

April 7, 2022

The Honorable Bennie G. Thompson  
Chairman  
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th  
Attack on the United States Capitol  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Liz Cheney  
Vice Chair  
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th  
Attack on the United States Capitol  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Thompson and Vice Chairman Cheney,

To further the mission of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, we write to provide research prepared by Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) Intelligence Project experts. We strongly support the essential work of the Select Committee. The Committee's findings and recommendations will be critical for lawmakers and the public to help understand the architects behind the January 6 attack, how to hold those planners and perpetrators – and those who inspired them to action – accountable, and necessary steps to safeguard future elections and our country's democratic institutions. We would ask that this statement be included as part of the Select Committee's official record.

Established in 1971, SPLC has been relentless in identifying and rooting out extremist groups to create a fair, inclusive, and unified nation. We are a nonprofit advocacy organization serving as a catalyst for racial justice throughout the South. We work in partnership with communities of color to dismantle white supremacy, strengthen intersectional movements through transformative policies and initiatives, and advance human rights of all people. We have deep expertise in monitoring the activities of domestic hate groups and other extremists – including the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazi movement, neo-Confederates, racist skinheads, antigovernment militias, and others. We currently track hundreds of extremist groups operating across the country and publish investigative reports, share key intelligence, and offer expert analysis to the media and public.

### **Nick Fuentes and America First**

Only 22 years old when he cheered on Donald Trump supporters attacking the U.S. Capitol building on Jan. 6, 2021, white nationalist Nick Fuentes has emerged as one of the most influential figures in a growing movement to undercut America's fragile democracy and replace it with a hard-right, authoritarian system. SPLC formally listed Fuentes' America First as a hate group in 2021, but we have tracked his hateful activism for five years.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, *The Year in Hate and Extremism 2021*, <https://www.splcenter.org/20220309/year-hate-extremism-2021>, March 9, 2022

Fuentes and his America First hangers-on succeed by making extremism seem normal to those who already espouse right-wing views. They collaborate with Republican lawmakers and bring them into the same room with hardened white supremacists. They put a youthful, conservative face on radical, far-right ideas, and do so while turning a profit. They eschew gloomy hate symbols, and instead embrace Americana and praise the fascist leaders America once fought to eradicate.

Fuentes told SPLC through a lawyer that he abhors political violence, but the America First movement unabashedly supports the Jan. 6, 2021, insurrection. Not only did Fuentes publicly raise the notion of killing disloyal Republican lawmakers in the run-up to the attack on the Capitol on Jan. 6, but he has also expressed no remorse for the deadly outcome of the day's events.<sup>2</sup> He said of the attack on the Capitol on the eve of its first anniversary: "This is a holiday. This is a historic moment for us. We should celebrate that it happened, absolutely."<sup>3</sup> Fuentes and his collaborators will seize another opportunity to promote political violence on the scale of the Capitol attack, or worse, if given a chance.

### **Origins of Fuentes' America First movement**

Fuentes wins fans on the far right by speaking directly about his ambitions. He talks about further radicalizing the Republican Party and building an extremist movement to control our government. He describes his ambitions to protect America's "white demographic core," defining his movement explicitly along racial lines.<sup>4</sup>

"We have got to be on the right, dragging these people kicking and screaming into the future. ... Into a truly reactionary party. It's incremental. We're not going to drag them all the way over. But if we can drag the furthest part of the right further to the right, and we can drag the center further to the right, and we can drag the left further to the right ... then we're winning," Fuentes told his followers in May 2021.<sup>5</sup>

Fuentes' mostly young, white, and male followers refer to themselves as "groypers," which is the name of a toad-shaped cartoon character who commonly appears in internet memes.<sup>6</sup> People who call themselves groypers also identify as being America First, but this brand has no formal vetting process, membership structure or hierarchy. Fuentes calls his fans to events, and the young, mostly white, and almost exclusively male groypers appear. Fuentes made such calls in the run-up to Jan. 6, 2021, and groypers appeared at "Stop the Steal" events throughout the United States, waving flags bearing his America First logo.

Fuentes also attracts other far-right influencers who seek access to this young fanbase. Some of the influencers who appear alongside Fuentes are white nationalists, like Peter Brimelow of the racist non-profit VDARE. Others are people of color who work with white nationalists, like livestreamer Jesse Lee Peterson and Michelle "Mommy Groypers" Malkin.<sup>7</sup> On the day of the attack on the U.S. Capitol, far-right influencer and frequent Fuentes collaborator Timothy "Baked Alaska" Gionet entered the building and livestreamed to his own fans from House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's office.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, "Nick Fuentes," <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/nick-fuentes>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eah2Qi1zcE8&t=71s>.

<sup>6</sup> Know Your Meme, <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/groypers>.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/21561227-afpac-iii-poster>.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Edison Hayden, "Meet DLive: The Livestreaming Platform Used by Trump's Capitol Insurrectionists," <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/01/07/meet-dlive-livestreaming-platform-used-trumps-capitol-insurrectionists>, SPLC Hatewatch, January 7, 2021.

## **From white nationalist activism to AFPAC**

In 2017, Fuentes marched alongside Klansmen, neo-Nazis, skinheads, and other white power activists at the deadly “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. Three people were killed and dozens injured at the rally; yet, in social media posts and interviews with mainstream news outlets, Fuentes presented the event as a success. He claimed in a Facebook post that it would unleash a “tidal wave of white identity.”<sup>9</sup>

Less than a year later, Fuentes addressed a crowd at the annual meeting of the self-described “race realist” think tank American Renaissance, where he argued that his generation may provide a fruitful recruitment pool for the racist right. Kevin DeAnna, a propagandist and longtime member of the white power movement, stated that Fuentes was “the youngest person to ever speak at one of our conferences.”<sup>10</sup>

Fuentes used the popularity of his nightly video livestreams to push his audience toward real-world organizing in fall 2019, when the groypers disrupted a number of on-campus speaking events affiliated with the conservative youth group Turning Point USA (TPUSA). At events on the campuses of UCLA, Texas A&M University, Ohio University, and elsewhere, Fuentes fans tormented more mainstream right-wing speakers by asking them bigoted questions during live Q&A sessions. Fans of Fuentes’ show referred to these incidents as the “Groyper Wars.” In one post on Telegram from Nov. 10, 2019, authored in the run-up to an event with Donald Trump Jr. on the UCLA campus, Fuentes encouraged his supporters to ask questions that he claimed would show him to be a “radical globalist on immigration” or nod to the fact that TPUSA president Charlie Kirk did not support Trump in the 2016 Republican primary.<sup>11</sup> TPUSA has since taken a harder turn to the right, hiring disinformation operator and extremist Jack Posobiec in 2021.<sup>12</sup> Kirk, too, has since called for a “citizen force” on the border in order to preserve “white demographics in America.”<sup>13</sup>

Malkin, an anti-immigrant pundit, helped lend support to Fuentes’ movement in the aftermath of the confrontation with TPUSA.<sup>14</sup> She spoke at Fuentes’ inaugural America First Political Action Conference (AFPAC), alongside white nationalists Scott Greer and Patrick Casey.<sup>15</sup> Fuentes scheduled AFPAC to coincide with the more mainstream Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) and has since made it an annual event. AFPAC has at times overshadowed CPAC because of the media interest generated by Republican lawmakers appearing side-by-side with white nationalists.<sup>16</sup> Rep. Paul Gosar of Arizona, who promoted the “Stop the Steal” campaign, spoke at AFPAC’s second iteration. Rep.

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<sup>9</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, “Nick Fuentes,” <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/nick-fuentes>.

<sup>10</sup> Greg Hood, “AmRen 2018: The Fire Taking Hold,” <https://archive.fo/XSsXw>, *American Renaissance*, April 30, 2018.

<sup>11</sup> <https://t.me/nickfuentes/1871>

<sup>12</sup> Justin Baragona, “Notorious Pizzagater Jack Posobiec Leaves OAN for Conservative Youth Group Turning Point USA,” <https://www.thedailybeast.com/notorious-pizzagater-jack-posobiec-leaves-oan-for-conservative-youth-group-turning-point-usa>, *The Daily Beast*, May 20, 2021.

<sup>13</sup> <https://twitter.com/JasonSCampbell/status/1441112075351199744>

<sup>14</sup> Amanda Carpenter, “Michelle Malkin: Mother of Groypers,” <https://www.thebulwark.com/michelle-malkin-mother-of-groypers/>, *The Bulwark*, March 9, 2020.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Piggott and Alex Amend, “The Daily Caller Has A White Nationalist Problem,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/08/16/daily-caller-has-white-nationalist-problem>; SPLC Hatewatch, August 16, 2017;

Southern Poverty Law Center, “Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement,” <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/identity-evropaamerican-identity-movement>.

<sup>16</sup> Jared Holt, “The America First Political Action Conference Is Courting Republicans Towards Extremism,” <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-america-first-political-action-conference-is-courting-republicans-towards-extremism>, *The Daily Beast*, February 23, 2022.

Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia, who rose to political power through the audience she built as a QAnon promoter, spoke at the third AFPAC event.<sup>17</sup>

Table 1 shows how AFPAC has grown since its inception in early 2020.

Table 1. AFPAC speakers

	AFPAC I	AFPAC II	AFPAC III
<b>Date</b>	Feb. 28, 2020	Feb. 25, 2021	Feb. 25, 2022
<b>Location</b>	Washington, D.C.	Orlando, FL	Orlando, FL
<b>Venue</b>		Orlando World Center Marriott	Hilton Orlando
<b>Speaker List</b>	Patrick Casey Nicholas Fuentes Scott Greer Michelle Malkin	Vincent James Foxx Nicholas Fuentes Rep. Paul Gosar (R-AZ) Steve King Michelle Malkin Jon Miller	Joe Arpaio Vincent James Foxx Rep. Paul Gosar (R-AZ) Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-GA) Janice McGeachin Stew Peters Jesse Lee Peterson AZ State Sen. Wendy Rogers (R) Andrew Torba

Fuentes registered a 501(c)4 non-profit called the America First Foundation in July 2020.<sup>18</sup> Florida native Jozef Victor Nathan Gherman, who operated online under various pseudonyms, helped Fuentes set up the foundation, SPLC found.<sup>19</sup> Prior to his work with Fuentes, during parts of 2017 and 2018, Gherman ran a cryptocurrency “solicitation scheme.” The Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) issued an order in April 2021, demanding Gherman pay restitution to investors who lost hundreds of thousands of dollars in cryptocurrency through his company.<sup>20</sup>

Fuentes started promoting his non-profit as a place to make donations in the run-up to the second annual AFPAC conference. He boasted in a March 1, 2022, post on the messaging app Telegram that “we raised a shit load of money” for the foundation during the third annual AFPAC conference.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Freddy Cruz and Brett Barrouquere “Congressional Candidate Marjorie Taylor Greene Has Several Ties to Conspiracy, Hate Groups,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2020/09/09/congressional-candidate-marjorie-taylor-greene-has-several-ties-conspiracy-hate-groups>, SPLC Hatewatch, September 9, 2020; Jonathan Edwards and Mariana Alfaro, “McConnell says no space in GOP for ‘white supremacists or anti-Semitism’ after two House Republicans participate in white nationalist’s conference,” <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2022/02/28/marjorie-taylor-greene-white-nationalist-conference/>, *Washington Post*, February 28, 2022.

<sup>18</sup> Hannah Gais, “Far-Right Extremists Gather in Florida for CPAC Spinoff Alongside Sitting Congressman,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/03/11/far-right-extremists-gather-florida-cpac-spinoff-alongside-sitting-congressman>, SPLC Hatewatch, March 11, 2021.

<sup>19</sup> Megan Squire and Michael Edison Hayden, “AFPAC Co-Planner Led Crypto ‘Solicitation Scheme,’” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2022/03/29/afpac-co-planner-led-crypto-solicitation-scheme>, SPLC Hatewatch, March 29, 2022.

<sup>20</sup> Commodity Futures Trading Commission, “CFTC Orders Florida Man and His Company to Pay Over \$397,000 in Connection with a Digital Assets Solicitation Scheme,” <https://www.cftc.gov/PressRoom/PressReleases/8381-21>, April 20, 2021.

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/21561716-fuentes-afpac-funds>.

### **Conservative aesthetics, neofascist ambitions**

Fuentes has said his goal is to “take over the conservative movement” and has called contemporary America “the great satan.”<sup>22</sup> He and his followers champion stringent anti-LGBT laws, white identity politics, brutal nativism, and authoritarianism. Some give voice to Holocaust denialism or revisionism. Neo-Nazi Andrew Anglin of *The Daily Stormer* described Fuentes as the “future dictator of America” in a January 2022 post on his website, underscoring his appeal to other open admirers of fascism.<sup>23</sup>

Despite this extremism, Fuentes and other America First activists still manage to build bridges with mainstream politicians. They do this by softening their aesthetic and avoiding the stereotypical trappings of white power activity.<sup>24</sup> America First collaborator Patrick Casey has called traditional white nationalism a “dead brand” and urged his fans to distance themselves from uniform-wearing or terroristic neo-Nazi groups.

“Like it or not, when you define yourself as a white nationalist, you’re linking yourself to the [white supremacist novel] Turner Diaries, [the neo-Nazi group] the Order, indefensible policy proposals, neo-Nazism, etc. ... I really don’t see how anyone can look at the political landscape and self-described white nationalists are ever going to take power. It’s a dead brand,” Casey posted to Telegram in October 2019.<sup>25</sup>

Fuentes found middle ground between the white nationalist fringe and the mainstream Republican Party through public support of the populist presidency of Donald Trump. Throughout the Trump era, Fuentes and his cohorts exploited the 45th president’s popularity with young conservatives to deepen support for his own livestreams and events.

“I don’t want to see anyone Roman saluting,” Fuentes told his fans on a livestream during the summer of 2020, urging his followers to avoid being caught identifying publicly with Nazism while supporting Trump.<sup>26</sup> “I want to so bad right now, though. I want to Roman salute my president so bad.”

Fuentes has praised Hitler, the Italian fascist Benito Mussolini, and the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, while at the same time lifting up former President Trump as a heroic and noble figure.<sup>27</sup>

### **America First and ‘Stop the Steal’**

Fuentes and others in the America First tent hyped the “Stop the Steal” movement and gave the protest events surrounding Trump’s lies an air of youthful enthusiasm. Former Trump adviser Roger Stone created “Stop the Steal” during the 2016 election and used it to cast

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<sup>22</sup> <https://twitter.com/RightWingWatch/status/150416705557201925>;  
<https://www.bitchute.com/video/vu4HQrPiG9pf/>.

<sup>23</sup> Andrew Anglin, “Why was Nick Fuentes Subpoenaed by Grimy Liz at the Same Time as Rat Casey?” <https://dailystormer.name/why-was-nick-fuentes-subpoenaed-by-grimy-liz-at-the-same-time-as-rat-casey>, *The Daily Stormer*, January 27, 2022.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., Cynthia Miller-Idress, *Hate in the Homeland: The New Global Far Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020), pp. 177-191.

<sup>25</sup> <https://t.me/patrickcaseyusa/524>.

<sup>26</sup> Hannah Gais and Michael Edison Hayden, “Extremists Are Cashing in on a Youth-Targeted Gaming Website.” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2020/11/17/extremists-are-cashing-youth-targeted-gaming-website>, SPLC Hatewatch, November 17, 2020.

<sup>27</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, “Nick Fuentes,” <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/nick-fuentes>; Will Carliss and Jessica Guynn, “Republicans are backing Ukraine in the war. So why is there support for Russia on America's far right?” <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/us/republicans-are-backing-ukraine-in-the-war-so-why-is-there-support-for-russia-on-america-s-far-right/ar-AAVweuL>, *USA Today*, March 28, 2022.

doubt on the integrity of U.S. elections.<sup>28</sup> When Stone ally and notorious disinformation peddler, Ali Alexander, helped resurrect the saying to stir up widespread distrust in the 2020 elections, he tapped into the energy of Fuentes and his followers to help.<sup>29</sup> Fuentes obliged, using the opportunity to raise money for himself and build new fans.

Fuentes used the video game livestreaming platform DLive during “Stop the Steal” and rose to become one of the top earners on the platform.<sup>30</sup> Table 2 itemizes Fuentes’ earnings in the pre-and post-election periods.

*Table 2. Summary of earnings on DLive for user nicholasfuentes Apr. 16, 2020 - Jan. 19, 2021*

Total donations	\$114,014.12
Maximum daily donations	\$4183.61
Avg. daily donation	\$414.60
Avg. daily donation, pre-election	\$325.79
Avg daily donation, post-election	\$739.25

SPLC found that prior to “Stop the Steal,” during the time between April and October of 2020, Fuentes earned around \$326 per day through DLive. Following Trump’s electoral loss in November 2020 and the attack on the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, Fuentes nearly doubled that amount, pulling in roughly \$740 per day from his livestreams.<sup>31</sup>

SPLC found that the vast majority of Fuentes’ highest-grossing donation dates corresponded with the period in which he helped lead the “Stop the Steal” movement. Table 3 details the days in which viewers gave the most money to Fuentes on DLive. (For a full breakdown of Fuentes’ earnings on DLive, see the Appendix.)

*Table 3. Top 20 highest donation dates on DLive for user nicholasfuentes*

Date (GMT)	Count of Donations	Donations In, USD	Day of Week (GMT)	Note
2020-11-04	3874	\$4,183.61	Wednesday	Election
2020-12-02	2723	3,645.45	Wednesday	Stop the Steal
2020-04-21	2681	3,121.15	Tuesday	New TikTok account
2020-12-01	1667	2,938.05	Tuesday	Stop the Steal
2021-01-08	2993	2,843.29	Friday	Post-Insurrection
2020-12-03	678	2,840.05	Thursday	Stop the Steal
2021-01-05	778	2,331.55	Tuesday	Pre-Insurrection

<sup>28</sup> Michael Edison Hayden, “Far Right Resurrects Roger Stone’s #StopTheSteal During Vote Count,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2020/11/06/far-right-resurrects-roger-stones-stopthesteal-during-vote-count>, SPLC Hatewatch, November 6, 2020.

<sup>29</sup> Luke O’Brien, “How Republican Politics (And Twitter) Created Ali Alexander, The Man Behind ‘Stop The Steal,’” [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/republicans-twitter-ali-alexander-stop-the-steal\\_n\\_6026fb26c5b6f88289fbab57](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/republicans-twitter-ali-alexander-stop-the-steal_n_6026fb26c5b6f88289fbab57), *HuffPost*, March 7, 2021.

<sup>30</sup> Hannah Gais and Michael Edison Hayden, “Extremists Are Cashing in on a Youth-Targeted Gaming Website,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2020/11/17/extremists-are-cashing-youth-targeted-gaming-website>, SPLC Hatewatch, November 17, 2020; Megan Squire, “Monetizing Propaganda: How Far-right Extremists Earn Money by Video Streaming.” In 13th ACM Web Science Conference 2021 (WebSci ’21). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, 158–67. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1145/3447535.3462490>.

<sup>31</sup> Hannah Gais, “The Extreme Right’s Pivot to (Live) Video,” <https://www.splcenter.org/20220309/year-hate-extremism-2021#pivot-live-video>, SPLC *Year in Hate and Extremism 2021*, March 9, 2022.

2020-12-24	1068	2,237.96	Thursday	Stop the Steal
2020-12-04	903	2,182.55	Friday	Stop the Steal
2020-12-15	493	2,062.52	Tuesday	Stop the Steal
2020-04-25	1606	2,062.06	Saturday	Tiktok deplatforming
2020-12-11	1097	1,621.76	Friday	Stop the Steal
2020-12-19	721	1,620.95	Saturday	Stop the Steal
2020-09-30	2413	1,603.52	Wednesday	
2020-11-24	2024	1,593.00	Tuesday	Stop the Steal
2020-11-17	1318	1,512.81	Tuesday	Stop the Steal
2020-06-09	2861	1,501.90	Tuesday	
2020-07-16	354	1,469.14	Thursday	
2020-12-22	1290	1,452.49	Tuesday	Stop the Steal
2020-09-18	810	1,395.61	Friday	

As the table indicates, 14 of 20 dates correspond to activities happening around the 2020 election or “Stop the Steal.” Some notable highlights include:

- Two of Fuentes’ highest gross donation dates, Dec. 1 and Dec. 2, corresponded to a speaking engagement at a Nov. 30, 2020, “Stop the Steal” rally in Phoenix. Fuentes streamed the event on DLive.<sup>32</sup> He netted \$2,938.05 and \$3,645.45 on Dec. 1 and 2, 2020, respectively.
- Fuentes earned \$1,512.81 on Nov. 16, 2020, two days after Trump supporters gathered in Washington, D.C. for their Million MAGA March.<sup>33</sup>
- Fuentes recorded a monologue where he raised the specter of killing state lawmakers on one show, Jan. 5, 2021, in which he pulled in a total of \$2,331.55.<sup>34</sup>
- Fuentes brought in \$2,843.29 on a stream that aired the day after the insurrection. DLive suspended him shortly thereafter, making it his final broadcast on the site.

In December 2020, while Fuentes was building his audience through “Stop the Steal” promotions, French computer programmer Laurent Bachelier donated 13.5 Bitcoin to him, then valued at around \$400,000 U.S.<sup>35</sup> Bachelier, who also donated to the white nationalist non-profit VDARE and the neo-Nazi website *The Daily Stormer*, took an intentional drug overdose soon after. He allegedly suffered from deteriorating health conditions. Fuentes is an avid proponent of cryptocurrency, dealing in Bitcoin and Litecoin, as SPLC reported.<sup>36</sup> He has made cryptocurrency a big part of his business practices, which have received greater scrutiny following the attack on the Capitol.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup><https://web.archive.org/web/20201201013515/https://twitter.com/NickJFuentes/status/1333585324165844999>

<sup>33</sup> Atlantic Council’s DFRLab, “#StopTheSteal: Timeline of Social Media and Extremist Activities Leading to 1/6 Insurrection,” <https://www.justsecurity.org/74622/stopthesteal-timeline-of-social-media-and-extremist-activities-leading-to-1-6-insurrection/>, *Just Security*, February 10, 2022.

<sup>34</sup> <https://twitter.com/MeganSquire0/status/1346478478523125767>.

<sup>35</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, “Nick Fuentes,” <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/nick-fuentes>.

<sup>36</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, “Cryptocurrency Report,” <https://www.splcenter.org/cryptocurrency-report>.

<sup>37</sup> Michael Edison Hayden and Megan Squire, “How Cryptocurrency Revolutionized the White Supremacist Movement,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/12/09/how-cryptocurrency-revolutionized-white-supremacist-movement>, SPLC Hatewatch, December 9, 2021.

## **Evolution of livestreaming and life after ‘Stop the Steal’**

Fuentes built his celebrity through his one-man livestreams, in which he speaks alone in front of a green screen backdrop.<sup>38</sup> Fuentes started livestreaming as a first-year student at Boston University in 2017. His work aired on the Trump-aligned Right Side Broadcasting Network until that August. He subsequently attempted to move his stream to other livestreaming platforms, including mainstream platform YouTube and video game-focused Twitch, but these sites also banned him. He began streaming on the small DLive platform in early 2020 and remained there until they also suspended Fuentes on Jan. 9, 2021, following the attack on the Capitol. In February 2021, he launched an independent streaming service initially called AmericaFirst.live and then later re-launched in October 2021 as Cozy.TV.<sup>39</sup> Fuentes launched Cozy.TV through the help of white supremacist activists, as SPLC’s Hatewatch reported in November 2021.<sup>40</sup>

Fuentes has welcomed a wealth of far-right extremist content creators to Cozy.TV, including Andrew Torba, CEO of the extremist-friendly social media site Gab<sup>41</sup>; Milo Yiannopoulos, a former Breitbart staffer and alt-right apologist;<sup>42</sup> Gionet, the white nationalist livestreamer who faces federal charges over his alleged breach of the Capitol on Jan. 6;<sup>43</sup> and Daryush “Roosh” Valizadeh, a male supremacist who claims to have renounced his ways in favor of traditionalist Christianity.<sup>44</sup> Infowars’ Alex Jones, who has expressed admiration for Fuentes, also mirrors broadcasts of his show on Cozy.TV. Because taking monetary donations is a key purpose of the video livestreams, Fuentes also installed a homebrew version of YouTube’s “superchat” donation function on Cozy.TV using the Canada-based monetization platform Entropy. SPLC reported that when Fuentes announced that Entropy’s payment processor “forced them to ban [him],” its parent company built him a custom-made platform to monetize his livestreams, helping to keep him afloat.<sup>45</sup>

Fuentes had boasted that his verified Twitter handle helped drive traffic to his livestreams after losing access to one site or another, but the company suspended him in July 2021, following an SPLC investigation into the platform’s role in buoying the far right.<sup>46</sup> Relegated to Telegram and the fringe social media website Gab, he has in recent months sought to

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<sup>38</sup> Hannah Gais, “The Extreme Right’s Pivot to (Live) Video,” <https://www.splcenter.org/20220309/year-hate-extremism-2021#pivot-live-video>, SPLC *Year in Hate and Extremism 2021*, March 9, 2022.

<sup>39</sup> Hannah Gais, “Nick Fuentes Deplatformed: A White Nationalist’s Journey Through Alt-Tech,” <https://www.splcenter.org/20220309/year-hate-extremism-2021#nick-fuentes>, SPLC *Year in Hate and Extremism 2021*, March 9, 2021.

<sup>40</sup> Hannah Gais, Michael Edison Hayden, “Infowars Director Bought Domain Named After Terrorist,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/11/16/infowars-director-bought-domain-named-after-terrorist>, SPLC Hatewatch, November 16, 2021.

<sup>41</sup> John Dougherty and Michael Edison Hayden, “How Gab Has Raised Millions Thanks to This Crowdfunding Company,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/01/24/how-gab-has-raised-millions-thanks-crowdfunding-company>; <https://cozy.tv/gab>, SPLC Hatewatch, January 24, 2019.

<sup>42</sup> Joseph Bernstein, “Here’s How Breitbart And Milo Smuggled White Nationalism Into The Mainstream,” <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/josephbernstein/heres-how-breitbart-and-milo-smuggled-white-nationalism>, *Buzzfeed News*, October 5, 2017; <https://cozy.tv/milo>.

<sup>43</sup> Michael Edison Hayden, “Meet DLive: The Livestreaming Platform Used by Trump’s Capitol Insurrectionists,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/01/07/meet-dlive-livestreaming-platform-used-trumps-capitol-insurrectionists>, SPLC Hatewatch, January 7, 2021. <https://cozy.tv/bakedalaska>.

<sup>44</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, Daryush “Roosh” Valizadeh, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/daryush-roosh-valizadeh>; <https://cozy.tv/roosh>

<sup>45</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, “Daryush ‘Roosh’ Valizadeh,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/12/19/revealed-startup-creates-streaming-platform-extremists-big-tech-infrastructure>.

<sup>46</sup> Michael Edison Hayden, “‘We Make Mistakes’: Twitter’s Embrace of the Extreme Far Right,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/07/07/we-make-mistakes-twitters-embrace-extreme-far-right>, SPLC Hatewatch, July 7, 2021.



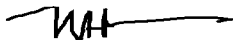
make connections with other extremists banned from mainstream platforms to help expand his fanbase, such as Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes.<sup>47</sup>

Fuentes has also sought to exploit divides over the response to the COVID-19 pandemic by hosting two “Vax Watch” events in New York City in November 2021. There, he used the COVID-19 vaccine debate as a way into promoting his hard-right, authoritarian worldview, as well as Christian nationalist politics.<sup>48</sup> Fuentes has also increasingly expressed paranoia and displeasure following the scrutiny he has faced after Jan. 6, 2021.

“We have to do what we have to do,” he said of his activism during a February 2022 livestream. “I don’t think I’ll ever be happy. I enjoy what I do. It fulfills me. I’m content. But I’m never going to have the things that will make me happy because this is very tough. It’s just a tough, grueling, miserable deal.”<sup>49</sup>

The Southern Poverty Law Center deeply appreciates the work of the Select Committee and we are a willing partner in your essential assignment. We look forward to continuing to work with you as you focus your urgent attention on investigating the deadly January 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol, establishing and reporting facts, and holding those responsible accountable.

Sincerely,



Michael Edison Hayden  
Senior Investigative Reporter/Spokesperson  
Intelligence Project



Megan Squire, Ph.D.  
Senior Fellow  
Intelligence Project



Hannah Gais  
Senior Research Analyst  
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Susan Corke  
Director  
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<sup>47</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, “Proud Boys,” <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/proud-boys>.

<sup>48</sup> Michael Edison Hayden, “Nick Fuentes Faces Scrutiny Following Jan. 6 Subpoena,” <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2022/01/20/nick-fuentes-faces-scrutiny-following-jan-6-subpoena>, SPLC Hatewatch, January 20, 2022.

<sup>49</sup> <https://twitter.com/RightWingWatch/status/1491106087558578178>.

## Appendix

### **Listing A1. Domains**

These internet domains have been used to host America First content or are domains that have been redirected to other America First domains.

- afdev.net
- afpac.events
- aftech.info
- americafirst.dev
- americafirst.foundation
- americafirstfoundation.org
- cozy.tv
- foxtrotstream.xyz
- nicholasfuentes.com
- americafirst.live (redirects to cozy.tv)
- bakedalaska.tv (redirects to cozy.tv)
- boy.computer (redirects to cozy.tv)
- capitalismisgay.com (redirects to americafirst.live)
- genzgop.com (redirects to nicholasfuentes.com)
- israelfirst.live (redirects to americafirst.live)
- nickfuentes.com (redirects to nicholasfuentes.com)
- wbstour.us (redirects to nicholasfuentes.com)

### **Table A2. Cryptocurrency**

The following Bitcoin addresses are associated with America First and Nicholas J. Fuentes.

<b>Address</b>	<b>First active</b>	<b>Total received</b>
3L8zhm4YGw2CCqsmTNreAdVbkzJYswwz8u	2020-02-15	13.75662485
19NY6h3UNk5XyHCkkCHamJVYMZE2mBsJQu	2017-11-14	0.01694212
3L23LPKrphBDEgoDsVCDQoyTxwveRc9n1n	2017-10-17	0.03746281
3JsFtLBKZgQoGpskZi1KDNLzZFuo3xaFgF	never	

### **Table A3. Earnings by Day of Week on DLive**

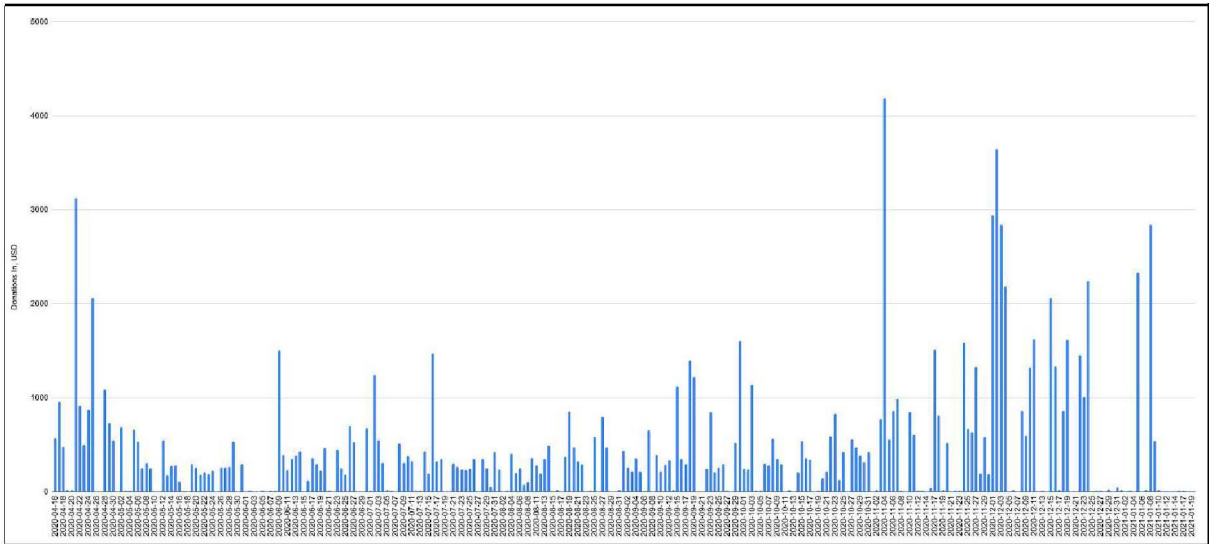
These are for the nicholasfuentes user on DLive, April 16, 2020 - Jan. 19, 2021. Fuentes' earnings on DLive followed his Monday-Friday broadcast schedule. Days of the week are calculated using Coordinated Universal Time (UTC).

	<b>Count of Donations</b>	<b>Total, USD</b>
Monday	28754	\$28,759.74
Tuesday	27051	\$23,017.48

Wednesday	17367	\$20,620.29
Thursday	22166	\$22,271.32
Friday	19081	\$15,568.02
Saturday	2347	\$2,044.18
Sunday	1602	\$1,695.57

**Figure A4. Complete Daily Donations on DLive, Visualization**

These are for the nicholasfuentes user on DLive, April 16, 2020 - Jan. 19, 2021.



**Table A5. Complete Daily Donations on DLive, Table**

These are for the nicholasfuentes user on DLive, April 16, 2020 - Jan. 19, 2021.

Grand total: \$114,014.12 \*

\* Does not include refunds issued after DLive removed Fuentes from the platform in January 2021.

Date (GMT)	Count of Donations	Donations In, USD	Day of week (GMT)
2020-04-16	251	\$574.37	Thursday
2020-04-17	769	961.27	Friday
2020-04-18	425	479.77	Saturday
2020-04-19	7	22.55	Sunday
2020-04-20	7	22.58	Monday
2020-04-21	2681	3,121.15	Tuesday
2020-04-22	1101	916.83	Wednesday
2020-04-23	602	497.12	Thursday

2020-04-24	930	877.87	Friday
2020-04-25	1606	2,062.06	Saturday
2020-04-26	3	8.05	Sunday
2020-04-27	2	5.36	Monday
2020-04-28	1525	1,086.77	Tuesday
2020-04-29	1088	735.66	Wednesday
2020-04-30	641	551.99	Thursday
2020-05-01	7	5.42	Friday
2020-05-02	1788	689.29	Saturday
2020-05-03	5	10.82	Sunday
2020-05-04	4	10.73	Monday
2020-05-05	906	662.41	Tuesday
2020-05-06	658	534.13	Wednesday
2020-05-07	658	254.43	Thursday
2020-05-08	662	309.52	Friday
2020-05-09	439	250.15	Saturday
2020-05-10	3	2.70	Sunday
2020-05-11	1	2.68	Monday
2020-05-12	930	552.59	Tuesday
2020-05-13	236	174.58	Wednesday
2020-05-14	241	276.44	Thursday
2020-05-15	332	283.33	Friday
2020-05-16	199	113.44	Saturday
2020-05-17	2	0.02	Sunday
2020-05-18	1	2.68	Monday
2020-05-19	693	292.55	Tuesday
2020-05-20	380	260.18	Wednesday
2020-05-21	244	179.51	Thursday
2020-05-22	384	208.44	Friday
2020-05-23	310	186.90	Saturday
2020-05-24	192	223.47	Sunday
2020-05-25	1	2.68	Monday
2020-05-26	372	259.51	Tuesday
2020-05-27	496	262.38	Wednesday
2020-05-28	416	268.37	Thursday
2020-05-29	987	538.88	Friday
2020-05-30	4	8.14	Saturday
2020-05-31	668	294.10	Sunday
2020-06-01	4	8.06	Monday

2020-06-02	4	10.73	Tuesday
2020-06-03	4	8.06	Wednesday
2020-06-04	3	8.05	Thursday
2020-06-05	6	10.76	Friday
2020-06-06	2	5.36	Saturday
2020-06-07	3	13.41	Sunday
2020-06-08	5	13.41	Monday
2020-06-09	2861	1,501.90	Tuesday
2020-06-10	659	394.40	Wednesday
2020-06-11	536	233.59	Thursday
2020-06-12	888	353.75	Friday
2020-06-13	780	387.42	Saturday
2020-06-14	477	427.35	Sunday
2020-06-15	1	2.68	Monday
2020-06-16	397	115.14	Tuesday
2020-06-17	758	356.21	Wednesday
2020-06-18	622	294.57	Thursday
2020-06-19	506	222.47	Friday
2020-06-20	686	466.84	Saturday
2020-06-21	5	13.41	Sunday
2020-06-22	3	8.05	Monday
2020-06-23	483	453.69	Tuesday
2020-06-24	654	249.36	Wednesday
2020-06-25	323	184.51	Thursday
2020-06-26	479	696.8	Friday
2020-06-27	1196	530.94	Saturday
2020-06-28	3	8.05	Sunday
2020-06-29	3	8.05	Monday
2020-06-30	1177	676.35	Tuesday
2020-07-01	4	10.73	Wednesday
2020-07-02	785	1,245.87	Thursday
2020-07-03	559	553.09	Friday
2020-07-04	1045	312.47	Saturday
2020-07-05	4	16.09	Sunday
2020-07-06	4	10.73	Monday
2020-07-07	2	5.36	Tuesday
2020-07-08	975	510.88	Wednesday
2020-07-09	519	309.92	Thursday
2020-07-10	322	381.37	Friday

2020-07-11	543	324.64	Saturday
2020-07-12	4	10.73	Sunday
2020-07-13	5	13.41	Monday
2020-07-14	822	427.76	Tuesday
2020-07-15	409	193.66	Wednesday
2020-07-16	354	1,469.14	Thursday
2020-07-17	304	322.25	Friday
2020-07-18	561	348.92	Saturday
2020-07-19	1	2.68	Sunday
2020-07-20	2	5.36	Monday
2020-07-21	396	300.55	Tuesday
2020-07-22	562	270.28	Wednesday
2020-07-23	417	236.71	Thursday
2020-07-24	399	234.01	Friday
2020-07-25	607	245.42	Saturday
2020-07-26	260	348.57	Sunday
2020-07-27	3	8.05	Monday
2020-07-28	529	352.96	Tuesday
2020-07-29	679	253.52	Wednesday
2020-07-30	56	52.43	Thursday
2020-07-31	234	424.40	Friday
2020-08-01	308	238.98	Saturday
2020-08-02	2	5.36	Sunday
2020-08-03	5	11.63	Monday
2020-08-04	610	408.80	Tuesday
2020-08-05	301	203.18	Wednesday
2020-08-06	386	255.55	Thursday
2020-08-07	416	74.44	Friday
2020-08-08	288	103.83	Saturday
2020-08-10	449	356.36	Monday
2020-08-11	366	279.71	Tuesday
2020-08-12	203	195.32	Wednesday
2020-08-13	555	348.38	Thursday
2020-08-14	594	490.87	Friday
2020-08-15	2	0.13	Saturday
2020-08-16	8	16.61	Sunday
2020-08-17	10	6.28	Monday
2020-08-18	589	370.04	Tuesday
2020-08-19	1570	854.38	Wednesday

2020-08-20	1064	470.10	Thursday
2020-08-21	385	325.30	Friday
2020-08-22	611	294.07	Saturday
2020-08-23	4	8.14	Sunday
2020-08-24	4	10.73	Monday
2020-08-25	418	584.47	Tuesday
2020-08-26	4	8.06	Wednesday
2020-08-27	739	796.40	Thursday
2020-08-28	1309	472.74	Friday
2020-08-29	2	5.36	Saturday
2020-08-30	2	5.36	Sunday
2020-08-31	5	18.77	Monday
2020-09-01	704	437.11	Tuesday
2020-09-02	551	262.01	Wednesday
2020-09-03	433	218.53	Thursday
2020-09-04	294	358.61	Friday
2020-09-05	513	214.56	Saturday
2020-09-06	1	0.01	Sunday
2020-09-07	248	655.25	Monday
2020-09-08	2	2.77	Tuesday
2020-09-09	489	395.32	Wednesday
2020-09-10	192	219.27	Thursday
2020-09-11	630	287.25	Friday
2020-09-12	156	338.27	Saturday
2020-09-13	6	16.09	Sunday
2020-09-15	545	1,125.73	Tuesday
2020-09-16	242	353.16	Wednesday
2020-09-17	433	293.04	Thursday
2020-09-18	810	1,395.61	Friday
2020-09-19	1163	1,220.38	Saturday
2020-09-20	4	8.06	Sunday
2020-09-21	2	5.36	Monday
2020-09-22	303	248.41	Tuesday
2020-09-23	605	843.64	Wednesday
2020-09-24	272	206.71	Thursday
2020-09-25	207	259.32	Friday
2020-09-26	492	294.88	Saturday
2020-09-27	6	13.42	Sunday
2020-09-28	2	5.36	Monday

2020-09-29	551	518.51	Tuesday
2020-09-30	2413	1,603.52	Wednesday
2020-10-01	259	244.23	Thursday
2020-10-02	196	238.23	Friday
2020-10-03	487	1,138.37	Saturday
2020-10-04	5	10.74	Sunday
2020-10-05	7	13.46	Monday
2020-10-06	538	299.89	Tuesday
2020-10-07	218	279.67	Wednesday
2020-10-08	489	565.67	Thursday
2020-10-09	362	349.38	Friday
2020-10-10	521	295.02	Saturday
2020-10-11	1	2.68	Sunday
2020-10-12	6	16.09	Monday
2020-10-13	2	5.36	Tuesday
2020-10-14	243	208.12	Wednesday
2020-10-15	595	541.56	Thursday
2020-10-16	401	356.07	Friday
2020-10-17	489	347.79	Saturday
2020-10-18	4	8.06	Sunday
2020-10-19	7	13.59	Monday
2020-10-20	625	145.56	Tuesday
2020-10-21	233	219.88	Wednesday
2020-10-22	795	595.04	Thursday
2020-10-23	664	831.50	Friday
2020-10-24	553	122.40	Saturday
2020-10-25	302	420.43	Sunday
2020-10-26	1	2.68	Monday
2020-10-27	711	558.23	Tuesday
2020-10-28	465	474.04	Wednesday
2020-10-29	594	388.58	Thursday
2020-10-30	464	313.83	Friday
2020-10-31	502	423.46	Saturday
2020-11-01	3	5.37	Sunday
2020-11-02	6	16.09	Monday
2020-11-03	1001	779.18	Tuesday
2020-11-04	3874	4,183.61	Wednesday
2020-11-05	437	555.24	Thursday
2020-11-06	836	859.84	Friday



2020-11-07	535	989.05	Saturday
2020-11-08	6	13.42	Sunday
2020-11-09	3	8.05	Monday
2020-11-10	1020	847.27	Tuesday
2020-11-11	692	609.35	Wednesday
2020-11-12	9	11.10	Thursday
2020-11-13	4	10.73	Friday
2020-11-14	1	2.68	Saturday
2020-11-16	4	40.23	Monday
2020-11-17	1318	1,512.81	Tuesday
2020-11-18	1285	809.37	Wednesday
2020-11-19	7	16.12	Thursday
2020-11-20	925	524.67	Friday
2020-11-21	2	5.36	Saturday
2020-11-22	9	13.55	Sunday
2020-11-23	6	11.72	Monday
2020-11-24	2024	1,593.00	Tuesday
2020-11-25	350	668.93	Wednesday
2020-11-26	497	633.63	Thursday
2020-11-27	558	1,326.13	Friday
2020-11-28	276	195.87	Saturday
2020-11-29	569	586.40	Sunday
2020-11-30	279	190.14	Monday
2020-12-01	1667	2,938.05	Tuesday
2020-12-02	2723	3,645.45	Wednesday
2020-12-03	678	2,840.05	Thursday
2020-12-04	903	2,182.55	Friday
2020-12-05	6	8.26	Saturday
2020-12-06	8	16.25	Sunday
2020-12-07	4	8.06	Monday
2020-12-08	729	862.94	Tuesday
2020-12-09	612	599.95	Wednesday
2020-12-10	655	1,322.54	Thursday
2020-12-11	1097	1,621.76	Friday
2020-12-12	5	5.39	Saturday
2020-12-13	2	10.73	Sunday
2020-12-14	3	2.75	Monday
2020-12-15	493	2,062.52	Tuesday
2020-12-16	623	1,331.35	Wednesday

2020-12-17	6	16.09	Thursday
2020-12-18	412	858.59	Friday
2020-12-19	721	1,620.95	Saturday
2020-12-20	4	8.06	Sunday
2020-12-21	4	5.46	Monday
2020-12-22	1290	1,452.49	Tuesday
2020-12-23	454	1,011.02	Wednesday
2020-12-24	1068	2,237.96	Thursday
2020-12-25	5	0.17	Friday
2020-12-26	5	13.41	Saturday
2020-12-27	8	13.86	Sunday
2020-12-28	3	8.05	Monday
2020-12-29	9	29.50	Tuesday
2020-12-30	2	5.36	Wednesday
2020-12-31	6	45.59	Thursday
2021-01-01	7	18.77	Friday
2021-01-02	4	5.72	Saturday
2021-01-03	4	10.73	Sunday
2021-01-04	3	8.05	Monday
2021-01-05	778	2,331.55	Tuesday
2021-01-06	4	8.14	Wednesday
2021-01-07	4	16.09	Thursday
2021-01-08	2993	2,843.29	Friday
2021-01-09	852	545.02	Saturday
2021-01-10	7	18.77	Sunday
2021-01-11	2	5.36	Monday
2021-01-12	1	2.68	Tuesday
2021-01-13	2	2.69	Wednesday
2021-01-14	1	2.68	Thursday
2021-01-16	4	10.73	Saturday
2021-01-17	4	10.73	Sunday
2021-01-18	3	8.05	Monday
2021-01-19	1	2.68	Tuesday