racial nationalism.[118] Cultural nationalism argues that a nation's culture needs to be protected and immigrants who cannot assimilate should return to their home countries.[119] Ethnic nationalism argues against the mixing of races and believes that diversity among races should be maintained.[120] Their rhetoric is often described by right-wing extremists as an "invasion" by another group of people within their own country.[121] Finally, racial nationalism believes that a country should be one race and if races are intermingled, it would threaten the survival of the nation state.[122]

Within this framework of the right wing definitions, scholars argue that the United States' Alt-Right is a form of ethno-nationalism in which the group's followers gravitate mostly toward the idea of race and "white nationalism," and "white supremacy."[123] This concept of "white nationalism" that appears to be the majority position within the American Alt-Right is different from some European right-wing movements, which focus more on the supremacy of European culture, rather than race.[124]

The current Alt-Right threat first began to truly emerge in Norway. On July 22, 2011, Anders Behring Breivik launched an attack on both a major government building,

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116 Bjorgo and Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism*, 3.

117 Bjorgo and Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism*, 3.

118 Bjorgo and Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism*, 3.

119 Bjorgo and Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism*, 3.

120 Bjorgo and Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism*, 3.

121 José Pedro Zúquete, *The Identitarians: The Movement against Globalism and Islam in Europe* (Notre Dame, IN.: The University of Notre Dame Press, 2018), 2.

122 Bjorgo and Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism*, 3.

123 Bjorgo and Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism*, 4.; George Hawley, *Making Sense of the Alt-Right* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 14.

124 Bjorgo and Ravndal, *Extreme Right Violence and Terrorism*, 4.

and a youth summer camp.[125] While Breivik killed eight of his fellow Norwegians at the government building bombing, he then shot and killed 69 people at the youth summer camp.[126] Not only did the attack devastate Norway, but his reasoning for it also began to show the world the dangers of the Alt-Right. In his manifesto, he claimed that he undertook the attacks in order to save Norway from the pending "Muslim Invasion."[127] These comments about an invasion by another religion can be viewed as a form of Cultural nationalism in which he views the culture of Norway as potentially being undercut by an influx of Muslim immigration.

Just as Europe has begun to deal with more right-wing violence since Anders Breivik, attacks against the American homeland from the Alt-Right are also steadily increasing. The Global Terrorism Database has recently shown that Alt-Right terrorism in the United States grew six percent from 2010 to 2016.[128] Also, just in the years 2016–2017, Alt-Right terrorism acts quadrupled in the homeland.[129] Another report in 2019, showed that every 2018 domestic terrorism attack was linked to the Alt-Right.[130] In 2015, lone wolf attacker Dylann Roof "killed nine African-American churchgoers in Charleston, South Carolina."[131] Online, Roof expressed white supremacy beliefs prior to the shooting.[132] Then in 2018, another lone wolf Robert Bowers massacred eleven

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[125] Karl Ove Knausgaard, "The Inexplicable: Inside the mind of a mass killer," *The New Yorker*, May 25, 2015, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/05/25/the-inexplicable.

[126] Knausgaard, "The Inexplicable."

[127] Knausgaard, "The Inexplicable."

[128] Simon Clark, "Confronting the Domestic Right-Wing Terrorist Threat," *Center for American Progress*, March 7, 2019, https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/03/07/467022/confronting-domestic-right-wing-terrorist-threat/.

[129] Clark, "Confronting the Domestic."

[130] John Haltiwanger, "All of the extremist killings in the U.S. in 2018 had links to right-wing extremism, according to new report," Business Insider, August 5, 2019, https://www.businessinsider.com/extremist-killings-links-right-wing-extremism-report-2019-1.

[131] NBC News, "Charleston church shooter Dylann Roof staged death row hunger strike," February 25, 2020, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/charleston-church-shooter-dylann-roof-staged-death-row-hunger-strike-n1143291.

[132] Feliks Garcia, "Dylann Roof: The vile white supremacy that killed nine black churchgoers," Independent, January 11, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/dylann-roof-death-sentence-had-to-do-it-white-supremacist-manifesto-who-is-he-a7520656.html.

worshippers at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.[133] Prior to the shooting, Bowers posted extremely hateful Anti-Semitic remarks online. The most recent Alt-Right massacre occurred in El Paso, Texas, when lone wolf Patrick Crusius murdered twenty-three people in August 2019. Crusius, like Breivik, wrote a manifesto before the attack in which he claimed his actions were in defense of the "Hispanic Invasion of Texas."[134] These attacks, and others in the recent years illustrate that the Alt-Right has recently become the greater threat to the homeland instead of Jihadist terrorism. The next section will provide insights into the groups and websites that operate inside the homeland, which cause these radical and hateful ideas to circulate.

### 2. Alt-Right Organization in the Homeland

The unfortunate reality of the Alt-Right in the homeland is that the movement is inherently hard to track. As this section will discuss the Alt-Right hate groups of the Patriot Front, American Identity Movement, American Freedom Party, and the Right Stuff, these parties are unfortunately just a snapshot of the overall Alt-Right movement in the American homeland. The vast majority of the Alt-Right movement also takes place throughout the online domain.[135] Since the Alt-Right is a bloc of groups instead of one sole entity, it is hard to distinguish what groups actually make up the Alt-Right.[136] Alt-Right Ideology can range from ideas such as white supremacy to anti-immigration, or anti-Semitism to Islamophobia. However, it does seem that the binding characteristic of most Alt-Right groups in the American homeland is the feeling of white supremacy and white nationalism. While millions of white Americans certainly do not hold any conscious racial prejudices, the members of the Alt-Right believe that mainstream

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133 Alexandra Schwartz, "The Tree of Life Synagogue Shooting and the Return of Anti-Semitism to American Life," *The New Yorker*, October 27, 2018, https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/the-tree-of-life-shooting-and-the-return-of-anti-semitism-to-american-life.

134 Farid Hafez, "The Manifesto of the El-Paso Terrorist," Bridge, August 26, 2019, https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/the-manifesto-of-the-el-paso-terrorist/.

135 Emma Grey Ellis, "How Big is the Alt-Right? Inside My Futile Quest to Count," Wired, August 10, 2018, https://www.wired.com/story/unite-the-right-charlottesville-alt-right-inside-my-futile-quest-to-count/.

136 Ellis, "How Big is the Alt-Right?"

politicians do not hold the interests of white people, and feel that they are being marginalized as a race.[137] According to a *New York Times* report, there were 148 white nationalist groups in the homeland in 2018.[138] According to an analysis by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), the four biggest white nationalist groups within the American homeland are the Patriot Front, American Identity Movement, American Freedom Party, and the Right Stuff.[139]

The SPLC data indicates that the Patriot Front is by far the biggest group of these four, and has an organizational structure in almost every state.[140] Their main objective seeks to create a "white-nationalist" army and create a "new American Nation state."[141] While the Patriot Front claims to be patriotic in their name, they fundamentally seek to destroy American liberal democracy as an extreme group. Their website claims that "Democracy has failed in this once great nation, now the time for a new Caesar to revive the American spirit has dawned."[142] The Patriot Front's main activities appear to be online and through the posting of propaganda flyers around the country.[143]

While the Patriot Front has the largest network in the country, the American Identity Movement focuses on recruitment of young people into its ranks.[144] The SPLC states that the American Identity Movement and its parent organization Identity Evropa are the vanguard in the Alt-Right's "effort to recruit white, college-aged men and

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[137] Ellis, "How Big is the Alt-Right?"

[138] Liam Stack, "Over 1,000 Hate Groups Are Now Active in United States, Civil Rights Group Says," *New York Times*, February 20, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/20/us/hate-groups-rise.html.

[139] Southern Poverty Law Center "Hate Map," accessed May 5, 2020, https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map?ideology=white-nationalist.

[140] Southern Poverty Law Center "Patriot Front," accessed May 5, 2020, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/patriot-front.

[141] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Patriot Front."

[142] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Patriot Front."

[143] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Patriot Front."

[144] Southern Poverty Law Center "Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement," accessed May 5, 2020, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/identity-evropaamerican-identity-movement.

transform them into the new face of white nationalism."[145] In 2017, Identity Evropa and American Identity Movement propaganda was present on over thirty college campuses.[146] This is best illustrated in September 2019, when American Identity Movement recruitment leaflets were found at the University of California-Davis during the first week of classes.[147] While most students at Davis were disgusted by this hateful propaganda on campus,[148] its posting shows that Alt-Right recruitment in the homeland among college aged men is becoming a problem.

The last two main white nationalist organizations in the American homeland are the American Freedom Party and The Right Stuff. The American Freedom Party was first founded in Las Vegas in 2009. Unlike the Patriot Front which preaches anarchy, or the American Identity Movement which seeks recruitment, the American Freedom Party focuses on the encouragement of anti-immigration policies.[149] The party members feel that the United States should not allow for anymore immigration, and should be ruled solely by white people.[150] Their website claims that the party "exists to represent the political interests of white Americans."[151] The last major white nationalist movement in the homeland is The Right Stuff which was founded by Mike "Enoch" Peinovich.[152] Like the Freedom Party, Peinovich aggressively talks about anti-immigration. However, Peinovich often takes an even more radical view and preaches open-rebellion like the Patriot Front.[153] The Right Stuff argues that the white race will be persecuted in the

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145 Southern Poverty Law Center, "Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement."

146 Counter-Extremism Project, "Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement," accessed 05 May 2020. https://www.counterextremism.com/supremacy/identity-evropaamerican-identity-movement.

147 Gabe Stutman, "White Supremacist Recruitment Flyers Found at UC Davis," *Jewish News of Northern California*, September 25, 2019, https://www.jweekly.com/2019/09/25/white-supremacist-recruitment-flyers-found-at-uc-davis/.

148 Stutman, "White Supremacist."

149 Southern Poverty Law Center, "American Freedom Party," accessed May 5, 2020, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/american-freedom-party.

150 Southern Poverty Law Center, "American Freedom Party."

151 Southern Poverty Law Center, "American Freedom Party."

152 Southern Poverty Law Center, "Michael 'Enoch' Peinovich," accessed May 5, 2020, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/michael-enoch-peinovich.

153 Southern Poverty Law Center, "Michael 'Enoch' Peinovich."

future.[154] Peinovich also disagrees in having armed members of the state such as the military and law enforcement. He claims that "all the members of the enforcement wing of the state, represent a direct threat," because they drain national coffers and offer little protection to the state's actual citizens.[155] As race relations and immigration will always be topics of educated political discourse, these false claims from The Right Stuff and the American Freedom Party show how extreme views on these topics are present within the homeland.

While the Patriot Front, American Identity Movement, American Freedom Party, and The Right Stuff are four of the biggest white nationalist organizations in the American homeland, they do not encompass all of the Alt-Right movement. Unfortunately, there are many hate groups that comprise the Alt-Right, and this discussion was only able to address some of its main elements. As these groups push out racist and radical viewpoints online or in-person, their members or viewers of their content can become radicalized by their dogmas. The last and most critical analysis of the Alt-Right threat will be the study of its lone-wolf actors.

### 3. Lone-Wolf Actor

The current Alt-Right threat to the homeland has centered on lone-wolf attackers who commit atrocities based on the ideologies discussed above. While Alt-Right lone-wolves such as Dylan Roof, Robert Bowers, and Patrick Crusius have become our greatest threat, experts have found that these lone wolves are actually not truly alone. In fact, Alt-Right terrorism, like Jihadist terrorism requires certain catalysts to perpetuate radicalization. J.M. Berger argues that the new emergence of social media drives the Alt-Right radicalization, just like Jihadist terrorism.[156] He also argues that although the Alt-Right terrorist acts alone, terrorism in itself is actually a social activity.[157] This

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[154] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Michael 'Enoch' Peinovich."

[155] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Michael 'Enoch' Peinovich."

[156] J.M. Berger, "The Strategy of Violent White Supremacy is Evolving," *The Atlantic*, August 7, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/08/the-new-strategy-of-violent-white-supremacy/595648/.

[157] Berger, "The Strategy."

socialization has exploded with the accessibility of the internet and networking sites like Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook.[158] Similarly, other Alt-Right websites such as 4chan, 8chan, and Gab have helped place Alt-Right extremists into contract with one other.[159] In fact, Dylan Roof, Robert Bowers, and Patrick Crusius all used either 4chan, 8chan, or Gab to publish their manifestos or reasons behind their attacks. According to Berger, the publishing of online manifestos became prevalent after the attacks in Norway undertaken by Anders Breivik.[160] Social media thus is the unfortunate catalyst which keeps these extremists connected.

While the lone wolf may undertake the attack single-handedly, the motivation clearly been influenced by online extremist propaganda. Heidi Beirich refers to white nationalist websites such as Stormfront, another propaganda filled site, as a "den of lone wolves."[161] Berger also argues that another reason a lone-wolf terrorist undertakes the attacks is their want to gain notoriety within their respective hate groups and circles, it almost becomes a competition on who can carry out a more notorious and heinous act.[162] This encouragement for violence can be seen with sites like 8chan praising attackers for their atrocities and encouraging others to follow suit.[163] Just like a Jihadist lone-wolf terrorist could be a disenfranchised and susceptible young Muslim-American, an Alt-Right lone wolf terrorist could feel the same way as a young white American. As the young Muslim-American could be radicalized by Al-Qaeda and ISIS propaganda, the young white American could be radicalized by the Alt-Right hate groups described above. Like Jihadism, the Alt-Right lone wolf actor threat has proven formidable, and hard for American homeland's law enforcement structure to reconcile with.

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158 Berger, "The Strategy."

159 Berger, "The Strategy."

160 Berger, "The Strategy."

161 Heidi Beirich, *White Homicide Worldwide* (Southern Poverty Law Center 2014), 2, https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/d6_legacy_files/downloads/publication/white-homicide-worldwide.pdf.

162 Berger, "The Strategy."

163 Berger, "The Strategy."

## B. CURRENT INTELLIGENCE POSTURE TO ADDRESS ALT-RIGHT TERRORISM

With the emergence of Alt-Right terrorism in the recent years, the homeland's domestic intelligence structure is once again pivotal to saving lives and stopping the onslaught of needless violence. The main entities vital to the collection and analysis of intelligence on Alt-Right extremism are DHS, FBI, and SLTT agencies. In contrast to Jihadist terrorism, the NCTC plays a lesser role because the Alt-Right threat is mostly a domestic issue.

### 1. Department of Homeland Security (DHS)

DHS has made some important changes to its rhetoric and national level goals in response to the Alt-Right threat. Shortly after the El-Paso massacre in September 2019, DHS published their *Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Targeted Violence* which outlines not only their continued fight against Jihadism, but also the new threat of white supremacy terrorism.[164] In fact, it was the first DHS document that specifically addresses this deadly threat.[165] While the DHS intelligence structure such as its office of I&A, the NTAS system, and state owned and operated fusion centers have remained the same, DHS developed three key new principles to help stop this new form of terrorism.[166]

First, DHS acknowledged it must understand and adapt to the new threat environment.[167] While FTOs are still prevalent, DHS appears to understand the shift in the terrorism landscape. In order to achieve better understanding homegrown terrorist threats, DHS plans on developing an "Annual State of Homeland Threat Assessment"

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[164] Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 2.

[165] Thomas S. Warrick, "DHS's New Counterterrorism Strategy Calls Out White Supremacism, but Will Need Resources and Support," *Atlantic Council*, September 23, 2019, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/dhss-new-counterterrorism-strategy-calls-out-white-supremacism-but-will-need-resources-and-support/.

[166] Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 13.

[167] Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 13.

document in coordination with both the FBI and NCTC.[168] This document is intended to support policymakers and SLTT members understand the current threat environment across all threat sectors for that specific year. It will focus not just on FTO's, but also on Alt-Right lone-wolf terrorism.[169]

DHS also recognizes that it must understand how technology is contributing to extremism. While the internet is certainly a good mechanism of cooperation, it continues to prove itself as catalyst for Alt-Right terrorism.[170] Manifestos published on websites by terrorists such as Dylann Roof and Patrick Crusius may only encourage further radicalization from that website's followers.[171] In order to better thwart this, DHS plans on working with the FBI, SLTT partners, and private companies who own internet products and services.[172]

Lastly, DHS indicates that it wants to pursue a grass-roots approach to combating all forms of terrorism.[173] Due to the nature of the Alt-Right threat being homegrown, DHS recognizes that SLTT partners in various communities throughout the homeland are central in the fight against it.[174]

### 2. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

The most important federal entity in the fight against the Alt-Right is the FBI. As this new threat has emerged, the FBI, like DHS has made steps to acknowledge the growing threat of the Alt-Right. As recent as February 2020, current FBI Director Christopher Wray said that "Racist Violence is Now Equal Priority to Foreign

168 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 13.

169 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 13.

170 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 14.

171 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 1.

172 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 22.

173 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 12.

174 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 12.

Terrorism."[175] While this is certainly an important step, the nature of the current Alt-Right threat is forcing the FBI to fight the threat across three of its different and respective divisions, Intelligence, Counterterrorism, and Criminal Investigative.[176] While proper intelligence is critical to any investigation, the current Alt-Right threat is blending the bureau's Counterterrorism and Criminal Investigative divisional jurisdictions.[177] For example, the El-Paso massacre orchestrated by Patrick Crusius is without question an act of domestic terrorism, which would thus fall under the Counterterrorism division. However, his target selection and published manifesto also made it a potential hate crime, which would then be under the jurisdiction of the bureau's Criminal Investigative division.[178] Therefore, an attack like the El-Paso massacre could trigger investigation by both the Counterterrorism and Criminal Investigate branches, and thus could cause some unnecessary cross-pollination of information. In response to this potential "double-dipping," the FBI recently established its Domestic-Hate Crimes Fusion Cell in a step to enhance information sharing between the Counterterrorism and Criminal Investigative divisions.[179] The cell consists of subject matter experts from both the Counterterrorism and Criminal Investigative divisions to help respond to the new threat of domestic terrorism, and better delineates responsibilities between the two branches in response to a domestic terrorism attack.[180] Essentially, it is a better way for the FBI to task a specific division of its organization, whether is Counterterrorism or Criminal Investigative is to be the lead in a domestic terrorism case.

In addition to its steps of improving information sharing between its various divisions, the FBI also asserts that in the face of Alt-Right terrorism, it will continue to

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175 Hannah Allam, "FBI Announces That Racist Violence Is Now Equal Priority to Foreign Terrorism," NPR, February 10, 2020, https://www.npr.org/2020/02/10/804616715/fbi-announces-that-racist-violence-is-now-equal-priority-to-foreign-terrorism.

176 Michael C. McGarrity and Calvin A. Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy: Statement Before the House Oversight and Reform Committee, Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties*, 116th Cong. (2019) https://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/confronting-white-supremacy.

177 McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

178 McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

179 McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

180 McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

rely heavily on its JTTFs that were discussed in the previous chapter.[181] Like DHS, the FBI feels that the key to properly fighting domestic terrorism is the empowerment of its SLTT partners.[182]

### 3. State, Local, Tribal, and Territorial (SLTT) Law Enforcement

As DHS and the FBI express the importance of SLTT law enforcement to combat the new Alt-Right threat, their desires for SLTT agencies to take a central role appears to have mixed reception across the homeland. Much like the response to Jihadist terrorism, SLTT focus largely seems to depend on its location, funding, and individual priorities. In the previous chapter, both the NYPD and Anne Arundel County (MD) Police Departments were discussed in their varying responses to Jihadist terrorism, and it appears that their respective Alt-Right responses follow the same pattern.

The NYPD recently formed a special unit dedicated to stopping the rise of domestic terrorism associated with the Alt-Right.[183] The unit is under the authority of the department's intelligence division and is known as the "Racially and Ethnically Motivated Extremism" or "R.E.M.E. unit.[184] The unit intends to "hone in on homegrown far-right extremism, domestic terrorism, and organized hate groups."[185] While this unit is certainly a good effort in response to the Alt-Right, its establishment is not the norm throughout the rest of the country in places such as Anne Arundel County. In contrast to the NYPD, a smaller SLTT like the Anne Arundel County has not established a specific unit to deal with the problem.

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[181] McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

[182] McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

[183] Ali Watkins, "With Rise of Far-Right Extremists, N.Y.P.D. creates Special Unit," *New York Times*, December 11, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/11/nyregion/nypd-reme-unit-supremacist-nazis.html.

[184] Watkins, "N.Y.P.D. creates Special Unit."

[185] Watkins, "N.Y.P.D. creates Special Unit."

## C. ANALYSIS OF CURRENT POSTURE

While the emerging Alt-Right threat is dangerous to the American homeland, an analysis of the current measures that DHS, FBI, SLTT agencies have employed is pivotal in understanding if these actions and implementations will be effective against the Alt-Right in the future. Even though DHS has recognized the Alt-Right threat to the homeland, its new framework does not seem to provide sufficient measures to quell the threat. Similarly, while the FBI acknowledges the Alt-Right threat like DHS, it indicates that it still faces "significant challenges" to combat it.[186] Lastly, while some SLTT agencies like the NYPD have increased measures toward combating the Alt-Right, other SLTT agencies do not have enough current resourcing to do so. In essence, there appears to be no set federal or state standard to monitor or defend against the Alt-Right.

Law enforcement in the homeland has failed in preparing to counter the rise of the Alt-Right over the past few decades since 9/11.[187] As the domestic intelligence system has focused on FTO operatives, it has critically missed the growth of domestic terrorism associated with the Alt-Right.[188] Over the last decade, there have been multiple attempts to refocus efforts toward combatting domestic terrorism linked to various Alt-Right ideologies, but these efforts were met by a variety of political resistance.[189] It was not until the El-Paso massacre, as discussed previously, that DHS formally changed their strategic framework to acknowledge the Alt-Right.[190] After the attack, DHS secretary Kevin McAleenan said that the attack was "an attack on all of us, on our family."[191] However, even though Alt-Right terrorism is acknowledged, the strategic framework appears to still fall short of fully protecting the homeland against the Alt-Right.

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186 McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

187 Janet Reitman, "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.

188 Reitman, "U.S. Law Enforcement."

189 Bergengruen and Hennigan, "We are Being Eaten."

190 Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*, 1.

191 Kathy Gilsinan, "DHS Is Finally Going After White Supremacists. It's Not Going to Be Simple," *The Atlantic*, September 20, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/09/new-strategy-fight-white-supremacist-violence/598501/.

While the framework has identified the need to defend against the Alt-Right, it still fails to address certain issues that are inherent to properly defending against it. One of the hardest realities posed by the Alt-Right is that the problem could be in every corner of the American homeland. The "threat environment" is not just one community, or one state, but is instead active in all 50 states. While every white citizen in the United States is certainly not a member of the Alt-Right, the possible threat environment is a daunting task. In fact, it is close to the same problem that Muslim majority countries such as Saudi Arabia or the UAE have to wrestle with in order to stop Jihadist terrorism within the own borders. Essentially, the threat could be everywhere in the homeland. An American citizen might own a firearm, or think of oneself as a patriot, however, without necessarily being part of a hate group like the Patriot Front. Therefore, understanding the Alt-Right threat environment in the future will have tremendous challenges. While DHS could hone in on specific Alt-Right groups such as the Patriot Front or the American Identity Movement, the lone-wolf attacker such as Patrick Crusius may still prove impossible to catch.

Technology has also led to radicalization among Alt-Right terrorists such as Dylann Roof and Patrick Crusius. In understanding this, DHS knows it must cultivate a better relationship with technology companies in order to gain access and insight into the digital realm of the Alt-Right. Unfortunately, many technological giants in the homeland such as Facebook or Twitter are sensitive in wanting to protect the individual rights of citizens on social media platforms.[192] While these companies could work with agencies like DHS and the FBI, they would certainly become skeptical if either agency wanted to openly spy on citizens, regardless of their ideological leanings.

DHS also relies on SLTT agencies to be the front-line defense against the Alt-Right threat, but has apparently provided little intelligence support to these agencies in the past. According to a report, most information passed to SLTT agencies from DHS

192 Twitter, "Privacy Policy," accessed 25 August 2020, https://twitter.com/en/privacy#:~:text=Twitter%20Privacy%20Policy&text=Twitter%20is%20public%20and%20Tweets,not%20to%20use%20your%20name.

about previous Alt-Right threats have proven to be "vague and unhelpful."[193] If DHS wants SLTT agencies to help stop the Alt-Right, most SLTT agencies will need better intelligence support.

Like DHS, the FBI has acknowledged the Alt-Right threat, but also cites that the Alt-Right presents "significant challenges."[194] While certain hate groups such as the American Identity Movement can be targeted by an FBI investigation, the lone-wolf terrorist, like Patrick Crusius, could continue to prove illusive to the FBI. Unfortunately, the internet also accelerates the radicalization process, which could be too fast for the FBI to counter successfully in order to stop an attack.[195] If the individual has no proven group affiliation, and is not directly inciting violence based on their online rhetoric, the FBI may not be able to open an investigation.

There also appears to be disparity in the difference between hate crimes and domestic terrorism. While one attack could be both, this is not always the case. The FBI needs to come out with guidance on how an attack could qualify as one or another. Lastly, the FBI has stood up domestic terrorism units at some of their field offices, but not all of them.[196] If some field offices have domestic terrorism units but others do not, then the areas without them could suffer.

Just as DHS and the FBI need better standards in dealing with the Alt-Right, so do SLTT agencies. While some SLTT agencies have Alt-Right specialized units, others do not. This is due to different issues such as funding, manpower, and priorities that affect .the different state and local departments. For example, the recent establishment of a R.E.M.E. unit by the NYPD is a historic step toward combatting the Alt-Right, but it is not the norm. Rather, it is a resource only afforded to a robust and well-funded SLTT like

193 Reitman, "U.S. Law Enforcement."

194 McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

195 McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

196 McGarrity and Shivers, *Confronting White Supremacy*.

the NYPD. In 2018, the NYPD had a 5.6-billion-dollar budget,[197] and uniformed officer corps of over 34,000.[198] In comparison, the Anne Arundel County Police Department, which still serves a large population, only has a 229 million dollar budget in comparison, with much fewer officers.[199] Therefore, even though the Alt-Right could be an issue in Anne Arundel County, their police force does not have the assets to establish a unit dedicated to the problem like the NYPD. While the NYPD and Anne Arundel County are just two police departments, disparities such as budget and manpower exist throughout the country. These differences in SLTT entities highlights the need for proper federal guidance in dealing with the Alt-Right threat in the future.

## D. CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the nature of the Alt-Right threat facing the homeland, and then described the current posture employed to defend against it. The chapter then concluded with an analysis of the current posture. While hate groups like the Patriot Front or the American Identity Movement can be monitored, the American who holds radical Alt-Right beliefs could blend in with everyday society and escape law enforcement scrutiny. These last two chapters have shown that the methods employed by Jihadist and Alt-Right terrorists against the American homeland are actually extremely similar. While one young American could be radicalized online to undertake Jihad against his fellow citizens, another young American who lives down the street could be radicalized to undertake an Alt-Right attack. While the ideologies are different, the methods are the same, and both potential terrorists can easily blend in with American

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197 Van Tieu, "NYPD to Cut 237 Positions, Budget to Increase by $1.5 Million," Spectrum News 1 New York, May 15, 2019, https://www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2019/05/15/nypd-to-cut-237-positions--budget-increase-to-by--1-5-million-.; City of New York, "Cutting the NYPD Budget," accessed 25 August 2020, https://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/487-20/in-face-an-economic-crisis-mayor-de-blasio-budget-prioritizes-safety-police#:~:text=Cutting%20the%20NYPD%20Budget,civilian%20overtime%20reduction%2D%20%24352.2%20million.

198 City of New York Police Department, "About NYPD," accessed 10 May, 2020, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/about/about-nypd/about-nypd-landing.page.

199 Anne Arundel County Maryland, "Current Budget," accessed 10 May, 2020, https://www.aacounty.org/departments/budget-office/forms-and-publications/fy-2020/FY2020%20Approved%20CIP_02_Public%20Safety.pdf.

society. This increasing threat will continue to stretch the homeland's intelligence structure, and the recent rise of great power incursion will add another element to the challenge for homeland security, law enforcement, and intelligence.

# IV. THE GREAT POWER INCURSION THREAT

The third and final element of the current threats facing the American homeland is the new threat of great power incursion. As Jihadist and Alt-Right terrorism will continue to target American citizens, great power incursion has a different nature that seeks to undermine American society and its institutions, rather than target its population directly. While GPC between the United States, China, and Russia has become a global conflict in the past decade, this chapter will not discuss the contentious areas of the South China Sea, or the battlefields of Syria. Instead, it will solely focus on the threat both China and Russia pose to the American homeland itself. It will first explain the nature behind the great power incursion threat. Then it will discuss the current domestic intelligence structure designated to defend against it. Lastly, it will provide analyze how effective that intelligence structure is in addressing the threat.

## A. NATURE OF THE CURRENT GREAT POWER INCURSION THREAT

As GPC has become a focal point in U. S. foreign policy throughout the past few years, the impact of the competition has actually begun to cross over into the American homeland in the form of great power incursion. This section will describe the threats that both Russia and China currently pose to the American homeland, and will illustrate how they are affecting multiple aspects of American society.

### 1. Russia

Ever since Allied victory in World War II, the Soviet Union or Russia today has been seen as the premier adversary in the world against the United States. Throughout the Cold War, almost the entire world was carved into American or Soviet spheres of influence in which both societies struggled for supremacy over the other. From ballistic missiles to Olympic Ice Hockey, to the race for space, everything was a competition. In fact, the Cold War really was the original GPC. According to the current State Department fact sheet, the United States has long sought to have a “constructive

relationship" with the Kremlin.[200] However, the United States has cut off full diplomatic ties before, such as when Woodrow Wilson's government refused to recognize the newly formed Bolshevik government in 1917.[201] Today, even with the recent rise of China, Russia is still a seemingly formidable adversary. While their nuclear submarines and long-range bombers continue to challenge U.S. Northern Command from a homeland defense perspective,[202] their recent cyber and espionage operations[203] have raised serious questions about their challenge toward American society.[204]

In order to understand the current threat of Russian incursion into the homeland, the Kremlin's current military and political doctrine must be examined. In 2013, Russian Army Chief of Staff General Valery Gerasimov wrote an article called "The Value of Science Is in the Foresight: New Challenges Demand Rethinking the Forms and Methods of Carrying out Combat Operations."[205] Essentially, this article laid a foundational doctrine that called for the societal subversion of an enemy by creating chaos within its homeland.[206] It starts not with a shock and awe campaign, but rather military force of "concealed character" entrusted to sow chaos and confusion.[207] Roughly a year after General Gerasimov published this extensive article, the Russian interventions in both Crimea and the Ukrainian Donbass region began.[208] The doctrine's method to achieving

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200 Department of State, "U.S. Relations with Russia," June 25, 2019, https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-russia/.

201 Department of State, "U.S. Relations with Russia."

202 Kevin Bohn and Ryan Browne, "US Fighter Jets Again Intercept Russian Military Aircraft Near Alaska," CNN, June 27, 2020, https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/27/politics/us-jets-intercept-russia-aircraft-alaska-norad/index.html.

203 Senate, *Russian Active Measures*, 6.

204 Matthew Lee and Josh Lederman, "Here's Why the U.S. Let Dozens of Russian Spies Operate in the U.S. For Decades," Business Insider, March 26, 2018, https://www.businessinsider.com/russian-diplomats-expelled-spies-2018-3.

205 Molly K. McKew, "The Gerasimov Doctrine: Its Russia's New Chaos Theory of Political Warfare. And it is Probably Being Used On You," *Politico*, September/October 2017, https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/09/05/gerasimov-doctrine-russia-foreign-policy-215538.

206 Mckew, "The Gerasimov Doctrine."

207 Valery Gerasimov, "The Value of Science Is in the Foresight: New Challenges Demand Rethinking the Forms and Methods of Carrying out Combat Operations," *Military Review* (January-Febuary 2016): 24, https://jmc.msu.edu/50th/download/21-conflict.pdf.

208 Mckew, "The Gerasimov Doctrine."

Russian foreign policy goals is to have a guerilla style approach toward the enemy state in all facets of society.[209] This means implanting fake news, or hacking cyber systems, and even using false social media profiles to influence the masses within the country.[210] According to Charles Bartles, Gerasimov's tactics call for hostilities to begin long before the Kremlin officially announces the conflict.[211] In order to begin this hostilities, all state assets such as economics, business, and information operations must be brought to bear against an adversary.[212] The hope is that these tactics could then "achieve an environment of permanent unrest and conflict within an enemy state."[213] A weakened state could then be more easily subverted by Russia.

The most prevalent example of attempting to sow unrest in the American homeland was the Russian meddling in the 2016 election cycle. The Senate Intelligence Committee Report determined that both the Democratic and Republican National Committees as well as former Secretary of State Hilary Clinton and GOP Senator Marco Rubio's individual campaigns were targeted.[214] The Russians were also successful in spreading false information and propaganda on various social media platforms.[215] Former Speaker of the House Paul Ryan called the Russian actions "a sinister and systematic attack on our political system. It was a conspiracy to subvert the process, and take aim at democracy itself."[216] While these actions appeared to be new, and were a direct attack on American society, they actually seem to be directly out of the Gerasimov

209 Mckew, "The Gerasimov Doctrine."

210 Mckew, "The Gerasimov Doctrine."

211 Charles K. Bartles, "Russia's indirect and Asymmetric Methods as A Response to the New Western Way of War," *Special Operations Journal*, no. 2 (June 2016): 5, https://doi.org/10.1080/23296151.2016.1134964.

212 Bartles, "Russia's indirect and Asymmetric Methods," 5.

213 Mckew, "The Gerasimov Doctrine."

214 Senate, *Russian Active Measures*, 6.

215 Senate, *Russian Active Measures,* 3.

216 Dan Mangan and Mike Calia, "Special Counsel Mueller: Russians conducted 'information warfare' against U.S. during election to help Donald Trump win," CNBC, February 16, 2018, https://www.cnbc.com/2018/02/16/russians-indicted-in-special-counsel-robert-muellers-probe.html.

Doctrine. By targeting the political systems, the Russians could achieve "permanent unrest" within the American homeland and weaken it from within.

Although Russian election meddling appeared to be the first major display of Russian involvement in American homeland affairs since the end of the Cold War, it was not the only incident. In both 2016 and 2017, Russia launched massive campaigns to infiltrate American homeland critical infrastructure.[217] This campaign centered on cyber-attacks against the American energy sector's control systems.[218] Further DHS analysis on the attacks argues that the cyber intrusions focused on reconnaissance of the systems, but got very close to completely controlling them.[219] Gaining control could have caused widespread blackouts across the homeland and would have led to widespread suffering within the American populace. While this is the first instance of Russia targeting American critical infrastructure, it is not the first time the Kremlin has used this tactic to sow unrest. In 2015 and 2016, Russia successfully shut down critical parts of the power grid in Ukraine.[220] These events show that if the Kremlin desires, Russia can target and attempt to destroy certain parts of the American homeland's infrastructure, which could lead to civil unrest.

The Russian election meddling and its cyber-attacks against the homeland's infrastructure are troubling developments. Not only will Russia continue to challenge the United States across the globe, but it also has interest in the targeting the American way of life. Unfortunately, Russia is not the only Great Power the United States has to confront.

### 2. China

As Russia seeks to cause chaos within an enemy state, China takes a much different approach in targeting the American homeland. Like Russia, China also views

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[217] Volz and Gardner, "In a First, U.S. Blames Russia."

[218] Kelsey Atherton, "It's Not Just Elections: Russia Hacked the U.S. Electric Grid," Vox, March 28, 2018, https://www.vox.com/world/2018/3/28/17170612/russia-hacking-us-power-grid-nuclear-plants.

[219] Atherton, "It's Not Just Elections."

[220] Kim Zetter, "Inside the Cunning, Unprecedented Hack of Ukraine's Power Grid," Wired, March 03, 2016, https://www.wired.com/2016/03/inside-cunning-unprecedented-hack-ukraines-power-grid/.

the United States as its most formidable adversary. While Russia knows it must weaken a state in order to succeed due to its relative decline in recent years, China instead pushes to defeat that state through reverse engineering of stolen material, and seeks to portray itself in a positive light to the world community. Rather than creating unrest with American homeland, China instead targets American academics and businesses in order to steal intellectual property (IP) and gain the advantage.[221] According to the former Undersecretary Secretary of Defense for Policy, John C. Rood, China not only seeks to become the "world's largest and most influential economy, but also the world's largest and influential nation in all spheres."[222] In order to achieve this level of influence, it must operate against American society.

The most recent and successful operation in IP theft against the American homeland has been China's "Thousand Talents Program."[223] According to the *New York Times*, this program has been running for years in order to steal "sensitive technologies" from United States' research institutions.[224] In order to facilitate the stealing of sensitive information, the program would essentially lure American academic professionals into accepting Chinese funding for their research.[225]

While China will most likely continue to try and recruit American academics to divulge their research, another facet of their approach toward gaining IP is their placement of students at American universities.[226] According to an FBI report, China actively targets the American university system and exploits its culture of "openness and

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221 Underwood, "Troubling Intellectual Property Theft."

222 Terri Moon Cronk, "China Poses Largest Long-Term Threat to U.S., DOD Policy Chief Says," Department of Defense, September 23, 2019, https://www.defense.gov/Explore/News/Article/Article/1968704/china-poses-largest-long-term-threat-to-us-dod-policy-chief-says/.

223 Ellen Barry and Gina Golata, "China's Lavish Funds Lured U.S. Scientists. What Did It Get in Return?" *New York Times*, February 6, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/06/us/chinas-lavish-funds-lured-us-scientists-what-did-it-get-in-return.html.

224 Barry and Golata, "China's Lavish Funds."

225 Barry and Golata, "China's Lavish Funds."

226 Ken Dilanian, "American universities are a soft target for China's spies, say U.S. Intelligence Officials," NBC News, February 2, 2020, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/china/american-universities-are-soft-target-china-s-spies-say-u-n1104291.

collaboration" in order to gain secrets.[227] For example in 2019, Chinese college student Ji Chaoqun was arrested for allegedly working for China's main spy agency.[228] Recently, FBI director Chris Wray also explained that China was using a "societal approach" to gain secrets about the United States by which Beijing seeks to exploit the American Homeland's "openness."[229] Furthermore, many Chinese students in the American homeland can even be pressured by Beijing to engaged in espionage.[230] In the 2017–2018 academic year, over 360,000 Chinese students studied in the American homeland.[231] While not all of these students are Chinese agents, the FBI claims that these students "may serve as collectors" of information to bring back to China.[232]

The last important feature of the Chinese threat deals with their willingness to steal information from American companies. Recently, one in five American based companies have claimed that China has stolen valuable IP via the cyber realm.[233] Technology giants such as Apple and T-Mobile have both been subject to Chinese theft in the recent years, and there appears to be no end in sight to Beijing's willingness to actively take American information. This cyber IP theft has even been seen during the recent coronavirus crisis as Chinese hackers have tried to infiltrate cyber systems housing

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[227] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "China's Threat to Academia," July 2019, https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/china-risk-to-academia-2019.pdf/view.

[228] Todd Lightly, "How a Chicago College Student Ended Up In The Middle Of An FBI Investigation Into Chinese Spying," *Chicago Tribune*, September 26, 2019, https://www.chicagotribune.com/investigations/ct-chinese-espionage-chicago-20190926-xh74yrhorzakjpsnojyx4aapfm-story.html.

[229] Christopher Wray, Responding Effectively To The Chinese Economic Espionage Threat (Washington, DC: Department of Justice China Initiative Conference, 2020), https://www.fbi.gov/news/speeches/responding-effectively-to-the-chinese-economic-espionage-threat.

[230] Zachary Cohen and Alex Marquardt, "US Intelligence Warns China Is Using Student Spies to Steal Secrets," CNN, February 1, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/02/01/politics/us-intelligence-chinese-student-espionage/index.html.

[231] Statista, "Number Of College And University Students From China In The United States From Academic Year 2008/09-2018/19," accessed 15 June 2020, https://www.statista.com/statistics/372900/number-of-chinese-students-that-study-in-the-us/.

[232] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "China's Threat to Academia."

[233] Eric Rosenbaum, "1 in 5 Corporations Say China Has Stolen Their IP Within The Last Year: CNBC CFO Survey," CNBC, March 1, 2019, https://www.cnbc.com/2019/02/28/1-in-5-companies-say-china-stole-their-ip-within-the-last-year-cnbc.html.

priceless vaccine information.[234] Unfortunately, the new reality of great power incursion will further test the homeland's domestic intelligence structure.

## B. CURRENT INTELLIGENCE POSTURE TO ADDRESS GREAT POWER INCURSION

The recent great power incursion by Russia and China into American society adds the final and perhaps most important layer to the current three-pronged attack. Not only do the homeland's agencies have to combat Jihadist and Alt-Right terrorism, but they now also must confront the resurgence of Cold War style espionage as illustrated above. This section will illustrate how the current homeland agencies of DHS, FBI, and SLTT law enforcement deal with the threat posed by Russia and China.

### 1. Department of Homeland Security (DHS)

In terms of combatting the rise of great power incursion within the homeland, DHS appears to focus its efforts within its office of I&A and its Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA).[235] Due to the recent attacks orchestrated by China and Russia illustrated above, the cyber threat associated with great power incursion is quickly becoming the most pressing issue the United States must combat. In the American homeland, roughly 85 percent of critical infrastructure is privately owned.[236] As more of these critical infrastructure sectors begin to rely on cyber networks for operation, the more vulnerable they become to great power incursion. I&A's Cyber Mission Center's primary role is to disseminate intelligence relating to cyber threats to private sector companies and SLTT agencies.[237] This information often takes the form of bulletins much like DHS's NTAS system.

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[234] David E. Sanger and Nicole Perlroth, "U.S. to Accuse China of Trying To Hack Vaccine Data, As Virus Redirects Cyberattacks," *New York Times*, May 10, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/10/us/politics/coronavirus-china-cyber-hacking.html.

[235] Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, "Homepage," accessed June 13, 2020, https://www.cisa.gov/.

[236] Federal Emergency Management Agency, Critical Infrastructure (Washington, DC: FEMA, June 2011), 2, https://www.fema.gov/pdf/about/programs/oppa/critical_infrastructure_paper.pdf.

[237] Department of Homeland Security, "Mission Centers," accessed 13 June 2020, https://www.dhs.gov/mission-centers.

While I&A Cyber focuses on producing Cyber related intelligence, CISA takes a more hands-on approach in protecting the Cyber arena and infrastructure. Essentially, CISA has the lead for protecting any cyber network that is ".gov."[238] Any ".com" website can reach out and collaborate with CISA in order to enhance its own security, but is not mandated to do so.[239] Then, each critical infrastructure sector such as energy or commercial facilities also has a "Sector Specific Plan" developed by DHS to help its various stakeholders plan risk management.[240] Each sector (delineated in the Sector Specific Plan) then has a "Cybersecurity Working Group" in which cyber professionals from CISA work with that specific sector's cyber professionals to help mitigate cyber risk.[241]

With CISA and I&A, DHS is postured relatively well to deal with possible cyber-attacks against the homeland, but lacks law enforcement capability. Also, in contrast to their cyber protection capabilities, DHS has a much smaller footprint in counterintelligence. DHS counterintelligence appears to focus on catching insider threats within DHS itself rather than taking a national level approach.[242] For cyber law enforcement and counterintelligence, the American homeland relies heavily on the FBI.

### 2. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

As DHS focuses on cyber protection and prevention, the FBI is the arresting authority of the federal government for cyber-crimes and espionage. The FBI also serves as the primary conduit for investigating a cyber-attack that has taken place against the

238 Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, "Cybersecurity/IT Jobs At CISA," accessed June 13, 2020, https://www.cisa.gov/cyberjobs.

239 Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, "Cybersecurity/IT Jobs At CISA."

240 Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, "Commercial Facilities Sector Specific Plan-2015," accessed June 13, 2020, https://www.cisa.gov/publication/nipp-ssp-commercial-facilities-2015.

241 Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, "Commercial Facilities Sector Specific Plan-2015."

242 Department of Homeland Security Office of Intelligence and Analysis, "Counterintelligence Mission Center," accessed 13 June 2020, https://www.intelligencecareers.gov/dhsi&a/files/dhs_counterintelligence_052319_508.pdf.

homeland.[243] While the FBI certainly investigates and prosecutes private citizens for cyber offenses, it plays a vital role in stopping cyber espionage. Its posture starts with FBI's Cyber division located at FBI headquarters, which is tasked with addressing all aspects of cyber-crime as well as coordination with other federal agencies.[244] Then, the bureau has specially trained cyber squads who are stationed at both headquarters and the various field offices around the country who investigate cyber offenses.[245] Essentially, once a cyber-attack by Russia or China has taken place against a homeland, FBI Cyber will investigate the extent of the attack to assess damage. These cyber investigations could then bring about federal charges under the Department of Justice toward the perpetrators. Besides cyber investigations, the FBI also maintains an intelligence wing called FBI Cyber Watch which receives cyber threat intelligence and assesses threats to the nation.[246]

In contrast to DHS, the FBI is the lead agency in counterintelligence. Since 1917, the bureau has been charged with "identifying and neutralizing ongoing national security threats from foreign intelligence services."[247] Its Counterintelligence division has four main objectives in order to accomplish this: "protect the secrets of the IC, protect the nation's critical assets, counter the activities of foreign spies, and keep WMDs away from possible adversaries."[248] Since both China and Russia already have WMDs, the counterintelligence division appears to focus on the first three mission areas. In a February 2020 statement, FBI director Christopher Wray said that the bureau currently had about "1,000 investigations into Chinese technology theft."[249] He also articulated in

[243] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Cyber Crime," accessed June 14 2020, https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/cyber.

[244] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Cyber Crime."

[245] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Cyber Crime."

[246] Domestic Security Alliance Council, "Cyber Resources," accessed June 14, 2020, https://www.dsac.gov/topics/cyber-resources.

[247] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Counterintelligence," accessed June 14, 2020, https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/counterintelligence.

[248] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Counterintelligence."

[249] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Confronting the China Threat," February 6, 2020, https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/wray-addresses-china-threat-at-doj-conference-020620.

order to combat these threats posed by China, the FBI is using "traditional law enforcement techniques and intelligence capabilities."[250] The key to these current intelligence capabilities resides within the bureau's intelligence branch, in its Office of Private Sector or OPS.[251]

Structurally, the OPS main office exists at FBI headquarters. Every subsequent field office then has a private sector coordinator who is responsible for "maintaining an understanding of the FBI's engagement with private industry and academia at the field office level."[252] This private sector coordinator is essentially the link between the private company and the FBI. Lastly, in order to enhance further enhance information sharing, OPS has two programs to facilitate information sharing, the Domestic Security Alliance Council (DSAC) and InfraGard.[253] DSAC was formed in 2005 and initially focused purely on physical security of companies and their infrastructure following the 9/11 attacks. Today, the council consists of over 500 companies who together account for over half of the United States GDP.[254] The council hosts regular meetings and discusses items such as threats and protocols to have the FBI help assist private companies in need.[255] InfraGard in contrast to DSAC is not a formal council, but rather a network in which information can be shared.[256] If the FBI has specific information privy to the private sector and vice versa, that information can be shared on the system.

While the FBI certainly has intelligence infrastructure in place to combat great power incursion, questions remain as to whether or not it is effective enough. For example, in a recent Fox News interview, Director Wray said that "over half of the FBI's

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[250] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Confronting the China Threat."

[251] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Office of Private Sector Fact Sheet," accessed June 14, 2020, https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/ops-fact-sheet-2-24-20.pdf/view

[252] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Private Sector Fact Sheet."

[253] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Private Sector Fact Sheet."

[254] Domestic Security Alliance Council, "About," accessed June 15, 2020, https://www.dsac.gov/about

[255] Domestic Security Alliance Council, "About."

[256] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Private Sector Fact Sheet."

espionage investigations of 5,000 are connected to China."[257] While the FBI is proving effective in gaining information about China in terms of its number of open cases, it may not be gaining all the information it needs to stop the Chinese espionage.

### 3. State, Local, Tribal, and Territorial (SLTT) Law Enforcement

In contrast to the capabilities some SLTT agencies like the NYPD are able to employ against Jihadist and Alt-Right Terrorism, the current threat of great power incursion appears to be solely a federal affair. While the NYPD has both an intelligence and counterterrorism bureau, it has no capabilities associated with counterintelligence.[258] Furthermore, while the NYPD has an information technology bureau, this bureau focuses on NYPD systems and communications rather than cyber espionage being committed by Russian or Chinese operatives.[259] The previously studied Anne Arundel County Police Department in Maryland also does not have any counterintelligence or cyber capabilities as well.[260] In fact, according to the DOJ's guide to Law Enforcement intelligence, SLTT agencies have no jurisdiction over National Security Intelligence (NSI),[261] Therefore, if one of these agencies gained information about possible Russian or Chinese operations against businesses or infrastructure, it will most likely pass the information directly to the FBI. While foreign espionage can affect an individual SLTT jurisdiction, the FBI and DHS have the most capabilities to defend the homeland.

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257 Ronn Blitzer, "FBI Director Wray says half of bureau's 5,000 counterintelligence cases are related to China," Fox News, July 7, 2020, https://www.foxnews.com/politics/fbi-director-wray-says-half-of-bureaus-5000-counterintelligence-cases-are-related-to-china.

258 City of New York Police Department, "Bureaus," accessed June 14, 2020, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/bureaus/bureaus.page.

259 City of New York Police Department, "Information Technology Bureau," accessed June 14, 2020, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/bureaus/administrative/information-technology.page.

260 Anne Arundel County Police Department, "Home," accessed June 14, 2020, https://www.aacounty.org/departments/police-department/.

261 Department of Justice, *Law Enforcement Intelligence: A Guide for State, Local, and Tribal Law Enforcement Agencies, 2nd ed* (Washington, DC: Department of Justice, 2007), 16, https://cops.usdoj.gov/RIC/Publications/cops-p064-pub.pdf.

## C. ANALYSIS OF CURRENT POSTURE

Great power incursion into American society is the last element of the current threat against the homeland, but has unique challenges that are inherently different from the previous analyzed Jihadist and Alt-Right Terrorism threats. While Jihadist and Alt-Right terrorism have shifted toward the lone-wolf American being the primary threat, great power incursion has centered on cyber-attacks and espionage from Russian and Chinese operatives. This analysis will discuss two weaknesses in the current domestic intelligence structure that can be easily be exploited by both China and Russia. First, while DHS's CISA and FBI Cyber have good capabilities for both cyber defenses and investigations, they lack overall authority in some of the nation's most critical infrastructure and economic systems. With over 85 percent of Critical Infrastructure being privately owned, it is the individual companies who are responsible for ensuring their own security, not DHS or the FBI. Second, great power incursion must not just be a priority for DHS and the FBI, but also must be one for the American public.

While policymakers and military leaders have recognized the great power incursion threat for a number of years, the private sector in the American homeland has lagged behind because of the financial opportunities China offers for individual American companies. However, as military systems are certainly targeted, the majority of Chinese and Russian cyber-attacks and cyber espionage happen against these privately-owned companies. The biggest issue in proper defense against cyber-attacks and espionage is that civilian companies must ask DHS or the FBI for assistance. If this assistance is not asked for by the companies, it will not be received. For example, in light of the recent Chinese Coronavirus vaccine hacking attempt, CISA has put out a request to all American healthcare organizations to reach out CISA if they need assistance in protecting their systems.[262] Therefore, if a company does not have a robust cyber security team, or does not reach out to partner with CISA, their systems can be easy prey for Chinese and Russian hackers.

[262] Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, "APT Groups Target Healthcare and Essential Services" Alert (AA20-126A) May 5, 2020. https://www.us-cert.gov/ncas/alerts/AA20126A.

The other key element that can lead to further damage from great power incursion is the American psyche. According to an *NPR* report, swaths of American companies have actually turned a blind eye to China hacking their systems in the past.[263] Due to financial reliance on China, many Americans companies felt they had too much at stake to ask Washington for help.[264] Also in the report, many businesses did not want the government to take "any strong action" for fear of losing monetary gain.[265] But, this theft has unfortunately costs the American economy over 57 billion dollars a year.[266] Even though private companies are vital to American prosperity, their systems need to be monitored at both a higher rate, and at a federal level in order to guarantee IP theft and cyber espionage from China and Russia can be properly thwarted. In the era of GPC, a nonchalant attitude of IP theft by American companies is unacceptable and federal oversight of privately-owned cyber systems is needed.

While American psyche has been detrimental in leading to IP theft from China in the past, a change in their psyche could actually help the FBI better defend against further espionage. Even though the FBI has other means of law enforcement such as undercover agents, or wiretaps, tips from the public can be a valuable piece to their decision making.[267] If the American mindset can shift towards taking great power incursion seriously, the FBI could gain valuable information. For example, according to the *Washington Post*, after the 2019 El Paso and Dayton domestic terrorism shootings, the FBI received over 38,000 tips about domestic terrorism in one week.[268] By Americans starting to take the threat of domestic terrorism more seriously after El Paso, the FBI was

263 Laura Sullivan and Cat Schuknecht, "As China Hacked, U.S. Businesses Turned A Blind Eye," NPR, April 12, 2019, https://www.npr.org/2019/04/12/711779130/as-china-hacked-u-s-businesses-turned-a-blind-eye.

264 Sullivan and Schuknecht, "As China Hacked."

265 Sullivan and Schuknecht, "As China Hacked."

266 Sullivan and Schuknecht, "As China Hacked."

267 Federal Bureau of Investigation, "FBI Tip Line: Web Portal Receives 'Actionable' Tips Daily," March 1, 2016, https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/fbi-tip-line-receives-actionable-tips-daily

268 Devlin Barrett, "FBI saw surge in tips from public after El Paso, Dayton attacks," *Washington Post*, August 24, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/fbi-saw-surge-in-tips-from-public-after-el-paso-dayton-attacks/2019/08/24/fae4ac5c-c683-11e9-9986-1fb3e4397be4_story.html.

able to gain massive quantities of possible leads. Due to the sheer volume Chinese and Russian nationals in the American homeland, the FBI may not have the resources such as agents or wiretaps to successfully track every individual, but with the help of the public, in a sort of great power "if you see something, say something" campaign, the FBI could potentially close the gaps.

## D. CONCLUSION

The reality of great power incursion has unfortunately made the American homeland another battlefield in this struggle. While CISA and FBI Cyber are capable entities in infrastructure defense, their lack of full jurisdiction in defending the American private sector could lead to continued IP theft and cyber espionage.[269] Furthermore, while not every Chinese student in America is involved in espionage, the sheer volume of the potential threat they pose is a tough mission for the FBI. As great power incursion is a different type of threat compared to Jihadist and Alt-Right Terrorism, it is still massively important to American society. All three combined create a complex blend of threats against the American homeland in which our current domestic intelligence system needs some changes in order to combat.

269 U.S. Cyber Command, "Focus," accessed 25 August 2020, https://www.cybercom.mil/About/Mission-and-Vision/. USCYBERCOM based on its mission focus will collaborate with domestic partners, but focuses mainly on support to Combatant Commanders.

# V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis has examined the top three threats the American homeland faces today. Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion present formidable challenges and obstacles for the current homeland intelligence structure. While the coronavirus pandemic is the most recent threat to public health, and is the top priority of many state and local governments as this thesis was being completed, Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion could be around for decades to come.

While coalition forces have weakened ISIS and Al-Qaeda in Iraq and Syria, a recent UN report submitted to the Security Council expressed that in early 2020, ISIS launched increasing attacks in Iraq and Syria.[270] Furthermore, in May 2020, a U.S. defense official stated that there has been an "uptick" in ISIS activity and violence in the region.[271] If this violence leads to ISIS gaining more legitimacy in the region, they could again gain a large following as an organization in both the region and around the world. This regained legitimacy, theoretically, could lead to a rise in both ISIS-inspired or ISIS directed attacks against the American homeland in the future.

While the Jihadist threat is still credible against the American homeland, the vast majority of recent terrorism has come from the Alt-Right. According to a Center for Strategic and International Studies report, in both 2018 and 2019, Alt-Right terrorists were responsible for over 90 percent of terrorism-related fatalities in the United States.[272] While the current Alt-Right terrorist figures are down so far in 2020 compared

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[270] United Nations, twenty-fifth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2368 (2017) concerning ISIL (Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities (United Nations: New York, NY: United Nations, 2020), 3, https://undocs.org/S/2020/53.

[271] Ryan Browne, "ISIS Seeks to Exploit Pandemic to Mount Resurgence In Iraq and Syria," CNN, May 8, 2020, https://www.cnn.com/2020/05/07/politics/isis-coronavirus-iraq-syria/index.html.

[272] Seth G. Jones, Catrina Doxsee, and Nichols Harrington, "The Escalating Terrorism Problem in the United States," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, Washington, DC: 2020, https://www.csis.org/analysis/escalating-terrorism-problem-united-states.

to 2018 and 2019, most likely due to the Coronavirus pandemic,[273] the current polarization of American domestic politics will most likely see this threat continue in the future.

The rise of China and resurgence of Russia into the global landscape is a reality that the United States also must face. As Great Power Competition (GPC) has involved overseas disputes such as China's South China Sea claims or Russia's annexation of Crimea, it has also entered the American homeland in the form of great power incursion. Both Beijing and Moscow have proven the ability to target both American infrastructure and private companies in order to gain the upper hand. These attacks have taken place within the cyber domain as many infrastructure and private company systems have an increased reliance on cyber networks today. If these networks are not properly defended, both Beijing and Moscow could take advantage by either launching a malicious attack against them or infiltrating them to gain valuable intellectual property (IP). Lastly, while Chinese students continue to study in the American homeland, there is an inherent risk that they could engage in possible espionage activities and bring information with them back to China.

## A. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This conclusion chapter will provide a brief summary of findings relating to the current Jihadist, Alt-Right, and great power incursion threats. It will then provide recommendations for how to better combat these threats in the future and offer a brief conclusion to the question of possibly needing a purely domestic intelligence agency posed early in Chapter I.

### 1. Jihadist Terrorism

Since the 9/11 attacks orchestrated by Al-Qaeda, Jihadist terrorism has been at the forefront of both American homeland security and U.S. foreign policy. In initial response

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[273] Jones, Doxsee, and Harrington, "The Escalating Terrorism Problem in the United States."

to the attacks, the Bush administration, with Congressional approval, made certain reforms that shape America's domestic intelligence structure today. These reforms included establishing the DHS, the NCTC, an Intelligence Branch of the FBI, and state and locally owned and operated Fusion Centers.

Through research into their current operations and missions, there is evidence that these entities were designed to prevent another tragedy like 9/11. These reforms appear to defend primarily against FTO operatives entering the American homeland. DHS's border security operations and the FBI's involvement in overseas affairs provide excellent examples of how the intelligence structure is focused outwardly in regard to Jihadist terrorism.[274] Furthermore, the NCTC is charged with developing intelligence involving possible FTO operative infiltration, and does not address terrorism that is "purely domestic."[275] However, the nature of the current Jihadist threat has recently shifted. While Jihadist terrorism used to mainly be carried out by FTO operatives like 9/11, there has been more Jihadist lone-wolf attacks in recent years.[276] This lone-wolf is usually an American citizen who has been radicalized online by ISIS or Al-Qaeda propaganda. This growing potential of a Muslim-American perpetrating an attack against his fellow Americans in the name of Jihadism has thus changed the dynamics of the threat that DHS, the FBI, and the NCTC were designed to defend against. Very rarely is an FTO operative now coming into the American homeland to perpetrate an attack. Instead, the terrorist already among us. While Al-Qaeda and ISIS are still credible threats that could attack the homeland, the lone-wolf American Jihadist will most likely be the culprit of an attack in the future based on the current trend.[277] Therefore, a reexamination into current DHS, FBI, and NCTC strategies against Jihadist terrorism is certainly warranted.

[274] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Overseas Offices."

[275] National Counterterrorism Center, "How We Work."

[276] Bergen, Sterman, and Salyk-Virk, "Terrorism in America."

[277] Pecanha and Lai, "The Origins."

### 2. Alt-Right Terrorism

Although Jihadist terrorism will continue to be a threat to the American homeland, Alt-Right terrorism has recently asserted itself as the main terrorism threat. As Alt-Right groups such as Patriot Front and the American Identity movement discussed in Chapter III will continue to exist, the Alt-Right threat, like Jihadism, has also centered on the lone-wolf actor as well.[278] Terrorists such as Dylann Roof, Patrick Crusius, and Robert Bowers have all perpetrated attacks based on various right-wing ideologies based on anti-Semitism, white supremacy, or anti-immigration. With the Alt-Right threat on the rise, domestic intelligence must adapt. As both the DHS, the FBI, and even some SLTT agencies like the NYPD have acknowledged the threat posed by the Alt-Right,[279]intelligence to stop this threat will need to be better. Like the recent Jihadist lone wolf actors, Alt-Right terrorists are also American citizens who have specific rights delineated under the Fourth Amendment. Also, based on the American homeland's current demographics, Alt-Right terrorists could blend in easier with the population due to them being unassociated with a minority race or religion, which can give them an advantage. Like an American Jihadist, if an Alt-Right terrorist's activities do not alert the FBI, DHS, or SLTT agencies, an attack could be impossible to thwart. In order to better stop and contain Alt-Right terrorism, an in-depth look at the FBI and DHS's tactics, techniques, and procedures is necessary.

### 3. Great Power Incursion

While GPC has increased tensions between the United States, Russia, and China around the globe, the American homeland has also been subject to its ramifications through great power incursion. Russia meddled in the 2016 election cycle,[280] and launched a series of cyber-attacks on critical infrastructure in 2017 and 2018.[281]

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[278] Berger, "The Strategy."

[279] Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Framework*; Allam, "FBI Announces"; Watkins, "N.Y.P.D. creates Special Unit."

[280] Mangan and Calia, "Special Counsel Mueller."

[281] Volz and Gardner, "In a First, U.S. Blames Russia."

Furthermore, China has undertaken large amounts of cyber IP theft, and has been involved in many different espionage cases in the recent years.[282] While DHS's CISA and FBI Cyber are postured relatively well to deal with this new threat, they run into jurisdictional problems. As over 85 percent of the American homeland's critical infrastructure is privately owned, CISA and the FBI can only play a part in their defense if it is requested by private sector entities.[283] Instead of the federal government providing a common defense like it does in military operations, private individual companies often have their own cyber defense teams. However, due to these cyber-attacks being perpetrated by Russia and China, the FBI and CISA should take a more central role in helping defend these private networks against fellow Great Powers. Espionage cases, especially against China, have also increased in the past several years. In order to combat this threat, information and tips still need to be steadily given to FBI field offices to help spark investigations. The American psyche also must shift from looking at China as a business partner, toward that of a great power competitor. While business is certainly still good for both Chinese and American companies, American corporations should become wary of Chinese IP theft. Both DHS and the FBI need to continue to inform American companies of threats posed by Russian or Chinese operatives as they have been.

## B. RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis posed the question as to whether or not the United States should have a purely domestic intelligence agency like a British MI5 based upon the three biggest threats the nation faces today of Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion. Each threat was then dissected in chapters II, III, and IV. This thesis has shown that the intelligence apparatuses that help defend against each threat certainly have challenges. While DHS, FBI, and SLTT agencies have different missions and trials, they all perform valuable functions against these three threats that will be needed in the future. Even though an MI5 type model could be effective, the establishment of a purely domestic intelligence agency as a wholesale replacement of the current structure will be

[282] Todd Lightly, "How a Chicago College Student."

[283] Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, "APT Groups."

too disruptive to the aspects of the current system that work well, such as CISA in regards to infrastructure defense. A new agency could also just add another element in the bureaucracy which will take time to evolve into something effective like DHS and the FBI. Time that the United States does not have. Instead, the best courses of action are as follows:

### 1. A National Commission on Domestic Intelligence

A congressional and bipartisan review of the current domestic intelligence structure could be the best way to reform current practices. Just like the 9/11 Commission investigated the "facts and circumstances relating to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001,"[284] a new commission can help determine the "facts and circumstances" that surround the uptick in homegrown Jihadist and Alt-Right terrorism, as well as recent great power incursion. For example, the 9/11 Commission Report, which was first made public in 2004, gives an extremely detailed account of what happened behind the circumstances that led up to the attacks. The report's thirteen chapters start first by describing how Al-Qaeda operatives gained control of the aircraft and struck their targets.[285] Then, the report discusses how the United States missed signals of Al-Qaeda's intent to strike American interests, such as the USS *Cole* (DDG 67) bombing in 2000.[286] The report concludes by illustrating the need for better information sharing within the U.S. Intelligence Community to prevent the occurrence of another attack like 9/11.[287]

While the 9/11 Commission Report is an in-depth account that illustrates some of the U.S. Intelligence Community's failures in leading up to 9/11, it is important because it proved to the catalyst in developing intelligence reform. The 9/11 Commission Report was first released to the public on July 22, 2004.[288] By December 17, 2004, Congress

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[284] Congress, *National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States: The 9/11 Commission Report* (Washington, DC: National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States), 2004, xv.

[285] Congress, *National Commission*, 1.

[286] Congress, *National Commission*, 190.

[287] Congress, *National Commission*, 416.

[288] Congress, *National Commission*, Release Date.

and the Bush Administration passed the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA).[289] While this law was not the subject of this thesis, it is important because it shows that true change to a system can come after a bipartisan commission. If a bipartisan commission undertook an examination of Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion, at the level of detail displayed in the 9/11 Commission Report, further reform laws to the current system could take place once the report in published like they were in 2004.

### 2. A More Independent FBI Directorate of Intelligence

Homegrown Jihadists, Alt-Right terrorists, and great power incursion present significant threats the American homeland could face in the future. While the FBI is federal lead on counterintelligence and most counterterrorism efforts, this dominant role could encourage the FBI to become selfish with the intelligence that it has gained, and discourage it from sharing with other agencies. For example, the FBI's current stance on its Directorate of Intelligence is that it is a "national intelligence workforce within the FBI-a service within a service."[290] While this workforce is a full-fledged member of the U.S. Intelligence Community per the IRTPA, they are still accountable solely to the Attorney General due to being part of the FBI. By reporting to the Attorney General, FBI intelligence could be tempted to solely retain intelligence that relates to federal law enforcement, and fail to share it with other agencies such as SLTT precincts. The threats of Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion will certainly be fought at the federal level, but SLTT agencies will need to be as informed as possible.

To prevent any potential intelligence selfishness, the FBI's Directorate of Intelligence should become an independent organization, separate from the law enforcement side of the FBI. This stand-alone agency would not necessarily be a full-bore domestic intelligence agency like an MI5, but rather, will just ensure intelligence

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[289] Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, Pub. L. No. 108–458, 118 Stat. 3644 (2004). https://www.dni.gov/index.php/who-we-are/organizations/ogc/ogc-related-menus/ogc-related-content/irtpa-of-2004.

[290] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Intelligence Branch."

gained by the FBI is available also to DHS, Fusion Centers, and SLTT agencies. This agency will also be the responsibility of both the Attorney General and the Director of National Intelligence with its own director needing to be congressionally confirmed. The American homeland will need all of its first responders to be as informed as possible to effectively deal with all of these threats together. No agency can win this battle alone.

### 3. Mandated Federal Cyber Involvement

While great power incursion has seen traditional forms of espionage such as physical IP theft by Chinese agents, the majority of the threat appears to be coming from the cyber domain. Although CISA and FBI Cyber have good capabilities to defend against future cyber-attacks, they can only be involved in the private sector through a company's individual request for their assistance, or after a known crime has been committed. In order for these private sector companies to align with federal priorities, future legislation should mandate that CISA personnel become imbedded with private company cyber defense teams help to provide expertise and federal guidance. Not only would this federal assistance bolster the defensive capabilities of that private company, but it also could enhance the dialogue between CISA and the private sector. Furthermore, by CISA personnel being attached to a private company, CISA and DHS headquarters could find out quickly if a cyber-attack took place against it. For example, if Apple fell victim to a Chinese cyber-attack, the CISA agents attached to Apple could quickly inform their internal chain of command at CISA about the events. This is better than the current system in which CISA would not know about the attack unless it was notified by Apple personnel. Rather than an "every company for themselves" mentality against Chinese or Russian hackers, a more collective defense in which CISA plays a larger role could be a good strategy.

## C. OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

While the three threats of Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion will be difficult threats in the future, further research is needed into ways that the lone-wolf attacks undertaken by Americans which are based off Jihadist or Alt-Right ideologies could possibly be prevented. Is there a way that DHS, FBI, and SLTT agencies

could aggressively partner with social media and technology firms to prevent possible online radicalization? Also, the vast majority of Jihadist and Alt-Right lone wolves appear to be young Muslim or white men who have become disenfranchised and angry with current society. Could DHS, FBI, and SLTT agencies devote resources into more community engagement activities such as visiting more schools to prevent Alt-Right and Jihadist radicalization, or recruit more agents and officers from the American-Muslim community?

This thesis was written during a monumental time in world history and American homeland security. As of August 2020, the Coronavirus pandemic has claimed more than 160,000 Americans with no current end in sight. This current pandemic has proved that the United States still has areas to improve upon, such as health intelligence, or infection tracing. Additional research is needed into ways that DHS, FBI, and SLTT agencies can help the CDC during a pandemic.

## D. CONCLUSION

Jihadist terrorism, Alt-Right terrorism, and great power incursion are the three biggest threats the American homeland will face in the future. While they do not necessarily warrant an establishment of a purely domestic intelligence agency, these threats do require the current domestic intelligence apparatus be closely looked at and scrutinized by a bipartisan congressional commission. While homegrown Alt-Right and Jihadist terrorists will most likely perpetrate attacks in the future, great power incursion will also be an omnipresent reality as China and Russia will seek to undermine American society. The American domestic intelligence system must adapt to these threats.

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