

COMPILATION OF HEARINGS ON ISLAMIST  
RADICALIZATION—VOLUME I

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

MARCH 10, JUNE 15, and JULY 27, 2011

**Serial No. 112–9**

Printed for the use of the Committee on Homeland Security



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# CONTENTS

Page

**THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 2011**

## STATEMENTS

The Honorable Peter T. King, a Representative in Congress From the State of New York, and Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security:	
Oral Statement .....	1
Prepared Statement .....	4
The Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, a Representative in Congress From the State of Mississippi, and Ranking Member, Committee on Homeland Security:	
Oral Statement .....	7
Prepared Statement .....	8
The Honorable Sheila Jackson Lee, a Representative in Congress From the State of Texas:	
Prepared Statement .....	9
The Honorable Yvette D. Clarke, a Representative in Congress From the State of New York:	
Prepared Statement .....	11
The Honorable Laura Richardson, a Representative in Congress From the State of California:	
Prepared Statement .....	12

## WITNESSES

### PANEL I

Hon. John D. Dingell, a Representative in Congress From the State of Michigan .....	13
Hon. Keith Ellison, a Representative in Congress From the State of Minnesota .....	14
Hon. Frank R. Wolf, a Representative in Congress From the State of Virginia:	
Oral Statement .....	19
Prepared Statement .....	23

### PANEL II

Dr. M. Zuhdi Jasser, President and Founder, American Islamic Forum for Democracy:	
Oral Statement .....	33
Prepared Statement .....	35
Mr. Melvin Bledsoe, Private Citizen:	
Oral Statement .....	58
Prepared Statement .....	61
Mr. Abdirizak Bihi, Director, Somali Education and Social Advocacy Center:	
Oral Statement .....	64
Prepared Statement .....	66
Sheriff Leroy Baca, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department:	
Oral Statement .....	71
Prepared Statement .....	73

IV

Page

APPENDIX I

Statements Submitted for the Record by Hon. Loretta Sanchez .....	127
Statement Submitted for the Record by Hon. Sheila Jackson Lee .....	172
Statements Submitted for the Record by Hon. Laura Richardson .....	178

APPENDIX II

Questions From Ranking Member Bennie G. Thompson of Mississippi for M. Zuhdi Jasser .....	183
--	-----

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 2011**

STATEMENTS

The Honorable Peter T. King, a Representative in Congress From the State of New York, and Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security:	
Oral Statement .....	199
The Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, a Representative in Congress From the State of Mississippi, and Ranking Member, Committee on Homeland Security:	
Oral Statement .....	206
Prepared Statement .....	208

WITNESSES

Mr. Patrick T. Dunleavy, Deputy Inspector General (Ret.), Criminal Intel- ligence Unit, New York State Department of Correctional Services:	
Oral Statement .....	209
Prepared Statement .....	211
Mr. Kevin Smith, Former Assistant United States Attorney, Central District of California:	
Oral Statement .....	216
Prepared Statement .....	217
Mr. Michael P. Downing, Commanding Officer, Counter-Terrorism and Spe- cial Operations Bureau, Los Angeles Police Department:	
Oral Statement .....	221
Prepared Statement .....	223
Mr. Bert Useem, Department Head and Professor, Sociology Department, Purdue University:	
Oral Statement .....	228
Prepared Statement .....	229

FOR THE RECORD

The Honorable Peter T. King, a Representative in Congress From the State of New York, and Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security:	
Prepared Statement of the Honorable Keith Ellison, a Representative in Congress From the State of Minnesota .....	199
The Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, a Representative in Congress From the State of Mississippi, and Ranking Member, Committee on Homeland Security:	
Letter .....	200
Statement of Muslim Advocates .....	201
Statement of Rev. Dr. C. Welton Gaddy, President, Interfaith Alliance .....	203
The Honorable Sheila Jackson Lee, a Representative in Congress From the State of Texas:	
FBI—Law Enforcement Bulletin .....	243
Article .....	245
Article .....	246
Article, <i>USAToday</i> .....	249
The Honorable Laura Richardson, a Representative in Congress From the State of California:	
Summary of Inmate Letters .....	261

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 2011****STATEMENTS**

The Honorable Peter T. King, a Representative in Congress From the State of New York, and Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security: Oral Statement .....	277
The Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, a Representative in Congress From the State of Mississippi, and Ranking Member, Committee on Homeland Security: Oral Statement .....	280
The Honorable Laura Richardson, a Representative in Congress From the State of California: Prepared Statement .....	283

**WITNESSES**

Mr. Ahmed Hussen, National President, Canadian Somali Congress: Oral Statement .....	286
Prepared Statement .....	287
Mr. W. Anders Folk, Former Assistant United States Attorney, District of Minnesota: Oral Statement .....	289
Prepared Statement .....	291
Mr. Thomas Joscelyn, Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies: Oral Statement .....	295
Prepared Statement .....	297
Mr. Thomas E. Smith, Chief of Police, Saint Paul, Minnesota: Oral Statement .....	304
Prepared Statement .....	307

**FOR THE RECORD**

The Honorable Peter T. King, a Representative in Congress From the State of New York, and Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security: Prepared Statement of the Honorable Keith Ellison, a Representative in Congress From the State of Minnesota .....	284
Letter From the Antidefamation League .....	282
The Honorable Sheila Jackson Lee, a Representative in Congress From the State of Texas: Letter From Honorable Sheila Jackson Lee .....	319
FBI—New Haven Article .....	319
New York Times Article .....	321
United States Action List .....	322

**APPENDIX I**

Question From Honorable Laura Richardson for Ahmed Hussen .....	349
Questions From Honorable Laura Richardson for W. Anders Folk .....	349
Questions From Honorable Laura Richardson for Thomas Joscelyn .....	349
Questions From Honorable Laura Richardson for Thomas E. Smith .....	349





## **THE EXTENT OF RADICALIZATION IN THE AMERICAN MUSLIM COMMUNITY AND THAT COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE**

**Thursday, March 10, 2011**

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 9:37 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Peter T. King [Chairman of the committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives King, Smith, Lungren, Rogers, McCaul, Bilirakis, Broun, Miller, Walberg, Cravaack, Walsh, Meehan, Quayle, Rigell, Long, Duncan, Marino, Farenthold, Brooks, Thompson, Sanchez, Jackson Lee, Cuellar, Clarke of New York, Richardson, Davis, Higgins, Speier, Richmond, Clarke of Michigan, and Keating.

Also present: Representatives Green, Carson, and Pascrell.

Chairman KING. Good morning. The Committee on Homeland Security will come to order. The committee is meeting today to hear testimony on the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community and to investigate that community's response.

The Chair wishes to remind our guests today that demonstrations from the audience, including the use of signs and placards, as well as verbal outbursts, are a violation of the rules of the House. The Chair wishes to thank our guests today for their cooperation in maintaining order and proper decorum.

In the interest of time, the Ranking Member and I have agreed that we will let three Member witnesses testify on Panel 1. After prior consultation with my friend, the Ranking Member from Mississippi Mr. Thompson, I ask unanimous consent that Congressman Dingell, Congressman Ellison, and Congressman Wolf as Member witnesses not be subject to questions from committee Members. They are testifying as one panel. Without objection, so ordered.

I believe the Ranking Member has a unanimous consent request to make.

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes. I would like to ask unanimous consent that Congressmen Carson, Pascrell, and Green, when he comes in, be allowed to sit on the panel.

Chairman KING. Without objection, so ordered.

At this time, I will now recognize myself for an opening statement.

At the very outset, let me thank all of the witnesses, the Member panel, and the witnesses who traveled to be here today. Thank you very much for giving your time in what I believe to be a very valuable and important hearing.

Today's hearing will be the first in a series of hearings dealing with the critical issue of the radicalization of Muslim Americans. I am well aware that the announcement of these hearings has generated considerable controversy and opposition. Some of this opposition, such as from my colleague and friend, Mr. Ellison and Mr. Pascrell, has been measured and thoughtful. Other opposition, both from special interest groups and the media, has ranged from disbelief to paroxysms of rage and hysteria.

Let me make it clear today, that I remain convinced that these hearings must go forward, and they will. To back down would be a flagrant surrender to political correctness and an abdication of what I believe to be the main responsibility of this committee, to protect America from terrorist attack.

Despite what passes for conventional wisdom in certain circles, there is nothing radical or un-American in holding these hearings. Indeed, Congressional investigation of Muslim American radicalization is the logical response to the repeated and urgent warnings which the Obama administration has been making in recent months. Just this past Sunday, for instance, Denis McDonough, the Deputy National Security Advisor to President Obama, made a major speech on radicalization stating that, "al-Qaeda and its adherents have increasingly turned to another troubling tactic, attempting to recruit and radicalize people to terrorism here in the United States. For a long time, many in the U.S. thought that we were immune from this threat. That was false hope and false comfort. This threat is real, and it is serious." Mr. McDonough went on to say that "al-Qaeda does this with the express purpose of trying to convince Muslim Americans to reject their country and attack their fellow Americans."

I should also add in my own personal conversations with Mr. McDonough prior to the speech, he told me to go forward with the hearing, and that the administration welcomes Congressional involvement.

Similarly, in late December, Attorney General Holder said that the growing number of young Americans being radicalized and willing to take up arms against our country, "keeps him awake at night." Two weeks before that, the Attorney General defended the FBI sting operation against Mohamed Osman Mohamud, who attempted a terror attack during a Christmas tree-lighting celebration in Portland, Oregon, saying—the Attorney General said he made no apologies for this operation. Said the Attorney General, "Those who characterize the FBI's activities as entrapment simply do not have their facts straight."

One month ago, sitting right there, Secretary Napolitano testified before this committee and said the threat level today is as high as it has been since September 11 because of increased radicalization in our country. I would ask the audience and the committee, just notice this chart over here. Just in the last 2 years alone, these are terror plots which have been blocked by our Government. Virtually every part of the United States is affected by this. It affects the en-

tire Nation. Those of us in the Northeast perhaps have more threats, but the fact is that we found out that no one is immune from these type of threats and these type of attacks.

This committee cannot live in denial, which is what some of us would do when they suggest that this hearing dilute its focus by investigating threats unrelated to al-Qaeda. The Department of Homeland Security and this committee were formed in response to the al-Qaeda attacks of September 11. There is no equivalency of threat between al-Qaeda and neo-Nazis, environmental extremists, or other isolated madmen. Only al-Qaeda and its Islamist affiliates in this country are part of an international threat to our Nation. Indeed by the Justice Department's own record, not one terror-related case in the last 2 years involved neo-Nazis, environmental extremists, militias, or antiwar groups.

I have repeatedly said that the overwhelming majority of Muslim Americans are outstanding Americans that make enormous contributions to our country, but there are realities we can't ignore; for instance, the Pew poll, which said that 15 percent of Muslim American men between the age of 18 and 29 could support suicide bombings. This is a segment of the community al-Qaeda is attempting to recruit.

To combat this threat, moderate leadership must emerge from the Muslim community. As the Majority and Minority staff of the Senate Homeland Security Committee concluded in its report, which ironically enough was entitled "Violent Islamist Extremism and the Homegrown Terrorist Threat," this report concluded, "Muslim community leaders and religious leaders must play a more visible role in discrediting and providing alternatives to violent Islamist ideology."

This means that responsible Muslim American leaders must reject discredited groups such as CAIR, the Council on American-Islamic Relations. CAIR was named as an unindicted coconspirator in the terrorist financing case involving the Holy Land Foundation. In the lead-up to this hearing, I found it shocking and sad that the mainstream media accepted CAIR's accusations as if it were a legitimate organization. Thankfully, FBI Director Mueller has ordered the FBI to cease all dealings and contact with CAIR, possibly and probably because of this type of placard and poster, which was posted by San Francisco CAIR. I would hope that all law enforcement officials would follow the lead of the FBI Director.

Al-Qaeda realizes that the measures we have put in place over the past 9½ years make it very difficult to launch a large-scale attack against our homeland from outside the country, which is why they have altered their strategy and are using people living legally in the United States. These include the New York City subway bomber, Najibullah Zazi; Fort Hood terrorist, U.S. Army Major Nidal Hasan; Colleen LaRose, known as Jihad Jane; the Times Square bomber, Faisal Shahzad; the Little Rock recruiting center shooter, Carlos Bledsoe—his father is a witness here today; and dozens of individuals in Minneapolis associated with the Somali terrorist organization al-Shabaab. The uncle of one those young men who was radicalized in Minneapolis, sent to Somalia and eventually killed is also with us here today; and then also the Mumbai plotter, David Headley.

Let me thank all of the witnesses for giving up their valuable time to be with us here today. I want to express special thanks, however, to Melvin Bledsoe and Abdirizak Bihi. These brave men have endured suffering no father or uncle should ever have to go through. Their courage and spirit will put a human face on the horror which Islamist radicalization has inflicted and will continue to inflict on good families, especially those in the Muslim community, unless we put aside political correctness and define who our enemy truly is.

As we approach the 10-year anniversary of the September 11 attacks, we cannot allow the memory of that tragic day to fade away. We must remember that the days following the attack, we were all united in our dedication to fight back against al-Qaeda and its ideology. Today we must be fully aware that homegrown radicalization is part of al-Qaeda's strategy to continue attacking the United States. Al-Qaeda is actively targeting the American Muslim community for recruitment. Today's hearing will address this dangerous trend.

[The information follows:]

STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN PETER T. KING

MARCH 10, 2011

Today's hearing will be the first in a series of hearings dealing with the critical issue of the radicalization of Muslim-Americans.

I am well aware that the announcement of these hearings has generated considerable controversy and opposition. Some of this opposition—such as from my colleague and friend Mr. Ellison has been measured and thoughtful. Other opposition—both from special interest groups and the media has ranged from disbelief to paroxysms of rage and hysteria.

Let me make it clear today that I remain convinced that these hearings must go forward. They will. To back down would be a craven surrender to political correctness and an abdication of what I believe to be the main responsibility of this committee—to protect America from a terrorist attack.

Despite what passes for conventional wisdom in certain circles, there is nothing radical or un-American in holding these hearings. Indeed, Congressional investigation of Muslim American radicalization is the logical response to the repeated and urgent warnings which the Obama administration has been making in recent months.

Just this past Sunday, for instance, Denis McDonough, the Deputy National Security Advisor to President Obama, made a major speech on radicalization stating that:

“al-Qaeda and its adherents have increasingly turned to another troubling tactic: attempting to recruit and radicalize people to terrorism here in the United States.

“For a long time, many in the U.S. thought that we were immune from this threat. That was false hope, and false comfort. This threat is real, and it is serious.”

“(Al-Qaeda does this) for the expressed purpose of trying to convince Muslim Americans to reject their country and attack their fellow Americans.”

Similarly in late December, Attorney General Holder said the growing number of young Americans being radicalized and willing to take up arms against our country “keeps him awake at night.”

And 2 weeks before that the Attorney General defended the FBI's sting operation against Mohammad Osman Mohammad who attempted a terror attack during a Christmas tree lighting celebration in Portland, Oregon saying he made “no apologies” for this operation. “Those who characterize the FBI's activities as entrapment simply do not have their facts straight.”

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To combat this threat, moderate leadership must emerge from the Muslim community. As the Majority and Minority staff of the Senate Homeland Security Committee concluded in its report on "Violent Islamist Extremism and the Homegrown Terrorist Threat," "Muslim community leaders (and) religious leaders must play a more visible role in discrediting and providing alternatives to violent Islamist ideology."

This means that responsible Muslim-American leaders must reject discredited groups such as CAIR—The Council on American-Islamic Relations which was named as an unindicted co-conspirator in the terrorist financing case involving the Holy Land Foundation. In the lead-up to this hearing I found it shocking and sad that the mainstream media accepted CAIR's accusations as if it were a legitimate organization. Thankfully, FBI Director Mueller has ordered the FBI to cease all dealings and contact with CAIR. I would hope that all law enforcement officials would follow the lead of the FBI Director.

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- New York City Subway bomber Najibullah Zazi;
- Fort Hood Terrorist U.S. Army Major Nidal Hasan;
- Colleen LaRose, known as "Jihad Jane";
- Times Square Bomber Faisal Shahzad;
- Mumbai Plotter David Headley;
- Little Rock Recruiting Center Shooter Carlos Bledsoe, whose father is a witness today; and
- Dozens of individuals in Minneapolis associated with the Somali terrorist organization, al Shabaab. The uncle of one of those young men—who was radicalized in Minneapolis, sent to Somalia, and eventually killed—is also with us today.

Let me thank all of the witnesses for giving of their valuable time to be with us today. I want to express special thanks, however, to Melvin Bledsoe and Abdirizak Bihi. These brave men have endured suffering no father or uncle should ever have to go through. Their courage and spirit will put a human face on the horror which Islamist radicalization has inflicted and will continue to inflict on good families, especially those in the Muslim community, unless we put aside political correctness and define who our enemy truly is.

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Today, we must be fully aware that homegrown radicalization is part of al-Qaeda's strategy to continue attacking the United States. Al-Qaeda is actively targeting the American Muslim community for recruitment. Today's hearing will address this dangerous trend.



## THE THREAT TO THE HOMELAND TERROR PLOTS SINCE 2009\*



\*THIS MAP IS INTENDED TO SHOW THE SPREAD OF TERRORISM CASES IN THE U.S. SINCE 2009. IT SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED A COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF EVERY INDICTMENT SINCE 2009.

Chairman KING. Now it is my privilege to recognize the distinguished Ranking Member of the committee, the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. As we begin today's hearing, I want to take a moment to thank you for agreeing to my request to invite Representative Dingell and Sheriff Baca. These witnesses will add to the committee's understanding of the outreach and cooperation between the Muslim community and Government officials. I want to reiterate, however, my belief that a hearing on the linkage between extreme ideology and violent action should be a broad-based examination.

Yesterday the FBI made an arrest in the recent Martin Luther King Day bombing attempt. News reports identified a suspect as a member of the same white supremacist group that influenced the Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh. I urge you, Mr. Chairman, to hold a hearing examining the homeland security threat posed by anti-Government and white supremacist groups. As the Committee on Homeland Security, our mission is to examine threats to this Nation's security. A narrow focus that excludes known threats lacks clarity and may be myopic.

I understand that our personal experiences play a role in how we see the world. We have all come to this place from somewhere else. As I understand it, the Chairman's background includes the history of a country divided by religion and torn by prolonged and violent struggle. I am from Mississippi. My personal history is one which non-violence was the bedrock principle in a struggle for societal

change and political rights. Religion played a role in that struggle, too.

But we are not here in these places now. As Members of Congress, our words transcend this hearing room. We must be vigilant that our words and our actions do not inflame. Acknowledgement of an obligation to be responsible does not equal political correctness. We must be mindful that this country is conducting two wars. Our words and our actions cannot be used to endanger our soldiers.

I had hoped that this hearing could be used as a forum to point out a recent report of the Southern Poverty Law Center. Last week the Southern Poverty Law Center released a chilling report that the number of active hate groups in the United States topped 1,000 for the first time, and the anti-Government movement has expanded dramatically for the second straight year. The Southern Poverty Law Center study indicates that several factors have fueled this growth. Those factors include resentment over the changing racial demographics of this country, frustration over the lagging economy, and the mainstreaming of conspiracy theories and other demonizing propaganda aimed at minorities and the Government.

I am particularly troubled that much of the current vitriol has been directed towards the President and First Lady. In the wake of the Gabrielle Giffords shooting, news accounts indicate that in a public meeting, a Member of Congress heard a threat made against the life of the President that was greeted with laughter.

We live in troubling times. I have heard concerns that today's hearing will stoke a climate of fear and distrust in the Muslim community. It may also increase the fear and distrust of the Muslim community. For law enforcement officials, outreach and cooperation may become more difficult.

As we consider the possible domestic effects of our actions, we must also consider the possible effects abroad. As I look at the recent uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East, I am struck by the fact that these movements are inspired by secular notions of democracy and freedom. Theocracy seems to be on the sidelines. In scores of hearings and briefings, members of this community have been told that al-Qaeda remains a recruiting tool in a notion that the powers of the West are aligned against the people of the Middle East. The United States is accused of engaging in a modern-day crusade against Islam.

We cannot give this lie a place to rest. I cannot help but wonder how propaganda about this hearing focuses on American Muslim community will be used by those who seek to inspire a new generation of suicide bombers.

I yield back.

[The information follows:]

STATEMENT OF RANKING MEMBER BENNIE G. THOMPSON

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We cannot give this lie a place to rest. I cannot help but wonder how propaganda about this hearing's focus on the American Muslim community will be used by those who seek to inspire a new generation of suicide bombers.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentleman from Mississippi. Thank you, Ranking Member Thompson.

I just remind other Members of the committee that opening statements may be submitted for the record.

[The statements of Hons. Jackson Lee, Clarke, and Richardson follow:]

STATEMENT OF HON. SHEILA JACKSON LEE

Mr. Chairman, I thank all of the individuals testifying today.

In society and politics, radicalization refers to a significant change in the social and political attitudes, views, and associations of individual dissidents and protest groups in a direction toward what is claimed or perceived to be "radicalism" (irrational protest) and "extremism" (violent protest). The term "radicalism" typically characterizes activism (or a particular mode thereof) as irrational or unreasonable—

where the term “activism” refers almost exclusively to non-violent protest. The term “radicalization” refers to the process by which once passive or otherwise non-violent activists and protesters become militant and thereby use or advocate violence as a means to attain political goals.

While such change may be indiscernible within individuals, the term is usually made in reference to political dissident groups, who over time have lost hope in conventional means for expression and protest, and overtly state their hostile intentions.

Radicalization itself is often the direct result of violence, where the “radicals” themselves have typically been the target and victim of violence and persecution. Otherwise, individuals may feel empathy or sympathy with others who have been victimized by an oppressor—where such sympathy is often based in personal, ethical, religious, or nationalist association or familiarity. Though radicalization is universally associated with an ideology—typically one based in political causes—it is less common for radicalism to emerge based on ideology alone, and personal factors often have a strong role. The goals of radicalization may be to gain political recognition, change, or to enact a retribution for previous injustices.

Mr. Chairman, where a society has been attacked and violated, religion and related ideologies naturally becomes the nexus of community, social strength, and unity. This emphasis on religion is a variable, as determined by other social factors such as class, poverty, literacy, and (controversially) culture, as well as the particular aspects of religion which are cited as guiding in terms of ideology, philosophy, and behavior.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure my colleagues on the other side of the aisle will likely focus on what they interpret as the rise of radicalization and the recruitment of “home grown” terrorist in the United States by eliciting testimony from Government officials and experts on that subject. I am sure they will also use this hearing as a basis for the expansion of the President’s domestic surveillance program and similar efforts that have recently come under fire by legal and political experts.

Mr. Chairman, it is in my opinion that rather than targeting Muslims, Arabs, and other minority groups on the basis of stereotypes and subjecting them to repeated stops and checks whenever they undergo security screening, the Government should make greater use of empirical and verifiable evidence and technology to distinguish innocent Muslims and others from known or suspected terrorists included on terrorist watch list.

The danger posed by modern terrorists is real and Congress must understand the scope and nature of the threat and exercise its authorities to the utmost in overseeing the Government’s response, holding our military, law enforcement, and intelligence agencies accountable, and crafting sensible legislation that enhances security while protecting the rights of innocent persons. But the security threat was no less real during the first red scare and during the Cold War.

History tells us that conflating the expression of certain belief systems or even hostile beliefs with threats to security only misdirects resources, unnecessarily violates the rights of the innocent, and unjustly alienates communities unfairly targeted as suspicious.

People who commit acts of domestic terrorism cannot be identified by any religious, ideological, ethnic, economic, educational, or social profile, and holding hearings that suggest otherwise is counterproductive to keeping America safe from real terrorist threats.

In February 2010, Andrew Joseph Stack III of Texas flew a plane into an IRS building in Austin leaving behind an anti-Government rant largely focused on taxes.<sup>1</sup>

A lot of Americans oppose taxes, some vehemently, but this terrorist incident did not lead to an investigation of all tax opponents.

In August 2003 the environmental group Earth Liberation Front reportedly burned down a nearly completed \$23 million apartment complex just outside San Diego in protest of urban sprawl. Two years later the FBI declared eco-terrorists the country’s biggest domestic terrorist threat.<sup>2</sup> Even then authorities did not target all those favoring environmental protection for investigation to root out “radicalized” individuals. Broadly targeting the entire American Muslim community for counterterrorism enforcement will make it more likely that law enforcement officials will misunderstand the factual evidence surrounding risk factors for violence and focus their investigative efforts on innocent Americans because of their religious beliefs rather

<sup>1</sup>Brick, Michael, *Man Crashes Plane Into Texas I.R.S. Office*, The New York Times (Feb. 18, 2010) available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/19/us/19crash.html>.

<sup>2</sup>Schorn, Daniel, *Burning Rage*, CBS News (November 13, 2005) available at <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/11/10/60minutes/main1036067.shtml>.

than on true threats to the community. As recently as last month, Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano warned the House Homeland Security Committee that the terrorist threat is at its highest level since 9/11. She told the committee that the terrorist danger is evolving to include mostly westerners being recruited by terrorist groups.

The House Intelligence Committee hearing during the same month focused on the reauthorization of some USA Patriot Act surveillance programs and cyber security threats—as well as the current terrorist threat level to the U.S. Chairman and Members of the Committee allow us to focus on actual terrorist acts and those who commit them. A fact-based investigation of historical events will likely be more successful at providing a clear picture of the threats we face and the appropriate methods we need to employ to address them without violating the Constitutional rights of innocent persons.

Thank you Mr. Chairman. I yield back the balance of my time.

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STATEMENT OF HON. YVETTE D. CLARKE

Let me say that today's hearing has been a great Congressional theater, certainly the equivalent of reality television. I'm just appalled at the fact that we have not really gotten to a substantive conversation about how we define terrorism and how we define the whole idea of radicalization.

I am really concerned that Chairman King has decided to look at the issue of home-grown terrorism through a myopic lens that has directed its focus on one religious community, Muslim-Americans. I fail to see the objectives of this hearing other than to further stigmatize and ostracize a community from whom we desire cooperation. Homeland security is a vast subject matter, with many groups that could be classified as homegrown terrorist in this nation. I believe we are actually doing a great disservice to our citizens when we do not provide a more comprehensive dialogue on this issue, which would include law enforcement officials and the expert opinions on best practices for opening channels for cooperation and understanding. As a Brooklyn native who represents one of the most diverse districts in the Nation, I can confidently state that this does not represent the instincts of most New Yorkers.

Mr. Chairman, if I closed my eyes and just listened to the witnesses, I could draw parallels to the experiences of some of the constituents in my district. I am not diminishing the experiences of today's witnesses and what they and their families have experienced because their experience is real, but I have parents in my district that can sit and talk about their children being recruited and brainwashed into criminal and violent activities. Their children are gang members.

I would like to ask Chairman King to add gang violence to the discussion of terrorist extremists. Our Nation has not addressed gang violence which has become another present terrorist threat in urban America. Many families in urban communities across this Nation live in fear of gun violence that continues to destroy lives. The growing epidemic of violent gangs attributes to terrorism in many communities. I submit to you that allowing this phenomenon to continue unabated is as much a threat to our homeland as any other extremist activities.

Homegrown violent extremism is not the domain of any one group of people in this Nation. The bloodshed, the lives that have been lost in Congressional districts like mine across our country, even since I've been a Member of this committee, can easily compare to lives lost in what has been termed terrorist attacks. So while I can empathize with the challenges faced by these families, we can all point to instances in our districts where families suffered loss of loved ones at the hands of callous, senseless, cold-blooded killers. To me it is all a matter of homeland security.

Dr. Jasser talk about the elements of radicalization in existence, in Islam. There are those same elements evident in Christianity and in Judaism. I know because I represent all three faiths in my district. As someone who was directly impacted by 9/11, and who has lived in a community where we respect every human being regardless of their background, ethnicity, or religion, we should not be pointing fingers at one another. We should take the approach of Sheriff Baca. The goal here should be how do we address that suffering through communication, through dialogue, through enlightenment, which is where we need to be in the 21st Century.

Law enforcement agencies have done an extraordinary job in keeping our Nation secure and strong. The cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the Muslim community have helped to stop terrorist attacks. The New York Police Department (NYPD) in my district has an extensive outreach to the Muslim community that is positive. It is important to note that law enforcement agencies identified neo-

Nazis, environmental extremists, and anti-tax groups as more prevalent than Muslim terrorist organizations.

I proudly lend my voice as a dissenting view to the approach used at examining homegrown terrorism. While Chairman King has every right to bring any subject before the committee, it is my hope that our values rise above. We are a Nation that values religious freedom and I hope that all on this committee and those at home remember that.

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STATEMENT OF HON. LAURA RICHARDSON

MARCH 10, 2011

Thank you, Chairman King.

Few Members on this committee experienced the events of 9/11 as traumatically as the Chairman of this committee. Based on those experiences and the inception of this House Committee, Chairman King and Ranking Member Thompson have produced tangible results and because of that work, I made every effort to serve on this committee to ensure that our Nation has the resources necessary to keep our homeland secure.

Unfortunately, today as a Member, I vehemently oppose the approach this committee is taking in this hearing. I was born in the 1960's, so in my elementary history classes we saw shocking films of American leaders in the '40's and '50's disgracefully violating the principles of which this country was founded.

It was these sins of some forefathers that inspired me to want to run for Congress. At the age of 6, I decided to choose a profession that would work to end discrimination.

Discrimination is "the treatment or consideration of, or making a distinction in favor of or against, a person or thing based on the group, class, or category to which that person or thing belongs rather than on individual merit."

When elected officials or public servants are sworn in for duty, included with the oath is an understanding, not to abuse the power given. One definition of abuse of power is the "improper use of authority by someone who has that authority because he or she holds a public office." I believe the narrow scope of this hearing is discriminatory and demonstrates an abuse of power.

In our efforts to combat terrorism, we must be mindful of the implications of our actions. This means enacting policies based on best practices and research rather than focusing on stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments.

Additionally, the premise of this hearing fails to acknowledge all of the infamous terrorists we have had in our Nation's history that had nothing to do with Islam. From Timothy McVeigh to Ted Kaczynski, the Unabomber, our history has shown us that terrorism crosses many spectrums and ideologies. By focusing on only one group of Americans and completely ignoring other groups, this committee is dangerously impeding law enforcement's efforts and unnecessarily endangering our National security.

According to the Institute for Homeland Security Solutions, al-Qaeda and the Allied movements were responsible for 26.7 percent of domestic terror attacks while White Supremacists accounted for 23.3 percent. Thus, restricting this hearing for the consideration of radicalization to Islam, and not equally of other groups, is wrong.

The House Judiciary Committee and the House Energy and Commerce Committee have not investigated other religious groups or their leaders for failing to cooperate or for causing harm to children, so clearly this committee is setting a dangerous precedent in treating one religious group differently than another and thereby calling into question this committee's actions and whether those actions are violating this country's laws and principles.

According to the Congressional Research Service, non-jihadist attacks outnumber jihadist attacks by 30 to 3 since 9/11 and data suggests that that cooperation from the Islamic community has helped law enforcement disrupt a significant amount of all plots that has taken place since 9/11. These statistics highlight the importance of working with communities through good relations and community-oriented policing.

However, by holding a hearing that alienates an entire community, this committee may be fundamentally undercutting our law enforcement's relationship with this community and making it that much harder to detect and thwart terrorist plots. This is unfortunate since, as FBI Director Robert Mueller stated, ". . . 99.9 percent of Muslim-Americans, Arab Americans, Sikh-Americans are every bit as pa-

triotic and supportive of the United States as any others of us here in the United States, and that has come out since September 11.”

I will close with a question I asked on February 9, last month in this room with this committee, to the person I believe most qualified and who should be testifying today, Michael Leiter, Director of National Counterterrorism Center:

“Ms. Richardson: What percentage of people being looked at [by your agency] for domestic terror threats were Muslim?”

Mr. Leiter’s response was telling: “It is an absolutely tiny and minute percentage of the Muslim population that is being looked at.”

Thank you and I yield back my time.

Chairman KING. Now I would like to welcome our first panel, the gentleman from Michigan, the dean of the House, Congressman John Dingell; the gentleman from Minnesota, Congressman Keith Ellison; and the gentleman from Virginia, Congressman Wolf. I don’t have to tell any of you. You know your entire written statements will appear in the record. I would ask you to try to summarize your statements at this time.

Now it is my privilege to ask Chairman Dingell to begin his testimony.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN D. DINGELL, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN**

Mr. DINGELL. I thank you and the Ranking Member Mr. Thompson for your courtesy, and also the Members of the committee for your kindness to me. This is a hearing which has great potential, and I am very hopeful that, under your leadership and with the cooperation of the Members of the committee, that good results will have been achieved. There is reason for us to go into this question of risk to our Nation, and that is, of course, one of the assigned businesses of this particular committee.

For the record, I am John Dingell, Member of Congress from Michigan’s 15th Congressional District. As you mentioned, I am the dean of the House. I am engaged in the practice of being chair of committees for many years and also in running investigative committees.

I represent a very polyglot, diverse Congressional district in which we have all races, religions, and all parts of the world society represented. I represent a very fine community of Muslim Americans that I am here to tell you something which you know, and that is they are loyal, decent, honorable Americans. They hold elective office. They have immigrated to our State from all parts of the Middle East. They are Lebanese, Yemenese, Palestinian, Iraqi, Egyptian amongst others, Iranians, and they come from all parts of the world.

Muslim Americans are honorable citizens, loyal Americans, and they are as much distressed as we are about what it is we see going on. They are, as I mentioned, not only ordinary citizens, but professionals, elected officials, members of the State legislature, people who sit on the courts as judges, and persons who hold other high offices in our society. They are almost without exception honorable, loyal citizens. As I have indicated, they are distressed as much as we are about the behavior of al-Qaeda and other threats to their Nation, as we are to sharing their concerns about what is of danger to our Nation.

As I mentioned, for years I ran investigative committees. I kept a picture of Joe McCarthy hanging on the wall so that I would know what it was I did not want to look like, to do or to be. I believe that this committee going into these matters wisely, carefully and well can achieve a fine result of alerting the Nation to the real concern.

I would beg you, Mr. Chairman and the Members of the committee, to do what I know you are fully intent upon doing, and that is to see to it that as we go into these matters, we do not blot the good name or the loyalty or raise questions about the decency of Arabs or Muslims or other Americans en masse. There will be plenty of rascals that we can point out and say these are real dangers to the Nation that we love and that we serve.

I want to tell you how much I appreciate your courtesy in permitting me to be here this morning, and I know that you will see to it, Mr. Chairman and the Members of the committee, that we address the problems that we confront in terms of our National security in a fair, decent, thoughtful, and honorable fashion. I am prepared to leave, then, this high responsibility to you with the assurances of my good wishes and support and, again, the hope that people will understand what the purposes of this hearing should be: To find where there is wrongdoing, danger, and risk to our country, while at the same time not raising threats about the loyalty or the patriotism of important branches of our society who are as loyal, decent, and good, thoughtful, and honorable Americans as are all of us here present in this room. I thank you for your courtesy, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Chairman Dingell.

I have to admit that I still haven't acclimated myself to seeing you on the other side of the microphone. There were many years when you were sitting here in the chairman's chair.

Thank you for your testimony this morning.

Mr. DINGELL. It has been a long time. Thank you.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Our next witness is Congressman Ellison from Minnesota. I would just add as a preface, I have no idea what Congressman Ellison is going to say. He and I have very divergent views on this issue, but we try to maintain and we do very easily maintain a cordial relationship. When Congressman Ellison spoke to me in mid-December about the possibility of being at the hearing, I welcomed his request. I am pleased to have him here today to certainly explain and discuss his version and his analysis of the crisis confronting us today.

With that, I recognize the gentleman from Minnesota Mr. Ellison.

**STATEMENT OF HON. KEITH ELLISON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN  
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA**

Mr. ELLISON. Thank you, Chairman King, for allowing me to testify today.

Though the Chairman and I sometimes do disagree, including on the aspects of this hearing, I appreciate his willingness to engage in this dialogue.

Let me also thank the Ranking Member, Ranking Member Thompson, for his commitment to homeland security and civil rights for all. It is a challenge to protect both security and liberty, but Congressman Thompson seems to strike the right balance.

I would like to introduce Talat Hamdani, who is with us today. She is the brave mother of Mohammad Salman Hamdani, a first responder who died trying to rescue fellow Americans on 9/11.

I would like to make three points today, Mr. Chairman. First, violent extremism is a serious concern to all Americans and is the legitimate business of this committee. Second, this committee's approach to this particular subject, I believe, is contrary to the best of American values and threatens our security, or could potentially. Finally, we need increased understanding and engagement with the Muslim community in order to keep America safe.

Let me elaborate on my first point. Understanding the roots of domestic terrorism is the legitimate business of the House Homeland Security Committee. I share the Chairman's concern about violent extremism. I voted for the Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act of 2010, authored by Representative Jane Harman. This bill was a common-sense approach to studying violent extremism in the United States. After gathering more feedback from the community, I expect to introduce a similar bill in the future.

I recently made a presentation sponsored by the Center for American Progress called "Strengthening American Security: Identifying, Preventing, and Responding to Domestic Terrorism." My presentation there addressed causes of violent extremism and solutions for prevention and intervention.

The safety of our families and communities is at stake in our discussion today. We should apply the utmost professionalism to this issue, which leads me to my second point. We need to conduct a thorough, fair analysis and to do no harm. The approach of today's hearing, I fear, does not meet these standards.

Today's hearing is entitled "The Extent of Radicalization of the American Muslim Community and That Community's Response." It is true that specific individuals, including some who are Muslims, are violent extremists; however, these are individuals, not entire communities. Individuals like Anwar al-Awlaki, Faisal Shahzad, Nidal Hasan do not represent the Muslim community. When you assign their violent actions to the entire community, you assign collective blame to a whole group. This is the very heart of stereotyping and scapegoating. This is the heart of my testimony today.

Ascribing evil acts of a few individuals to an entire community is wrong. It is ineffective, and it risks making our country less safe. Solutions to the scourge of domestic terrorism often emerge from individuals from within the Muslim community, a point I address later in my testimony; however, demanding a community response, as the title of the hearing suggests, asserts that the entire community bears responsibility for the violent acts of individuals.

Targeting of the Muslim American community for the actions of a few is unjust. Actually, all of us, all communities, are responsible for combating violent extremism. Singling out one community focuses our analysis in the wrong direction.

Throughout human history, individuals from all communities and faiths have used religion and political ideology to justify violence. Let us just think about the KKK, America's oldest terrorist organization; the Oklahoma City bombing; the shooting at the Holocaust Museum by James von Brunn; and bombings at Planned Parenthood clinics. Did Congress focus on the ethnic group or religion of these agents of violence as a matter of public policy? The answer is no.

Stoking fears about an entire group for political agenda is not new in American history. During World War II, the United States Government interned the Japanese Americans and spied on German Americans. During John F. Kennedy's Presidential campaign, his opponents portrayed a dire future for an America with a Catholic President. We now view these events of our past as a breach of our treasured American values.

Let us talk about facts rather than stereotypes. In fact, a Muslim American community rejects violent ideology. The RAND Corporation, a highly respected research organization, released a report last year that states the following: "Given the low rate of would-be violent extremists, about 100 amongst the estimated 3 million American Muslims, suggests that the American Muslim population remains hostile to Jihadist ideology and its exhortations to violence."

At a Justice Department press conference just yesterday, Attorney General Eric Holder said, "The Muslim community has contributed significantly to the resolution of many things that have resolved over the course of the last 12 to 18 months. Tips have been received, information has been shared, has been critical to our effort to disrupt plots that otherwise might have occurred."

The Muslim American community across the country actively works with law enforcement officials, from dialogues with Attorney General Eric Holder to community meetings with local police in Minneapolis, recently tips from the Muslim American community for two domestic terror plots, including the case of the Times Square bomber and the Northern Virginia 5. Law enforcement officials depend upon those relationships. A recent report by the Muslim Public Affairs Council stated that information provided by Muslim Americans has helped to foil seven domestic terror plots and 40 percent of all plots since 9/11. A 2011 study from Duke University Triangle Center on Terrorism reiterated that 40 percent of the domestic terror plots that have been prevented with the aid of Muslim American community. This cooperation with law enforcement is rooted in relationships of trust, relationships we should nurture.

A witness at today's hearing, Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca, testified before the House Homeland Security subcommittee last year. He said to effectively detect and manage extremists, police need to have trust and the understanding of the Muslim communities who live within and outside the United States. Simply, police need public participation.

As leaders, we need to be rigorous about our analysis of violent extremism. Our responsibility includes doing no harm. I am concerned that the focus of today's hearing may increase suspicion of the Muslim American community, ultimately making us all a little



less safe. We have seen the consequences of anti-Muslim sentiment, from the backlash against the Park51 Muslim Community Center to the hostilities against the Islamic Center in Murfreesboro, Tennessee; to a threat of Koran burning in Gainesville, Florida. Zoning boards in communities like DuPage, Illinois, are denying permits to build mosques. At the height of the Park51 controversy, a man asked a cabby whether he was a Muslim. When the cabby said, "As-salamu alaykum," which means peace be unto you, the individual stabbed him.

Denis McDonough, the President's Deputy National Security Advisor, recently spoke at the Adams Center at the All Dulles American Muslim Society. Mr. McDonough noted that al-Qaeda's core recruiting argument is that the West is at war with Islam. A chief goal of our National security policy is to undermine this argument. This requires active engagement with the Muslim community at home and throughout the world. As President Obama said in his Cairo speech, "Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism. It is an important part of promoting peace."

This brings me to my last point, and I will try to hurry, Mr. Chairman, because I see the time. The best defense against extreme ideologies is social inclusion and civic engagement. FBI agent Ralph Bolter, head of the Minneapolis FBI, illustrates my point. He led a large-scale probe into counterterrorism involving local Somali Americans heading overseas to fight with terrorist organizations. He is now coming to the District of Columbia to become the agency's Deputy Assistant Director in Charge of Counterterrorism. Bolter's strategy to fight extremism: The agency needs to establish sincere relationships within the community. "We had to be able to show people that they could trust me, trust us," Bolter said of the local community. FBI Agent Bolter, "showed a side to the FBI that people don't see," said Minneapolis Police Chief Tim Dolan. "They needed that. They needed a little more to make their case, and it paid off because of the connections he made. People came forward, and he became somebody that they were willing to go to."

Unfortunately, I fear that this hearing may undermine our efforts in this direction. Recently on a news program, it was stated, "How about the number of young Somali men who went to Somalia and the imams and leaders in the Minneapolis Muslim community who refused to cooperate at all? They were denying for a long time that they had even left." This sweeping statement regarding the community I represent is inaccurate. Unfortunately, why weren't law enforcements from Minneapolis invited to testify before this committee about the effective counterterrorism work that is going on in Minneapolis today? I invite and would welcome such an invitation.

In January, the Department of Homeland Security of the civil rights and civil liberties convened a youth submit with Somali American youth and law enforcement agencies in Minneapolis. The event attracted over 100 people, including a U.S. attorney, 3 Somali American police officers, myself, several law enforcement and security agencies. The meeting provided an opportunity for Somali youth groups to learn more about the various roles and responsibilities of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and to discuss

community issues and concerns with Government representatives. The meeting participants discussed ways in which Somali youth and Government entities can improve communication.

Muslim Americans have been part of the American scene since the Nation's founding. A little-known fact is that Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is home to one of the oldest mosques in America. The Muslim community is just like the rest of us. Muslims serve our Nation as doctors, lawyers, teachers, business owners, cabdrivers, and even Members of Congress. Muslim Americans live in every community in America, and they are our neighbors. In short, they are us. Every American, including Muslim Americans, suffered on 9/11. Twenty-nine Muslims died at the World Trade Center. Three Muslims died in hijacked airplanes, United flight 175 and American flight 11. Muslims stood with the rest of America united in grief and in a resolve to protect America. Along with Americans of all faiths, Muslim Americans rushed in to save and rescue victims of al-Qaeda's terrorism.

Let me close with a true story, but remember that it is only one of many American stories that could be told. Mohammad Salman Hamdani was a 23-year-old paramedic, a New York City Police cadet, and Muslim American. He was one of those brave first responders who tragically lost his life in the 9/11 terrorist attacks almost a decade ago. As the New York Times eulogized, he wanted to be seen as an all-American kid. He wore No. 79 on the high school football team at Bayside, Queens, where he lived. He was called Sal by his friends. He became a research assistant at the Rockefeller University and drove an ambulance part time. One Christmas, he sang Handel's Messiah in Queens. He saw all of the Star Wars movies. It is well-known that his new Honda was the one that read—with the Young Jedi license plates.

Mr. Hamdani bravely sacrificed his life trying to help others on 9/11. After the tragedy, some people tried to smear his character solely because of his Islamic faith. Some people spread false rumors and speculated that he was in league with the attackers because he was a Muslim. But it was only when his remains were identified that these lies were exposed. Mohammad Salman Hamdani was a fellow American who gave his life for other Americans, and his life should not be identified as just a member of an ethnic group or just a member of a religion, but as an American who gave everything for his fellow Americans.

I yield back.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentleman for his testimony.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. The gentlelady from Texas.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Parliamentary inquiry. Being moved by the statement of Mr. Ellison, I am wondering whether or not you would waive the rules of this committee to allow all Members to have opening statements.

Chairman KING. No, I will not.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I think, Mr. Chairman, I would like to finish my inquiry. I think because of the severity of this issue, and the passion that is being expressed, and the concern for demonizing of one group, that Members need to be on the record to be able to ex-

press their view, their opposition or their support, for the format and the structure of this hearing.

Chairman KING. Reclaiming my time. The regular rules of procedure will be followed, and I recognize the gentleman from Virginia.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. I recognize the gentleman from Virginia Mr. Wolf. Mr. Wolf has served long in the Congress. He has shown particular interest in this issue. His district has had several cases of radicalization. I recognize Mr. Wolf.

**STATEMENT OF THE HON. FRANK R. WOLF, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA**

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to testify. I commend your leadership in holding these hearings, and I will revise and summarize.

I have been following radical Islamic terrorism for nearly three decades. In 1998, I authored the legislation creating the National Commission on Terrorism, and highlighted the threat from Osama bin Laden in my introductory remarks. I was the Chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee that funds the FBI on September 11, 2001, and worked closely with Director Mueller from 2002 to 2006 to transform its missions to deal with the terrorist threat. I am again Chairman of that subcommittee and have received regular briefings on terrorism, and visit the counterterrorism center quite often in northern Virginia about the new and growing threat posed by domestic radicalization.

According to the Congressional Research Service, there have been 43 homegrown Jihadist terrorist plots and attacks since 9/11, including 22 plots or attacks since May 2009. As U.S. Government officials, law enforcement and community leaders seek to combat this emerging challenge, we must foster partnerships with peaceful and law-abiding Americans of the Muslim faith.

Mr. Chairman, over the last 3 decades, I have seen first-hand the violence and the repression against Muslims in many countries and have spoken out in their defense in places such as Sudan, Chechnya, Kosovo, and China. In Bosnia, I was one of the only Members to visit a Muslim men's prison camp run by the Serbs, where I saw evidence of modern-day ethnic cleansing, and supported lifting the arms embargo so the Muslim population could defend themselves in Bosnia and Sarajevo.

I am mindful of the important role that American Muslims play today. They are teachers, doctors, policemen, and soldiers. They are mothers, fathers, neighbors. They are patriotic Americans; some have paid the ultimate price in service to their country. I am reminded of a young Pakistani-American that I had the privilege of meeting at Walter Reed Hospital. He lost both legs in combat in Iraq. He was a patriot who makes us proud, and he was a Muslim.

In my oversight of the Justice Department, including both in civil rights and National security programs, I am mindful of the Government's responsibility to safeguard the rights of all Americans. There have been instances in our Nation's history, especially when our country has been under attack, where the civil liberties of certain groups of people have been violated because other people were afraid. This is inexcusable, but this is the exception and not the

rule. Yet, Mr. Chairman, we cannot ignore the phenomenon of domestic radicalization. It is a National security challenge that must be confronted.

According to a recent report by respected counterterrorism experts Bruce Hoffman and Peter Bergen called "Assessing the Terrorist Threat," they said, "The American melting pot has not provided a firewall against the radicalization and the recruitment of American citizens and residents, though it has arguably lulled us into a sense of complacency that homegrown terrorism couldn't happen in the United States." They went on to say, "By not taking more urgently and seriously the radicalization and recruitment that was actually occurring in the U.S., authorities failed to comprehend that this was not an isolated phenomenon. Rather, it indicated the possibility that even an embryonic terrorist radicalization and recruitment infrastructure had been established in the U.S. homeland."

Consider the following individuals who have been radicalized in my State of Virginia, or I would even say here in northern Virginia. In October 2010, Farooque Ahmed from Ashburn, Virginia, was arrested for allegedly plotting attacks on the Washington Metro system, targeting stations to find times to kill as many people as possible.

In July 2010, Zachary Chesser, a graduate of Oakton High School, was arrested in New York en route to join al-Shabaab in Somalia. Chesser plead guilty to charges of providing material support to terrorists, communicating threats, and solicitation of crimes of violence and was sentenced to 30 years.

In November 2009, five Muslim American teenagers from Fairfax County were arrested in Pakistan attempting to join militant Islamist organizations. They have been sentenced to 10 years in a Pakistan prison.

In November 2009, Virginia native Army Major Nidal Hasan killed 13 servicemen and women at Fort Hood, Texas. Hasan grew up in Arlington, went to Wakefield High School, and later moved to Roanoke.

In 2004, Abdul Rahman al Amoudi from Falls Church, Virginia, was convicted on three charges of terrorist financing and conspiring to assassinate Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah and was sentenced to 23 years in prison.

In 2003, Ahmed Omar Abu Ali, a northern Virginia resident and the Islamic Saudi Academy's 1999 valedictorian, was arrested in Saudi Arabia and was later convicted in Federal district court in Alexandria of conspiracy to commit terrorism, including a plot to assassinate President Bush. He was sentenced to life in prison.

One also cannot overlook the prominent role that Anwar al-Awlaki, an American citizen, played in northern Virginia during his time preaching at a mosque in Falls Church, Virginia. This is particularly noteworthy given his recruitment of the Fort Hood shooter, the Christmas day bomber and the Times Square bomber. Some experts say the internet is the conduit to which radical voices like al-Awlaki corrupt minds, while others say it is the importation of radical Wahhabism.

As we deal with the growing threat, it is troubling, Mr. Chairman, to see a group such as the Council on American-Islamic Rela-

tions, commonly known as CAIR, attempt to stifle debate and obstruct cooperation with law enforcement. In June 2009, I spoke on the House floor in great detail, laying out my concern about CAIR and discussing the Holy Land Foundation case. The foundation and five of its former organizers were found guilty of illegally funneling more than \$12 million to Hamas. We know Hamas is a terrorist organization on the terrorist list by the European Union, by the United States, and wants to destroy Israel. They are designated a foreign terrorist organization. Among the unindicted co-conspirators in the case was CAIR.

CAIR is routinely, and I believe mistakenly, elevated in the press as the voice of mainstream American Muslims, and they have been granted access to the highest levels of Government at times. Last week during a hearing before my subcommittee, Attorney General Eric Holder recognized CAIR's, "troubled history," he said, and FBI Director Robert Mueller has suspended all non-investigative cooperation with CAIR.

My concern about CAIR is not limited to its disturbing origins and connections to terrorist financing. I am equally concerned about CAIR's role in attacking the reputations of any—attacking the reputations of any—who dare to raise concerns about domestic radicalization. A May 25, 2007, Wall Street Journal op-ed by Tawfik Hamid, a former member of the terrorist organization, described terrorists, "perhaps the most conspicuous organization to persistently accuse opponents of Islamophobia."

Additionally, in October 2008, the editorial page editor of the Columbus Dispatch spoke to CAIR's bent on accusation as a means of muzzling debate. They said, "For many years, CAIR has waged a campaign to intimidate and silence anyone who raises alarms about the danger of Islamic extremism. The group acts properly when it hammers home the point that only a small number of Muslims support religiously motivated violence and that targeting law-abiding Muslims is wrong." They went on to say, "Where CAIR errs is in labeling anyone who discusses Islamic terrorism as a bigot and hate-monger and Islamophobe, to use CAIR's favorite slur."

However, discourse is not all that CAIR seeks to silence. In many cases its National and State chapter leaders actively dissuade American Muslims from cooperating with law enforcement. After dozens of Somali Americans disappeared from the Minneapolis area in 2009, CAIR attempted to drive a wedge between the Muslim community and the FBI, which was seeking to track down the missing men.

According to official estimates, at least 2 dozen Americans have moved to Somalia in recent years to join the terrorist group al-Shabaab, and roughly 10, 10 Americans who have gone there have been killed in fighting or acts of terrorism while they have been connected with al-Shabaab.

In January 2011, CAIR's California chapter displayed an old poster on its website which stated, "Build a wall of resistance. Don't talk to the FBI." Although CAIR removed the poster once the media reported on it, it reflects a larger and, I think, very troubling pattern.

When the terrorism commission legislation was moving in 1998, in CAIR's own words they asked Muslims to contact leaders of the

House and Senate committee and urge them to amend or eliminate the new legislation that would create a National commission on terrorism. This was misguided, and fortunately it was not successful. Regrettably, the Commission's recommendations sent to Congress in June 2000 were generally ignored until 9/11 when 3,000 people were killed, including more than 2 dozen—2 dozen—from my Congressional district. Let me be clear, CAIR is counter-productive, and it is hurting the American Muslim community. I raise these concerns because if we are to successfully counter domestic radicalization, law enforcement in particular will need the active engagement of Muslim communities.

Mr. Chairman, I have a recommendation to address the challenge of domestic radicalization head on. I commend the FBI, and Director Mueller, and all the men of the FBI, and men and women of the FBI and our other services for the outstanding work that they have done in intercepting would-be terrorists before their attacks. But despite the FBI's success, the United States does not have an effective or coherent policy to thwart radicalization. That is why I will soon be introducing legislation to create a Team B to bring fresh eyes to U.S. domestic radicalization and counterterrorism strategy. The team would represent a new approach which focuses not just on connecting the dots of intelligence, but on re-thinking the nature of threats to stay a step ahead and understanding how to break the radicalization and recruitment cycle that sustains terrorism, how to disrupt the global terrorist network, and how to strategically isolate it.

During the Ford administration, the CIA created a Team B composed of outside experts to re-examine intelligence relating to Soviet capabilities. Their conclusions were markedly different than those of the agency officials. Many other assessments were used in the Reagan administration to deal with the Soviets, ultimately leading to the end of the Cold War. Today our intelligence community and Federal law enforcement are so inundated with reports and investigations that they do not have the capacity to step back and strategically re-evaluate the threat before us. I believe a Team B would provide a tremendous service in making recommendations on how we could disrupt domestic radicalization.

I was working closely with former Congresswoman Jane Harman on a bipartisan proposal before she retired to leave to go to the Woodrow Wilson Institute. For over a year I have repeatedly written the administration, urging them to implement this proposal. They have not.

Mr. Chairman, I urge your support of this legislation and thank you again for the opportunity to testify. I strongly believe that your hearings will provide the Congress with a starting point for a new dialogue about fighting extremism and radicalization. We cannot afford to be silent. I am reminded of the song by Simon and Garfunkel, *The Boxer*, that says, "Man hears what he wants to hear, but disregards the rest." We cannot disregard the issue of radicalization in our country. Your hearings can provide a productive forum for a much-needed dialogue about domestic radicalization, and I want to thank you very much for your leadership.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Chairman Wolf, for your testimony. We look forward to considering your legislation. I thank you.  
[The information follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK R. WOLF

MARCH 10, 2011

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to testify this morning on such an important issue. I commend you for your leadership in holding these hearings.

I have been concerned about and been following the issue of radical Islamic terrorism for nearly 3 decades. I visited the Marine barracks in Lebanon following the 1983 bombing that killed 241 American servicemen.

I closely followed the issue of terrorism with the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993 and throughout the 1990s with the deadly attacks against our embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, where yet another of my constituents was killed.

As a result, in 1998 I authored legislation creating the National Commission on Terrorism, also known as the Bremer Commission, and highlighted the threat from Osama bin Laden in my introductory remarks—years before many in our Government fully understood the danger he posed. I will submit a copy of that statement for the record.

I was the Chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee that funds the FBI and Justice Department on September 11, 2001, and I worked closely with Director Mueller and his leadership team from 2002–2006 to transform its mission to deal with the terrorist threat.

I am now again Chairman of that subcommittee and receive regular briefings on terrorism and the new and growing threat posed by domestic radicalization and frequently visit the National Counterterrorism Center, which is located in my district.

According to the Congressional Research Service, there have been 43 “homegrown jihadist terrorist plots and attacks since 9/11,” including 22 plots or attacks since May 2009.

As U.S. Government officials, law enforcement, and community leaders seek to understand and combat this emerging challenge, we must foster partnerships with peaceful and law-abiding Americans of the Muslim faith and not allow their voices to be drowned out.

Mr. Chairman, over the last three decades I have seen first-hand the violence and repression against Muslims in many countries and spoken out in their defense.

In Sudan, I led the first Congressional delegation to Darfur, where nearly all of the victims of the genocide are Muslim.

In Chechnya, I was the only Member of Congress to visit during the fighting in 1995 and I condemned the violence against the largely Muslim population.

In Bosnia, I was one of the only Members to visit Muslim men in a Serb-run prisoner-of-war camp where I saw evidence of modern-day ethnic cleansing and supported lifting the arms embargo so the Muslim population could defend themselves.

In Kosovo, I visited five times in the 1990s and I spoke out for the bombing campaign to stop Serbian atrocities against Muslims in Kosovo, and helped the Muslim refugee population as they fled Kosovo and poured into Kukes, Albania.

In China, I was one of the first Members to raise concerns about the persecution of Muslims.

Further, I was the author of the International Religious Freedom Act, which created the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom as well as the International Religious Freedom Office at the State Department.

Central to the act was the assertion that “freedom of religious belief and practice is a universal human right and fundamental freedom.”

I am also very mindful of the important role that American Muslims play in the United States today. They are teachers, doctors, policemen, and soldiers. They are mothers, fathers, and neighbors. They are patriotic Americans.

They have taken advantage of the opportunity this country provides for people of every background—and some have paid the ultimate price to protect our freedoms in service to their country.

I am reminded of a young Pakistani American that I had the privilege of meeting during one of my visits to Walter Reed Hospital in recent years. He was in the midst of his physical therapy—therapy that was necessary because he had lost both of his legs while in combat in Iraq.

He was a patriot who makes us proud—and he was Muslim.

In my oversight of the Justice Department, including both its civil rights and National security programs, I am always mindful of the Government's responsibility to safeguard the rights of all Americans.

My grandparents immigrated to America from Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century. Even though my grandparents were both native German speakers, when World War I broke out my grandmother decided that from that day forward only English would be spoken in their home.

I share this bit of personal history to illustrate that I am cognizant of the challenges facing new immigrants, especially during times of war. My German family was sensitive about how some people may have viewed them, so we who are not Muslim have to be understanding of feelings of sensitivity in the Muslim community today.

There have been instances in our Nation's history, especially when our country has been under attack, where the civil liberties of certain groups of people have been violated because other people were afraid. This is inexcusable.

But this is the exception, not the rule.

Our experiment in self-governance has been marked by an unwavering commitment to basic freedoms for all people, among them the right to worship according to the dictates of one's conscience. Many American Muslims left countries where such freedom is unimaginable.

Yet we cannot ignore the phenomenon of domestic radicalization. It is a National security challenge that must be confronted.

According to a recent report by respected counterterrorism experts Bruce Hoffman and Peter Bergen called "Assessing the Terrorist Threat":

"The American 'melting pot' has not provided a firewall against the radicalization and recruitment of American citizens and residents, though it has arguably lulled us into a sense of complacency that homegrown terrorism couldn't happen in the United States . . . By not taking more urgently and seriously the radicalization and recruitment that was actually occurring in the U.S., authorities failed to comprehend that this was not an isolated phenomenon . . . Rather, it indicated the possibility that even an embryonic terrorist radicalization and recruitment infrastructure had been established in the U.S. homeland."

For generation upon generation, people of all cultures, races, and religions have immigrated to the United States to build a better life for their families.

In doing so, some of the newest Americans became our strongest patriots—espousing and renewing our most cherished American values. However, as Hoffman and Bergen note, the "melting pot" model has been insufficient in recent years to combat radicalization and recruitment trends among our own citizens. This has been true even in my own State.

Consider the following individuals who have been radicalized in northern Virginia alone over the last several years:

- In October 2010, Farooque Ahmed from Ashburn, Virginia, was arrested for allegedly plotting attacks on the Washington Metro system—targeting Metro stations to find optimal times to kill as many innocent people as possible.
- In July 2010, Zachary Chesser, graduate of nearby Oakton High School, was arrested in New York en route to join al Shabaab in Somalia. Late last year, Chesser plead guilty to charges of providing material support to terrorists, communicating threats, and soliciting crimes of violence and was sentenced to 30 years in prison.
- In November 2009, five American Muslim teenagers from Fairfax County, Virginia, were arrested in Pakistan attempting to join militant Islamist organizations. They have been sentenced to 10 years in a Pakistan prison.
- In November 2009, Virginia native Army Major Nidal Hassan attacked Fort Hood in Texas and has been charged with the shooting deaths of 13 servicemen and women and civilians. Hassan was a graduate of Virginia Tech and grew up in Arlington and Roanoke, Virginia.
- In 2004, Abdul Rahman Al-Amoudi from Falls Church, Virginia was convicted on three charges of terrorist financing and conspiring to assassinate Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah and was sentenced to 23 years in jail.
- In 2003, Ahmed Omar Abu Ali—northern Virginia resident and the Islamic Saudi Academy's 1999 valedictorian—was arrested in Saudi Arabia, and was later convicted in Federal District Court in Alexandria of conspiracy to commit terrorism, including a plot to assassinate President Bush. He was sentenced to life in prison.

There are many more examples from around the country. I will submit for the record a full list provided by the Congressional Research Service of terrorist attacks committed by radicalized Muslim Americans.



One also cannot overlook the prominent role that Anwar Aulaqi played in northern Virginia during his time preaching at a mosque in Falls Church—just a few miles from Capitol Hill.

This is particularly noteworthy given Aulaqi's emergence as a leader of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and his recruitment of the Fort Hood shooter, the Christmas day bomber, and the Times Square bomber.

Aulaqi has emerged as a driving force in the recruitment of would-be terrorists living in the United States and Europe.

Last year, Aulaqi publicly praised these alleged terrorists and called for further attacks against American civilians—and Aulaqi is an American citizen.

It is somewhat unclear by what means these domestic extremists are being radicalized. Some experts say that the internet is the conduit through which radical voices, like Aulaqi, corrupt minds. Other experts say it's the importation of radical Wahabiism.

However, as we deal with this growing threat, it is troubling to see a group such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations, commonly known as CAIR, attempt to stifle debate and even obstruct cooperation and communication with law enforcement officials.

On June 12, 2009, I spoke on the House floor for nearly an hour laying out in great detail my concern about CAIR. In my remarks I explored the Holy Land Foundation case.

One agency that comes before my subcommittee is the FBI, which was intimately involved in a lengthy investigation culminating in the Holy Land Foundation and five of its former organizers, being convicted in November 2008 on charges, and I quote a Department of Justice press release, "of providing material support to Hamas, a designated foreign terrorist organization."

Hamas is recognized by the United States and the European Union as a terrorist organization. It is publicly committed to the destruction of Israel. Its 1988 covenant says, "The Day of Judgment will not come about until Moslems fight Jews and kill them."

Among the unindicted co-conspirators in the Holy Land Foundation case was CAIR, which over the last several years has been granted access to the highest levels of the U.S. Government. The organization is routinely, and I believe mistakenly, elevated in the press as the voice of mainstream American Muslims.

Last week during a hearing before my subcommittee, Attorney General Eric Holder recognized CAIR's "troubled history" and FBI Director Robert Mueller has suspended all non-investigative cooperation with CAIR.

In an April 28, 2009, letter to Senator Jon Kyl, which I submit for the record, the FBI reported that during the Holy Land Foundation trial, "evidence was introduced that demonstrated a relationship among CAIR, individual CAIR founders (including its current President Emeritus and its Executive Director), and the Palestinian Committee. Evidence was also introduced that demonstrated a relationship between the Palestinian Committee and Hamas . . . In light of that evidence, the FBI suspended all formal contacts between CAIR and the FBI."

Several other elected officials have raised concerns about CAIR, among them Senator Charles Schumer, Senator Richard Durbin, and Senator Barbara Boxer.

My concern about CAIR is not limited to its disturbing origins and connections to terrorist financing. I am equally concerned about CAIR's role in attacking and seeking to destroy the reputations of any who dare to raise issues of concern about domestic radicalization. This should give us pause.

In a May 25, 2007, *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, Tawik Hamid wrote, "In America, perhaps the most conspicuous organization to persistently accuse opponents of Islamophobia is the Council on American Islamic Relations."

This is particularly interesting coming from Hamid, an Islamic reformer and one-time Islamic extremist from Egypt, who was a member of the terrorist Islamic organization Jemaah Islamiya with Dr. Aiman Al-Zawaherri, who later became the second in command of al-Qaeda,

Additionally, in October 2008, the editorial page editor of the *The Columbus Dispatch* spoke to CAIR's bent toward accusation as a means of muzzling debate:

"For many years, CAIR has waged a campaign to intimidate and silence anyone who raises alarms about the dangers of Islamic extremism. CAIR's rationale is that discussions of Islamic extremism lead to animosity not just toward those who twist Islam into a justification for terrorism but toward all who practice Islam. CAIR's concern is understandable, but its response is unreasonable. The group acts properly when it hammers home the point that only a small number of Muslims support religiously motivated violence and that targeting law-abiding Muslims is wrong. Where

CAIR errs in labeling anyone who discusses Islamic terrorism a bigot and hatermonger, an Islamophobe, to use CAIR's favorite slur."

However, discourse is not all that CAIR seeks to silence. In many cases, its National and State chapter leaders actively dissuade American Muslims from cooperating with Federal law enforcement.

For example, after dozens of Somali Americans disappeared from the Minneapolis area in 2009, CAIR attempted to drive a wedge between the Muslim community and the FBI, which was attempting to track down the missing men.

According to official estimates, at least two dozen Americans have moved to Somalia in recent years to join the transnational terrorist group al Shabaab.

Approximately 10 of these men have been killed in fighting or acts of terrorism.

Fearing for members of their community, Somali Americans in Minneapolis repelled CAIR's efforts and held a public protest in June 2009 to speak out about CAIR's activities. I enclose a *Minneapolis Star Tribune* article for the Record.

In January 2011, CAIR's California chapter found an old poster and displayed it on its website stating, "Build a wall of resistance. Don't talk to the FBI." I brought an enlarged copy of this poster with me today.\*

This is a telling example of how CAIR has sought to prevent individuals from cooperating with law enforcement—or at the very least to present themselves as the only legitimate channel for doing so.

Although CAIR removed the poster once the media started reporting on it, it reflects a larger troubling pattern.

When the terrorism commission legislation was moving in 1998, in CAIR's own words, they "asked Muslims to contact leaders of a House-Senate conference committee and urge them to amend or eliminate new legislation that would create a National Commission on Terrorism."

This was a misguided lobbying effort at best. Fortunately, it was unsuccessful and the bipartisan commission was authorized to conduct its work.

A Congressional Research Service report described the main finding of the commission this way: "It calls on the U.S. Government to prepare more actively to prevent and deal with a future mass casualty, catastrophic terrorist attack." Regrettably, the commission's recommendations, sent to Congress in June 2000, were generally ignored until after the attacks on 9/11, when 3,000 people were killed, including more than 2 dozen from my Congressional district.

Let me be clear: CAIR is counter-productive and is hurting the American Muslim community.

I raise these concerns because I believe that if we are to successfully counter domestic radicalization, law enforcement in particular will need the active engagement of Muslim communities. Dr. Hedieh Mirahmadi, president and founder of WORDE and co-chair of the first ever all female Islamic Law Council, recently wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "At the end of the day, we need to address the core problem of radicalization in America's backyard. The importance of creating lasting partnerships with moderate Muslim communities cannot be overemphasized."

Mr. Chairman, I have a recommendation to address the challenge of domestic radicalization head on. I believe that we must take a fresh look at how we can thwart domestic radicalization—because it is clear that current efforts have been unsuccessful.

I want to commend the FBI and Director Mueller for their exceptional work in intercepting would-be terrorists before their attacks. They work tirelessly to protect our country and their record over the last decade speaks for itself. But despite the FBI's success at disrupting plots under way, the United States does not have an effective or coherent policy to defeat radicalization.

That is why I will be introducing legislation soon that would create a "Team B" to bring fresh eyes to U.S. domestic radicalization and counterterrorism strategy. The team would represent a new approach, which focuses not just on connecting the dots of intelligence, but to rethink the nature of threats to stay a step ahead in understanding how to break the radicalization and recruitment cycle that sustains terrorism, how to disrupt the global terrorist network and how to strategically isolate it.

During the Ford Administration, then-CIA director George H.W. Bush created a "Team B" composed of outside experts to re-examine intelligence relating to Soviet capabilities. Their conclusions were markedly different than those reached by agency officials. Many of their assessments were used in the Reagan administration to deal with the Soviets—ultimately leading to the end of the Cold War.

\* Included as an attachment to Chairman Peter T. King's prepared statement.

Today, our intelligence community and Federal law enforcement are so inundated with reports and investigations that they do not have the time or capacity to step back and strategically re-evaluate the threat before us.

I believe a "Team B" would provide a tremendous service to both the agencies and the Congress in making recommendations on how we can disrupt domestic radicalization.

For more than a year, I have written numerous letters to the President and members of his National security team urging them to implement this proposal. They have not.

As Bruce Hoffman wrote, "One important yet currently languishing Congressional initiative that would help counter this strategy is Representative Frank Wolf's proposal to institutionalize a 'red team' or 'Team B' counterterrorist capability as an essential element of our efforts to combat terrorism and in the war against al-Qaeda."

I believe this would be a constructive step and I urge your support of this legislation. I was working closely with former Congressman Jane Harman on this proposal before she left the House to lead the Woodrow Wilson Center.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you again for the opportunity to testify this morning. I strongly believe that your hearings will provide the Congress with a starting point for a new dialogue about fighting extremism and radicalization.

We cannot afford to be silent. I am reminded of the song by Simon and Garfunkel, "The Boxer," which includes the lyric: "Man hears what he wants to hear, but disregards the rest."

We cannot disregard the issue of radicalization in our country.

Your hearings can provide a productive forum for a much-needed dialogue about domestic radicalization. Thank you for your leadership.

### Congressman Wolf's House Speech in September 1998 on taking action against terrorism



## Congressional Record

House Floor Proceedings  
September 9, 1998

Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing legislation which will establish a national commission on terrorism. This will be a bipartisan, national panel of experts with diverse skills and uniquely highly respected people from across the political spectrum. The commission would be accessible to the President, to Congress, and to the American people.

The purpose of the commission would be to take a close look at the problem of terrorism, including Middle Eastern-related terrorism, to study its origins and develop effective counter-measures and make recommendations to reshape our traditional policy on combating terrorism.

The proposed bipartisan national commission will consist of 15 distinguished members, five each appointed by the President, the Speaker of the House and the Majority Leader of the Senate in consultation with the Minority Leaders of the House and Senate. The commissioners will include three Members of Congress and three Senators. The commission will have a duration of six months and will be given every means to deal quickly with this national problem, including access to classified information, travel funds to engage in on-site spot investigations, and accompanying congressional hearings.

A few weeks ago, 224 people lost their lives and more than 5,000 people were injured in the bombings of two U.S. embassies in East Africa. Twelve of those who died were Americans.

On August 20, President Clinton announced that the U.S. had determined a multimillionaire militant and terrorist known as Osama bin Laden, was responsible for the attack. American forces bombed secret compounds and facilities linked to bin Laden in Afghanistan and Sudan that same day. While this response was proper and necessary, I

believe we need to take another look at our nation's overall policy on terrorism. Bin Laden is certainly not our only worry. Unfortunately, there are other groups also known to be active in the area of terrorism.

As the world's leader, America and its people are natural terrorist targets. Our military, industrial and commercial presence around the globe attracts frustration from many terrorist groups.

But the problem is not limited to America alone. In Israel, Algeria, Egypt, and many other countries, terrorism has become an awful fact of life. A recent study in the *Journal of Counterterrorism and Security International* of all facilities in international terrorist incidents from 1993 to 1996 showed that three-quarters of the deaths from these attacks could be laid at the feet of the militant, fundamentalist groups.

In my travels to many of these countries, I have seen firsthand the destruction that terrorism has inflicted on many innocent people. I have visited Sudan on three different occasions, and have seen the great instability that terrorist elements bring to a country when they are allowed to flourish. Over the July 1998 congressional recess, I visited Algeria, where 70,000 people have been killed by terrorists. I saw the fear and the sorrow that grips the people there as they have lost countless friends and loved ones in the violence in that nation. When I visited Lebanon after the horrific bombing in Beirut in 1983, I saw the Marine barracks that had been destroyed. On October 23, 1983, massive vehicle bombs devastated the headquarters of the U.S. Marine contingent, killing 241 U.S. Marines.

After my recent trip to Algeria and with this latest attack on the embassies in East Africa, I am convinced that it is

time to reevaluate American counterterrorist strategy. I say this not to be critical of what has already been done or of current efforts. Much is being accomplished by the intelligence community in this regard. They are doing a great job and are to be commended. Still, terrorism is growing.

Until now, we have been fortunate not to experience the full brunt of many terrorist attacks on our home soil. According to a recent article in the *Economist*, investigators of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing concluded that those plotting the incident intended to cause one tower to topple onto the other and to kill up to 250,000 people. Fortunately, the attack was not as successful as planned.

Some regions of the world are much more dangerous than others. Since 1983, more Americans have been killed by attacks perpetrated by terrorists either based in or connected to the Middle East than any other region of the world. In fact, the largest number of American lives lost to politically motivated violence since the end of the Vietnam War has been connected to Middle Eastern terrorism.

A number of incidents have not yet been fully resolved. In some cases, the perpetrators remain unknown. In other cases, the perpetrators are known but have not yet been held accountable for their actions, or have taken refuge in other countries.

Outstanding incidents are many. One of the most deadly years for terrorist violence was 1993, with the bombings of the United Embassy in April and the Marine barracks in October. Five years later, Pan Am Flight 103 was destroyed in flight over Scotland by a bomb, killing 259 persons on board, including 189 Americans, and 11 others on the ground. Experts say that although the culprits have been pinpointed, they are currently hiding in Libya and that nation is refusing to hand them over to authorities.

More recently came the car bomb explosion in the parking lot of the Office of Program Manager/Saudi Arabian National Guard in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in

November 1995, which killed seven people and wounded 42 others. Seven months later in that country, a fuel truck carrying a bomb exploded outside the U.S. military's Khobar Towers housing facility in Dhahran, killing 19 U.S. military personnel and wounding 515 persons, including 240 U.S. personnel.

Unidentified gunmen shot to death four U.S. soldiers from Union Texas Petroleum and their Pakistani driver in Karachi, Pakistan, in November 1997. Now we are facing the latest terrorist incident of the bombing of two American embassies in East Africa. For over these last 15 years, there have been many other terrorist attacks and American blood has been shed both at home and abroad.

U.S. government agencies and private organizations have done valiantly work to unravel the perpetrators of these crimes. Unfortunately, the potential for both an increased number of terrorist acts and for acts that can result in massive numbers of casualties is great and is growing.

America, and the world, must be prepared for new and more deadly kinds of terrorism—nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons of mass destruction. The danger is growing as weapons of mass destruction become more accessible.

The world watched in horror in March 1995, when the news came that members of a small religious sect had set off a nerve gas called sarin in the Tokyo subway. The incident killed 12 people and injured several thousand, but it was actually like the World Trade Center, a hotbed job. When they investigated later, police found enough sarin in the sect's possession to kill millions of people.

It is imperative that the United States assess the most effective ways of combating terrorism and that policy makers have the full spectrum of options at their disposal. This is what the National Commission on Terrorism will do. And it must do so quickly. The American people deserve to be fully informed on this issue in the face of a powerful and vicious adversary.

Figure 1. Homegrown Jihadist Terrorist Plots and Attacks Since 9/11: Terrorist Profile and Training

Plots and Attacks	Timeline				
	Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	3-5 Years	6-10 Years	More Than 10 Years
Wahneema Lubiano					
Perisore Ahmed					
Abdul Shabazz					
Omer Hassan					
Jihad Mustafa					
Shaker Masri					
Zachary Cheser					
The Rockwoods					
Alissa and Alimonte					
Patrol Sullivan					
Colleen Layton					
Northern Virginia Fin- of-Shabazz Recruiting					
El-Raed Khalaf Al-Raed					
David Hordley					
Tarek Mohamed					
Hassan Sraidi					
Michael Triton					
Hughston Zed					
David Boyd, et al					
Al-Raed Khalaf Al-Raed					
Researcher Peter					
Bryant Neal Voss					
JFK Airport Plot/Plot					
Fari Odeh					
Derek Al-Mogadda					
Derrick Shamel					
Hassan Talban Plot					
Liberty City Seven					
Michigan State Plot					
Sideways and Ahmed					
Teledy, Siba Plot/Plot					
JE Plot/Plot in So. California					
Lock Case (the Hayati)					
Albany Plot					
New York City Subway Plot					
Yaman Farh					
Muhammad Omar Abu Ali					
Virginia Jihad Network					
Western Jihad					
Lackawanna Six					
Jose Padilla					
Portland Seven					

Source: CRS analysis of open source material related to homegrown jihadist plots and attacks since 9/11.

Notes:

a. Listed in chronological order. The four attacks are highlighted in bold and italic.

Figure 2. Homegrown Jihadist Terrorist Plots and Attacks Since 9/11: Targets, Endgames, and Investigative Tools

Plots and Attacks <sup>a</sup>	Target		Endgame				Investigation Tools <sup>b</sup>	
	U.S.	Foreign	Personnel	Explosives	Foreign Fighters	Informant Recruitment	Surveillance/Materials	
<b>Mohamed Mohamed</b>	●	○	○	●	○	●	○	
<b>Esseque Ahmed</b>	●	○	○	●	○	●	○	
<b>Abdel Shabaab</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Omair Hammani</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Abad Moutari</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Shaker Houri</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Zachary Charles</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>The Backwoods</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Ahmed and Alwanie</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Faisal Shalash</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Caldeen LaRose</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Northern Virginia Five</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>al-Shabaab Recruitment</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Dr. Abdul Wahid Karim</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>David Hodley</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Derek Melson</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Wayne Searff</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Michael Pittman</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Muhammad Zaid</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Daniel Boyd, et al</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Abdul-Muhsin Al-Wakeel</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Newburgh Four</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Bryant Neal Weiss</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>JFK Airport Pipeline Plot</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Fert Dia Sub</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Daniel Maldonado</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Derrick Sharif</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Houston Tullare Plot</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Liberty City Seven</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Woburn Road Plot/Leak</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Sedgwick and Ahmed</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Talaha, Ohio Plotters</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>AS Plotting in So. California</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Lodi Care (The Hosts)</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Albany Plot</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>New York City Subway Plot</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Jayam Path</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Ahmed Omar Abu Ali</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Virginia Jihad Network</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Wichita Avenue</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Ladewassa Site</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Alse Padilla</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	
<b>Portland Seven</b>	○	●	○	○	●	○	○	

Source: CRS analysis of open source material related to homegrown jihadist plots and attacks since 9/11.

Notes:

- a. Listed in chronological order. The four attacks are highlighted in bold and italics.
- b. As indicated in open-source reporting, it is possible that the use of these tools in some cases remains classified information and thus is not reflected in this figure.



U.S. Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

April 28, 2009

The Honorable Jon Kyl  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Kyl:

This responds to your letter to Director Mueller dated February 24, 2009, regarding your interest in reports that the FBI has severed its liaison relationship with the Council on Islamic Relations (CAIR). I apologize for the delay in responding to your inquiry. For your information an identical letter has been sent to Senator Schumer and to Senator Coburn, M.D.

As you know, CAIR was named as an unindicted co-conspirator of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development in *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.* (Cr. No. 3:04-240-P(N.D.TX.)). During that trial, evidence was introduced that demonstrated a relationship among CAIR, individual CAIR founders (including its current President Emeritus and its Executive Director) and the Palestine Committee. Evidence was also introduced that demonstrated a relationship between the Palestine Committee and HAMAS, which was designated as a terrorist organization in 1995. In light of that evidence, the FBI suspended all formal contacts between CAIR and the FBI.

The FBI's decision to suspend formal contacts was not intended to reflect a wholesale judgment of the organization and its entire membership. Nevertheless, until we can resolve whether there continues to be a connection between CAIR or its executives and HAMAS, the FBI does not view CAIR as an appropriate liaison partner. It is important to note, however, that although the FBI has suspended all formal outreach activities with CAIR at this time, CAIR, its officers, and members have been encouraged to report any hate crime, violation of federal civil rights or suspicious activity to the FBI.

The FBI made its own decision vis-a-vis outreach activities with this particular group. Any questions regarding broader executive branch outreach activities would be better answered by the Administration.

Please do not hesitate to contact my office if we may be of additional assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Richard C. Powers  
Assistant Director  
Office of Congressional Affairs

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## Somalis take to the street to protest group's actions

Relatives and friends of a dead Minneapolis teen complain that a Muslim civil rights group is blocking an FBI inquiry.

By ALLIE SHAH and JAMES WALSH, Star Tribune staff writers

Last update: June 12, 2009 - 3:42 PM

Relatives, friends and neighbors of a Minneapolis teen killed in Somalia pressed their argument Thursday that a Muslim civil rights group is hampering a federal investigation into the disappearances of dozens of Twin Cities Somali men.

At a protest outside the Brian Coyle Community Center in Minneapolis' Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, Abdurizak Bihi, the uncle of Burhan Hassan, who relatives say was killed last week in Mogadishu by a terrorist group, accused the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) Minnesota chapter of discouraging local Somalis from cooperating with the FBI.

"We don't want anyone to come into our community and tell us to shut up," Bihi said.

"Law enforcement will not be able to do anything without information from the community."

About 50 people attended the rally, waving signs and hollering, "CAIR out! Doublespeak out!"

During a months-long investigation into the disappearance of up to 20 Somali men, CAIR Minnesota launched a campaign to encourage anyone asked to speak to the FBI to be aware that they can have a lawyer present.

Jessica Zikri, communications director for CAIR Minnesota, said that effort is not meant to discourage anyone from speaking to investigators. Rather, the campaign is meant to ensure that people's civil rights are protected, she said. She said the group is willing to meet with families of the missing men.

CAIR Minnesota cosponsored an ice cream social at the Coyle Center to discuss the future of the complaint investigation unit of the city's civil rights department. Protesters used the occasion as an opportunity to voice their frustrations.

Jama Dhagad, a distant relative of Hassan, was among the protesters. "These people in

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the building, they're not representing the Somali community in a good way," he said.

Ibrahim Hassan, a cousin of Burhan's mother, balanced her 18-month-old son as she shouted slogans.

"I don't want my son, when he's 18 years old, out of nowhere going someplace else," she said. "We need to find out who did this."

Osman Ahmed, another relative of Hassan, said some in the family believe CAIR has aligned itself too closely with mosques where some believe the missing boys may have been influenced to leave.

"They are supporting the groups we suspect of recruiting our kids," Ahmed said. "We refuse to be silent."

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Chairman KING. The panel is dismissed.

I would now invite the witnesses on the second panel to be seated at the witness table for your testimony. Let me again thank each of the four witnesses for being here today, for giving us their valuable time, their input, and their varying views. But all that, I believe, is essential as we go forward, and I look forward to the testimony.

Our first witness today, Dr. Zuhdi Jasser, is the president and founder of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy. A devout Muslim, Dr. Jasser founded AIFD in the wake of the 9/11 attacks



in the United States as an effort to provide an American Muslim voice advocating for the preservation of the founding principles of the United States Constitution.

I must say, as a Member of Congress, I remember Dr. Jasser when he was here. He is a respected physician and a former member of the United States Navy, and he actually worked in the Attending Physician's Office here in the United States Capitol. For better or worse, he kept us healthy. Some of our constituents may not be too happy about that. But he did a great job of keeping us very healthy.

Again, I appreciate you being here today.  
The gentleman is recognized. Dr. Jasser.

**STATEMENT OF M. ZUHDI JASSER, M.D., PRESIDENT AND  
FOUNDER, AMERICAN ISLAMIC FORUM FOR DEMOCRACY**

Dr. JASSER. Thank you, Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson.

Chairman KING. Doctor, could you put on the microphone there, please?

Dr. JASSER. Thank you. Thank you Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, distinguished Members of the committee, for seeking my testimony on what I feel is the most important threat to American security in the 21st century.

As Chairman King said, I come to you as a devout Muslim and somebody who is very concerned about our country, and not only its polarization, but its paralysis in dealing with this problem. We formed an organization to address this, but yet we have not been able to move even one step forward significantly because of that paralysis.

One camp on the polarization refuses to believe that any Muslim could be radicalized; and yet we see, as we have discussed here, until now a significant increase in the number, an exponential increase in the number of radicalized Muslims that may not be from within our communities that we know, but are Muslims nonetheless. On the other side of the polarity are those that feel that Islam is the problem and they want to label Muslims as all one collective and really are seeking no solutions.

I think in the majority, in the middle, is moderate America that is looking for a solution, and I think these hearings are an opportunity for Muslims to address that solution.

Let me be clear and state up front that unequivocally for the record the United States has a significant problem with Muslim radicalization. Listen, I am Muslim, and I realize it is my problem and I need to fix it, and that is what I am trying to do.

It is unfortunate that you have some of the best work on radicalization being done by non-Muslims, like the NYPD report on radicalization. Most Muslim groups condemn that report, when in fact we Muslims should have been doing that report. Let me also state clearly it is a problem that we can only solve. Christians, Jews, non-Muslims cannot solve Muslim radicalization. So yes, there may be other types of violent extremism, but that cannot be solved by non-Muslims.

So we can close our eyes and pretend it doesn't exist; we can call everybody a bigot or an Islamaphobe if they even talk about it, but

you are not going to solve the problem, and the problem is increasing exponentially.

What I hope that we can discuss is get beyond this blind concept of violent extremism. It is a final step, but radicalization is a continuum. Cooperation is a continuum. I personally never knew a Muslim that wouldn't report somebody about to blow something up or commit an act of violence. But that is a final step on a continuum of radicalization.

I believe there are small elements but significant elements of ideology within our community that is radicalizing, based on the identification—the lack of identification and the separatism and the disenfranchisement of certain Muslims from this society that makes them not bond, makes them not trust the Government, makes them distrust the FBI, and creates a culture of a lack of cooperation. That is what we need your help in solving.

America's current paradigm is failing. I am a physician. I was trained as a physician. Patients come in, they have three or four symptoms. Typically they have one diagnosis. They don't come in with three symptoms and three diagnoses.

So when we look at the problem of radicalization, we have to realize that the panoply of excuses that are given—our foreign policy, our domestic policy, all this kind of stuff—those will never run out. At the end of the day it is a moral corruption within a certain segment that is using our religion, hijacking it for a theopolitical movement that is not only domestic, but it is global.

The reason I am here today and taking the time away from my family and my work to do that, to be here with you, is because we are failing. We are not addressing this. We are so much soaking up the bandwidth of the discussion in this country on this with victimization that we are not addressing the core problem and the root cause.

Yet these halls, this Government was based on discussing religious diversity. Our Founding Fathers, our establishment clause, was based on being able to have discussions that were functional on religion. But yet once a movement, a threat, hijacks religion, we seem to become completely dysfunctional and we get histrionics and we can't even talk about it. I hope we can move beyond that.

I fear for the legacy that my children will have because I want them to be able to have the gift, just like I got from my parents, that felt American the first minute they stepped off the plane when they came from the oppression of Syria and they understood that they could practice their faith, their beautiful faith of Islam more freely here than they could anywhere else in the world. Why? Because this Government is not under one faith. It is under God, and it is based on liberty.

These are the principles. Just as Prime Minister Cameron said, we can't continue to play defense. We need a muscular liberalism. So far our tax money, our resources, have been squandered. We have continued to play defense. Until we have an ideological offense into the Muslim communities, domestically and globally, to teach liberty, to teach the separation of mosque and state, you are not going to solve this problem, we are not going to solve it.

I am not saying that you can solve theology. You shouldn't be solving theology. That is my problem. But we need to build public-

private partnerships to build platforms where you can advocate for the laws of the Constitution that are universal human rights, that are based in the equality of men and women, the equality of all faiths before law.

These are principles that certain pockets of Islamic law, Islamic legalisms within systems in this country and outside, are advocating that are in contradiction with our Government, with our society, and end up radicalizing on a continuum, end up creating a culture of lack of cooperation. Until you treat that diagnosis, what I call political Islam, spiritual Islam will continue to suffer, our faith community will suffer, and this country's security will continue to suffer.

The current groups that have been speaking on our behalf I think have been failing. They may be well-intended about civil rights, but their apologetics, their dismissals, have been completely failing.

I think if you look at Nidal Hasan, he didn't become radical overnight. If you look at his resume, it is frighteningly similar to mine. Yet something happened in him over years. Over years. You can't just blame Awlaki. Awlaki himself, before he became a radicalizer, was being radicalized somewhere, and he was giving sermons in mosques in Denver and San Diego and Northern Virginia. When you talk to certain leaders in the Muslim community, they say: Oh, all of a sudden, we don't know what happened, he became violent.

That is not the way it works. Pathology creeps up over time and there is, just as we see in alcoholism, there are enablers. The enabling that has been happening in some of our—not all, and not even a majority—has been I think significantly causing a progression of this problem, and that is why we are not treating it and getting better.

Chairman KING. Dr. Jasser, if you could try to conclude in 30 seconds, please.

Dr. JASSER. Yes, sir. So ultimately we need solutions. Our organization has created a Muslim Liberty Project that looks at inoculating Muslims with the ideas of liberty, giving them the empowerment to counter imams, to feel that they can represent their own faith. We have a retreat coming in the next month to bring Muslims in from all over the country to begin that retreat process.

This is our homeland, and we want to set this aside to begin, if you will, a counter-jihad, an offense to counter the ideas that I think are the best way to use our resources as a Nation and to remember that the freedoms that we have don't come with a cheap price and we need to give back. That the solution ultimately to fear Muslims, if it exists, is for Americans to see Muslims leading the charge against radical Islam.

Thank you.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Dr. Jasser.

[The statement of Dr. Jasser follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF M. ZUHDI JASSER, M.D.

MARCH 10, 2011

Thank you Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, distinguished Members of the committee, for seeking my testimony on what I feel is the most important threat to American security in the 21st Century, Islamist Radicalization.

My name is Dr. M. Zuhdi Jasser and I am the president and founder of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy. I sit before you a proud, devout, American Muslim whose country is polarized on its perceptions of Muslims and the radicalization that occurs within our communities. One camp refuses to believe any Muslim could be radicalized living in blind multiculturalism, apologetics, and denial, and the other camp believes all devout Muslims and the faith of Islam are radicalized . . .

Between these two polarities is a reasoned, pragmatic approach focused on solutions that recognizes the beauty of one of the world's great religions, while also acknowledging the existence within of a dangerous internal theo-political domestic and global ideology that must be confronted—Islamism.

I hope that these hearings are the beginning of a rational National conversation about those solutions.

Our Forum was founded in the wake of the devastating attacks of September 11. For me it is a very personal mission to leave my American Muslim children a legacy that their faith is based in the unalienable right to liberty and to teach them that the principles that founded America do not contradict their faith but strengthen it. Our founding principle is that I as a Muslim am able to best practice my faith in a society like the United States that guarantees the rights of every individual blind to faith with no governmental intermediary stepping between the individual and the creator to interpret the will of God. Because of this, our mission is to advocate for the principles of the Constitution of the United States of America, liberty, and freedom and the separation of mosque and state. We believe that this mission from within the "House of Islam" is the only way to inoculate Muslim youth and young adults against radicalization. The "Liberty narrative" is the only effective counter to the "Islamist narrative".

Some have criticized these proceedings saying it is not the Government's role to do that. As I sit here in the people's House, I am reminded that we are a Government of the people whose entire foundation, our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, and especially the Establishment clause, rested on the ability of our citizenry to have open dialogue about any issue affecting our society probably most important of which was religious freedom.

Yet as we have seen with the lead up to these hearings, we are barely able to come together to have an open discussion of the problem. This is not a left versus right issue or a case of infringement on the rights of a minority. This needs to be a serious assessment of the threat posed to our National security. The course of Muslim radicalization in the United States over the past 2 years makes it exceedingly difficult for anyone to assert with a straight face that in America we Muslims do not have a radicalization problem.

From my perspective in our years of work of reform at the American Islamic Forum for Democracy and a lifetime of dedication to America, my faith, and my family, I see radicalization as my problem and as a Muslim I am not offended if you tell me that. In the end countering radicalization should be the obsession of every Muslim because if we do not what will be our legacy for our children?

So I come to you as a devout Muslim, and to give you a so far little-heard viewpoint from that Islamic space, that shows our "diversity". Those that have been struggling to get our leadership in mosques to reform and do the heavy lifting of modernization and enlightenment have been faced with too many obstacles inside and outside the Muslim community.

We need to create a deeply rooted theological identification with this society and especially with the American legal system and the American identity. All of our security hangs in the balance of this reform, this Islamic enlightenment process. Only Muslims can figure out how to get our young adults to identify with secular western society and its ideas. Multiculturalism—political correctness—has prevented true ideological assimilation through the challenging or confrontation of certain Muslim theo-political ideas that conflict with universal human rights and our democracy.

Prime Minister David Cameron addressed this in a very important speech he gave on February 5, 2011 at the Munich Security Conference that I have attached as Appendix 1.

I am a physician and as one, I know when a patient comes in with many different symptoms, we are trained that they almost always have one unifying diagnosis that causes their illness. The radicalization of our youth is not due to the litany of non-Muslim excuses. This cancer within an otherwise vibrant beautiful faith is at its core an identity problem that can only be resolved with Islamic reform—toward modernity and the separation of mosque and state.

So many of the Muslim groups in the United States that are "leading" our communities allow these groups to define our identity only through religion and not by Americanism. To them faith is not personal it is a political collectivist movement. I learned growing up in Wisconsin that my family came here more to learn from

American values and assimilate those into our consciousness rather than coming here to evangelize any Islamic ideals. My concern is that too many Muslim American groups who dominate the discourse currently have the opposite mindset one of bringing Islam to America. That mindset is not one of humility but rather supremacism and it feeds radicalization.

Every Muslim I know would report a violent act about to happen and try to prevent it from happening. Anti-terror work includes a great number of American Muslim heroes as our Attorneys General and FBI Director have repeatedly stated. But the issue is not violence or reporting violence when it comes to cooperation. When we speak about “cooperation of Muslims with law enforcement”, what is more important is the growing culture of driving Muslims away from cooperation, partnership, and identity with our Nation and its security forces. Our civil rights should be protected and defended, but the predominant message to our communities should be attachment, defense, and identification with America not alienation and separation.

Too many so-called Muslim leadership groups in America, like the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) or Muslim Advocates, have specifically told Muslims across the Nation, for example, not to speak to the FBI or law enforcement unless they are accompanied by an attorney. Rather than thanking the FBI for ferreting out radicals within our community, they have criticized sting operations as being “entrapment”—a claim that has not stood the test of anti-terrorism court cases since 9/11. Informants end up being showcased as bad apples and subjects of lawsuits rather than patriots. While individual rights must always be protected, operations like the FBI conducted in December 2010 in Portland, OR are common place in other types of cases such as drug enforcement and racketeering cases. So why would they not be acceptable in terror cases?

As another example I have been present at Friday prayers in 2004 at one of the largest mosques in Arizona where a photo distributed nationally by CAIR and later proven to be doctored showed an American soldier standing with two young Iraqi boys holding a sign that says, “he killed my dad and knocked up my sister” (Appendix 2). As offended as I was as a Navy veteran, the imam and CAIR ended up pathologically alienating the Muslims in that audience from an American heritage.

CAIR and MPAC have typically renounced the use of terror and violence, but they have never taken a position against the ideology of Political Islam. They both have also been the primary antagonists to efforts by law enforcement to understand and mitigate the real stages of radicalization of Muslims in America. In 2007, under the umbrella of the Muslim American Civil Liberties Coalition (MACLC), CAIR-NY and MPAC-NY authored “Counterterrorism policy, MACLC’s critique of the NYPD’s report on homegrown radicalism.” The paper is a response to NYPD’s report “Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat.” In it, the organizations lay out their belief that, “The study of violent extremism, however, should decouple religion from terror to safeguard civil liberties on free speech and equal protection grounds as a matter of strong public policy.” I have attached the full report of the NYPD Report on “Radicalization in the West: the Homegrown Threat,” because of the value it serves our community in understanding radicalization (Appendix 4). Rather than demonize this great work, these groups should have admitted that it was work Muslims should have been doing.

If the root cause of Muslim radicalization is Islamism (political Islam), what good is any effort at counterterrorism that decouples any suggestion of theology no matter how separatist from terror? How can law enforcement effectively do counter terrorism in our country without recognition that Political Islam and its narrative is the core ideology when, at its extreme, drives the general mindset of the violent extremists carrying out the attacks?

The Investigative Project on Terrorism recently noted that, “Though Muslims represent about 1 percent of the American population, they constitute defendants in 186 of the 228 cases DOJ lists.” (Appendix 5). As a Muslim that loves my faith, I also realize that there is a unifying common ideology, a theo-political separatism that is driving this radicalization.

It is important for us to work from the same definition of radicalization. Appendix 9 provides a visualization created by counterterrorism expert Patrick Poole to understand the complexities of radicalization. It is not just the final threat of violence that defines it. It is a continuum only Muslims can dissect. It is our duty as Muslims and as Americans to unravel it. Violent extremism is only the final step. You do not treat a disease effectively by only focusing on the final step. The pathway they all share is a domestic and world view of political Islam-Islamism. This Nation is based on a secular government which protects people in a liberty-centric, and God-centric ethic. Islamism is based in a theocratic system that is Islamo-centric. We cannot counter-radicalize Muslims until we as Muslims shed Islamism.

Sure there are other non-Muslim violent extremist movements. But I, our families, our devout fellow American Muslims can only help you change the trajectory of Muslim radicals that slide down the separatist slippery slope of political Islam. To this point there has been little to no work on that trajectory—only the final step of violence.

Homeland Security, Government, media, and our general population are only focused on that final step when the jihadists seek violence against our homeland. But we will all be chasing our tails for centuries if that remains your focus. I implore you to walk it back and treat the problem at its root, at its jugular—the supremacism of political Islam. As you utilize our resources to investigate methods of solving this ever-increasing and frightening threat, you will be squandering our Nation's resources if we continue to produce work as misguided as the Pentagon's after-incident report on the Fort Hood Massacre committed by Nidal Hasan.

If you look at Dr. Nidal Hasan's "resume", in many ways it's frighteningly similar to mine—military physician, trained on scholarship, not ghettoized, deceptively assimilated. But I beseech you to look into why he "theo-politically" turned out the way he did and I turned out the way I did. He did not go to sleep one night a normal compassionate, patriotic Constitutional American Muslim military psychiatrist and wake up the next day a barbaric radical wanting to viciously murder his fellow soldiers. His slide into radicalism was methodical—it was a process.

We need to recognize the pathway he traveled and begin to inoculate our Muslim youth against any ideas that may pull them toward that pathway. We need programs to look at the common ideological slides of these Muslim extremists and not just play defense but have a forward offensive promotion of the ideas of liberty that will inoculate them against any narrative that drives them to hate our Nation, hate our fellow citizens and abort their primary devotion as American soldiers or citizens and rather as Faisal Shahzad proclaimed in a New York Federal court that he was a "Muslim soldier" and part of a "jihad". Only Muslims can do this. But it is a legacy we have to repair as Muslims and you can help us build platforms and stimuli to do so.

As Prime Minister Cameron of the United Kingdom stated that Muslim violent extremists are all swimming in the same pool of ideologies and the only way to defeat them is an offensive strategy to drain their pool of the water and energy that feeds them—treat their common condition. It is not violence. These are the details many Muslim groups that supposedly "represent American Muslims" do not want to address and will do anything legally possible to avoid ever discussing.

As we address specific ideological drivers toward radicalization we must note that many but not all of the current predominant Muslim groups in Washington and their alphabet soup like CAIR, the Muslim American Society (MAS), Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), Islamic Circle of North America, Muslim Students' Association, and Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) to name a few have been in existence for some time. They may disagree on a great deal but they share the distinction of remaining silent about the threat of the ideology of political Islam (Islamism) and in fact many of the ideas they employ utilize Islamist methods of engagement of Muslims and non-Muslims. To many of them diversity is "ethnic diversity" or religious "sectarian diversity" rather than religious ideological diversity.

I am here to tell you that we are a very diverse community. There is not one Islam. With almost a quarter of the world's population practicing the faith, that would be impossible. We are a diverse community. Many if not a majority of Muslims choose not to even frequent mosques and do not accept representation of their "Muslim identity" to the mosque or to any Muslim organizations because they are personal pietistic Muslims who choose political activism through traditional American political infrastructure rather than arms of political Islam and its ideologies with which they disagree. We cannot forget this when supposedly engaging the "Muslim community". By engaging Muslim groups as "representatives of predominant Muslim thought" we dismiss the majority of American Muslims who do not collectivize our community.

I implore you to avoid taking that lowest hanging fruit as being representative of American Muslims or in any way allowing yourselves to think that "American Muslims" think homogeneously on anything.

With that caveat, many mosques do teach an Islam that is spiritual patriotic and not in conflict with America. But there are also many that are transmitting ideas that are Islamist and push Muslims down that pathway toward intoxication and possible violent radicalization. Let's be frank. The example I gave earlier is not a unique one. Imam Anwar Awlaki did not become a rabid jihadist overnight and we forget that for years he had been preaching in mosques from Denver, to San Diego to Northern Virginia. We should be looking at how to counter his words and actions back then not just now. His own process of radicalization did not occur in a vacuum.

He may now be a radicalizer but before he became that he must have been radicalized by a continuum of an ideology.

So rather than foster a climate of transparency that Islam is an open welcome religion whose prayer halls are open to everyone, our sermons should all be published publicly in the spirit of transparency, reform, and modernization instead these groups sue you, sue the Government, sue airlines, and even try to sue passengers who simply see something or say something. One of the Phoenix imams suing US Airways said to CAIR in a taped audio conversation after they were removed from an airline, “terrorism is not our problem, it’s their problem.” He was the head of the National Imams Federation.

Yes, they are all against violence, or as you politically correctly call it violent extremism, but this insidious separatism of political Islam drives separatism and ultimately early radicalization.

Openly Islamist parties in Egypt like the Muslim Brotherhood may utilize democracy as an engine of advancement but in the end their entire lens for governance is based upon “Islamization” and slow advancement of Islamic legalisms and evangelism rather than reform or learning from American foundational ideals and our Establishment Clause. Again this is all the same diagnosis. So when you look at some of the “Islamic” institutions, understanding their original foundational inspiration for Muslim evangelism and its funding is essential.

Their funding matters—because it usually comes with ideological strings. Even if they no longer take foreign funding, after planting the tree it still produces toxic fruit. According to former CIA director R. James Woolsey, the Saudis have spent nearly \$90 billion spreading their ideology around the globe since the 1970s. According to scholars such as Gilles Kepel, Wahhabism, the fundamentalist militant Saudi Islamist ideology, gained considerable influence among Muslims following the dramatic increase of the price of oil in the 1970s. The Saudi government began to spend tens of billions of dollars throughout the Islamic world to promote Wahhabism, often referred to as “petro-Islam.” The Saudis themselves have acknowledged donations to many mosques in the United States. There have documented donations to major mosques in Boston, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Denver Washington, DC, Northern Virginia, San Diego, and New York City to name a few. The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) is a non-profit 501(C)3 organization that from its own documents admits to holding the deed to over 300 properties for mosques and Islamic schools. While it claims to not administer these institutions, it admits to support and advise them regarding their operation in conformity with the Shari’ah (Appendix 10). NAIT’s initial funding was provided by significant donations from petro dollars.

In addition to some mosques, the ideological infrastructure of some American imams in positions of significant leadership most likely contributes to early radicalization. In the United States for example, a major if not the major arm of “legal Islam” is led by the Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America. I’ve attached their lists of members and experts who make up their network. While they have slowly massaged their ideas as some of us have exposed them, their fatwas (religious legal opinions) speak for themselves. I have attached a few of the thousands of rulings at their website which they place for young American Muslims to read. Some endorse harsh penalties for apostasy, confusing negativity towards citizenship, and other malignant interpretations of Islamic law incompatible with this Nation.

I am very confident that radicals like Nidal Hasan were influenced in their path toward radicalization by some of these separatist Muslim beliefs being propagandized on websites and in some mosques. This will not be repaired by simply well-intended outreach of law enforcement. There needs to be a campaign toward a Muslim-led reorientation about what core ideas America stands for and an ideological abandonment of the collectivization of Muslims as a political “ummah” (nation state or legal unit). The current majority of Muslim organizations have yet to declare such a campaign. In fact as the FBI documented in their letter to CAIR April 28, 2009 where they state in light of evidence from the Holy Land Foundation terror financing trial, “The FBI suspended all formal contacts between CAIR and the FBI.” (Appendix 7)

We need a solutions-oriented paradigm in this Nation to address the radicalization problem. That paradigm needs to be Muslim-led which will melt away inappropriate fear of Muslims. It needs, as Prime Minister Cameron stated a forward, “muscular liberalism” Our Muslim Liberty Project I believe is just one of those foundational solutions that can inoculate youth for a lifetime against such radicalization. It teaches them that the greatness of America is at its core a protection of every individual blind to faith, race, ethnic origin under God with unalienable rights. This is not under any singular faith but under God. This is very different from the Islamist mantra of an Islamo-centric government, constitution, and society.

Once Muslim youth can dismiss or reject the Islamic state and identify at their depths of their soul with the American legal system that will be the only inoculation against radicalization. Until all of you, and all of us as Muslim families understand that ideology, we will never make headway against radicalization and any headway we make against the symptom of violent acts or cells will be illusory. This society and its ideological foundations need to be ours at our core as Muslims. That needs Islamic reform against Islamism (political Islam). We need Muslims writing texts about the Establishment Clause, anti-Wahhabi, anti-salafi, and for a pious Islam that separates mosque and state.

I actually do not want you, our Government solving this for us. I want us, Muslims to solve this but there has been no drive, no resources, no political will to do so. You shouldn't do it, but you can drive it and give us a long overdue platform. Without that reform there will always be an antagonism for the identity of Muslims between political Islam and our secular constitutional republic based in liberalism. Our Muslim Liberty Project instills in young Muslims these values of liberalism, self-critique, and empowerment to challenge imams and clerics who tell them liberalism is not Islam. It teaches them to internalize the ideas of the Enlightenment without losing their personal Islamic relationship with God, their devotionism, and spirituality.

This is not about Muslim civil rights. We must protect Muslims like all faiths. Are we that dysfunctional as a Nation that we cannot have healthy discussions about a religion and pathways within it toward radicalization versus pathways toward modernity and America?

We have got to be functional enough as a Nation to be able walk back Muslim radicalization without labeling all Muslims and fostering a climate that increases fear of Muslims. Our founding fathers had healthy critical debates about religious diversity within Christianity and it built this great Nation. We should be able to do the same. As for Muslims that repel this honest debate because they fear stigmatization, they have little faith in our National maturity to deal with political Islam while empowering reformist Muslims or they live in a culture of denial like the end-stage alcoholics and their enablers.

Defining the Muslim identity as an Islamist, a salafist, a jihadist, or a wahhabist can no longer be acceptable to a moderate Muslim at home with American liberty. We Muslims must step away from history and redefine the moderate Muslim to our youth as someone who embraces Islam and liberty. The future of American Security depends upon Muslims mustering the courage to dissect the Islamic ideas that fuel volatile separatism from a modern Islam that we want to leave our children.

Our Nation's attempts at counter-radicalization have proven so far ineffective because it has lacked a strategy and a forward ideology into Muslim communities. We have been so fixated on preventing the next attack that we have neglected to develop the tools necessary to defeat the ideology that drives the attack. It is malpractice for us to believe that by eschewing violence we solve the problem. As we have watched the long overdue changes in the Middle East, at long last the threat that the Muslim Brotherhood poses to security around the world has been brought to the forefront. The Brotherhood is the leading Islamist organization in the world. It has also over the past century hatched many of the most violent Islamist organizations in the world. We have not transitioned this newly understood concern to the operations of the Brotherhood and like-minded organizations and leaders within the United States. Our domestic and foreign policy should be the same on this issue.

Muslims are long overdue for an ideological counter-jihad. Please help me wake up our communities to that American and Muslim responsibility we have.





### **Saturday 5 February 2011** **PM's speech at Munich Security Conference**

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Prime Minister David Cameron has delivered a speech setting out his view on radicalisation and Islamist extremism.

#### **Read the speech**

Today I want to focus my remarks on terrorism, but first let me address one point. Some have suggested that by holding a strategic defence and security review, Britain is somehow retreating from an activist role in the world. That is the opposite of the truth. Yes, we are dealing with our budget deficit, but we are also making sure our defences are strong. Britain will continue to meet the NATO 2% target for defence spending. We will still have the fourth largest military defence budget in the world. At the same time, we are putting that money to better use, focusing on conflict prevention and building a much more flexible army. That is not retreat; it is hard headed.

Every decision we take has three aims in mind. First, to continue to support the NATO mission in Afghanistan. Second, to reinforce our actual military capability. As Chancellor Merkel's government is showing right here in Germany, what matters is not bureaucracy, which frankly Europe needs a lot less of, but the political will to build military capability that we need as nations and allies, that we can deliver in the field. Third, we want to make sure that Britain is protected from the new and various threats that we face. That is why we are investing in a national cyber security programme that I know William Hague talked about yesterday, and we are sharpening our readiness to act on counter-proliferation.

But the biggest threat that we face comes from terrorist attacks, some of which are, sadly, carried out by our own citizens. It is important to stress

that terrorism is not linked exclusively to any one religion or ethnic group. My country, the United Kingdom, still faces threats from dissident republicans in Northern Ireland. Anarchist attacks have occurred recently in Greece and in Italy, and of course, yourselves in Germany were long scarred by terrorism from the Red Army Faction. Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that this threat comes in Europe overwhelmingly from young men who follow a completely perverse, warped interpretation of Islam, and who are prepared to blow themselves up and kill their fellow citizens. Last week at Davos I rang the alarm bell for the urgent need for Europe to recover its economic dynamism, and today, though the subject is complex, my message on security is equally stark. We will not defeat terrorism simply by the action we take outside our borders. Europe needs to wake up to what is happening in our own countries. Of course, that means strengthening, as Angela has said, the security aspects of our response, on tracing plots, on stopping them, on counter-surveillance and intelligence gathering.

But this is just part of the answer. We have got to get to the root of the problem, and we need to be absolutely clear on where the origins of where these terrorist attacks lie. That is the existence of an ideology, Islamist extremism. We should be equally clear what we mean by this term, and we must distinguish it from Islam. Islam is a religion observed peacefully and devoutly by over a billion people. Islamist extremism is a political ideology supported by a minority. At the furthest end are those who back terrorism to promote their ultimate goal: an entire Islamist realm, governed by an interpretation of Sharia. Move along the spectrum, and you find people who may reject violence, but who accept various parts of the extremist worldview, including real hostility towards Western democracy and liberal values. It is vital that we make this distinction between religion on the one hand, and political ideology on the other. Time and again, people equate the two. They think whether someone is an extremist is dependent on how much they observe their religion. So, they talk about moderate Muslims as if all devout Muslims must be extremist. This is profoundly wrong. Someone can be a devout Muslim and not be an extremist. We need to be clear: Islamist extremism and Islam are not the same thing.

This highlights, I think, a significant problem when discussing the terrorist threat that we face. There is so much muddled thinking about this whole issue. On the one hand, those on the hard right ignore this distinction between Islam and Islamist extremism, and just say that Islam and the

West are irreconcilable – that there is a clash of civilizations. So, it follows: we should cut ourselves off from this religion, whether that is through forced repatriation, favoured by some fascists, or the banning of new mosques, as is suggested in some parts of Europe . These people fuel Islamophobia, and I completely reject their argument. If they want an example of how Western values and Islam can be entirely compatible, they should look at what's happened in the past few weeks on the streets of Tunis and Cairo : hundreds of thousands of people demanding the universal right to free elections and democracy.

The point is this: the ideology of extremism is the problem; Islam emphatically is not. Picking a fight with the latter will do nothing to help us to confront the former. On the other hand, there are those on the soft left who also ignore this distinction. They lump all Muslims together, compiling a list of grievances, and argue that if only governments addressed these grievances, the terrorism would stop. So, they point to the poverty that so many Muslims live in and say, 'Get rid of this injustice and the terrorism will end.' But this ignores the fact that many of those found guilty of terrorist offences in the UK and elsewhere have been graduates and often middle class. They point to grievances about Western foreign policy and say, 'Stop riding roughshod over Muslim countries and the terrorism will end.' But there are many people, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, who are angry about Western foreign policy, but who don't resort to acts of terrorism. They also point to the profusion of unelected leaders across the Middle East and say, 'Stop propping these people up and you will stop creating the conditions for extremism to flourish.' But this raises the question: if it's the lack of democracy that is the problem, why are there so many extremists in free and open societies?

Now, I'm not saying that these issues of poverty and grievance about foreign policy are not important. Yes, of course we must tackle them. Of course we must tackle poverty. Yes, we must resolve the sources of tension, not least in Palestine , and yes, we should be on the side of openness and political reform in the Middle East . On Egypt , our position should be clear. We want to see the transition to a more broadly-based government, with the proper building blocks of a free and democratic society. I simply don't accept that there is somehow a dead end choice between a security state on the one hand, and an Islamist one on the other. But let us not fool ourselves. These are just contributory factors. Even if we sorted out all of the problems that I have mentioned, there would

still be this terrorism. I believe the root lies in the existence of this extremist ideology. I would argue an important reason so many young Muslims are drawn to it comes down to a question of identity.

What I am about to say is drawn from the British experience, but I believe there are general lessons for us all. In the UK, some young men find it hard to identify with the traditional Islam practiced at home by their parents, whose customs can seem staid when transplanted to modern Western countries. But these young men also find it hard to identify with Britain too, because we have allowed the weakening of our collective identity. Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values.

So, when a white person holds objectionable views, racist views for instance, we rightly condemn them. But when equally unacceptable views or practices come from someone who isn't white, we've been too cautious frankly – frankly, even fearful – to stand up to them. The failure, for instance, of some to confront the horrors of forced marriage, the practice where some young girls are bullied and sometimes taken abroad to marry someone when they don't want to, is a case in point. This hands-off tolerance has only served to reinforce the sense that not enough is shared. And this all leaves some young Muslims feeling rootless. And the search for something to belong to and something to believe in can lead them to this extremist ideology. Now for sure, they don't turn into terrorists overnight, but what we see – and what we see in so many European countries – is a process of radicalisation.

Internet chatrooms are virtual meeting places where attitudes are shared, strengthened and validated. In some mosques, preachers of hate can sow misinformation about the plight of Muslims elsewhere. In our communities, groups and organisations led by young, dynamic leaders promote separatism by encouraging Muslims to define themselves solely in terms of their religion. All these interactions can engender a sense of community, a substitute for what the wider society has failed to supply. Now, you might say, as long as they're not hurting anyone, what is the problem with all this?

Well, I'll tell you why. As evidence emerges about the backgrounds of those convicted of terrorist offences, it is clear that many of them were initially influenced by what some have called 'non-violent extremists', and they then took those radical beliefs to the next level by embracing violence. And I say this is an indictment of our approach to these issues in the past. And if we are to defeat this threat, I believe it is time to turn the page on the failed policies of the past. So first, instead of ignoring this extremist ideology, we – as governments and as societies – have got to confront it, in all its forms. And second, instead of encouraging people to live apart, we need a clear sense of shared national identity that is open to everyone.

Let me briefly take each in turn. First, confronting and undermining this ideology. Whether they are violent in their means or not, we must make it impossible for the extremists to succeed. Now, for governments, there are some obvious ways we can do this. We must ban preachers of hate from coming to our countries. We must also proscribe organisations that incite terrorism against people at home and abroad. Governments must also be shrewder in dealing with those that, while not violent, are in some cases part of the problem. We need to think much harder about who it's in the public interest to work with. Some organisations that seek to present themselves as a gateway to the Muslim community are showered with public money despite doing little to combat extremism. As others have observed, this is like turning to a right-wing fascist party to fight a violent white supremacist movement. So we should properly judge these organisations: do they believe in universal human rights – including for women and people of other faiths? Do they believe in equality of all before the law? Do they believe in democracy and the right of people to elect their own government? Do they encourage integration or separation? These are the sorts of questions we need to ask. Fail these tests and the presumption should be not to engage with organisations – so, no public money, no sharing of platforms with ministers at home.

At the same time, we must stop these groups from reaching people in publicly-funded institutions like universities or even, in the British case, prisons. Now, some say, this is not compatible with free speech and intellectual inquiry. Well, I say, would you take the same view if these were right-wing extremists recruiting on our campuses? Would you advocate inaction if Christian fundamentalists who believed that Muslims are the enemy were leading prayer groups in our prisons? And to those who say

these non-violent extremists are actually helping to keep young, vulnerable men away from violence, I say nonsense.

Would you allow the far right groups a share of public funds if they promise to help you lure young white men away from fascist terrorism? Of course not. But, at root, challenging this ideology means exposing its ideas for what they are, and that is completely unjustifiable. We need to argue that terrorism is wrong in all circumstances. We need to argue that prophecies of a global war of religion pitting Muslims against the rest of the world are nonsense.

Now, governments cannot do this alone. The extremism we face is a distortion of Islam, so these arguments, in part, must be made by those within Islam. So let us give voice to those followers of Islam in our own countries – the vast, often unheard majority – who despise the extremists and their worldview. Let us engage groups that share our aspirations.

Now, second, we must build stronger societies and stronger identities at home. Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and a much more active, muscular liberalism. A passively tolerant society says to its citizens, as long as you obey the law we will just leave you alone. It stands neutral between different values. But I believe a genuinely liberal country does much more; it believes in certain values and actively promotes them. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, democracy, the rule of law, equal rights regardless of race, sex or sexuality. It says to its citizens, this is what defines us as a society: to belong here is to believe in these things. Now, each of us in our own countries, I believe, must be unambiguous and hard-nosed about this defence of our liberty.

There are practical things that we can do as well. That includes making sure that immigrants speak the language of their new home and ensuring that people are educated in the elements of a common culture and curriculum. Back home, we're introducing National Citizen Service: a two-month programme for sixteen-year-olds from different backgrounds to live and work together. I also believe we should encourage meaningful and active participation in society, by shifting the balance of power away from the state and towards the people. That way, common purpose can be formed as people come together and work together in their neighbourhoods. It will also help build stronger pride in local identity, so people feel free to say, 'Yes, I am a Muslim, I am a Hindu, I am Christian,

but I am also a Londoner or a Berliner too'. It's that identity, that feeling of belonging in our countries, that I believe is the key to achieving true cohesion.

So, let me end with this. This terrorism is completely indiscriminate and has been thrust upon us. It cannot be ignored or contained; we have to confront it with confidence – confront the ideology that drives it by defeating the ideas that warp so many young minds at their root, and confront the issues of identity that sustain it by standing for a much broader and generous vision of citizenship in our countries. Now, none of this will be easy. We will need stamina, patience and endurance, and it won't happen at all if we act alone. This ideology crosses not just our continent but all continents, and we are all in this together. At stake are not just lives, it is our way of life. That is why this is a challenge we cannot avoid; it is one we must rise to and overcome. Thank you.



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Council on American-Islamic Relations

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**News Releases**  
Friday, April 02, 2004

## U.S. Muslims seek Pentagon probe on Iraq photo

**Soldier's sign says he killed boy's father, impregnated sister**

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) today called for a Pentagon investigation of a photograph circulating on the Internet that apparently shows an American soldier mocking an Iraqi child.

The photo sent to CAIR seems to be of an American soldier standing next to two Iraqi children who are giving the thumbs-up sign. One child holds a hand-lettered sign in English that reads: "Lcpl Boudreaux killed my Dad, th(en) he knocked up my sister!" ("Knocked up" is American slang for making someone pregnant out of wedlock.)

**See:** <http://www.cair-net.org/images/lcpl11.jpg>

"If the United States Army is seeking to win the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people, this is the wrong way to accomplish that goal," said CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad. "Defense Department officials must take action to let military personnel know that such offensive behavior harms America's image and will not be tolerated."

Awad said CAIR has also received an anonymous letter from a soldier who recently returned from Iraq that claims a commanding officer engaged in inappropriate conduct with prepubescent Iraqi girls. The letter states that the officer, who was named by the writer, referred to the girls as "pre-rag heads" and coerced local Iraqi leaders to provide them in exchange for protection by American soldiers. (The officer's military unit was also named in the letter.)

The letter-writer indicated revulsion at the officer's alleged actions. He or she wrote: "The thought of all this makes me sick to my stomach. I am afraid to bring this to anyone in the Army, because I am doubtful that they would believe a soldier over the Battalion Commander."

"These reports point to a disturbing pattern of behavior that needs to be addressed by our military," said Awad.

CAIR, America's largest Islamic civil liberties group, has consistently condemned all terrorist acts, whether carried out by individuals, groups or states.



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APPENDIX 3<sup>1</sup>APPENDIX 4<sup>2</sup>APPENDIX 5<sup>3</sup>

APPENDIX 6

**AMJA Members**

Abd Al Lattif Mahmoud Ibrahim Aal-Mahmoud Ph.D	The Head of the department of Arabic and Islamic studies at the faculty of Arts – Bahrain University
Abdu Allah Ben Abd Al Aziz Al Mosleh Ph.D	The General Secretary of the International Authority
Ahmad Ali Taha Rayyan Ph.D	Professor and the Head of the department of the Co
Ahmad Al Saway'ey Shleibak Ph.D	Professor of Jurisprudence at the Open University
Akram Diaa` Al Amry Ph.D	Professor of legislation at Qatar University
Al Hafez Thana Allah Al-Madani Ph.D	Professor of Hadith (Tradition) at the Islamic Uni
Al Sayed Abd Al Halim Muhammad Hussein Ph.D	President of Al-Eman Islamic Association of NY, AMJA Secretary General Assistant
Ali Mohye Al Din Al Korrah Daghy Ph.D	Professor and the Head of the department of Jurisprudence and Fundamentals at the faculty Legislation – Qatar University, A member of he European Council for Fatwa
Hamza Al-Fe`r Ph.D	
Hussein Hamed Hassan Ph.D	Professor of Legislation at the faculty of Law – C
Hussein Aal Al sheikh Ph.D	Imam of the Holly Sanctuary of Medina, A judge in the court of distinction, Professor of Legislation at the Islamic University
Khalid Shoja`a Al-Otaibi Ph.D	
Shaykh Khalil Mohye Al Din Al Mais	Mufti in Zulhah and the western Beka`,The manager of Al Azhar in Lebanon and Al Azhar in Al Beka`,A member of the Assembly of the International Islamic Jurisprudence of the Islamic Conference Organization
Mohammad Abd Al-Razzak Al-Tebteba`ei Ph.D	

<sup>1</sup>Included as Appendix VII of witness' response to written questions, located in Appendix II of this document.

<sup>2</sup>Document has been retained in committee files.

<sup>3</sup>Included as Appendix II of witness' response to written questions, located in Appendix II of this document.

Muhammad Adam Al sheikh Ph.D	The Imam of the centre and the mosque of Al Rahmah in Baltimore – The United States of America, The former Legislative judge in Sudan’s courts
Muhammad Moustafa Al Zoheily Ph.D	The Dean of the faculty of Legislation and Islamic Studies at Al Shareqah University
Muhammad Gabr Abduh Al-Alfy Ph.D	Professor of comparative Jurisprudence at the Judicial High Institute at the Islamic University of Imam Ben Saud– Riyadh – The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Former Professor of Legislation at Yarmulke University – Jordan
Muhammad Othman Shopir Ph.D	Professor in the department of Jurisprudence and Fundamentals at the faculty of Legislation - Qatar University
Muhammad Fouad Al Barazy Ph.D	The Head of the Islamic in Denmark
Muhammad Ra’fat Othman Ph.D	Professor of Comparative Jurisprudence, and the former Dean of the Faculty of Shari’ah and Law, Al-Azhar University, AMJA Fatwa Committee Consultant
Saleh Ben Zayen Al Marzoki Ph.D	The General Secretary of the Assembly of Islamic Jurisprudence of Islamic International League, Professor of Jurisprudence and the Fundamentals at the University of Umm Al Qura – Makka
Shaykh Saleh Al Darwish	A judge in the court of distinction, Professor of Islamic Legislation at the Islamic University in Madinah
Sayed Abd Al Aziz Al Sily Ph.D	Professor of Creed at Al Azhar University and the
Sohayb Hassan Abd Al Ghaffar Ph.D	The secretary of the Islamic Legislative Council, AMJA Permanent Fatwa Committee member
Wahbah Moustafa Al Zoheily Ph.D	Professor and the Head of the department of Islami
Yassin Muhammad Najib Al Ghadban Ph.D	Professor of Islamic History at Jordon University – Oman – Jordon
Osama AbdulRahman	

Abdul Nasir Musa Abu Basal

Kamal Taha Muslim Saleem

Muhammad Ben Yahya Ben Hasan AlNijimy

Mostafa AbdulHaleem

Muhammad Sayed AlJend

Muhammad Hussain (Mufti of Jerusalem)

Khalid Abdullah Almadkur

Adel Ben AbdulRahman AlOudah

AbdulRahman Alsudays

'Alaa' Aldeen Kharoofa

Omar Sulieman Al'Ashqar

Yousuf Qasim

Ahmad Shalibak Ph.D

Youssof Ben Abd Allah Al Shabily Ph.D

Assistant Professor in the department of  
Jurisprud

**AMJA Experts**

Abd Al Halim Uwais Ph.D	Professor of History & Islamic Civilizations, Cairo University
Shaykh Abd Al-Muhsin Ahmed	Professor of Islamic Education and the Arabic Language
Abdel Azim AlSiddiq Ph.D	Professor of Islamic Law. Islamic American University (IAU), Imam & Director, Aqsa Islamic Society
Abdu Allah Edris Ali Ph.D	President of Islamic Education Center of North Ame
Shaykh Deya-ud-Deen Eberle	Independent Translator, Researcher, Lecturer ,Lecturer at the American Open University - Formerly
Ahmad Al Sherbiny Nabhan Ph.D	Professor at the American Open University
Shaykh Ahmad Abd Al-Khaliq	Imam of the Islamic Center of Jersey City
Shaykh Bassam Obeid	
Shaykh Gamal Helmy	Chairman of Religious Affairs in the Muslim Association of Virginia (MAV)
Shaykh Gamal Zarbozo	Islamic Writer and Researcher in Denver, Colorado
Shaykh Haitham Abu Ridwan Barazanji	Imam of Islamic Center in San Pitt, Tampa, FL
Ibrahim Dremali Ph.D	Imam of the Islamic Center of Boca Raton, Florida
Shaykh Ibrahim Zidan	Imam of Al-Huda Islamic center, NY
Shaykh Moataz Al-Hallak	
Shaykh Mohammad Faqih	Khateeb and Lecturer in Columbus, OH
Shaykh Mohammad Al-Majid	Imam of Adam Center in Virginia
Shaykh Mostafa Tolbah	Imam of Islamic Center of Detroit, MI
Shaykh Muhammad Abo Al Yosr Al Beyanony	Imam of Islamic Center of Raliegh in N Carolina
Shaykh Muhammad Sayed Adly	President of Imams and Duat Association of South & North Carolina, Imam Masjid Al-

Muhammad Abd Al Halim Omar Ph.D	Muslimene in Columbia, SC Professor of Economy in the College of Business in Al-Azhar University, and president of Saleh Kamil Center of Islamic Economy
Shaykh Muhammad Muhammad Musa	Imam of Islamic Center of Bloomfield Hills, Michigan
Shaykh Mukhtar Kartus	Member of Board of Trustees and Daia in Islamic Center of Ann Arbor, Michigan
Shaykh Mustafa Shahin	Lecturer in the Islamic American University
Shaykh Mustafa Balkhir	MA Student in the American Open University
Shaykh Mustafa Al-Turk	Chairamn of Islamic Organization, MI
Shaykh Omar Shahin	President of Executive Committee of North America Imams Federation and Lecturer in the American Open University
Othman Abd Al-Raheem Ph.D	
Ref'at Al Awadi Ph.D	Former Professor & President of the Department of Economics in the College of Business in Al-Azhar University
Br. Sadeq Muhammad Al Hassan	Director of Masjid Annur, Sacramento, CA
Shaykh Safey Al `Assem Khan	The general supervisor of Dar Al Salam – The Islam
Shaykh Samy Muhammad Masaud	Imam of Aleman Mosque in New York City
Shawki Donia Ph.D	Professor of Islamic Economics and Dean of the Col
Tho Al Fokkar Ali Shah Ph.D	President of Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA
Shaykh Yassir Fazaqa	Imam of Islamic Center in Orange County
Shaykh Sayed Abdul Halim	
Shaykh Zaidan AlKahlout	
Shaykh Salem AlSheikhy	
Shaykh AbdulBary Yahya	

Shaykh Abdul Fattaah Edrees

Shaykh Ali Sulieman Ali

Shaykh Ali Laylah

Shaykh Abdullah Edrees

Shaykh Muhammad Saeed Mitwally

Shaykh Muhammad Abu AlNajjah

Shaykh Yaser Birjas

Yasir Qadhi Ph.D

Youssof Ibrahim Ph.D

Former professor of Islamic Economy in the  
College of Shariah in Qatar

<http://www.angonline.com/print.php?fid=7732>

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ID 77325  
Scholar Dr. Main Khalid Al-Qudah  
Date 2009-01-02  
Category Basic Tenets of Faith (Belief)

**Question** Assalamu alaikum.

I would like to know more about the apostate, because others argue that, since the apostate has to be killed, it can be concluded that there is nothing like freedom in Islam.

**Fatwa** Under the authority of the Muslim state, the People of the Book have the right to stay on their belief without being compelled to embrace Islam. But if one of them has embraced Islam, it would not be acceptable from him to go back to his original religion. The same rule applies to those who are born into Muslim families. According to the Islamic Law, they cannot commit apostasy. Implementing the punishment of killing the apostate is the sole and the exclusive responsibility of the Muslim state (were there any nowadays). Nobody else has the right to implement it.



ID 77223  
 Scholar Dr.Salah Al-Sawy  
 Date 2008-12-23  
 Category Varieties

**Question** Is acquiring an American citizenship lawful or prohibited?

**Fatwa** In the name of Allaah, the Benevolent, the Merciful. All praise is due to Allaah, and peace and blessings be upon the Messenger of Allaah, his family, companions, and those loyal to him. Citizenship is actually a contract between a country and an individual who would like to obtain its nationality. This contract entails the acceptance of the legislation and law of this country, therefore he, who obtain its nationality, becomes loyal to the country's allies and an enemy to the enemies of the country, though in some cases one can keep his original nationality and is in other cases required to abandon it. Obtaining citizenship can be due to personal preference, obtained willingly by seeking and working hard and even spending a lot of money and time in order to obtain citizenship. It can also be due to a necessity or due to uncontrolled factors upon which one receives citizenship, for instance, one can obtain citizenship of a country because of birth, or obtain citizenship after his country became occupied such as what happened to the Islamic states which were forced to join the Soviet Union and be under its unjust law, or such as Muslims who remained in Andalusia and could not leave after the Muslims fled the country and etc. That said, the ruling on obtaining citizenship with a free will differs to whoever seeks citizenship due to a necessity. Seeking citizenship of a non-Muslim country due to a necessity is listed under the section of forced to do acts, therefore its ruling is derived in the light of established rulings concerning who commits an act unwillingly, which are originally stated in the Quran; Allah says: (Whoever disbelieved in Allaah after his belief, except him who is forced thereto and whose heart is at rest with Faith; but such as open their breasts to disbelief, on them is wrath from Allaah, and theirs will be a great torment) This Ayah was revealed to include two types of people: a type of people who became apostates after embracing Islam such as: Abdullaah bin Sa'd bin Abi Sarh, Mages bin Sababah, and Abdullaah bin Khatl. The second type of people are ones who were forced to announce disbelief on their tongues while their hearts rested with Imaan such as Ammar bin Yasir and his parents, who were excused by Allaah, therefore, when Ammar was forced to insult Allaah's Messenger ﷺ, the Prophetﷺ said to him: "If they forced you again, do what you did again". So, Allaah , Exalted is He, excused those who pronounce disbelief in Him under force – though it is the base of Religion – as long as their hearts rest with Imaan, therefore people of knowledge used this principle to develop analogy by applying it to all branches of Islamic law. Hence, whenever an act is done unwillingly, then whoever does it is excused and no consequences of punishment are generated except in cases of forcing one to murder another because whoever is forced to murder a Muslim unjustly is never excused because the soul of his Muslim fellow is equally guarded like his, so he must not kill even if that caused his own death. Based on this, some scholars considered the same ruling for cases when one is forced to commit adultery and fornication though some other scholars disputed over this ruling. Nevertheless, whoever applies for citizenship out of necessity is still required to preserve their Islamic identity as much as possible by establishing the acts of worship such as: Salaah, Fasting, Zakah, Hajj and establishing Islamic organizations that aim to preserve the youth from dissolving into non-Muslim societies. Also, they are required to protect themselves from being tested in their religion, which can be achieved by living close to other Muslims and around Masjids and Islamic organizations, bring from the land of Islam those who can teach, maintain and run these organizations and Islamic centers, and send their children to the lands of Islam in order to learn and seek knowledge so they return to call to Allaah and teach others, and such similar means that allow Muslims to protect their identity and establish their religion and add to the firmness and stability of their Islamic existence. As for obtaining citizen optionally without being forced according to what we explained obtaining a citizenship implies, it is problematic in our era because it is engulfed with vagueness and contradictions; apparently obtaining citizenship implies the acceptance of ruling of manmade law and rejecting referring to the law of Islam. Also, it means to prefer showing loyalty to non-Muslims over believers, which is unlawful by consensus and known by necessity in Islam. Moreover, to say it would be a form of apostasy or one of main means leading to it can be understood as valid. On the other hand, there are plenty of those who obtained citizenship of America yet still loyal to the religion of Islam and Muslims and bring out the best of this act by employing all their privileges for obtaining this citizenship to call to Allaah, establishing

Da'wa centers and organizations that enabled Da'wa to stand firm and not just a temporary trend. For that, a lot of people embraced Islam due to these efforts. Needless to mention that manmade law is actually the applied law in most Muslim lands, which makes no difference between law by living in non-Muslim lands and Muslim lands. Hence, it is crucial to distinguish between two rulings:

- The general definite ruling on obtaining citizenship of a non-Muslim country
- The ruling on obtaining citizenship of a non-Muslim country in the light of current circumstances of Muslims living outside the lands of Islam and in light of existing treaties and international peace agreements, and the entailment of such agreements such as political representation between countries as can be seen today. As for optionally obtaining citizenship of a non-Muslim country it is definitely prohibited without a doubt, moreover it could be a form of apostasy or main means leading to apostasy because willingly accepting the laws of disbelievers and obeying it without any valid excuse or enforcement, or ignorance is considered a nullifier to Tawheed and Islam, as long as the proof has been established upon this person and the matter and its consequences are as I clarified. As for obtaining citizenships in light of circumstances of Muslims today who are residing outside the lands of Islam – on the condition that they do not accept indefinitely the law and legislation of that country and being indefinite belonging to the nation of the non-Muslim country so that they become loyal to all their allies and an enemy to all their enemies - and obtaining the citizenship is considered a required means in order to organize the affairs of Muslims who already live there while ensuring fulfilling vows and agreements between them and host countries, and exists due to urgent necessities and needs and this Muslim kept his loyalty to Allaah and His Messenger, then it would not be farfetched to say that it would be permissible. And Allaah, the Most High, knows best.

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## APPENDIX 7



**U.S. Department of Justice**  
**Federal Bureau of Investigation**

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Washington, D.C. 20535

April 28, 2009

The Honorable Jon Kyl  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Kyl:

This responds to your letter to Director Mueller dated February 24, 2009, regarding your interest in reports that the FBI has severed its liaison relationship with the Council on Islamic Relations (CAIR). I apologize for the delay in responding to your inquiry. For your information an identical letter has been sent to Senator Schumer and to Senator Coburn, M.D.

As you know, CAIR was named as an unindicted co-conspirator of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development in *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.* (Cr. No. 3:04-240-P(N.D.TX.)). During that trial, evidence was introduced that demonstrated a relationship among CAIR, individual CAIR founders (including its current President Emeritus and its Executive Director) and the Palestine Committee. Evidence was also introduced that demonstrated a relationship between the Palestine Committee and HAMAS, which was designated as a terrorist organization in 1995. In light of that evidence, the FBI suspended all formal contacts between CAIR and the FBI.

The FBI's decision to suspend formal contacts was not intended to reflect a wholesale judgment of the organization and its entire membership. Nevertheless, until we can resolve whether there continues to be a connection between CAIR or its executives and HAMAS, the FBI does not view CAIR as an appropriate liaison partner. It is important to note, however, that although the FBI has suspended all formal outreach activities with CAIR at this time, CAIR, its officers, and members have been encouraged to report any hate crime, violation of federal civil rights or suspicious activity to the FBI.

The FBI made its own decision vis-a-vis outreach activities with this particular group. Any questions regarding broader executive branch outreach activities would be better answered by the Administration.

Please do not hesitate to contact my office if we may be of additional assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Richard C. Powers  
Assistant Director  
Office of Congressional Affairs

APPENDIX 8<sup>4</sup>APPENDIX 9<sup>5</sup>

## APPENDIX 10

**NAIT**  
*The North American Islamic Trust*

The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) is a waqf, the historical Islamic equivalent of an American trust or endowment, serving Muslims in the United States and their institutions. NAIT facilitates the realization of American Muslims' desire for a virtuous and happy life in a *Shari'ah*-compliant way.


NAIT is a not-for-profit entity that qualifies as a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. NAIT was established in 1973 in Indiana by the Muslim Students Association of U.S. and Canada (MSA), the predecessor of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). NAIT supports and provides services to ISNA, MSA, their affiliates, and other Islamic centers and institutions. The President of ISNA is an ex-officio member of the Board of Trustees of NAIT.

**SERVICES**

NAIT holds titles to mosques, Islamic centers, schools and other real estate to safeguard and pool the assets of the American Muslim community; develops financial vehicles and products that are compatible with both the *Shari'ah* (Islamic law) and the American law; publishes and distributes credible Islamic literature, and facilitates and coordinates community projects.

**Islamic Centers, Mosques and Schools:**

1. NAIT offers waqf protection to proprietors of Islamic centers, mosques and schools, by holding titles to these assets through its Islamic Centers Division. NAIT




safeguards these community assets, and ensures conformity to the Islamic purpose(s) for which their founders established them. NAIT holds titles of approximately 300 properties. NAIT does not administer these institutions or interfere in their daily management, but is available to support and advise them regarding their operation in conformity with the *Shari'ah*.

2. NAIT facilitates the establishment of Islamic centers, mosques and schools by extending limited interest-free loans from its Islamic Centers Cooperative Fund (ICCF) to needy communities.

**Financial Services**

NAIT develops Islamic financial products that address the investment and financial needs of Muslim organizations, individuals and their businesses, within the boundaries of the *Shari'ah*. Over the last two decades, NAIT has established and sponsored mutual funds that invest in companies which meet the universal ethical principles of Islam.

The Dow Jones Islamic Fund (DJIAX) is a no-load mutual fund offered by Allied Asset Advisors, a subsidiary of NAIT. It invests in *Shari'ah*-compliant companies. It includes, among others, shares of stocks from the Dow Jones Islamic Market Indexes, which consist solely of common stocks that meet universal Islamic principles, as advised by a *Shari'ah* Supervisory Board of six prominent Islamic scholars from six countries.




Investment objectives, risks, charges, expenses, etc. of the Dow Jones Islamic Fund (DJIAX) are described in a prospectus that can be obtained by calling (877) 417-6161, or visiting [www.investna.com](http://www.investna.com).

**Islamic Literature**

The ever-increasing and diverse Muslim population in the United States demands a variety of Islamic literature. The misrepresentation of Islam and Muslims by the media, Orientalists and some misguided missionaries necessitates the development of authentic Islamic literature. NAIT meets this need by publishing and distributing credible Islamic literature.

1. American Trust Publications (ATP), established by NAIT in 1976, has published over 100 books on a wide variety of topics of interest to Muslims and non-Muslims. Examples include: *Fiqh us-Sunnah* by As-Sayid Sa'idi, *The Life of Islam* by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (translated by Ima'il al-Faruqi), *The Lawful and the Prohibited in Islam* by Yusuf al-Quradawi, *Jihad* by Marcel A. Boisard, *Islam Between East and West* by 'Aliyyi 'Abi Izzetbegovic, *Resolving the Muslim Mind* by Hassan Hathout, and *Gender Equity in Islam - Basic Principles* by Jamil Badawi.



2. Islamic Book Service (IBS), established in 1965, offers a comprehensive stock of books by reputable Muslim scholars, titles for children, and multi-media products. IBS sells over 1,000 titles of authentic books about Islam, primarily in English and Arabic, CDs, DVDs, and Islamic studies curriculum for Islamic centers and schools. IBS is a one-stop source for products and resources about Islam and Muslims. Visit [www.ibs-nait.com](http://www.ibs-nait.com) or call us at (888) 319-5838.

Chairman KING. Our next witness is Melvin Bledsoe, the father of Carlos Leon Bledsoe, also known as Abdul Hakim Mujahid Muhammad. Mr. Bledsoe is recognized for 5 minutes, and if you could, Mr. Bledsoe, try to keep your remarks within 5 minutes or close to that.

I am pleased to recognize Mr. Bledsoe.

#### STATEMENT OF MELVIN BLEDSOE, PRIVATE CITIZEN

Mr. BLEDSOE. Thank you very much for allowing me to come here today and to tell the country what happened to my son.

This hearing today is extremely important to begin the discussion about the issues of Islamic radicalization in America. My sincere hope is that this committee can somehow address the issue in a meaningful, productive way.

First, I would like to express my deepest sympathy to the family of Private William Long and to the wounded soldier, Quinton Ezeagwula. I would like to talk about those complicit in Private Long's murder, the Islamic radicals who programmed and trained my son Carlos to kill.

I want to tell the American people and the world what happened to my son. We sent him off to college at Tennessee State University in Nashville, Tennessee, in the fall of 2003. Our dreams about his future ended up in a nightmare.

<sup>4</sup>Included as Appendix I of witness' response to written questions, located in Appendix II of this document.

<sup>5</sup>Included as Appendix IV of witness' response to written questions, located in Appendix II of this document.

Carlos is my only son. He grew up in Memphis, Tennessee. My wife and I operated a tour company in Memphis, Tennessee, and Carlos started helping out with the family business at the age of 8. He loved to talk to the traveling public and he had a lot of fun interacting with the customers.

After graduating from high school, Carlos wanted to get a degree in business. We thought perhaps he would come back to Memphis to run the business and give my wife and I an early retirement.

After the fall of 2005, his sophomore year in Nashville, Carlos came home that Christmas for the holiday. We were sitting around the family room, Carlos' only sister Monica, her husband, and I, having a normal conversation about general things in life. But at a certain point Carlos and his brother-in-law, Terrell, got into a heated conversation about Muslim religion. Then and later we felt like Carlos' personality changed when we spoke about Islam. We thought maybe he had some Muslim friends and was offended by the comments.

The next time Carlos came home, we saw another side of him that we didn't see before. During the night, he took off all the pictures from the walls of the bedroom where he slept. He even took off the picture of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., off the wall. We asked Carlos, What is going on with you?

He replied that he is now a new convert to Islam and that everything he does from now on will be to honor Allah. We got very concerned. While Carlos was growing up, Dr. Martin Luther King's picture hung on his bedroom wall, but now he is treating that picture as if he was nobody, Dr. King was nobody to him. We asked Carlos not to take the Dr. King picture off the wall. He took it off the wall anyway.

This became a big concern to us. We went to Nashville to visit him more. We wanted to learn more about who was he hanging with and what was really going on with Carlos. We discovered that Carlos had dropped out of school at the beginning of the 2005 semester. He was working a temporary job. He had gotten a dog while in college. Now we found out that he turned the dog loose in the woods because he was told that Muslims considered dogs a dirty creature. I really couldn't understand how he could do that, because Carlos grew up with dogs in the house ever since he was 5 years old. So my wife and I thought that there was something or someone is getting into his head and changing his way of thinking.

It had gotten to the point where he had no interest in coming home, even for the holidays. All this was part of his brainwashing, changing his thinking a little bit at a time. He had a job in Nashville with some Muslims who would tell him, according to Islamic law, his employer had to let him pray certain times the day, regardless of what was going on at his job. As a business owner I told Carlos it would be very difficult for employers to do this for all his employees.

At this time at the next step on his progress of radicalization, Carlos was convinced to change his name. He chose the name Abdul Hakim Muhammad. At this point his culture was no longer important to him, only the Islamic cultural mattered.

Some Muslim leader had taken advantage of my son. But he is not the only one being taken advantage of. This is an on-going thing in Nashville and many others cities in America.

In Nashville, Carlos was captured by people best described as “hunters.” He was manipulated and lied to. That is how he made his way to Yemen. Carlos was hoping to go there for a chance to cross over to Saudi Arabia and visit Mecca. He was taught that all the true Muslims must do this one time in life. He was taught that he would get to walk on the grounds where the Prophet Muhammad walked and be able to travel the area.

But these hunters had other plans for him. They set him up, telling him he could teach English at a British school in Aden, south of Yemen. The school turned out to be a front, and Carlos ended up in a training camp run by terrorists.

Carlos joined with the Yemini extremists, facilitated by their American counterpart in Nashville. We have since discovered that that former imam of a Nashville mosque, the Al Faroog Mosque, wrote the recommendation letter that Carlos needed for the school in Yemen. We also discovered that school functioned as the intake front for the radicalization and training of Westerners for jihad.

From what I understand, the FBI had been following Carlos since before he left Nashville and continued to follow him after he came back from Yemen. When Carlos was arrested for overstaying his visa in October 2008, he was interviewed by the FBI agent based in Nashville even before the U.S. Embassy was alerted about his arrest.

According to the Embassy in Seni, the FBI was alarmed about what they learned from Carlos. We wish that they could have told us, his family, about what they learned. If we knew how serious his extremism had become, we could have put in every effort to prevent the tragedy in Arkansas from even happening.

When my son was arrested in Yemen, my family cried out for help to bring my son back to America from the American Government. We got in touch with the United States Embassy and the State Department. We also asked for help from our U.S. Representative Steve Cohen’s office and the FBI Special Agent Greg Thomason, who had been tracking my son since Nashville.

After our son was finally released and brought home to us, no one said anything to us about what might have happened in Yemen or what they may have learned that so alarmed the FBI who interrogated Carlos while he was in the custody of Yemen’s political security organization.

Carlos’ experience in Yemen’s political jail was the final stage of his radicalization. He was in there with true evil-doers, hard-core al-Qaeda members who convinced him to get revenge on America.

Something is wrong with the Muslim leaders in Nashville. What happened to Carlos at those Nashville mosques isn’t normal. I have other family members who are Muslims. They are moderate, peaceful, law-abiding people who have been Muslim for many years and are not radicalized.

I also have several uncles and brothers in the military. Our family has fought in every war since the Civil War. I have nephews who are serving in Afghanistan as I speak, fighting for democracy and freedom for all Americans.

It seems to be that Americans are sitting around doing nothing about extremists, radical extremists, as if Carlos' story and other stories at these hearings aren't true. This is a big elephant in the room. Our society continues not to see it. This wrong is caused by political correctness. You can even call it political fear, fear of stepping on a special minority population's toes, even as a segment of that population wants to stamp out America and everything we stand for.

I must say that we are losing American babies. Our children are in danger. This country must stand up and do something about the problem. Yes, my son's tragic story you are hearing about today. But tomorrow it could be your son, your daughter. It might be an African American child that they went after in Nashville. Tomorrow the victim might have blond hair, blue eyes. One thing for sure, it will happen again.

Chairman KING. Mr. Bledsoe, just finish up in the next 10 seconds, please.

Mr. BLEDSOE. We must stop these extremist invaders from raping the minds of American citizens. Carlos grew up a happy-go-lucky kid. He always had a big smile on his face, loved to crack a joke or two. Everyone liked him. He loved to play team sports like basketball and football. He loved swimming and dancing and listening to music.

Today we have two families that have been destroyed. This could have been prevented. I would like to see something change so that no other family in this great country of ours has to go through what our families are facing today.

God help us. God help us.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Bledsoe.

[The statement of Mr. Bledsoe follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MELVIN BLEDSOE

MARCH 10, 2011

Thank you very much for allowing me to come here and tell the country what happened to my son. This hearing today is extremely important to begin the discussion about the issue of Islamic radicalization in America and my hope is that this committee can somehow address this issue in a meaningful, productive way.

First, I would like to express my deepest sympathy to the family of Private William Long, and to the wounded soldier, Quinton Ezeagwula. I would like to talk about those complicit in Private Long's murder—the Islamic radicals who programmed and trained my son Carlos to kill.

I want to tell the American people and the world what happened to my son. We sent him off to college at Tennessee State University in Nashville, Tennessee in the fall of 2003. Our dreams about his future ended up in a nightmare.

Carlos is my only son. He grew up in Memphis, Tennessee. My wife and I operate a tour company in Memphis, Tennessee and Carlos started helping out with the family business at the age of 8. He loved talking to the traveling public; and he had a lot of fun interacting with the customers.

After graduating from high school, he wanted to get a degree in Business Administration. We thought perhaps he would come back to Memphis to run the business and give my wife and me early retirement.

After the fall of 2005—his sophomore fall in Nashville—Carlos came home that Christmas for the holidays.

We were sitting around in the family room, Carlos's only sister, Monica, her husband, and I, having a normal conversation about life in general. But at a certain point, Carlos and his brother-in-law Terrell got into a heated conversation about the Muslim religion. Then and later, we felt like Carlos's personality changed when we spoke about Islam. We thought maybe he had some Muslim friends in college and was offended by our comments.

The next time Carlos came home, we saw another side of him that we hadn't seen before. During the night, he took down all the pictures from the walls in the bedroom where he slept. He even took Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. picture off the wall. We asked Carlos: "What is going on with you?"

He replied that he is now a new convert to Islam and that everything he does from now on will be to honor Allah. We got very concerned: While he was growing up, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s picture had always hung on his bedroom wall; but now treated the picture as if Dr. King was nobody to him.

We asked Carlos not to take Dr. King's picture off the wall, but he took it off the wall anyway. This became a big concern to us. We went to visit him in Nashville because we wanted to learn more about what was really going on with Carlos.

We discovered that Carlos had dropped out of school, at the beginning of the 2005 fall semester. He was working a temporary job. He had gotten a dog while in college, and now we found out that he had turned the dog loose in the woods because he was told that Muslims consider dogs dirty creatures. I really couldn't understand how he could do that, because Carlos grew up with a dog in the house since he was 5 years old.

So my wife and I thought that there something or someone was getting in his head and changing the way he thinks. It had gotten to the point where he had no interest in coming home, even for the holidays.

All of this was part of brainwashing him, and changing his thinking a little bit at a time.

He had a job in Nashville, together with some Muslims, who would tell him that according to Islamic law, his employer had to let him pray at certain times of the day, regardless of what was going on at the job. As a business owner, I told Carlos that it would be very difficult for an employer to do this for all of his employees.

As the next step on his process of radicalization, Carlos was convinced to change his name. He chose the name Abdulhakim Muhammad. At this point, his culture was no longer important to him, only the Islamic culture mattered.

Some Muslim leaders had taken advantage of my son. But he's not the only one being taken advantage of: This is going on in Nashville and in many other cities in America.

In Nashville, Carlos was captured by people best described as hunters. He was manipulated and lied to. That's how he made his way to Yemen. Carlos was hoping to go there for a chance to cross over to Saudi Arabia and visit Mecca, as he was taught all true Muslims must do at one time in their life. He was taught that he would get to walk on the ground where Prophet Muhammad walked be able to travel around the area. But these hunters had other plans for him. They set him up, telling him that he could teach English at a British School in Aden in South Yemen. This school turned out to be a front and Carlos ended up in a training camp run by terrorists.

Carlos's joining in with Yemeni extremists was facilitated by their American counterparts in Nashville. We have since discovered that the former Imam of a Nashville mosque, the Al Farooq Mosque, wrote the recommendation letter Carlos needed for the school in Yemen. We also discovered that the school functions as an intake front for radicalizing and training Westerners for Jihad.

From what I understand, the FBI had been following Carlos since before he left Nashville and continued to do so after he came back from Yemen. When Carlos was arrested for overstaying his visa in October of 2008, he was interviewed by an FBI agent based in Nashville even before the U.S. Embassy was alerted about the arrest. According to the Embassy, the FBI was alarmed about what they learned from Carlos. We wish they could have told us—his family—about what they learned. If we knew how serious his extremism had become, we could have put in every effort to prevent the tragedy in Arkansas from happening.

When my son was arrested in Yemen, my family cried out for help in bringing our son back to America from our Government. We got in touch with the U.S. Embassy and the State Department. We also asked for help from our U.S. Representative, Steve Cohen's office, and from FBI Special Agent Greg Thomason, who had been tracking my son since Nashville.

After our son was finally released and brought home to us. No one said anything to us about what might have happened to him in Yemen or what they may have learned that so alarmed the FBI agent who interrogated Carlos while he was in the custody of Yemen's Political Security Organization.

Carlos's experience in Yemeni political jail was the final stage of his radicalization. He was in there with true evil-doers—hard-core al-Qaeda members who convinced him to get revenge on America.

Something is wrong with the Muslim leadership in Nashville. What happened to Carlos at those Nashville mosques isn't normal. I have other family members who

are Muslims, and they are modern, peaceful, law-abiding people, who have been Muslim for many years and are not radicalized.

I also have several uncles and brothers in the military. Our family has fought for the United States in every war since the Civil War. I have nephews who are currently in Afghanistan, as I speak, fighting for democracy and freedom for all Americans.

It seems to me that the American people are sitting around and doing nothing about Islamic extremism, as if Carlos's story and the other stories told at these hearings aren't true. There is a big elephant in the room, but our society continues not to see it.

This wrong is caused by political correctness. You can even call it political fear—yes, fear. Fear of stepping on a special minority population's toes, even as a segment of that population wants to stamp out America and everything we stand for.

I must say that we are losing American babies—our children are in danger. This country must stand up and do something about this problem. Yes, it's my son's tragic story you're hearing about today, but tomorrow it could be your son or your daughter. It might be an African-American child that they went after in Nashville, but tomorrow their victim might have blonde hair and blue eyes. One thing is for sure, it will happen again.

We must stop these extremist invaders from raping the minds of American citizens on American soil. Here in America today, there are people with radical Islamic political views who are organizing with one goal in mind: To convert our citizens and to turn them against the non-believers. This is a big problem now in Nashville, on college campuses and in the nearby area. Nashville has become a hotbed for radical Islamic recruiting.

Carlos grew up a happy-go-lucky kid. He always had a big smile on his face, and loved to crack a joke or two. Everyone liked him. He loved to play team sports like basketball and football. He loved swimming, dancing, and listening to music.

Today we have two families that have been destroyed. This could have been prevented.

I would like to see something change so that no other family in this great country of ours has to go through what our family is facing now.

**GOD HELP US! GOD HELP US!**



Chairman KING. Our next witness is Abdirizak Bihi. He is the Director of Somali Education and Social Advocacy Center in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He is the uncle of Burhan Hassan.

Mr. Bihi, I would ask you to try to confine your remarks to 5 minutes or slightly more.

**STATEMENT OF ABDIRIZAK BIHI, DIRECTOR, SOMALI  
EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ADVOCACY CENTER**

Mr. BIHI. Chairman King, I would like to have a few more minutes, because I have an accent.

First of all, I want to say thank you to Chairman King and Members of the committee for allowing me to speak on behalf of the Muslim Somali American community today. I also want to thank the Somali American community for helping us, the families of the missing children, our youth, to stand up against the radicalization of our youth.

I want to tell you why I am here today and how important it is for me. I am here because of my nephew, Burhan Hassan; not only him, between 20 and 40 others who are Somali Americans in the State of Minnesota that have been brainwashed, radicalized, by members of our community and lured back home into a burning inferno in the civil war.



I want to talk about my nephew. My nephew and his family, my sister—I love my sister and her family—was among about 100,000 or so who fled from the civil war into neighboring Kenya where in the camps there was no order, but the rape, mass killing, and disorder were the order of the day. Everybody begged and longed for the day they would be restored by the international community.

Fortunately, my sister and her family, she was one of the luckiest ones that made it to the shores of the United States of America. My nephew immediately adapted to this land and became an A student. He was loved by the community.

His mom and I and everybody else, the best thing for us was to put him in a Koranic school, and that was the mosque, the Abubakr As-Sadiqqe. We invested in this center all our money to make it bigger, so it could help our youth, instead of being on the danger of the streets and to be influenced into bad behavior. We wanted our children to succeed.

Unfortunately, on the historical night of November 4, 2008, November 4, my sister kept calling the family and missed her son. We kept calling everybody. We finally ended up with other families. We came to the end that our kids were lured back into Somalia. We went to the mosque and the center and asked for answers. Everybody promised they will meet with us.

The other day we were waiting for the imam and the other leaders. All we did was saw up in the Somali TV and see them, instead of helping us find our children, condemning us as tools being used to destroy our own mosque and religion. That was more hurtful than missing our children, because now we have to deal within our bigger community as tools to destroy our faith and our community.

That set the stage for 2 years of struggle, and the battlefield was the Somali American community. Whoever wins the community and convinces the community that they are not missing children, but liars like me and my family and 20 other single moms who lost their children.

Well, after 2 years of demonstrations, educating, fighting with basically our personal money, and efforts of sleeping 3 hours a night, 2½ years, we won the hearts and minds of the community. But in the middle of the saga, though we never get help, we never get help from our leaders, from our organizations, the big Islamic organizations, but in the middle of our winning, where the community started to sympathize with us, what happened to us? What happened to our engineers, doctors, lawyers? My nephew wanted to go to Harvard and become a lawyer or a doctor, just like you.

With all those things, then big organizations came to our community that we have never seen. CAIR, such a beautiful name. Islamic organizations. They stood with the mosque center, organizations that hurt us so much more than our kids' missing hurt, called us tools. The center we built, the people we gave millions to, our goal, our lives, our imams we trust. I want to warn you, it is only one center out of 40-something centers, and that is where all the kids are missing. All of them.

This organization comes in, agrees with other leaders too that we are liars, we have a clan, tribal problems. I don't know where that came from. We have no clan, tribe, or language problems. We are

one community. We have been hurt by other Muslims in our community. We have been denied to stand up.

We had to do three demonstrations on the street, in the rain, in the snow, in Minnesota—I know you know Minnesota is cold—against an Islamic organization that is claiming in the House of Congress they are so powerful that they are helping us, that we are tools to be used by Republicans, by Democrats, by liberals, by neoconservatives, by Nazis, by Jews, by Sikhs.

We have been Muslims since Muhammad, our prophet. I want to tell you, my community, the Somalia American community, is the most beautiful community in the world, less none. They are 99.9 percent good American citizens that work day and night, 18 hours, 17 hours, 7 days, to chase the American dream. They don't have a voice. We have been kidnapped. So have our children. We have been kidnapped by leadership that we have never seen.

Chairman KING. Mr. Bihi, try to finish in 30 or 40 seconds, please.

Mr. BIHI. I will do that. I want to conclude. For 2½ years I have not done anything else. The Somali community wants to be heard, and I thank you, Mr. King, Congressman King, and other Members of the committee, for getting me here, for parents like me. My community wants to be heard.

I want to ask to you look at and open an investigation as to what is happening in my community. We are isolated by Islamic organizations and leaders who support them. Talk to the common Jane and Muhammad and Halim on the street, of close to 100,000 members of my community. I want to tell you, 85 percent of our wonderful youth do not have viable employment, are not engaged in constructive programs. If we stand and speak up for that, we are labeled as hurting instead of being supportive.

We need your support. We need a voice to speak up. We have been hurt, and we are not going away.

What I want to say last—

Chairman KING. I ask the audience to refrain from any response, please.

Mr. BIHI. What I want to say last is it is important to mention that the Somali community in fact abhors and hates al-Shabaab. Al-Shabaab as we speak is killing thousands of people in the city of Mogadishu, and the world must understand that there is no government in Somalia. This problem will continue.

My last statement is, because I never had this opportunity, the challenge is that the community is lacking strong, viable, independent—

Chairman KING. Mr. Bihi, actually your time has expired.

[The statement of Mr. Bihi follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ABDIRIZAK BIHI

MARCH 10, 2011

First, I want to say thank you to Chairman King and Members of the committee for allowing me to speak on behalf of the Muslim Somali American community today. I also want to thank the Somali American community for helping us, the families of the missing children, to stand up against the radicalization of our youth. And lastly, I want to thank the people of the State of Minnesota for helping the Somali American community to grow and flourish in the State of Minnesota.

Many Somali American families fled from a burning civil war to the refugee camps in neighboring Kenya where killings, gang rape, starvation, and civilian mass murdering was common. They waited in those camps for years and years to be rescued by the international community.

Many of them, including my sister and her son, Burhan Hassan, were fortunate to have made it safely to the shores of the United States of America. These lucky families were very good at adapting to life in the United States. They have found not only peace and safety, but many other valuable opportunities such as employment and free first class education for their children. They also found the ability to build their own communities and start their own businesses, such as Somali malls, community organizations, as well as their own mosques to freely practice their faith.

Burhan Hassan, my nephew, started to adapt to life in the United States so quickly that he picked up the language and became an A student as soon as he started in school. Burhan was very happy with his life here in a new country. Since we are Muslim, my sister enrolled my nephew to the local mosque, Abubakr As-Sadiqqe (formerly known as the Shafici mosque) in the Riverside neighborhood of Minneapolis, where he learned his religion well. We were very pleased with his achievements, especially as many of his peers were not doing well. The reason for this was that there are not that many resources for the youth in the community, except for the local mosques.

The community has contributed millions of dollars from their meager resources to enlarge and expand the Abubakr center so it could do more youth services since there were not other useful and productive alternative youth resources for the Somali-American community. We in the Somali-American Muslim community hold mosque Imams and leaders in high regard, and trust them blindly with everything, including our children, since they are the leaders of our faith—a faith of peace, a faith that stands for submission to God. We the families in the Somali-American community sought a refuge for our children in the Abubakr center from the bad influences that lead to bad choices on the streets of our neighborhoods. We never thought we could be hurt by the very institution that we trusted with our children. When we realized that our children were recruited and lured away from us into the burning country that we had fled from while they were in their infancy, we would never have thought that possibly to have existed.

This youth had never grown up in Somalia or knew Somali, nor were they ever discuss Somali or American politics. Their passion was sports, education, and electronic gadgets. They all were from single mom households and all of the recruited young men belonged to one center. That is Abubakr As Saddique. It is a very important that the cost to travel Somalia from Minneapolis is over \$3,000—none of the youth worked.

All those brainwashed and recruited young men—some of whom were killed—were smart, bright future “embodiments of the community.” They were not only very loved ones but most of them were “the men” of their single mom households. For example the case of Mohamed Hassan. He was in the University of Minnesota. He was the caretaker of the 90-yr-old grandmother who raised him, fled with him so he could survive and have a future. Before the radicals brainwashed and lured him back into the Somali inferno, he was taking care of his aging grandmother. He would administer her a dozen medications and take her to her doctor’s appointment. Between classes at the University, he would come home and feed his grandmother. So was the case for Jamal Bana, another smart student that was taking care of his siblings, mom, and his bed-ridden dad.

Another kid was the only driver of the family car that after the radicals took him to Somalia, nobody else in the family could drive the car to get groceries, pick the younger ones from school or dugs. Or when the car was cited to be moved for street snow removal, none in the family could save the first car and the only one from being towed and taken forever.

Burhan Hassan came to United States at the age of four from the refugee camps and never saw Somalia too. He was highly achieving Roosevelt High school senior who was dreaming to go to Harvard to become a doctor or a lawyer just like many of you. Burhan Hassan had never saw or met his dad because his dad was killed while he was a few months old.

Looking back, my sister and I realized (along with the other mothers) that these young men had been behaving very strangely within the last 3 or 4 months before they went missing, spending most of their time at the mosque, even sleeping overnight and during the weekends there. They appeared pensive and spent hours alone thinking to themselves, and wouldn’t leave the mosque. We would never have guessed that our kids had been brainwashed already and recruited to fight for al-

Shabaab in a jihadist war which was killing other innocent Muslim Somalis thousands of miles away.

On November 4, 2008, everybody in our community was engaged with the election results. When my sister started to call me several times during the evening to notify me that Burhan had not come home, I dismissed her and told her he was probably getting the vote out somewhere, or probably somewhere in the mosque. My sister awoke with her motherly instinct at around 2 a.m., and searched his room, to find his laptop, important clothing, and locked-up passport all gone. She summoned the whole family the next morning, and went to the local police station. We made phone calls to the local hospitals, friends, family members, and we found nothing. My sister met two other families in the local police station, and one of the other family members had an itinerary that one of the kids had left for his uncle to see, so the families then decided to go to the airport to see if they could find someone to help stop the kids in Europe. Nothing was possible, and we were frustrated. We went to the mosque and failed to get answers. We were given promises that the imams would come and meet with the families, and do everything they could to help find out what happened to “their sons,” but that never happened. We kept waiting for the imams to meet with us and give us an explanation of what happened to our kids, since they were the ones who raised our kids.

In the mean time, we immediately approached the local law enforcement, mainly the FBI, and told them that our kids were missing and that we had an itinerary that showed that they were going to Somalia, and strongly pleaded with them to urgently try to stop our children from reaching Somalia and find out what happened to them.

After a week of waiting without a word from mosque leadership except promises to help, suddenly we saw them on Somali TV blaming us, the anxious families, for lying about the mosque, and said we intended to destroy the mosque. They said there were no young men missing from the mosques, and asked the community to urgently stop us from doing harm to the Muslim community. The Imam Sheikh Abdirahman Omar also went on Somali TV and said on behalf of the mosque leadership that the only young men they see who are likely to disappear are ex-gang members and drug addicts, that they had tried and failed to rehabilitate during the summertime. Those he was referring to are our children!

We in the families were at that time in a state of shock that words cannot express. We were in a state of confusion and fear, trying to locate our young men, not only locally but internationally. We were awaiting help from the mosque leadership, but we heard something that was unimaginable—a feeling which was even worse than when the kids disappeared. Suddenly, in a matter of days, the mosque leadership transformed us from victims of radicalization into pariahs of the community. We were on the defensive, with these single mothers (with cultural and language barriers) who were extremely vulnerable to all kinds of issues, having just lost not only their children but their link to society, the only men in their households who could take care of them.

Burhan would periodically call his mother from Somalia. He would ask how she was and maybe ask for some money for glasses or other small needs. She would ask him how he was and try to get him to explain why he was there, but he would respond very cryptically. My sister became concerned that Burhan was being monitored.

The last time that Burhan called was about 2 weeks before he was shot and killed. He told my sister that he was sick. On June 5, 2009 my sister got a phone call from another “recruit” who told my sister that “Little Bashir” was shot in the head and killed and that he had helped bury Burhan somewhere in the Hodan District of Mogadishu.

The mosque leadership continued to disseminate a strong message that there were no children missing, rather than we the families were tools and being used by infidels to try and destroy the mosque. As a result of this, the families united and started Saturday meetings that included outreaching to other community members that also had missing children. We learned from the mosque leadership’s tactics used to defame us that the community was the targeted audience, and we framed our outreach strategy to educate the community about the realities of what was happening to us. An intense outreach from both the mosque leadership and the family members started to unfold in the Somali American community, where we were trying to convince the community that our children were taken, that we weren’t trying to destroy our own mosques (that we built), and that nobody can destroy a mosque. At the same time, the mosque leadership was sending the message to the families that had not yet spoken out, that:

- if they speak up about their missing loved ones will end up in Guantanamo because nobody cares about Muslims;

- they have a better chance of getting their children back into the country if they remain silent;
- if they speak up, they will be morally responsible for having killed all the Muslims and destroyed all the mosques.

With that going on, we the families (on top of the emotional pain of missing our children), had to spend day and night outreaching to the community to convince them of the facts and the reality that we faced. We had to warn other families to pay attention with what was going on with their own children, and dared to continue to stand up for all the single mothers (which comprises a large portion of our community). With all those efforts which continued for months and years, we were alone in our efforts.

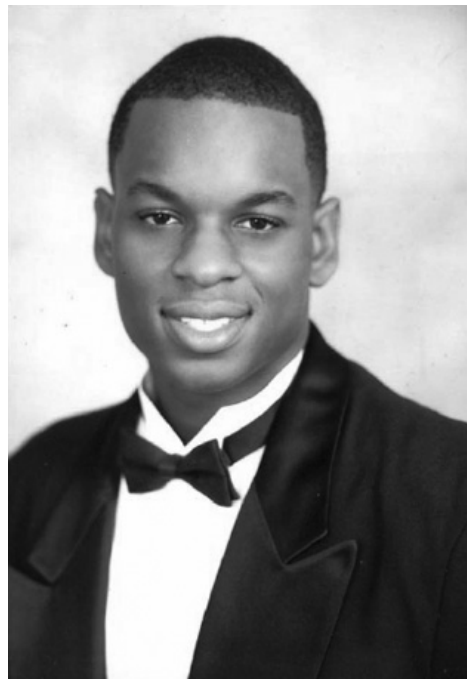
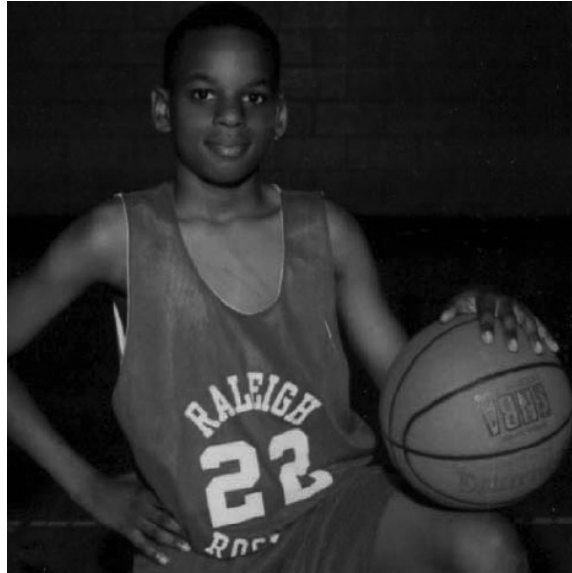
In the mean time, the mosque leadership was always in the mode of “double-speak,” claiming to the larger community in English that they were victims of our efforts to find our “fake” missing children and creating open house events in the mosque where big organizations such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) would stand beside the mosque leaders and support them blindly, without having ever met with the families of the missing Somali youths (even though we had requested several times to meet with CAIR, but never did as we were left without a response).

On the other hand, in Somali language, the mosque leaders (led by the imam) would threaten and intimidate us, calling us all sorts of names during Friday’s sermons just because we had spoken publicly about the missing Somali kids and had refused to remain quiet.

For several months, as we (the families of the missing youth) pursued a constant outreach to the Somali American Muslim community to convince them that our children were really missing, we had finally gained some momentum in our efforts. As a result, the community sympathized with us and we were getting more information as to what had happened to our children. Just as we continued to make progress in laying out the realities to our community, powerful organizations such as CAIR stepped into our community and stifled whatever progress we had made by trying to tell our Somali American community not to cooperate with law enforcement. CAIR held meetings for some members of the community and told them not to talk to the FBI, which was a slap in the face for the Somali American Muslim mothers who were knocking on doors day and night with pictures of their missing children and asking for the community to talk to law enforcement about what they know of the missing kids. It was a slap in the face for community activists who had invested time and personal resources to educate the community about forging a good relationship with law enforcement in order to stop the radicalization and recruitment of our children. We held three different demonstrations against CAIR, in order to get them to leave us alone so we can solve our community’s problems, since we don’t know CAIR and they don’t speak for us. We wanted to stop them from dividing our community by stepping into issues that don’t belong to them.

Our outreach efforts, after a grueling 2 years, have won us the hearts and minds of the Somali American community to commit to stopping the radicalization efforts of the few extremists and radicals in our community. In these efforts, we have identified the Somali American youth’s challenges and aspirations which have never been addressed, by identifying and engaging the vulnerable youth. In terms of the challenges, 85 percent of the Somali American youth who are vulnerable do not have viable employment and are not engaged in productive social programs. In the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood of Minneapolis, alone, we have the highest number of youth per density of land in the State of Minnesota, and no tangible resources for the youth. As a matter of fact, hundreds of millions of dollars of charitable tax credited funds are being invested in rehabilitating the neighborhood, but it is not having any positive impact on the community.

In conclusion, it important for me to state the fact that 99.9 percent of Muslim Somali Americans are good citizens who are very grateful for the opportunities they have and are very busy in chasing their American dream. It is also important to mention the fact that they abhor al-Shabaab and terrorism as much as any other American does. However, the challenge is that the community is lacking strong and true leaders that translate the real voices of the average members of the community. The only visible voices we hear are voices that are propped up by certain organizations (such as CAIR), and those organizations continue to deny the real facts and voices of the communities by claiming that no problem exists, though we continue to face problems such as the radicalization of our vulnerable youth, a growing trend of human trafficking and increasing youth violence. We regret the silencing and intimidation faced by leaders and activists who dare to speak out on the real challenges that keep our youth and community vulnerable to radicalization. Burying our heads in the sand will not make this problem go away.



Chairman KING. The next witness is Sheriff Baca. I understand the gentelady, Ms. Richardson, has asked to recognize Sheriff Baca. Obviously, Sheriff Baca, your time will not be limited.  
Ms. RICHARDSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Sheriff Lee Baca is a former U.S. Marine. He served in law enforcement. He served as a law enforcement officer for 46 years. He was elected as our Los Angeles County Sheriff in 1998. Sheriff Lee Baca commands the largest Sheriff's Department in the United States, leading over 18,000 budgeted, sworn, and professional staff of law enforcement officers, and serves over 4 million people and many of the cities, two of which happen to be in my district, both Compton and Carson. His jurisdiction includes 40 cities, 9 colleges, 58 superior courts and a local jail system housing over 20,000 prisoners.

Sheriff Baca is a respected witness. He has been to this committee testifying in both 2009 and 2010 and was invited here by our Ranking Member, Mr. Thompson. Please join me in welcoming Sheriff Lee Baca.

**STATEMENT OF SHERIFF LEROY BACA, LOS ANGELES COUNTY  
SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT**

Sheriff BACA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I thank Ranking Member Thompson and your committee for this hearing today. Moreover, I would like to thank Secretary Janet Napolitano and the Department of Homeland Security for the support Los Angeles has received regarding combating violent extremism.

The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department has long been a leader in the development of relationships with the various ethnic, cultural, and religious communities that thrive in the Los Angeles area. We have established strong bonds through continuing outreach and physical presence at important events to every community.

Therefore, I would caution that to comment only on the extent of radicalization in the Muslim American community may be viewed as singling out a particular section of our Nation. This makes a false assumption that any particular religion or group is more prone to radicalization than others.

For example, according to information provided by the Congressional Research Service, there have been 77 total terror plots by domestic non-Muslim perpetrators since 9/11. In comparison, there have been 41 total plots by both domestic and international Muslim perpetrators during the same period.

Reports indicate that Muslim Americans helped foil seven of the last ten plots propagated by al-Qaeda within the United States. Evidence clearly indicates a general rise of violent extremism across ideologies. Therefore, we should be examining radicalization as an issue that affects all groups, regardless of religion.

It is counterproductive to build trust when individuals or groups claim that Islam supports terrorism. This plays directly into the terrorist propaganda that the West's war on terror is actually a war against Islam. It is critical to build mutually respectful relationships with Muslim American communities in an endeavor to work together to protect all Americans.

For example, as new immigrants or citizens, the vast majority of Muslim community members within my jurisdiction are fiercely proud of their American identity and display their patriotism on a daily basis. When I made critical outreach to the community after

9/11, I was overwhelmed by the number of Muslims who were ready and willing to connect with law enforcement.

Moreover, after the 2005 transit bombings in London, the Muslim American Homeland Security Congress was formed in Los Angeles County to engage Muslim community members in our efforts to counter violent extremism. The Homeland Security Congress is comprised of leaders from the religious, business, professional, and academic centers of the Muslim American community. Moreover, it supports the efforts of our Muslim Community Affairs Unit made up of Arabic-speaking Muslim deputy sheriffs, and I might add that the Los Angeles Police Department has the same effort going. The Muslim American Homeland Security Congress provides support to our homeland security efforts not only in Los Angeles, but entire Southern California.

According to the Institute for Homeland Security Solutions report, building on clues, examining successes and failures in detecting U.S. terrorist plots from 1999 to 2009, 40 percent of all extremist plots were thwarted as a result of tips from the public and informants. Muslim American community leaders in Los Angeles have not hesitated to put themselves in potentially uncomfortable positions to interact with local law enforcement.

In 2010, the Muslim Public Affairs Council enthusiastically responded to requests to speak at our annual Radicalization and Homegrown Violent Extremism Conference. Speaking to 200 law enforcement personnel, Salam al-Marayati and Edina Lekovic subjected themselves to an intense period of questions and answers from the audience regarding Islam radicalization and terrorism. Due to their courage and willingness to answer any question presented, the evaluation of their performance was overwhelmingly positive.

Outreach to the Muslim community is also done by our law enforcement outreach coordinators group which includes the Los Angeles Police Department, the city of Los Angeles, the California Emergency Management Agency, the FBI, the United States Attorney General's Office, the Transportation Security Administration, and our most supportive Federal partner, the Department of Homeland Security.

In America, we are obligated to protect all citizens and their respective religions and to effectively detect and find extremists. Police leaders must have trust in their standing in all communities. The Muslim community is no less or no more important than others, as no one can predict with complete accuracy who or what will pose the next threat against our Nation. Simply put, police need public participation, and to accomplish that, strategies such as public trust policing need to be a priority in our Nation.

Simply, our enemies cannot thrive or even survive when a majority of people share common goals and pledge to be an asset for each other in the fight to counter violent extremism.

Thank you for listening to my brief testimony on a subject that is vital to all Americans.

[The statement of Mr. Baca follows:]



## PREPARED STATEMENT OF SHERIFF LEE BACA

MARCH 10, 2011

I appreciate the opportunity to add to a discussion on an important topic that affects all of our communities. The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department has long been a leader in the development of relationships with the various ethnic, cultural, and religious communities that thrive in the Los Angeles area. Nowhere is that relationship more positive than that which exists between my agency and the American Muslim Community. We have established strong bonds through continuing outreach and physical presence at events important to the community and law enforcement.

I would caution that to comment only on the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim Community may be viewed as singling out a particular section of our Nation. This makes a false assumption that any particular religion or group is more prone to radicalization than others. According to the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), utilizing information provided by respected organizations such as the Congressional Research Service, the Heritage Foundation, and Southern Poverty Law Center, there have been 77 total terror plots by domestic, non-Muslim perpetrators since 9/11. In comparison, there have been 41 total plots by both domestic and international Muslim perpetrators during the same period. Reports indicate that American Muslims helped foil seven of the last ten plots propagated by al-Qaeda within the United States. According to MPAC, evidence clearly indicates a general rise in violent extremism across ideologies. Clearly, we should be examining radicalization as an issue that affects all groups regardless of religion.

It is counterproductive to building trust when individuals or groups claim that Islam supports terrorism. This plays directly into the terrorist's propaganda that the West's "war on terror" is actually a "war against Islam." It is critical to build mutually respectful relationships with American Muslim communities and endeavor to work together to protect all Americans whether locally or internationally.

Since we are gathered to share information about the American Muslim Community and its response to radicalization, I can deliver very good news. The Muslim Community in Los Angeles is an active participant in the securing of our homeland. Whether as new immigrants or multi-generational citizens, the vast majority of Muslim community members within my jurisdiction is fiercely proud of their American identity and display their patriotism on a daily basis.

When I made critical outreach to the community after 9/11, I was overwhelmed by the number of Muslims who, while under threat from misinformed sources, were ready and willing to connect with law enforcement to help keep the peace.

On September 13, 2001, I convened a meeting led by then Governor Gray Davis, Mayor James Hahn, and Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky, in addition to the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department's Interfaith Council. The message to all our residents was to refrain from invoking religious assumptions regarding the 9/11 terrorist attacks on America. A few criminals with a twisted and corrupted view of religious doctrine had perpetrated universally condemned crimes against our citizens. They did not represent the vast majority of American Muslims any more than Timothy McVeigh represented his community.

Shortly after the July 7, 2005 transit bombings in London, the Muslim American Homeland Security Congress (MAHSC) was formed in Los Angeles County to engage the Muslim community in our efforts to counter violent extremism. MAHSC is comprised of leaders from the religious, business, professional, and academic centers of the American Muslim Community in Los Angeles. MAHSC supports the efforts of our Muslim Community Affairs Unit (MCA) made up of Arabic-speaking Muslim deputy sheriffs and key leaders of the Sheriff's Department. Together, we engage in community forums and participate in events to discuss issues that are common to both the community and law enforcement. MAHSC provides support to the homeland security efforts of my Department and has helped in minimizing isolation and misunderstanding between the community and law enforcement.

American Muslim community leaders within Los Angeles have not hesitated to put themselves in potentially uncomfortable positions to interact with law enforcement. Late in 2010, MPAC enthusiastically responded to a request to speak at the annual Radicalization and Homegrown Violent Extremism Conference which is coordinated by my department. Attended by more than 200 law enforcement personnel, Executive Director Salam Al-Marayati and Communications Director Edina Lekovic subjected themselves to an intense period of questions and answers from the audience regarding Islam, radicalization, and terrorism. Due to their courage and willingness to answer any question presented, the evaluation of their performance was overwhelmingly positive.

Our Sheriff's Department has a history of working closely with all the diverse communities in Los Angeles County. Our Department's efforts in community outreach and interaction is a Nationally recognized model that has proven successful in countering potentially violent extremist activity. In particular, the success of our relationships with American Muslims residing within Los Angeles County has been examined by a multitude of agencies across the Nation as well as globally. The Sheriff's Department outreach programs are not linked to counter-terrorism or intelligence units. Our outreach is real and genuine. We are only interested in building long-term, trusted relationships with our communities. Where those relationships have existed with no underlying intent, critical information has been gained and shared with appropriate partners.

As the community leaders who have engaged with our Department share their experiences with their contacts across the Nation, interest in our program has skyrocketed. In the past 6 months, Sergeant Mike Abdeen and Deputy Sheriff Morsi, of the Muslim Community Affairs Unit, have made presentations to the National Sheriff's Association Conference, the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC), the United States Attorney General's Office, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and have recently been invited to speak at the National Counter-Terrorism Center (NCTC). Their ability to create and maintain mutually beneficial relationships between the Muslim Community and the Sheriff's Department is nothing short of remarkable. One visibly striking example of success is the reception received by a uniformed deputy sheriff driving a marked Sheriff's patrol vehicle to events at our local Islamic Centers. Our personnel are not seen as a threat or person to be avoided but rather a pleasant and welcome part of the community.

We are founding members of the Law Enforcement Outreach Coordinators Group in Los Angeles which includes the Los Angeles Police Department, the city of Los Angeles, the California Emergency Management Agency, the FBI, United States Attorney General's Office, the Transportation Security Administration, and our most supportive Federal partner, the Department of Homeland Security.

All of these agencies recognize that you cannot arrest or enforce your way out of the radicalization issue. The outreach to community members and the building of relationships will lead to a trusted network for sharing of information and contacts.

These relationships are crucial to mitigate a threat, or more importantly, recognize the threat at a stage where a person, or a group, on the wrong path can be righted.

I have long recognized that law enforcement alone cannot generate the necessary intelligence and response to the presence of violent extremism without the cooperation and support of the American Muslim Community. According to the Institute for Homeland Security Solutions report "Building on Clues: Examining Successes and Failures in Detecting U.S. Terrorist Plots 1999-2009," fully 40 percent of all extremist plots were thwarted as a result of tips from the public and informants. There is no better example than that of Christmas bomber Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab's father, Umaru, who was so worried about his son's radicalization that he felt compelled to report it to proper authorities (Nigerian Embassy). I believe that Umaru Abdulmutallab is not the exception but the rule for most of American Muslims. When confronted with a situation over which they have lost control, most parents will find a way to intervene. It is up to us to provide the channel for that information to flow with dignity and respect for the person reporting.

In America, we are obligated to protect all citizens and their respective religions, and to effectively detect and find extremists. Police leaders must have the trust and understanding of all communities who are represented in their jurisdictions. The Muslim Community is no less or more important than others as no one can predict with complete accuracy who or what will pose the next threat against our Nation. Simply put, police need public participation, and to accomplish that, strategies such as public-trust policing need to be a priority in our Nation.

To maintain a safe society free of violent extremism, police leaders must apply public-trust policing techniques that lead to appropriate channels of communication and participation with the public. Los Angeles County has aggressively pursued a public-trust policing program by building relationships with all faiths to achieve interfaith harmony. Los Angeles County has many interfaith efforts; the Sheriff's Department developed an Interfaith Advisory Council consisting of more than 300 Rabbis, Priests, Imams, Ministers, Monks, and faith leaders of all religions.

With more than 1 billion Muslims worldwide, outreach to that particular community cannot remain a local matter. The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department strives to build strong relationships with Government professionals from all over the world including those with significant Muslim populations. I have traveled extensively throughout the world with the purpose of creating a network of policing and Governmental professionals who feel comfortable sharing best practices to overcome

common problems. To further solidify international relationships, members of the Sheriff's Department have embarked upon professional diplomacy efforts to countries which include Pakistan, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Jordan, Israel, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Gulf States, Mexico, China, Taiwan, South Korea, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Russia, the Netherlands, Canada, Morocco, Singapore, Armenia, and Great Britain. The investment of time and effort in the professional diplomacy arena pays tremendous dividends when international cooperation is necessary.

In traditional law enforcement, more money is spent on the response to incidents than in prevention or mitigation efforts. I believe that those efforts should be equalized. With the prevention and educational efforts being pursued by our outreach programs, we think the smart money is on the front end. If you can turn anger into understanding and violence into civic activism, there would be no necessity for response.

At this time in our history, with billions of dollars being spent on wars against terror, our Nation should follow President Obama's example and serve as instruments of goodwill to Muslims throughout the world.

It is my belief that the average American has the potential to be our best ambassador of goodwill, however, Senators, Representatives, Governors, Mayors, Boards of Supervisors, Sheriffs, and Police Chiefs must set the example with a desire to visit Islamic centers and communicate with Muslims in the quest for a better understanding of Islam. Our enemies cannot thrive or even survive when a majority of people share common goals and pledge to be an asset to each other in the fight to counter violent extremism.

As a member of the Homeland Security Advisory Council, I would like to commend Department of Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano for her initiative on Countering Violent Extremism (CVE). I dedicate myself and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department to continue our efforts to make our citizens safer. I look forward to answering any questions you may have. Thank you.

#### ATTACHMENT 1.—LAW ENFORCEMENT INTERACTION WITH THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

##### THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSLIM COMMUNITY OUTREACH/HISTORY AND ACHIEVEMENTS

July 2005, Sheriff Baca establishes (MAHSC) the Muslim American Homeland Security Congress. The first of its kind in the Nation. MAHSC is a non-political, non-governmental, non-religious, and non-profit organization. It was established with the mission to foster education and understanding between the Muslim community and the Sheriff's Department to protect and defend the United States of America and to prevent terrorism and any acts of prejudice. Members of MAHSC include the following organizations that represent the Muslim community in the southern California area:

- Bilal Islamic Center,
- Council on American Islamic Relations—LA Chapter,
- Council on Pakistani American Affairs,
- Iranian-American Muslim Association of North America,
- Islamic Center of Hawthorne,
- Islamic Center of San Gabriel Valley,
- Islamic Center of South Bay,
- Islamic Center of Southern California,
- Islamic Shura Council of Southern California,
- Muslim American Society,
- Muslim Public Affairs Council,
- Omar Ibn Al Khattab Foundation.

July 2007, Sheriff Baca establishes a Muslim Community Outreach Program with a full time Muslim Sergeant dedicated to working with MAHSC board members and directed to restoring community trust, building bridges, and to develop educational programs that will benefit the Muslim community as well as the Sheriff's personnel.

August 2008, the Muslim Community Affairs Unit was established and staffed by one full-time Sergeant, one full-time Deputy, and four part-time Deputy Sheriffs to assist in the development of the outreach program. The MCA unit's mission is to build a stronger relationship with the Muslim community for better understanding and cooperation with law enforcement.

September 2008, a Muslim youth program was developed with the purpose of educating the youth about law enforcement and engaging them with meaningful and productive activities.

October 2008, a training program was developed for recruits in the academy to learn about Islam and provides cultural awareness issues when working with the

Muslim community. The material used for the training was provided and taught by community organizations and community volunteers.

October 2009, law enforcement outreach coordinators group was established under the guidance of the MCA unit with the purpose of coordinating the efforts of outreach among the different law enforcement agencies. The group includes Local, State, and Federal Agencies, all of which are interested in building bridges and improving the cooperation of the Muslim community with their respective agencies. (LAPD, LA City, CALEMA, FBI, DHS, US Attorney, TSA, USCIS).

May 2010, young Muslim American Leaders Advisory Council (YoungMALAC) was established with the purpose of engaging young Muslim professional adults with the Sheriff's Department and to encourage civic engagement with the community at large while receiving recommendations on activities and possible policy changes from young professionals. YoungMALAC consists of 12 board members with background and education in public policy, law, medicine, business, and education.

July 2010, the MCA launches a website with the objective of educating the community on the outreach efforts & social services and events carried by the unit and educating the Sheriff's department personnel on the Muslim community.

December 2010, the MCA unit completes a training video titled "Law Enforcement Interaction with the Muslim Community". This training video was produced in partnership with the Muslim Public Affairs Council in Los Angeles.

January 2011, Jail/Custody Outreach program was established with the purpose of connecting jail inmates with support units and organizations upon release from custody while ensuring that proper non-violent teachings are taking place in the jails.

The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department's experience with the Muslim community in the L.A. area, although challenging at times, has been very rewarding. The level of trust and cooperation members of the Sheriff's Department continue to experience has been very good and continues to improve on a daily basis.

Members of the MCA unit and the department in general have been invited and have attended many social, religious, and educational events to include holiday festivities, Ramadan Iftars and family celebrations. The Mosques and Islamic centers in the L.A. area have been open and were made available to any member of law enforcement to visit and to attend any cultural or religious event.

The MCA unit and the Sheriff have hosted several town hall meetings with the Muslim community to answer questions and to address concerns. Some of the educational programs that were provided to the community include:

- Domestic violence,
- Gang activities and awareness,
- Youth and teens driving education,
- Terrorism,
- Narcotics education and awareness,
- Identity theft avoidance and awareness.

#### SUCCESS STORIES

We measure our success by the trust that we enjoy with community leaders, members of the community in general, and the organizations that represent the community. Sheriff's cars and uniform personnel are no longer seen as a threat to the community in Los Angeles County but rather a pleasant and welcomed part of the community and the Islamic centers.

The "Law Enforcement interaction with the Muslim Community" training video was produced in partnership with the Muslim Public Affairs Council, an organization that represents a large number of the Muslim community Nation-wide. Several video shoot locations, staffing, and script were provided by MPAC and members of the Muslim community.

Many tips, leads, and reports of suspicious activities were provided by either Muslim community members or organizations. These reports of possible suspicious activities would not have been communicated to law enforcement personnel if we did not have the trust and bridges built. The trust that was earned, provided the mechanism for the community to communicate its concern and therefore reporting the criminal activity.

The establishment of the Young Muslim American Leaders Advisory Council, the activities sponsored by the Sheriff's Department, and the mutual support of the Islamic centers and the families of the youth involved is a tool and a method of countering violent extremism through trust, education, and cooperation between law enforcement and the Muslim community.

The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department's Custody outreach program in our jails is not only a bridge building for inmates with the outside world but also is a

counter radicalization effort by ensuring that proper teachings of Islam are checked by having the right educators, material, and well-qualified and properly credentialed chaplains and Imams. The process would not have been possible without the cooperation of the local Muslim community by providing volunteers and vetted religious texts that will not incite violence but rather teach the proper peaceful message of the religion.

#### LESSONS LEARNED

Our experience continues to teach us that implementing community trust policing methods is the best way to succeed and gain the cooperation of any community you serve and work with. The Muslim community is not different than all the other communities we serve daily. Build trust, solicit cooperation, and establish methods of communication with the community and the result will be crime reporting, reporting of suspicious activities, and countering violent extremism at all levels.

#### ATTACHMENT 2.—LOS ANGELES COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT ADVISORY COUNCILS

1. AAAC: American Allegiance Advisory Council (Lebanese)
2. AASAC: Armenian American Sheriff's Advisory Council
3. BASAC: Bangladesh American Sheriff's Advisory Council
4. LASACCA: Los Angeles Sheriff's Advisory Council of Cambodian Americans
5. LACASAC: Los Angeles Chinese American Sheriff's Advisory Council
6. CLSAC: Concerned Leaders Sheriff's Advisory Council
7. DFCSAC: Drug Free Community Sheriff's Advisory Council
8. DCSAC: Druze Community Sheriff's Advisory Council
9. EOBSAC: Emergency Operations Bureau Sheriff's Advisory Council
10. EASAC: European American Sheriff's Advisory Council
11. ECSAC: Executive Clergy Sheriff's Advisory Council
12. GLBTAC: Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgender Advisory Council
13. GASAC: Greek American Sheriff's Advisory Council
14. HASAC: Hispanic American Sheriff's Advisory Council
15. HSAC: Homeland Security Advisory Council
16. IASAC: Indo American Sheriff's Advisory Council
17. LAIASAC: Los Angeles Iranian American Sheriff's Advisory Council
18. JASAC: Jewish American Sheriff's Advisory Council
19. KASC: Korean American Scholarship Council
20. LAKASAC: Los Angeles Korean American Sheriff's Advisory Council
21. LAKASA-CCI: Los Angeles Korean American Sheriff's Advisory Central Chapter
22. MCSAC: Multi-Culture Sheriff's Advisory Council
23. MAHSC: Muslim American Homeland Security Congress
24. PASAC: Pakistan American Sheriff's Advisory Council
25. LAPASAC: Los Angeles Persian American Sheriff's Advisory Council
26. PSAC: Professional Services Advisory Council
27. RSSAC: Russian Speaking Sheriff's Advisory Council
28. SAASAC: South Asian American Sheriff's Advisory Council
29. SCLAC: Sheriff's Community Liaison Advisory Council
30. TASAC: Thai American Sheriff's Advisory Council
31. YESAC: Youth Education Sheriff's Advisory Council

Chairman KING. Thank you, Sheriff Baca. We appreciate your testimony. Thank you very much.

The Chair will recognize himself.

Dr. Jasser, thank you for your testimony. You listened to the testimony of Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Bihi. I would ask you, do you see these as isolated cases or is it part of a systemic problem in the Muslim American community? If it is, how would that be impacted as far as mosques, as far as CAIR, and as far as overseas funding?

Dr. JASSER. Chairman King, I can't underscore how important this question is. Is it simply anecdotes like a crime problem, or is there a systemic problem?

The first thing we need to say is that the vast majority of mosques are places that all of our families go worship, patriotic Americans like every other cross-section of America. Not only are they not a threat, but they would report anything that they see.

Having said that, though, we have a problem internally. Where is that? It is a minority, but there is an ideology that exists in some mosques, not all, not a majority, but in some mosques, and it is a significant number. What I am talking about is not the violent part. We need to change that paradigm from talking about violence.

It is about that separatism, that idea that the Islamic state takes precedence, Islamic law takes precedence over American law. So if you look, for example, mosques that—I have seen a sermon in Phoenix where one of the largest mosques, they held up one of CAIR's pictures and the picture said something extremely insulting about American soldiers and what they are doing in Iraq. You can't tell me that doesn't have an impact upon radicalizing Muslims at that mosque.

Now, is that free speech? Absolutely. Do their civil rights need to be protected? Absolutely. But there should have been a huge protest from people in that mosque that what he did violated and offended us as Americans. But there wasn't. There was silence.

So I think it is time. This platform that we have here and on should be a platform to awaken the silent Muslim majority that exists there, that loves this country, to start to do some self-repair, rather than turning a blind eye and pointing fingers to other faiths.

Funding is also an issue. There is a lot of consolidation of thought within mosques. One of the other things that I think is important for the committee to understand is that our population is extremely diverse, but yet in this country, the groups that seem to represent us are those that are mobilized based on being an Islamic lobby, which is really part of political Islam.

Most of our families left that political Islamic party mentality in the Middle East and came here to be part of a political infrastructure that separates church and state. So to say that, well, how do we engage those Muslims, where are they, they are hard to get to because they don't want to be involved in Islamic or Muslim organizations because they separate mosque and state. So I think it is important that we make that distinction.

Now, looking at the Islamists as a group, again, violence is a small part of their mentality. But yet as you look at the bigger part, they facilitate the concept that the Islamic state is supremacist, is better; Islamic law should be part of government. All this needs reform, and only we can do it.

Some of the mosques, for example, get funding and have a common source of ownership called the North American Islamic Trust, listed as an unindicted coconspirator in the Holy Land Foundation trial. They hold deed to some, they quote, 300 mosques on their website; some say up to 50 percent of mosques. Yet if you look at some of the teachings that the Islamic Society of North America and a few others endorse, they are associated—and I put this in my testimony—some of their imams are associated with the Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America.

So along with some of that funding that came originally from petrodollars in the 1970s, comes I think an ideology that is pervasive with Wahhabism, which is a fundamentalist Islamic strain, or Islamism as an entity or political Islam. Very different from Islam

as a faith, I believe. We still have to go through that enlightenment process and that reform.

But you can't disconnect the funding. There have been committees in this House that have studied that. The Judiciary Committee in the Senate studied the funding issue of mosques in 2003. I think that is a whole other issue.

But I do think along with it comes apologetics, a lack of reform, and a sense of basically trying to evangelize Islam, rather than trying to internalize American ideals into our faith, which is two different things. So it is a significant problem.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Dr. Jasser.

In my final seconds, Mr. Bledsoe, I was very moved by your testimony. In the lead-up to these hearings, this hearing was attacked by everybody, from CAIR to Kim Kardashian to The New York Times, as being such a dangerous moment we were going to have here today.

Why did you come to testify? What do you hope your testimony will bring about and what is your opinion of this hearing?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think it is very necessary for this hearing to be held. I think that as you can see, a lot of people are still in denial that we even have a problem in America with radicalization.

I came here to speak to the American people. I wanted to say something on behalf of my son and my grandson, which is 9 months old, hoping that he doesn't get caught up in that same trap or get captured by that same hunter that my son got caught up in.

I also wanted to say to the American people that I hope that my coming here today, that someone out there in the world, in America, that could hear my story and learn something from the radicalization stages and the process of radicalization, that they can catch some of that which I did not understand at the time my son was being processed and radicalized, hoping that some other child, some other parent, can understand and save that child. If I can save one other child from going through what my family went through, or the victim's family went through, then I think my trip here to this committee is worthwhile.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Bledsoe.

I am privileged to recognize the distinguished Ranking Member from Mississippi, Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Sheriff Baca, as a professional law enforcement person, can you share what your training and experience has taught you in working with different communities within Los Angeles County?

Sheriff BACA. Yes. The concept of public trust, in my opinion, is the core message of my testimony; that policing requires extraordinary ability to interact with people, particularly in a diverse society where people, whether they are here for long periods of time or immigrants, generally have a mistrust of what we represent on the initial contact.

So in the building of relationships—and our particular subject today is obviously the Muslim communities—we believe that what is important is that through relationship building, through programs such as our Muslim outreach effort and the idea that every individual could be a victim of a crime, and when it comes to violent extremism, or let's just say even violent gangs, the same ap-

proach that you use for a violent gang should be used for what we are now talking about in violent extremism concerning terrorism.

Once you do that, you have seeded the community into a place where if the informant cannot contact a cop directly, the informant knows someone who can. So the idea that we must always as a law enforcement strategy be the first ones to know is highly unlikely. That is true of any crime or any gang, but it is also very fundamentally an important point to make when it comes to radicalization.

Obviously, the witnesses here had some exposure before the actions were taken, and, as a result, the question is: How well can you listen? What I didn't hear is when were the police notified or when were authorities notified.

What I am trying to do is close the gap. What I want to know as soon as possible is that when you are experiencing these unusual behaviors within mosques or with individuals within your family, the time to notify authorities is now. I believe that is part of the reason why these hearings are very, very important.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much.

Dr. Jasser, one of the schools of thought among some of these Members of the committee is that we ought to profile Muslims in America. Do you agree with that?

Dr. JASSER. I don't agree with blind profiling. That is unconstitutional. However, smart law enforcement that doesn't waste our resources on investigating people that would not have a high propensity toward radicalization I think is smart also. We have to be careful.

Mr. THOMPSON. Now, the school of thought is that we ought to profile all Muslims in America.

Dr. JASSER. You can't do that.

Mr. THOMPSON. That is fine. But that is the school of thought.

Mr. Bihi, what is your position on that?

Mr. BIHI. I am 20,000 times against the profiling, not only Muslims, but any group.

Mr. THOMPSON. Absolutely. One of the comments that those of us who had serious problems about hearings of this nature is that you run the risk of profiling law-abiding citizens in this country who just happen to be Muslim. I think what we have to do is take—as Sheriff Baca said, those individuals who see illegal or other activities taking place, need to be taught to report it. One of the ways you do that is to engage the community, the law enforcement communities, as soon as possible, and I think from a professional law enforcement opinion standpoint, that is where we ought to be.

The last point, Dr. Jasser. Another comment attributed to this committee school of thought is there are too many mosques in America. Do you agree with that?

Dr. JASSER. Absolutely not. My family has built a number of mosques, have been involved in that. I feel it is one of the reasons they came to this country, is in order to exercise that freedom.

Can I add one thing, Chairman King? Chairman King, may I add one thing regarding law enforcement issues?

Chairman KING. Yes, Mr. Jasser.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Mr. Chairman, regular order.

Chairman KING. Mr. Thompson controls the time.



Mr. THOMPSON. The point is I think religious freedom has an absolute place in America—

Dr. JASSER. Just so the record—

Mr. THOMPSON. No, you said there are not too many mosques in America. I am saying I agree with you.

Dr. JASSER. As far as law enforcement is concerned, I think—

Mr. THOMPSON. I didn't ask about law enforcement.

Dr. JASSER. The first question you did, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. But I did not ask it of you.

Chairman KING. Has the gentleman from Mississippi yielded back his time?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes.

Chairman KING. I recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Lungren, for 5 minutes.

Mr. LUNGREN. First of all, I don't recognize those schools of thought as representing anybody on this side of the aisle.

Second, I want to welcome Sheriff Baca here. He is an old friend. We worked together in law enforcement together, and we worked with your Department in creating the community-oriented policing and problem-solving program that you have carried through, of which I would say this is an extension; that is, what you referred to here today.

At the same time, I would say to those who criticize us for a singular focus here, that I have been on panels that have investigated the continuing presence of Nazi war criminals in the United States, and whether or not we should continue to investigate and prosecute them; I have served on panels that dealt with the wartime relocation of Japanese Americans and Japanese nationals that was limited to that; I have been in hearings in which we have looked at the problem of youth gang violence, and we didn't talk about non-youth gang violence.

I have been on the Judiciary Committee when we held hearings about the unsolved murders of African Americans in the South, four decades after that, and where we made sure there was financing for the Justice Department to pursue those cases, and we didn't go beyond that.

I have been there where we examined the Ku Klux Klan, but we didn't go beyond that at that time.

When I was Attorney General, we did investigate skinhead groups and militias. We were not criticized, or, if we were, I didn't think it was reasonable criticism to say we didn't look at other gangs at that time. My point is that we are looking at a specific problem and we are trying to deal with it.

Sheriff Baca, you indicated that you need to have cooperation with law enforcement. What would you say about a poster that tells people: Build up a wall, do not cooperate with the FBI?

Sheriff BACA. I would not advise that to any group of American citizens or any group that is an organization that would like to help solve a problem. Obviously, we need the help, and I think that people that don't trust law enforcement are in a position where they should learn how to trust law enforcement. But the law enforcement community itself has to lead in that relationship. Most people tend to step away from law enforcement.

Mr. LUNGREN. I appreciate that. But organizations that affirmatively say: Do not cooperate with law enforcement, are not exactly helpful to us solving that problem; is that correct?

Sheriff BACA. That is correct.

Mr. LUNGREN. Mr. Bihi, you mentioned when you had this problem of looking for your nephew, along with the other 20 lost young people, you keep telling us that, and that is a nice euphemism for the fact that you found they had been spirited away to a foreign country, and your nephew was killed when he was there; is that not correct?

Mr. BIHI. That is correct.

Mr. LUNGREN. When you brought that to the attention of members of leaders of your mosque, did they encourage you to deal with law enforcement?

Mr. BIHI. No. As a matter of fact, they threatened me, intimidated me, and not only me, the whole family. There are three messages that they have put out. One message was a very strong message that if—I am talking about the families that have not reported their missing children to the FBI or the police. The first message—

Chairman KING. Can you move the microphone closer, please?

Mr. BIHI. Yes, sir. Thank you.

The first message was to the parents, that if you as a single mother with a cultural language barrier, report your son gone, if you go to the FBI or the police, they don't care about you because they know you are Muslim. They will send you to Guantanamo. A very strong message.

The second message was you have more chances for your son to slip back into the country if you don't have a big mouth like Bihi or other families, if you stay quiet.

The third was moral and religious. It was the afterlife. If you do that, you are going to be responsible for the eradication of all mosques and all Islamic societies in North America and you will have eternal fire in hell.

Mr. LUNGREN. Mr. Bihi, would you call that intimidation?

Mr. BIHI. That is the worst form of intimidation.

Mr. LUNGREN. You and your family were a target of intimidation to stop you from cooperating with law enforcement; is that correct?

Mr. BIHI. Yes, intimidation in its purest form. If you let me, I would like to say something about what our great sheriff said about the community.

We reported the missing kids to the police within hours when we woke up; several police stations, including the police officers of the Minneapolis International Airport. The next morning we set up an appointment and we met all the FBI. I believe our great director was there too. I think he was there too.

I also want to mention another thing about hooking up with the FBI in the Islamic community. If we don't have organizations and imams and leaders that created hurdles and blocks and threats and intimidation, we could have done it ourselves. We could have done that. We in the Somali community should get the credit, our Congressman should give us the credit, should give me the credit for making all the efforts that Director Ralph Porter said about the

Somali community. If you check the USA Today about the report they made on us and the work we have done, it was to our credit.

Chairman KING. Mr. Bihi, your time has expired.

The gentlelady from California, Ms. Sanchez, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to ask unanimous consent to put forward 34 different letters for our body of work here, from different organizations across the Nation who have submitted them for testimony in the record.

Chairman KING. Without objection, so ordered.\*

Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you, gentleman, for being before us, and particularly I welcome Sheriff Baca. I know you have been before our committee several times. I have the privilege of representing Orange County, California, as you know, probably the second- or third-largest Islamic and/or Arab population in the Nation, so I am well aware of the work that you have done not only up in Los Angeles County, but most people don't realize that in the time of a terrorist attack or a National emergency, we actually fall under your leadership in Los Angeles. So we have worked together a lot. It is a pleasure, always, to have you here with us.

Today my question is to Mr. Jasser. In your testimony, you say too many so-called Muslim leadership groups in America, like CAIR, or Muslim advocates, have specifically told Muslims across the Nation, for example, not to speak to the FBI or law enforcement unless they are accompanied by an attorney.

Now, the right to have an attorney present when speaking to law enforcement is a specific principle of American civil liberties. So as a minority, I would advocate to people, in particular minorities, that they should have their attorney present when being investigated, talked to, spoken to, addressed by the FBI.

So by what legal principle do you assert that any minority in America should waive that American principle?

Dr. JASSER. Congresswoman Sanchez, I don't disagree with you. I am talking about this as a father. When I walk up to a police officer or the FBI, I teach my children they are your friends. You can talk to them. If they ask you things, they are not going to be attacking you.

Ms. SANCHEZ. If they come to your home at night, like they do in my community, like some come to my community and knock at 8 p.m. at night to ask questions, if it were you on the other side of the door, not knowing what questions they were going to ask, would you not say: Can you come back tomorrow to my office, my business office? Would you not say: Let me call my attorney and I will come meet you down at the FBI office? Or would you say: Sure, come on in, I will answer any question.

Dr. JASSER. It depends on the circumstances. I don't disagree with you, civil—

Ms. SANCHEZ. You don't know the circumstances when somebody comes to your office late at night like that. You would assert the privilege of an attorney, would you not?

Dr. JASSER. Congresswoman, not all the time, no, I would not. I am not constantly under fear from the Government, because I have

\*Documents are included in Appendix I.

nothing to hide. I am not saying you don't have civil rights to protect. That is part of the discussion. But when that discussion that you just went through dominates the entire conversation about Muslims in America, it creates a narrative that this Government is against you and it creates a narrative that it is anti-Islam and anti-Muslim.

Yes, we should have our civil rights protected. It is part of the bandwidth. The rest of it should be about how much we love this Government, how much we should join the military, how much we should help the homeland security.

Ms. SANCHEZ. We have those discussions, obviously, in the minority community. I sit on the Armed Services Committee also. I think that is one of the really rock-bed ideas of the Latino community, for example. But I still would suggest to anybody that if the FBI comes late at night knocking on your door, you tell them you would like to meet them at some other place at some other time with your attorney.

Sheriff Baca, could you talk about some of the initiatives in particular that you have implemented in your department to work better with the community? It is coming from this background. When we have problems, for example, when we ask people to do 586(g), which is to go after immigrants and knock on doors and look for undocumented, or when we have these sort of situations where law enforcement comes in a certain way intimidating—it is always intimidating—it is intimidating for me when law enforcement stops me and I have to pull over. I am driving a car, and all the sudden I see the flashing lights in the back, my heart starts to beat. For me, law enforcement is like that, even for those of us who work with you.

Minority communities in particular, I think, have a very big sensitivity to law enforcement. What do you think happens? What are the initiatives you try so that, in fact, minority communities and immigrant communities are not afraid and actually move forward and come forward with information? Don't you think when we intimidate them, or point them out, or profile them, or have some of these comments come out like that, that it is dangerous to our ability to get communities to help us?

Sheriff BACA. The first thing I do is I train all deputies when they enter our academy and exit it to recite the core values of the sheriff's department by heart. I will recite them now. This is the bedrock of the American Constitution, the Bill of Rights, civil rights, and even human rights. That is the core values are this: As a leader of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, I commit myself to only perform my duty with respect for the dignity of all people; the integrity to do what is right and fight what is wrong; wisdom to apply common sense and fairness in all that I do; and the courage to stand against racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, and bigotry in all its forms.

When you look at the history of bias in America, the reality is that our Founders created a brilliant document, the Constitution, then the Bill of Rights. Civil rights are real, but human rights are part of the element here when you have an international problem such as terrorism. So people need to clearly know from law enforce-

ment agencies where do you stand before you even talk to me, who are you, and what do you represent?

No police officer, no sheriff, no anybody with law enforcement authority will ever step outside of the American legal system in doing their job. We are the most regulated, perhaps, form of public service than anyone can imagine. So my first outreach to the committee is to say, if you don't have an encounter with my deputies that is within those core values, then I need to know about this.

Now, when you go a step further, there is programs galore. I have advisory councils not only of all the faiths, but of the particular issues that are within faiths where people come to me because they have concerns and fears. Whether it is Orthodox Jews, or whether it is Muslims, or whether it is Pakistanis, or whether it is South Asians, or whether it is Middle Easterners, the truth is, is that America is becoming a society of the world, and because of that, we have to be sensitive, we have to know how to work with the various communities.

I have over 160 languages spoken in Los Angeles. I have deputies of all these religions and all these ethnic groups. We travel throughout the world, quite frankly, on this counterterrorism issue of which was, quite frankly, a predictable issue after the Gilmore report came out of Congress, and yet Los Angeles had a terrorism early warning group before 9/11.

So when you look at this from the standpoint of why even this hearing is so vital, it is because Americans need to wake up and start learning more about all of the issues that affect their well-being, and that police alone can't solve this problem, nor can Congress, nor can the administration without cooperation locally, State-wide, Nationally, as well as internationally. We have no National police in America. This is why I reach out to New York and check with them on their issues. I reach out to all of the major cities as a member of the Major Cities Chiefs Association. But then I reach out within my own community so there is no gap regarding resources.

The real truth is that the American public must step up to the plate and do more, even if it is just educating yourself. Now, on the issue of mosques, for example, we can go into mosques in Los Angeles, and we do that frequently.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

The gentleman from Alabama, Mr. Rogers, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROGERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Before I enter my questions, I do want to point out that I have been a Member of this committee since it was established as a standing committee, and even before that when it was a select committee, and at no point have I ever heard a Member of this committee on either side of the aisle assert that we have too many mosques, too many Muslims, or anything of the kind. So I don't know where the Ranking Member got that school of thought, but it didn't come from this Chamber.

Sheriff Baca, thank you for being here again. It is good to see you.

Chairman KING. If the gentleman would yield for 1 minute, I think what the Ranking Member was doing was I said at one time

there are too many mosques that don't cooperate with law enforcement. I think the testimony has backed that up. I never said there are too many mosques in America.

Mr. ROGERS. Thank you.

Sheriff, a little earlier you heard this assertion that CAIR has warned people they need to have a lawyer before they talk to law enforcement. Do you feel like that your jurisdictional residents, whether they are Muslim, Jewish, or Christian, should have to have a lawyer before they talk to you or one of your sheriff deputies to inform you about something they see as being a potential problem?

Sheriff BACA. No, I don't personally believe they should take that initial step. So in answer to your question, no.

Mr. ROGERS. Do you believe that your sheriff's deputies, when they are out interacting in the communities and doing their community policing and talking with merchants and individuals, should, before they talk to them, warn them that they have the right to an attorney before they talk to the sheriff's deputy?

Sheriff BACA. In general, no, but if we have a suspicion that they are about to commit a crime—there is always so much questioning you can ask before you even have to advise them of their Constitutional right. That is one of the key fundamental points here.

Mr. ROGERS. What I am talking about is just out interacting with the community, not pursuing a crime or a suspect. But a lot of information that your deputies get are going to be from interactions with folks out on the beat, and I want to make it known that I don't think they have to have an attorney present to talk with residents when they are just finding out how things are going. That was the assertion I have seen getting a little while ago from the gentlelady from California's questions.

We don't want our young people or our residents to feel like they have to be afraid of law enforcement in this country. If you are being investigated for a crime, it is different. But just to talk with law enforcement, I don't think an attorney is required, and I don't think you would want to have that requirement to be able to do your job or your deputies do their job.

I am real interested, Dr. Jasser. What do you specifically think that you should see done in an organized fashion that would help the Muslim community begin to work to more self-police the very small radical agents or elements of the community? Because I agree, the overwhelming majority of Muslims are law-abiding, good Americans, and I don't want to paint them with a broad brush, but still there is that small element in the community that is radicalizing. What would you like to see happen in an organized fashion to curb that?

Dr. JASSER. Well, I can tell you that I look upon this a little different than we did the Cold War, and that we need to start putting resources, we need to develop public and private partnerships. We need to stop using the lowest-hanging fruit that exists already as Islamic groups in Washington. Not that they are all Islamists, but many of them are. But the ones that are not typically are much less funded, much less endorsed, or supported by the media, Government, et cetera.

So we need to start creating platforms like this for America to see that we are a diverse population, that we are not all represented by the victim-mongering groups and other groups, that many of us take our responsibility as Americans seriously. So we need to create a kitchen cabinet, if you will, of strategy that homeland security is not just a crime problem, which is sort of what I have been hearing a little bit, is that, well, it is just a crime problem, and we need to work on the ground. That is important, but homeland security is much more than that.

As Prime Minister Cameron said, we not only have to get rid of the violence, but the pool in which the violent radicals swim, and we need to drain that. That is going to need a generational posture that we build institutions based on liberty for and within the Muslim community so we can build forward platforms for forums for debate. We will do the reform, we will do the theological reform, but you help us put resources domestically into new institutions based in enlightenment for freedom and liberty.

Mr. ROGERS. Sheriff Baca, what would you like to see happen? Obviously you stated this hearing is worthwhile, and you have been working on this for a long time, even before 9/11. You mentioned earlier you have an annual forum on counterterrorism. What would you like to see happen from an organized standpoint that would better facilitate this flow of information from the Muslim community about potential problems within that community?

Sheriff BACA. Well, I would like my colleagues in the National Sheriffs' Association and in the Major Cities Chiefs Association, which I am a member of—and these are all the key elements of local law enforcement leadership—to have a little more concentration on coordinating our Joint Regional Intelligence Centers. We are currently sharing some of the things that I have testified to, and my deputies are going throughout the country on an individual basis. But if there was a way that we could develop best practices within the law enforcement community and the Federal Government combined on a continuum of training—we go to different places throughout the country to help each other.

I have to give high credit to the Department of Homeland Security for what they are doing, but I would focus on continuing what we have already established. I mean, a lot of work has been done by this committee. We are not starting anew here. We are just fine-tuning it, as I see this, and listening to other ideas. But if you could look at a subcommittee, which I know you have, that would allow for my colleagues to come in and talk in a prepared manner about these suggestions, I think you would have a better idea as to what local law enforcement needs.

Mr. ROGERS. Thank you very much. I yield.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The gentlelady from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I thank the gentleman very much.

I want to thank personally all of the witnesses that are here today. I respect the fact that you are here, Sheriff Baca. We have worked together. We have visited. I thank you so very much for your presence here today.

But I am reminded of a proverb now quoted by Sheila Jackson Lee: Cleaning a dirty kitchen. You can't clean it with dirty water.

There are no redeeming factual information that we will receive today that can add to the abhorrence that all of us have on terrorism in the United States of America. We don't disrespect the witnesses, at least I do not. But, you see, it has already been tainted, this hearing. There are no loud signs of reasoning that are coming through this hearing. The reason is because it has already been classified as an effort to demonize and to castigate a whole broad base of human beings.

I cannot stand for that. I brought with me the Constitution. It is a living and breathing document. The First Amendment allows us the freedom of religion, the freedom of association and expression. But I will tell you today that this breathing document is in pain.

We could have had a hearing that spoke about any number of issues of terrorism. We might have gone back to the cold cases of the civil rights movement, acts of terror. We might have tried to understand where the Klansmen still roam today and terrorize individuals in parts of this country. Maybe we would have found out what those opposed to the Jewish faith are doing to Jewish communities and synagogues, no matter what their religion. Maybe we would go and question Muslims who are hovering and scared because someone might suggest that they, too, are someone who is eager to do terrorist acts. We would be better off if we would have a hearing speaking about the importance of human intelligence, funding for the elements of the Department of Homeland Security that can work on human resources to be able to hear from individuals who do want to engage and help this country promote its values.

Mr. Jasser, may I just ask, are you a Muslim?

Dr. JASSER. I am a devout Muslim who prays and fasts and tries to raise my kids to be conservative orthodox Muslims, yes, ma'am.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you, sir.

Are there any other Muslims on the witness table?

That is Mr. Bihi?

Chairman KING. The record will acknowledge Mr. Bihi is raising his hand.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you so very much.

The reason I ask that question is because Muslims are here cooperating. They are doing what this hearing has suggested that they do not do. It is an irony and an outrage that we are wasting time when Muslims are sitting before us. A Muslim is on this panel. A Muslim has testified. So I question: Where are the uncooperative Muslims?

Let me quickly put in the record another aspect of Mr. McDonough's statement that our Chairman was so eager to quote and suggest that he whisper to him to have this hearing. Like all of you, and like me, millions of Americans find community, comfort, and support in their faith. That includes President Obama, who is a Christian but spoke in Cairo. So today reminds us that being religious is never anti-American. Being religious is quintessentially American. Got bless America.

Then I would simply suggest another comment here, saying President Obama recognizes through our words and deeds we can either play into al-Qaeda's narrative and messaging, or we can



challenge it and thereby undermine it. We are determined to undermine it. This hearing today is playing into al-Qaeda right now around the world. It is diminishing soldiers that are on the front line that are Muslims, those that lost their lives, and it is going in the same route of an Arizona and other States.

Sheriff Baca, one quick question to you, please. Can law enforcement find friends in diverse communities? Have you been able to solve problems by developing an understanding, an Arab officer, a Hispanic officer, an African officer, or an African American officer, sir, or an Anglo officer that happens to be from Portugal or happens to have the ability to speak to someone from the Balkans who is here in the United States? Is that a positive form of law enforcement?

Sheriff BACA. Yes, it is. We have the ability to reach all minorities within the County of Los Angeles. Sergeant Mike Abdeen who is here, if he could stand up, is the sergeant—he is a Muslim, and he is a sergeant of our Muslim affairs outreach—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Chairman KING. All Members and guests will refrain from outbursts.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I am overwhelmed by this hearing and the lack of factual basis for it. I don't believe—

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

The gentleman from Texas is recognized.

The time of the gentlelady has expired—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. It is an outrage, and as you well know, you already said there are not enough—there are too many mosques in this country. That is absurd. It is outrageous that someone proceeds to hold up another controversial poster. It is outrageous.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I yield back.

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That is quite an act to follow, let me say.

As we talk about the Constitution, in the Preamble it talks about providing for a common defense, and that is what this committee—that is our primary mission. That is what this committee is all about.

It is unfortunate, in my view, that some have attempted to mischaracterize this hearing as an attack on American Muslims. Let me be clear. It is not this committee that is doing that, but al-Qaeda that is targeting and attacking our Muslim youth, as evidenced by the testimony of Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Bihi. In the past 2 years, there have been 27 terror plots, and each of them involved extreme radicalization of the Muslim faith. This is not to say that all Muslims are the threat; to the contrary, the moderate Muslim is our greatest ally in fighting recruitment of Muslim youth.

In the cases mentioned by our witnesses, along with Major Hasan, the Fort Hood shooter, and many others, show that the threat to America lies within our own country. Major Hasan was promoted repeatedly in the name of political correctness, despite obvious signs of radicalization. These indications included conversations with al-Awlaki, arguably the greatest threat to the

United States today. To ignore the threat of radical Islamic extremism in the name of political correctness presents a serious threat to the American people.

Both Attorney General Holder and Secretary Napolitano have testified that the number of Jihadist websites present imminent danger to the United States. Having worked for the Justice Department prior to Congress, I understand the importance to coordinate outreach between law enforcement and the Muslim community. I am very concerned that there are organizations out there speaking for the Muslim American community, telling them not to coordinate with the FBI and law enforcement, as evidenced by the poster that we saw by the Council on American-Islamic Relations.

I hope we can begin the dialogue and ask the necessary questions. Before I ask questions of the witnesses, I want to read from Senator Lieberman's letter to John Brennan, the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security, when he said, the failure to identify our enemy for what it is, violent Islamic extremism, is offensive and contradicts thousands of years of accepted military and intelligence doctrine to know your enemy. We have to know our enemy. It is radical Islam, in my judgment.

I would like to ask Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Bihi, your children were kidnapped by these two mosques. They were held hostage. They were sent overseas to both Yemen and to Somalia, and their lives were destroyed. Have these two mosques done anything to repair the relationship? Have they ever told you that they are sorry, and have they ever told you that they will change their practices?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I will speak first.

No, I have not heard from Hamas at all about whether or not they are sorry. I think that going back to the question of the lady from Texas, we are not talking about all Muslims. We are talking about Islamic radicalization, and that I wanted to make clear because that is a difference.

I have Muslims in my family, I mentioned earlier. I am sitting beside two in the middle. I am sitting in the middle between two. So we are not talking about all Muslims. We are talking about the ones who are hiding behind the moderate Muslim. They are the one who is the threat to America, a threat to our babies, a threat to the children, and they are the danger.

Mr. MCCAUL. Do the mosques know that they are responsible for the radicalization of your son?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Sure, they know, but they are waiting around to do it again to someone else's child. That is why I am here today hoping that American people—you are listening. I hope you hear me. I hope you learn something from that. I don't think that any other child or any other parent in America should have to go through what I am facing today.

Mr. MCCAUL. I agree with that.

Mr. Bihi, has the mosque that radicalized your nephew ever apologized or taken responsibility?

Mr. BIHI. Sir, no, never have they apologized. They, as a matter of fact, attacked us and called us names and tools of infidels. It seems that there is still nobody from the leadership, our congress in the State of Minnesota, the Islamic organizations, none of them have ever met 20 or more Somali American families who are refu-

gees, get their kids from civil war, lucky enough to raise their kids in a college level. Those families were hurt. Not a Congressman, not CAIR, not any other organization, not the mosque people, none of them ever visited with them or even mentioned them. As a matter of fact, they call us liars.

Mr. MCCAUL. And infidels.

One last question to Sheriff Baca. You appeared before Jane Harman and myself last Congress.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MCCAUL. I will follow up with a written question. Thank you.

Chairman KING. The gentelady from California, Ms. Richardson, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to ask unanimous consent that a copy of the following items would be submitted for the record. One would be a text of the Attorney General's interview. The second would be a letter sent to you on March 9th; a 2007 Political Insider article; and a reference to a 2/11 hearing in this committee. Without objection?

Chairman KING. So ordered, without objection.\*

Ms. RICHARDSON. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Chairman, few Members of this committee have experienced events of 9/11 more dramatic than you have. Based upon those experiences and the inception of this House committee, Chairman King and Ranking Member Thompson, you have produced tangible results. Because of that work, I made every effort to serve on this committee. Unfortunately today, though, as a Member, I vehemently oppose the narrow approach this committee is taking in this hearing.

I was born in the 1960s. In my elementary history classes, I saw shocking films of American leaders in the 1940s and the 1950s disgracefully violating the principles of which this country was founded. The only difference history will say today is that those shows were in black and white, and this one now is in color.

Discrimination, a definition, is the treatment or the consideration of or a making a distinction in favor of or against a person or a thing based upon a group, class, or category to which that person or thing belongs, rather than on its individual merit. When elected officials or public servants are sworn in for duty, including with the oath is an understanding not to abuse the power given. One definition of abuse of power is the improper use of authority by someone who has that authority because he or she holds a public office. I believe the narrow scope of this hearing is discriminatory, and it is an abuse of power.

Research by the Congressional Research Center has spoken. We saw a chart there that talked about Muslim plots, but it didn't talk about the 44 non-Muslim plots, which are more than double of what we have seen of other extremists. According to the Institute of Homeland Security Solutions, al-Qaeda and the allied movements were responsible for 26.7 domestic terror attacks, while also white supremacists accounted for 23.3 percent. Thus restricting this hearing for the consideration of radicalization of American

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\*Documents are included in Appendix I.

Muslims and not equally of other groups is wrong. The House Judiciary Committee and House Energy and Commerce Committee have not investigated other religious groups or their leaders for failing to cooperate with law enforcement that may have allegedly caused mental or physical harm to children. So clearly this committee is setting a dangerous precedent in treating one religious group different than another, thereby calling into question this committee's actions and whether those actions violate this country's laws and principles.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to reference for the record the Attorney General's actual interview. In the interview when Mr. Holder said, that it is one of the things that keeps me up at night, Holder said, you didn't worry about this even 2 years ago about individuals, about Americans. He never said Muslim Americans.

Also, we need to point out that in 2007—and I won't say people by name because I do respect my colleagues—it was said in reference in a political article, too many mosques are in this country, there are too many people sympathetic to radical Islam. Nothing in reference to cooperation. In this committee hearing on February 9, 2011, it was said in this hearing, we have got to focus on those people who harm us, it is the Islamic extremists. These are dangerous things.

Now, I also want to point out a reference that wasn't talked about in this hearing. I asked Michael Leiter, the National Counterterrorism Center Director, I asked him specifically what percentage of the people being looked at by your agency for domestic terror threats were Muslims. His answer for the record: It is absolutely tiny, a minute percentage of Muslim population that is being looked at.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask my sheriff for the record, because the whole cause of this hearing was to say there was a lack of cooperation. Sheriff Baca, you talked about what you do. Tell us what the Muslim community does. Do they fail to initiate and cooperate with you?

Sheriff BACA. It is a very, very good question to ask. I think what we have here is a perspective that I believe has to be widened in terms of who are the Muslims that cooperate. I believe that Muslims are cooperating much more outside of organizations, as well as inside of organizations. We have both. You can't look at this perspective of who is cooperating based on organizations alone.

The truth is that Muslims are just as independent, just as feisty, just as concerned about safety. They certainly don't want their homes or their mosques blown up. And thereby as individuals, they have been doing things with local law enforcement without the cover, so to speak, of an organization.

But even with the organizational effort, what I see is an emerging confidence in the Muslim community, particularly in Los Angeles—and I think it is true in New York to a degree through my contacts with Muslims even in New York—that people are getting more realizing to the point that police aren't out to mess around with them, that there basically is this primary focus on prevention. We have spent a lot of energy locally in these Joint Regional Intelligence Centers just to prevent stuff from happening at its earliest possible point.

The truth of it all is that we are, as a Nation, doing relatively good. We are not going to eliminate this possible problem. But as a Nation, we are getting better and better and better, and this is why I am here. I don't particularly think these hearings can be negative totally. I believe that they have a potential to keep the public involved in this discussion, which will further lead to better solutions, and the robustness of the opinions will say that everyone is entitled to say what they are saying. That is what I am taking from this particular hearing.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

The gentleman from Florida, Mr. Bilirakis, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate it. I thank the witnesses for being here today and testifying.

I will get right into the questions. Terrorist organizations have become increasingly adept at using the internet and social media to recruit, inspire, and motivate individuals already in the United States to carry out attacks on their behalf. This question is for Dr. Jasser and Sheriff Baca. But others, you are free to respond as well. One such website that has been described as key to al-Qaeda's communications was hosted by a web-hosting company in my area of Tampa Bay in the State of Florida. The site has since been taken down.

What are your thoughts on how to combat the use of the internet and other technology by terrorist organizations overseas to inspire and encourage terrorist attacks in our country by those who are already here?

Dr. JASSER. Congressman, that is a wonderful question, and I think it points to the fact that we have not had any type of cyber counterjihad, if you will. Why? Because that can only be done by Muslims. So we need your support to do that. We can do it with the right resources by countering that ideology.

The Islamist narrative basically says America is against Muslims. It creates all this narrative that America is going to Iraq, to Afghanistan to convert—to convert Muslims, kill them, attack them. That is the narrative. We can present—our strategy so far has been to try to break down that propaganda. That is wrong.

We need to have a forward strategy of liberty-minded, freedom-minded ideas into the Islamic consciousness. We can do that as Muslims, but we need your help to do that through creating websites, a social network. I mean, look what happened in Egypt and Tunisia. That was just simply through social networking, and that countered a lot of the—that wasn't Islamists that did that. Most of that was secular Muslims that wanted to take control of their own future.

But when we have a Government that produces a report, an after-action incident report, after the Nidal Hasan incident, and the word "Muslim" or "Islam" or "jihad" isn't even in the whole document, you wonder why we are so paralyzed in treating this.

I, as a Muslim, I need this conversation. If we are going to fix this cancer that is within the whole viable, wonderful, beautiful faith that I practice, we need to be able to talk about it. It is like trying to treat cancer without saying the word. It is not Islam, but it is jihadism, it is Islamism, it is a political entity that we can

fight on the web very well. But we have been absent. We have surrendered the Constitution to the Jihadists.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Sheriff.

Sheriff BACA. Yes. The sheriff's department, as you know, and the LAPD, along with all of our Federal and State partners, runs this Joint Regional Intelligence Center, which is an open-source investigative arm. But we morph it up into the Joint Terrorism Task Forces when we are dealing with specific things such as cyberterrorism and these websites. We monitor them. At some points they get shut down. At other times we monitor them and continue to monitor them because it is an excellent source for what would later become an actual investigation. So there is a broader strategy that is involving all of our levels of government in this website issue.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Thank you.

My next question is for the entire panel.

Mr. BIHI. May I add something?

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Would you like to say something? Please do. Thank you.

Mr. BIHI. Lately we have been seeing the excuse that they are old, they are not recruiters for these kids. These kids are recruited by the internet, by the cyberspace. I do not believe that there is a kid that gets up in the middle of the night and just walks by the computer, logs onto a Jihadist or an al-Qaeda website or al-Shabaab, and decides the next day to fly in and explode themselves.

That is a very weak excuse. The radicalization process or the brainwashing process takes years. There must be somebody on the ground to exploit this kid, what he is angry, what are his weaknesses, like if there is no father, if there is no mentor, if they are smart, if they are weak. So the process takes forever. Internet is one of the last steps to do land courses, to educate yourself into an academic level of being gone.

Thank you.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Thank you.

Mr. Bledsoe, did you want to add something?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. I have no comments here.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Very good.

My next question for the entire panel—I know I don't have a lot of time, Mr. Chairman—what demographics have demonstrated to be particularly susceptible to extremist recruiting efforts within America? To what extent are youth and universities particularly at risk? For the entire panel.

Dr. JASSER. Yeah. I will jump in quick and tell you that that is why we have focused our Muslim Liberty Project on young adults 15 to 30, because if you look at the study, the Pew poll showed that young Muslim adults in this country, 15 to 29, 25 percent thought there was maybe some justification for suicide bombing.

That is not typical of the general population of Muslims. It is a demographic that we need to target, we need to look at and figure out, because their minds are being shaped, they are being pulled. As Prime Minister Cameron said recently, it is an identity problem. They are not identifying with this Nation. We need to renew a discussion about what this country stands for, what our principles are,

bring them into that. As Muslims, they feel American, positive about this country, and then that will inoculate them against that radicalization.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Richmond, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RICHMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Ranking Member.

I would just say that earlier we heard quotes from Members, from the FBI Director, and we have heard quotes from Eric Holder. There is an old blues song that says if you are going to tell it, tell it all. What we didn't hear quoted was the fact that the FBI Director said that homegrown extremists and lone-wolf activity are as serious a threat to the homeland as al-Qaeda and its affiliates. That is not what this hearing deals with. We also heard from Eric Holder that the cooperation of Muslims and Arab American communities has been absolutely essential in identifying and preventing terrorist attacks.

So while we are here today, I will thank the panelists and the witnesses that are here because I understand the problem that we have. I will not only say that I think to focus on just the Muslim community is wrong, I will offer that we could have had another hearing today with some of the same witnesses.

Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Bihi, I think that there are a number of families around this country that are suffering the same pain. I pray for you, and I pray for them also. But we could have had a title of a hearing today that simply said, "What Is Driving Passive and Activist Americans to Be Militant and Extremists?" That covers the broad rainbow and spectrum of what is going on in this country without singling out a particular group.

Here are some very pointed questions, and especially to Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Bihi first. Do you agree that part of the propaganda that they use to recruit is that America—the narrative, as Dr. Jasser said—the narrative is that America is at war with Islam?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I don't agree so much with that. I think that they used a tool to recruit as well as to say America doesn't appreciate African Americans. That is one of the—I think the reason you find a lot of African Americans be recruited, because they can use that as a weakness.

Mr. RICHMOND. Thank you.

Mr. BIHI. Sir, thank you for your question.

To the particular group of the Somali American, which is a large group I am dealing with, the main thing and their main victims are the Somali population in the country of Somalia. But it is also part of the American country. It is part of it in the Western world and other worlds, including Muslim world leaders. So to shed a light on this, these people have a target to use these kids not only in the United States of America, but also other countries, including in Somalia, that they are sharing abroad as we speak right now for 20 years.

Mr. RICHMOND. Dr. Jasser, I did quote you correctly when you said that the narrative and the propaganda is that America is at war with Islam?

Dr. JASSER. Yeah, that is the narrative from the Islamist side, yes.

Mr. RICHMOND. Yes. Mr. Bledsoe, I would say as a young African American male, your sentiment that that is part of the propaganda that is used, I would say that it is also a worry to me when so many people, especially on this committee and in Congress who have never been a victim of profiling based on race, religion, or any others, are quick to suggest that that is a legitimate crime-fighting tool when it is irresponsible and not the smartest way to fight crime.

Dr. Jasser, do you believe today that there are people promoting propaganda based on this hearing alone that are saying that this is evidence of America's war with Islam?

Dr. JASSER. There may be some exploiting that for that, but I hope we are mature as a country to be more pragmatic and practical and use this as an opportunity to go beyond that and not allow an ideology that cloaks itself in a religion to basically have a poison pill that prevents us from dealing with it. So if it is a sea of political movement, how else can we counter it? How do we promote those Constitutional ideals against those that want theocracy, that co-opt our communities for wanting to put Shari'a law into government and other things? How do we fight that if we can't even discuss it because we are worried about offending sensibilities? How do we treat the Nidal Hasans of the world if our Government spends millions on a report that doesn't even cite his theological slip down radicalism? How do I do that? How can I help you as a Muslim? How can I help my children resurrect their faith from radicalization if I cannot talk about it?

Ms. RICHARDSON. Well, I think we can talk about it, and we talk about it in the terms of the Constitution and religion. We don't have to single out the single religion, but we can have an honest dialogue about race, we can have an honest dialogue about religion if we talk about the fact that it is not just the Islamic religion that we are talking about, it is a broad spectrum.

Dr. JASSER. But 220 arrests of terror cases in the last 2 years, 180-plus were Muslims. So you are going to waste all of this time discussing all the other faiths, which I cannot help you with, while we have a Muslim problem that I can help you with. Not for most Muslims, a minority. But we are going to waste all of that time and resources because we are worried about offending Muslims because of political correctness.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Now, I would just suggest to you that every type of terror plot is important, and that every life that is lost is important. I would not consider it a waste of time to talk about extremists of any form or fashion, because they take lives. We can talk about—and I won't go through the incidents. But that is what is important to me, to make sure that we don't focus so far on one segment that we miss an entire segment that is going on somewhere else. That is what is important. I think that there was a way to do it comprehensively, and I am just disappointed that we didn't do it that way. But I think you all had some very good points, and I will yield back.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlewoman has expired. Thank you.



The gentleman from Georgia, Dr. Broun.

Dr. BROUN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all for being here.

When I was in the Marine Corps, I was taught to know your enemy, and I think that is extremely important. The focus of this hearing today is not the Islamic religion, it is Islamists. It is the radical Jihadists. It is the radicalization of our youth, as Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Bihi have talked about. I think it is absolutely critical that we as a Nation focus upon doing exactly what I was taught in the United States Marine Corps, to know your enemy.

Dr. Jasser, I am very appreciative of your work and your testimony, and particularly your answer to Mr. Richmond, because I think it is extremely important to focus on who wants to destroy this country. I believe that there are entities within this country that are supporting those radical Jihadists. I think there are organizations that are very public that are supporting the radical Jihadists. We need to know exactly who our enemy is. We need to focus upon that enemy and not let political correctness deter us from that. I thank you, Dr. Jasser, in that regard.

I think political correctness is also an enemy of us focusing upon those who want to destroy this country. I don't know a single person on this side of the aisle that is Islamophobic. I think every single person, every single Republican wants to focus on exactly what this hearing is all about, and that is the radicalization, which is a tremendous, tremendous National security problem.

Dr. Jasser, we have heard a lot about CAIR, and I would like to hear from you what your view of CAIR is. In your view, does CAIR represent all Muslim Americans? Does CAIR represent you? Is CAIR helping or hurting your effort to try to foster peace, to foster liberty and freedom within the Muslim community?

Dr. JASSER. Thank you, Congressman Broun. I will tell you that we have to realize that one of the things we are missing in these demographics is that Muslims are 4- to 5 million Americans, and the minority of them belong to these organizations. The minority of them actually go to mosque regularly. So we have to be careful.

Yes, mosques and practicing our faith is something I love. I felt involved with that because I take my faith as something that I want to practice actively. But many Muslims choose not to. That doesn't mean they are not represented by these discussions. That doesn't mean we should ignore them.

What happens is the groups that inherently collectivize under the Islamic banner become the representatives of Muslims, which is actually not really consistent with our American ideals. Yet in the Middle East, there is a lot of banter between secularists and Islamists because they realize that it is not anti-Islam to be against the Muslim Brotherhood-type groups. I think we have to realize when we look at groups like CAIR, I believe they come out of that same mentality, which is the collectivization of Muslims, and they will use systems in order to avoid dealing with pathologies that we need to treat.

An interesting thing, even the whole concept of American-Islamic relations, I teach my kids that being American is Islamic. There is no relations between the two. It is basically inherently the same. So the whole construct of it is built on a separation, if you will. I

think it is one of actually we may be giving it too much importance because it is one of a large number of organizations that serve to advance political Islam in the West. Rather, there is a sense that those advocates for those groups want to bring Islam here rather than absorb American liberty, American freedom, and reform our faith.

The evidence I have of that, look at how much work they have done for the Islamist Society in North America, or any of them, to modernize the legal systems of our faith to be commensurate with the laws of this land and not in conflict. You will find that I put in my testimony that groups like the Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America that include some of the imams that these groups work with, they have never made stances against some of the fatwas or religious rulings in there. So they basically become enablers of ideas that tell Muslim kids, don't really take a citizenship here if you don't have to, if you don't want to. You know what? If somebody commits an act of apostasy and leaves the faith, our law, if it is Muslim majority, they should be killed. This is the law that is on the books.

So my biggest fear, besides all of this discussion, I hope we can generate new books, new schools of thought in our Islamic legalisms that aren't in conflict with this society and give Muslims an identity that is consistent with liberty. These organizations aren't doing that.

Chairman KING. The gentleman's time has expired.

The gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Clarke, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CLARKE of Michigan. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Thousands of innocent people were killed as a result of attacks on this country. It is understandable why the issue of terrorism in America elicits outrage and emotion.

Sheriff Baca, I have got a question for you. But one thing I wanted to commend you is that those core values, that your deputies make an oath to underscore the rights that we all have in this country to be treated fairly by our Government. I recognize those rights not only as a Member of Congress who has taken an oath to uphold the Constitution, but also, Mr. Chair, on a personal note, it is because my father, who cared for me, who loved me, was a Muslim. He died when I was 8 years old, but I will never forget him. He was a kind and gentle soul. But most importantly what I remember is that his love for people was based in his faith in God.

In order for us to make sure that 9/11 never, ever happens again, I urge all of us as Members of Congress to make our decisions based on sound intelligence, not on profiling, not on stereotyping, which could lead and fuel more hatred and more bigotry.

I am going to ask my question in a second, but, Sheriff, I commend first responders like yours, because, you know, the best way, I realize, to better prepare our country against these attacks is to fully equip our men and women who risk their lives as police officers, firefighters, as emergency medical providers, to make sure they have the resources.

In Michigan, the Council of American-Islamic Relations have worked with law enforcement. As a matter of fact, just last year

they met 13 times with Federal law enforcement officials in order to create a better dialogue between the community and Federal law enforcement. I appreciate any thoughts you may have to better foster relations between law enforcement and the Muslim community. If you choose to, you can cite some examples that you know about first-hand. If there is time remaining, I would like to yield my remaining time to Member Richardson.

Sheriff BACA. Well, as we can tell by the testimony of the witnesses and your comments, we have a very diverse Muslim community in the United States. First of all, organizations are more helpful than not. I believe that the message and the narrative should be that everyone can pitch in in one form or another at the right time. When it comes to encountering violent extremism, all resources can count, and we should not discount resources in any fashion, irrespective of the various points that have been made.

When we formed the first Muslim American Homeland Security Congress—and this is an organization made up of organizations, individuals, including the sheriff council and mosques that are individualized. What we have when we talk about CAIR as an organization, CAIR supported the development of the Muslim American Homeland Security Congress. Furthermore, they support the Muslim outreach program that I am doing.

What I think has happened here is that CAIR is only a multitude of chapters, not one single organization. In southern California I have not heard of any substantial complaints from my deputies who are involved in the investigative processes that I alluded to in my earlier testimony of saying, don't cooperate. Now, what is going on in other parts of the country, I cannot attest to. I have never had a briefing on the whole issue from the FBI as to what their particular position is.

But I will say that when I asked after particularly the London—and excuse me—after 9/11, I asked CAIR, if I were in your position, I would post admonitions in mosques, if you have that ability to, to advise the attendees that come to pray to not bring in extremist points of view. This was very particularly important to me because at one mosque that I went to, a young man came up to me when we were in a meeting of solidarity amongst the faiths, and I had the wife of Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky with me, who is Jewish. He couldn't make the meeting. I was holding onto a Koran, and an individual, a young man, came up to me and said, you are forbidden to hold the Koran. Then what I said was, well, you better open up this Koran, because it was given to me by the imam of this mosque, and it is people like you that are giving the Islamic community, the Muslim community a bad name. He just walked out, and that was the end of that little confrontation.

But the point here is that I have not experienced anything that suggests that CAIR supports terrorism in the southern California CAIR organization.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The gentleman from New York, Mr. Higgins, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HIGGINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. I am sorry. Actually I go back to the gentlelady from Michigan, Mrs. Miller.

Mrs. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Sorry, Mr. Higgins.

Mr. Chairman, first of all, I want to thank you very much for holding this hearing. I think it is very, very important. Certainly after listening to the testimony today of all of the witnesses, it is very clear that we have situations here in America that we need to examine candidly as we all seek the very same thing, which is a strong, safe, secure America.

In the run-up to today's hearing, we heard an awful lot of talk about how we should not be prejudging any one single group, and I appreciate that. I think after hearing the compelling testimony today, I think many, many, particularly in the media, were just as misguided by prejudging what this hearing was all about, because I am very hopeful that this hearing will actually strengthen our country. I think it is an opportunity to have an actual pivot historically for us and to help us all to stand together as Americans first above everything else.

I would just make an observation. I know so many of my colleagues have mentioned that we should be having all of these other hearings on other groups who could potentially be a threat to America, I don't know why we have never had any of those hearings during the last 4 years. Here we had the Fort Hood massacre and didn't have a hearing on it, but we were having hearings on FEMA trailers.

I represent a district in southeast Michigan, right next to Mr. Dingell who spoke earlier, and next to Mr. Clarke from Detroit as well, and as you have heard, we have the largest Arabic population in the country, a very diverse Arabic population with Lebanese, Syrians, Iraqis, Chaldeans, Palestinians, Jordanians, Yemenese, and many, many others. These proud Americans make up a very important and vibrant part of our community.

Before I came to the Congress, I actually had the great honor and privilege of serving as Michigan's secretary of state, which two of my principal responsibilities were, first of all, running the State elections, but, secondly, serving as the motor vehicle administrator. I worked very, very closely with the Arabic community to make sure they were registered to vote, if they were eligible, and then issuing their driver licenses. I remember running into a bit of buzz saw when we had some female members of the Arabic community who didn't want to have their driver license photos taken unless they were completely covered with just their eyes showing. We said, no, if you are going to have a Michigan driver's license, which is used as a fundamental part of your identity, you have to have a picture taken. We tried to be very sensitive having a female clerk take the picture after hours in a back room, et cetera. But we want to be very sensitive to cultural differences, but in America we have equal rights for all and special rights for none.

Recently Adam Gadahn, who was born in California and then radicalized, made a statement. He is actually known as the American spokesperson for al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. He made some comments several months ago calling on Muslims—and I will quote—living in the miserable suburbs of Detroit to take the initiative to perform the individual obligation of jihad.

I would say that radical al-Qaeda thugs do not speak for our neighbors who stand up for American ideals of liberty and freedom and democracy. Again, it is my hope that this hearing will reiterate to those in the mosques or just in the Muslim community anywhere that if they hear of efforts from radical extremists to pedal their hate of radicalization, that they understand that they can and they must come forward to law enforcement to assist.

My question would go to Mr. Bledsoe. Your testimony, sir, touched me, and particularly as you say how you have Muslims in your own family. How do you think America could better educate ourselves, sir, on the religion of Islam, the Islam religion, so that others, particularly parents, might be able to recognize if their children have turned the wrong way on a very proud and peaceful religion to the wrong side of this religion, to one that is the hate and it has perverted that religion? How do you think we could better educate ourselves?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think we can better educate ourselves by first teaching American citizens, American children what Islam is and what Islam is not. I think that it is one thing that needs to be done. More American citizens need to be educated about the religion and not be afraid to understand the religion.

I want to go back where I am speaking here to the sheriff when he spoke about you have got to call the police when you see different things happening. In the process of radicalizing someone, especially with my son, we did not know what was happening when he was taking his dogs out in the woods and leaving them or taking a picture down off the wall. It is something new to America. It is something new to me. As I couldn't quickly just say because you have become a Muslim that you cannot do these kind of things. I felt that was part of the cultural—learning the religion. But yet I found out later it was more than that.

So I am saying to the American people, it is a process what happens. It takes a while sometimes to realize that your child is being radicalized. But what I have said today, I hope that someone is listening, and if you find that your child is getting rid of their dog they already had for many, many years, or he is distancing from the family, staying away from the family, not coming home from college on holidays, yes, you should perhaps call the law enforcement and get them involved.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

Now the gentleman from New York, Mr. Higgins.

Mr. HIGGINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, finally.

I just wanted to thank the panel. This has been a very productive discussion, one in which I have learned quite a bit from.

In the aftermath of 9/11, we were all taught that we are not at war as a Nation with Islam; we were at war with those who hijacked that religion and used it to justify their murderous and cowardly acts. From that, a lot of relationships were developed between the law enforcement community, local, State, and Federal, with the Muslim community, to try to better understand one another.

I think we are at a point where progress has been made, but still much work needs to be done. When I look at or hear the sheriff from Los Angeles talk about the programs that have been devel-

oped in your community, it is very similar to that of my community in Buffalo, New York, a smaller city. Directly south of Buffalo is a city called Lackawanna, an old steel city that was home to the Lackawanna Six. It was six Muslim American men who were convicted of providing material support to al-Qaeda by training in their camps in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

Efforts are being made in our community now—they were very young. Efforts are being made to deradicalize, to counterradicalize, and that should be, I think, the focus of what it is we are doing in promotion of movement forward in that direction as well.

There is a lot of misunderstanding when you get into this issue, and people, I think, get invested into their emotional positions that really don't have a factual base. I will give you an example. In this Nation, we have not only a Christian-Judeo tradition, we have a Christian-Judeo-Islamic tradition in this Nation. At the basis of those religions are compassion, forgiveness, love, and tolerance. The prophet Muhammad is the prophet of mercy. In my Catholic tradition, I was raised by the Sisters of Mercy.

So I think we all have a lot to learn from one another about this issue. We have a long way to go. The radicalization of Muslims in America is in large part influenced by the convergence of new technology that allows groups to communicate in ways that they never were able to before. Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula has a publication called Inspire. They are trying to influence throughout the world unlike they have ever been able to do before since their inception. These present extraordinary challenges. So I think that provides a basis from which our Nation, all our law enforcement agencies in each individual State, each individual locality, developed those relationships with the Muslim American community, because in the end, we are all Americans. People don't come to this country by and large to create havoc; they come here because they thirst for freedom that we have, and that is what they want for themselves and their families.

So, Sheriff, if you want to just elaborate a little bit further on some of the programs you have been working on, I would be very interested in that.

Sheriff BACA. Well, thank you, Congressman. I will share with you what the Muslims themselves in Los Angeles are interested in, and this is part of the relationship building. They are interested in and we have given them programs on domestic violence, we have given them programs on gang activities and awareness, youth and teens driving education, the terrorism issue obviously, narcotics education and awareness, and identity theft awareness and avoidance.

I was listening to your overview, which I wholeheartedly agree with. When you think about it, most Americans don't think on a daily basis like we do here. We are obligated to think on a very high level of concern and sophistication, and we can disagree all we want, but the truth is that the average American should be able to go about their business on a daily basis and not have to worry about this, because that is what they are paying us to do.

So in the context of your question, what I think is the bigger problem is that most Muslims don't even know what the Koran is all about. This is my assertion. When I go around and I start talk-

ing to people, since I have been given a Koran I have been obligated to read it, and there are references to Mary, the mother of Jesus in the Koran, there are references to Moses and Judaism. According to the widespread belief of Islam, you cannot be a Muslim unless you honor Judaism and Christianity. You cannot exclude those two faiths from the eternal composition of what the prophet was saying when this whole Koran became what it is.

That I think is my biggest advice to the Muslim community in America: Get smarter on your own faith. Praying five times a day is a ritual that is important, but it is not Islam. It is the ability to have a sense of tolerance for Judaism, Christianity, and all faiths of the world. That is the message I think is not being heard by the American public.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. Walberg from Michigan, please, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WALBERG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for holding this hearing. I think it is an important time to do it, and it is a time to carry on what this committee was originally established to do. I thank you as well for hanging the pictures in the back of the room again to remind us of the purpose of this committee, that we would understand liberty, and its price is eternal vigilance.

I thank the witnesses for being here today, and, yes, indeed for Muslims being here and cooperating today, because indeed it is the Muslim community that is at the table today and represented at the table today that I think desires to have a change in what is going on and the perception that results from positive effort in standing against the radicalization of their young people, and others who aren't their young people but are being pulled in.

So I thank you for your courage in stepping to the table today and sharing with us your story. To allow that story to be told more, let me just quickly go to a question.

Dr. Jasser, what do you hope will be taken away from this hearing today for Muslim Americans and also for non-Muslim Americans?

Dr. JASSER. Thank you, Congressman. I hope we see this as the beginning of a dialogue. It is interesting, some of the feedback I got leading up to this was: What is the Government doing getting involved in religious issues? It is against the First Amendment. But now as I heard the conversation just a second ago, I saw that religious issues are all right as long as everything is positive.

Certainly that is the Islam I teach my children. But we have to realize there are many Islams out there, and if we are going to protect our homeland, we need to develop a strategy, a forward strategy with a platform for organizations that are Muslim and our Government to work together in a public-private partnership.

I think a lot of the discussion here has been healthy as far as the cooperation that exists. There are a lot of partnerships that exist that have been very helpful. But those partnerships are about the crime element, the violence. The problem is far deeper. It is an ideological one.

It is where you see, for example, in Michigan, there was a shooting of an imam who was basically running a radical sect called Ummah. His name was Luqman Abdullah, and the Islamic groups,

including CAIR Michigan, had to have an autopsy redone because they were worried that the shooting was inappropriate. No mention of the ideology of separatism, that he wanted to have an Islamic state.

All these things that we should be filling the internet with new ideas, we are not doing; and our homeland security is at risk because those things cause a continuum of radicalization; and we need platforms to begin to do that at universities, at think tanks, at all the institutions that this Government helps change the agenda of society. I hope this is a pivot point in changing the agenda so you can help me and us and other organizations—there are a lot of other organizations like mine doing this reform work—and not allow just the revivalists to get the microphone, but the reformists, to say that we want to modernize.

Mr. WALBERG. I have many Muslim friends both in Michigan as well as in Uganda. In the recent Somalian bombings that took place at the World Cup, during the World Cup experience, and in Kampala, Uganda, I thankfully still have a very, very dear friend who was at that restaurant who was chaperoning an American group of people. He is Ugandan. There were Christians and Muslims in the room at the same table. Due to two bodies in between my friend and the suicide bomber, he lived. He lived to transport bodies and victims to the hospital in a van that I have traveled in many times and many miles.

After that bombing, the word came out from the Somalian Muslim terrorist group al-Shabaab apologizing to Ugandans for their lives being lost, because their efforts were to go after Americans and whites.

Now, you have experienced it first-hand, Mr. Bihi. How concerned are you that other young Somali males from your community may be radicalized and influenced to join the violent jihad either in the United States or Somalia?

Mr. BIHI. We are really very concerned. We are extremely concerned that we have our immediate outreach concerning this matter right away, without funding, no support, with all those pressures and silencing. We won the hearts of hundreds of people, young people, not to change their mind. We have influenced it, as you have heard. We have a huge task for us because of the long running civil war by al-Shabaab in Somalia, over 25 years now. We have influence in Denmark, the community in Denmark. We have influenced the community in Canada, in Sweden, in Switzerland, in Germany, in London, in Lancaster, in Liverpool, in Malaysia, and all over the world, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, in Ireland.

We are getting tired of every time there are young Somali men being indicted because their intention is to do a jihad. We are victims vulnerable to organizations that are picking on us like salmon fish. Every time we try to speak up against this we got problems. We are intimidated by strong organizations that are not welcome in our community because we are not going to stop.

As a matter of fact, Uganda, it made us—I and my youth corps there, we decided on the table, on the news, to do a Ramadan, it was a Ramadan time, a Ramadan basketball tournament for the youth. Because from my experience I am an expert, I can say that, I have been there from the beginning. I don't just mention it to the



media. We find out that we see eye to eye with each other, on the coffee shops showing the young men how glorious it is, how principled they are riding these horses, exploding themselves, seeing all the glorious things, and we have to prevent that in Uganda.

So immediately we organized, with no penny to rent a big machine to organize 400 young men to play basketball.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WALBERG. I wish you all good success.

Chairman KING. The gentlelady from California, Ms. Speier, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. SPEIER. At the outset, I find this hearing to be grossly incomplete, and I feel that without the representation of the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, the Department of Justice, we are seeing a very skewed discussion, with the exception of Sheriff Baca is here.

While I think these anecdotes are interesting, I don't believe these are experts. I would suggest if we are really going to be complete in this hearing, we should also be investigating the Army of God and their website in which they openly praise Christian terrorists as part of an effort to look at home-grown terrorism in this country.

Let me start by first asking Dr. Jasser if you believe the majority of mosques in this country are actively recruiting terrorists.

Dr. JASSER. That is not what I said, ma'am.

Ms. SPEIER. I am just asking you that question.

Dr. JASSER. No, I don't believe the majority of mosques are actively recruiting terrorists.

Ms. SPEIER. Do you believe that you have expertise to be speaking?

Dr. JASSER. It is interesting. That is the question that the theocrats ask me all the time, so it seems like you are asking me the same thing. My love of my faith, my demonstrable experience in dealing with this issue of reform, of knowledge of not only my scripture and my practice of faith, but the Constitution, I think positions me pretty well to deal with it and be part of a solution.

I am not sure who else you would like to solve this problem, but I think it is only Muslims that can do it. It would be sort of like asking at the time of the American Revolution that you want to have testimony about the Church of England's threat to America and you would only listen to the priests. That would be wrong, because it was the lay community that ultimately—the intellectual lay community that understood their faith that brought about the reform and the change against the establishment. So I hope you don't look upon expertise as something that gets handed down from the clerics, most of whom are part of the problem.

Ms. SPEIER. No. But I am a practicing Roman Catholic. I go to church every single Sunday. I am a lector in my parish, and I am no more prepared to speak about the pedophilia in the Catholic Church because I am a practicing Roman Catholic.

I think we do need to have experts come here to testify on home-grown terrorism in this country. While I appreciate the anecdotes of those who have spoken, I don't think that they are necessarily very enlightening.

Sheriff Baca, let me ask you, how important have Muslim Americans been in your efforts to foil terrorist plots in Los Angeles County?

Sheriff BACA. Well, Los Angeles County is blessed. As you know, we haven't had an attack as such, and I think that the ability to prevent it is what we are trying to do more than anything else. Our weighing of success across the Nation cannot be weighed alone by Los Angeles' model.

What I do believe is if I were a New Yorker or if I was a D.C. resident or even someone in the fields of Pennsylvania, that there is a whole different reality about terrorism when it happens in places that you love and have grown up in in the more specific way.

Therefore, the variability of the panel today is that I speak about what I do to prevent terrorism. These individuals have a more intimate weigh-in on the issue of terrorism. The doctor on the other end is a scholar, more so perhaps than even a medical doctor.

But the truth is this is the most difficult subject to get your arms around. I believe that our country is doing magnificently, given all the complexity of a big country that spreads not only throughout the mass land of America, but everyone round the world, particularly the countries abroad.

Where I am stepping in to say where I am helping, I am helping the Middle East police departments and I am dealing with Muslims that are in my profession around the world. We didn't even get into that, because we are not going to deal with anything without the connectivity with resources outside of America with those inside America.

Ms. SPEIER. If I could interrupt for one more question, I am running out of time. I don't know how much discussion has been had about the lone wolf phenomena, but certainly the Congressional Research Service and their review has spoken about the lone wolves. We have seen it in the Jerad Loughners, in the Timothy McVeighs, in some of the—the Christmas day bomber and the like.

So what would you say about the risk of home-grown terrorism coming from what are called lone wolves?

Sheriff BACA. Well, it is definitely there. The concept of a lone wolf terrorist is based on a variety of explanations, but it is definitely part of the element of an attack that will occur similar to the one in New York. But there is always help.

The lone wolf theory is an interesting one. Rarely does anyone have the smarts enough to pull off one of these attacks on their own. So I think the fact there is a lone person, whether it is Abdulmutallab coming out of Nigeria on a Christmas holiday period, they will execute on their own as a single person, but behind them there is always someone around that is a pure Jihadist, violent Jihadist, who is helping them accomplish their mission.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

The gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Cravaack, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank the members of the panel, particularly Mr. Bledsoe, Mr. Bihi, and Mr. Jasser. I do consider your testimony expert testimony.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I want to say thank you.

Mr. CRAVAACK. You live it every day. You have been fighting for it in Minneapolis every day on a daily basis. I commend you for your courage, your conviction. I applaud you, especially Mr. Bihi, living in Minneapolis and Minnesota. I understand what you have gone through, and I understand the trials and tribulations that you have gone through as well. I commend you, sir, not only you, but also your family members that have also been brave through this whole thing as well, because you, sir, have been under persecution by entities that are supposed to represent the Muslim faith.

I commend you, sir. Mr. Bledsoe, I just can't say that enough, and thank you very much for your courage.

Mr. Bihi, you are representing voices from Minnesota, families whose sons have been radicalized and sent abroad to wage jihad against Muslims and non-Muslims living in Somalia.

At the forefront, I want to recognize here and in a very public way that Minnesota Somalis are by and large good people who are here chasing the American dreams that my grandparents came forward for, just like you, raising their kids to be great Americans and bettering our great State, the State of Minnesota. I reject the message from some on this committee and these hearings as doing anything but initiating an open process and not only protecting Muslim Americans, but protecting all Americans.

My goal is to put a spotlight on this particular issue and then refocus this lens on the small number of individuals and organizations in the Muslim community that are 100 percent committed to totally implement Islamic law, which is in direct violation of Article VI of the Constitution of the United States.

So, again, gentlemen, I thank you very much for your commitment to this.

Sheriff, I just have a couple questions for you, if you don't mind, sir. Thank you for your service in the Corps.

Sheriff BACA. Semper fi, Marine.

Mr. CRAVAACK. I am sorry, sir, I am a Navy guy, so I hope you won't hold it against me. But I hauled lots of marines in the Philippines in CH-53 Echoes.

Sir, I have a question for you in regards to CAIR. You are aware that this is a Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood entity; is that correct, sir?

Sheriff BACA. No, I am not aware of that.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Let me bring this to your attention then. This was actually proven in an FBI-identified 1993 Philadelphia meeting, Hamas meeting, in that all attendees of this meeting are Hamas members. The two people that were in that meeting were both founders of CAIR.

So my question is, sir, basically what you are dealing with is a terrorist organization. I am trying to get you to try to understand that they might be using you, sir, to implement their goals.

Sheriff BACA. Well, thank you for asking me that question, but it sounds more like a possible accusation, me being misused by an organization that, quite frankly—let me just answer you this way: I am an elected official, as you are. If the FBI has something to charge CAIR with, bring those charges forward and try them in court and deal with it that way.

There is a reality that in my culture, as a police officer, that you have facts and you have a crime; deal with it. We don't play around with criminals in my world. If CAIR is an organization that is a "criminal organization," prosecute them. Hold them accountable and bring them to trial.

Mr. CRAVAACK. My time is limited, sir. Are you saying that the FBI was wrong in identifying that CAIR is part of Hamas, an entity of Hamas?

Sheriff BACA. Let me say this: You don't want to cause a conflict between me and the FBI. We work together better than perhaps this committee works together.

Mr. CRAVAACK. That would be an understatement at this point. Sir, I am just asking you a question. Let me ask you this hypothetical question then. If you knew that CAIR was a terrorist organization sponsored by Hamas, would you continue to work with them?

Sheriff BACA. You are asking me a question that I am not qualified to answer because I am not representing Hamas, I am not representing CAIR, I am not representing anything other than your personal safety. I do work well with your police in the great State that you represent.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Sir, I am doing the same thing. I am just trying to protect the United States of America citizens. Thank you very much, and I yield back my 10 seconds.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired, and the only addition I would make is that this committee usually does get along pretty well.

The gentlelady from New York, my colleague, Ms. Yvette Clarke, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me say that today's hearing has been a great Congressional theater, certainly the equivalent of reality TV, and I am just really appalled at the fact that we have not really gotten to a substantive conversation about how we define terrorism, how we define the whole idea of radicalization. Because just in listening, if I had my eyes closed and listening to Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Bihi—not to diminish what they have been through, because their experiences are real—but I have parents in my district who can sit and talk about their children being recruited, their children being brainwashed, and their children are gang members. The bloodshed, the lives that have been lost in communities like mine across this Nation since I have been here, has not been an issue of Homeland Security.

When I hear Dr. Jasser talk about the concerns about the elements of radicalization in existence in Islam, I am also reminded that there are those same elements evident in Christianity and in Judaism. I know, because I represent all three faiths in my district. As someone directly impacted by 9/11 and who has lived in a community where we have respected every human being, irregardless of their background, their ethnicity, their religion, to see us come to this day where we are pointing fingers at one another, I don't see the benefit in it.

I see the benefit in the approach of Sheriff Baca. I see the benefit in us opening up the dialogue. But I don't see the benefit in stigmatizing, in finger-pointing, or even creating the specter that it may

occur—even if it doesn’t—as being something worthy of where we should be in our collective humanity in the 21st Century.

So while I can empathize with the challenges faced by these families, we can all point to instances in our districts where families are suffering. The goal here should be how do we address that suffering through communication, through dialogue, through enlightenment, which is where we need to be in the 21st Century.

I would like to take this moment and yield the balance of my time to the gentlelady from California, Ms. Laura Richardson.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Thank you, Ms. Clarke. For the record, I wanted to clarify and build upon the last question I asked you, Sheriff Baca. There have been two issues that Mr. King brought up for this hearing. One was the fact of are American Muslims cooperating with law enforcement. The second issue is the scope.

So I just want to clarify. Your answer was you think these hearings are good. I agree having an open discussion about problems and preventing terrorism is good. But what I want to clarify for the record, so it is not used against us, is do you agree that discussions like this should not—sure, we should talk about preventing terrorism and radicalization, but should the scope be so narrowed only to include American Muslim communities, or should other communities and other groups also be discussed in this same fashion? Because thus far, we haven’t been told of those hearings.

Sheriff BACA. Well, I believe it depends on the time and scope. I know that you have heard significantly from all four of us, and I think that these witnesses are incredibly important. But if you try to package it all up in one big group, we will be here for 3 weeks.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Sheriff Baca, I am not suggesting all necessarily in the one time. But it is very important we have this answer, and I have 32 seconds. The question is: Don’t you think there should also be a discussion of the other groups?

Sheriff BACA. Oh, definitely. In my testimony, you know, more radical extremist acts of crime are occurring in the United States of America on the reports that have been given by Members of Congress and myself on this committee that non-Muslim extremists are a problem in this country. You know, we don’t have to go too far back in history to understand what the Ku Klux Klan is all about.

I believe the sensitivities are, the sensitivities are if you lived in New York and you lived in Washington and you lived in places in the United States that were harmed by these terrorists on 9/11, or if you lived in parts of America where you were lynched or you ultimately had your churches burned down, there is no difference in the outcome. So, I think that there is a reason for different points of view on this matter.

But I am glad for the consciousness that we have here on the discussion, because I am a very strong opponent of any kind of violence that is basically so indiscriminate. Whether it is Holocaust violence or just one individual, either way, the damage is unacceptable to civilization.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlewoman has expired. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WALSH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Again, you have heard this before, but thank you for having the foresight and the courage to put this hearing on.

Mr. Bihi and Mr. Bledsoe, a colleague on the other side referred to you as not expert, your testimony as not expert testimony. I think the word she used to describe your experiences was “interesting.”

Mr. Bihi, Mr. Bledsoe, take a shot at that. What you both have gone through, is “interesting” the word you would use to describe it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I will describe it as a tragedy. I would also like to say to perhaps the person who was speaking on the other side, I am wondering how do they get on the Commission to speak about some of the things they are speaking about? I mean, we are not talking about how much of a professional or expert you are. We are speaking about what happened here to our children and what we are speaking about is what may happen to your children. We are speaking about the danger. I think most of the people that I am hearing on the other side are talking about political fear, and that is what I mostly hear here.

There are certain populations, a small population we are talking about, the Islamic extremists, who we worry about stepping on their toes, and they are talking about stamping us out, not just stamping us out, but everything that America stands for. I am wondering why the people don't pull their blinders off.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Bledsoe, to that point, what do you think they are afraid of? Fear of what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think it is political fear, perhaps not getting re-elected or whatnot. But this is real. This is the real thing happening in America. It is not going to happen by not doing anything about it, that is for sure. I think if you ignore that we don't have a problem, then you are inviting the problem to come again.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Bihi, what word would you use besides “interesting” to describe what you went through?

Mr. BIHI. There are no words to describe what I went through or those families went through. We basically put our neck out, all of us, and we destroyed ourselves.

Well, would we do it again with this type of environment all the time, that we are facing murders just for speaking out for our country and our children or for our communities? Yes, we will do it. Because the immensity of the danger, the immensity of the danger, the person or organizations that was very successful could change the brain of your lovely kid who loves you so much and make him to go to the worst place on Earth and explode himself, that organization is dangerous.

It is not about Bihi or my brother here being experts. We are not looking for justification. We are looking to save the rest. Our kids died. My kid died. Many of them died. We never stop. We paid the price for speaking out. We never stopped. We saved hundreds and hundreds in the United States, thousands.

So I think it is good to reward those families who speak out to save others. His son is in jail. We are trying to save the rest, not looking to be experts. But we are the damn best.

Mr. WALSH. Dr. Jasser, why are so many other American Muslim organizations afraid of holding these hearings? They didn't want to hold this hearing. What in your estimation are they afraid of?

Dr. JASSER. You know, that is a great question, and I think, you know, at the end of the day, change is very difficult. I was asked about what I am doing here. My family asks me that frequently because of all the pressure we get because of what I do. It is not an easy task taking on an establishment, taking on a mentality that will not change, that will not reform, that will not realize that there are changes that have to happen internally in ideology in order to prevent this cancer from happening. So the pressures are innumerable, especially for a minority population.

It is interesting that they are circling the wagons, instead of I think the best way to let fear of Muslims melt away is to have them see us leading the charge. In many ways also we are not intellectually equipped, I think from a religious standpoint, because we haven't had the infrastructure built in liberty and theology, because so many Muslims I think don't understand the faith well and have not been educated in a Western mindset.

We have to build these infrastructures to allow that reform to happen. But it is a lot of tribalism, I think, and circling of the wagons, and that has to change, and they don't want to. Change is difficult.

Mr. WALSH. Thank you all, and thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. Davis from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank all of the witnesses for coming.

As I have listened, I have heard the Constitution being mentioned a number of times, and I thought of the Preamble that simply says that we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I would also say the pursuit of justice. I think all people want to be viewed and treated the same way, with equal rights, equal protection under the law, and the opportunity to pursue what they think, especially as long as it is not violating the rights of others.

Sheriff Baca, I have always been—since I have known about you—impressed with your law enforcement career, especially the way that you handled things like law enforcement misconduct and the way that you try to bring people together to understand the role of law enforcement. I was just thinking, you know, the city of Chicago is looking for a police chief right now. While we wouldn't try to steal you, but we would like to clone you if we could and just bring you, because I think that you represent a level of law enforcement professionalism and understanding of what the role of law enforcement is that I have been looking for, searching for, and wanting to see ever since I have been involved in public life.

So I simply commend you for the way in which you have expressed yourself today and for the track record that you have developed.

I would like to ask Mr. Bihi and Mr. Bledsoe a question right now. I understand fully. I live in inner-city Chicago. I have lived

there all of my adult life. We have a large Muslim community gathering sometime with 15,000, 20,000 people will actually go and listen to Minister Farrakhan speak and will be enthralled the whole time.

What conditions do you think exist that cause radical groups to think that they can successfully recruit and radicalize young people, especially in neighborhoods and communities like the ones that I just described?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I do know a little bit about Chicago, and you are speaking mostly of what they call Black Muslims and Louis Farrakhan and Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X followers. I think there is somewhat of a difference. But as far as the recruitment part, I think the recruitment part would come before, like when people are denying that we have a problem. That is what the recruitment people will go after: If we don't have a problem, then they can recruit easier.

Mr. DAVIS. I will agree, I do mean African Americans, but I must confess my breadth is much bigger, much wider, much broader, and I interact with all kinds of Muslims pretty much on a regular ongoing basis.

What I am really trying to get at, I guess, is are there situations that would cause individuals to believe that they are going to be successful? I don't go hunting unless I think some game is there. I don't go fishing unless I think there are some fish in the lake.

Mr. BIHI. May I answer that, sir?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I am going to add something. There are professional people out there that are looking for just that. There are professional people looking out to recruit American citizens not only in Chicago, but a lot of other American cities.

Mr. BIHI. Sir, if I may add, yes, there are many reasons as to why they are looking for our youth. No. 1, if you look at the similarities of those missing from Minneapolis or from Denmark or from Copenhagen or from Sweden or from Lancaster, they all share one thing. They are all Muslims from single-mom households; young men that usually don't have mentorship at home, are almost 85 percent.

No. 2, they are looking for very smart young people who have never had any problem.

No. 3, they are looking for kids who are from America and those Western countries, who are from those countries that will not have a problem when they are trained. They can go back and slip into those countries, and once they have their policies on the idea so they can just order them to do those dirty, wicked jobs.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you very much, and thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman KING. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, the former United States Attorney, Mr. Meehan.

Mr. MEEHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank this entire panel. I know it has been a long process, but I really do believe that we are gaining a great deal from your insight.

Sheriff Baca, I want to thank you for the work you do. I know you represent all law enforcement. I had the good opportunity to come in as the United States Attorney just a week after September 11, and I watched colleagues like you all across the United States



fan out and reach into the community. I have to say we got a great deal of dialogue from members all across, including many who practiced the Muslim faith. So I don't think the issue really today is so focused on the question of dialogue. It is as much the question of are we getting the right ability to communicate in a way that helps us prevent the next event.

I have been aware that one of the things that we were asked to do by the very experts that aren't here today was to go out into the community and speak to folks just like you so we could understand better how to handle this. I have tried to look at the broad spectrum of things that have been put forth quite a bit here today.

Dr. Jasser, I am going to focus on something that you touched. It is into this area between this elephant in the room that we are not supposed to be talking about, religion, and jihadism. You made a statement that the root cause of Muslim radicalization—and this is what it is about, is—Islamism, political Islam. Then I was struck by your word, how can law enforcement effectively do counterterrorism in our country without recognition that political Islam and its narrative is the core ideology, when at its extreme it drives the general mindset of the violent extremists carrying out attacks. That is what we want to prevent are those attacks.

Can I ask you to describe in more detail what do you mean by political Islam?

Dr. JASSER. Thank you, Congressman, for asking me that, because I think it is so vital to understand that. As we have heard repeatedly, there is Islam, my faith, which is moral concepts of integrity and honesty and virtuousness, and what I bring to my scripture and my relationship with God, as the Judeo-Christian tradition is.

Then there is the political Islam which is the movement to create a theocratic state based on Koranic interpretations that uses Shari'a or Islamic law or Islamic jurisprudence. Now, I may practice Shari'a or Islamic law in my life, but that is a choice. Our organization believes that it is no longer religious law, it is no longer a religion if government coerces you to do that.

But that antagonism between this country's understanding of the establishment clause and the beauty of liberty versus political Islam, which wants to put into place Islamic states like Iran, like the Taliban had in place, or like the Wahhabi system in Saudi Arabia. Or, milder yet, there are versions of political Islam that are 3.0 or 4.0, that use democracy in elections but yet end up still being based not in reason but societies based in scriptural exegesis, where the only people that can have opinions are scholars of Islam, and therefore lay Muslims like myself get dismissed from proceedings because we are not experts in Islamic law and therefore it becomes an oligarchy. That is what we are up against.

There are the extreme versions, like Osama bin Laden, that believes in caliphism, or trying to create a global hegemony of Islamic states, and there is the more sort of slippery versions that believe in democracy. I think you can look at the threat by looking at why most of the radical groups around the world were hatched from Muslim Brotherhood ideology. People should read up those ideas and look at what they have done.

I think as we understand that, you will see a lot of those ideas influencing identification of Muslim leaders. I put in my materials in the appendix some charts that look at the radicalization process. One was from the NYPD report. The other was from a counterterrorism expert, Patrick Poole, who looked at the fact that you end up with terror on the top, but there are a lot of feeders into that.

The primary feeder is the separatist feeling from some Muslim youth, that they dream of a Utopia to bring the state back to the way it was at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. At the time of the Prophet Muhammad, he mixed roles of being a head of state, a general, and a messenger of God.

We need to start creating new ideas—some call that heretical, I call it modernization—new ideas that separate those roles, because Faisal Shahzad, the Times Square bomber, when he was in front of the judge, he told him “I did this because I was a Muslim soldier.” So the ummah, our Muslim community, is looked by these individuals as being a political unit, a military unit. Until we separate that, you will never stop terrorism.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Now we have three Members who were added today by unanimous consent. From Indiana, my friend Mr. Carson is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CARSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for these hearings. I appreciate them. Thank you, Ranking Member Thompson, as well as the witnesses.

I would want to say to Dr. Jasser’s point, quickly, I don’t think this conversation should be given over totally to the intellectuals. I know we have some disagreements. But I agree with your premise about these so-called gatekeepers. As it relates to religion, I think all Muslim business persons, physicians, and so on, should have a contribution and we shouldn’t minimize or trivialize folks’ experiences and lessen their credibility as it relates to testifying.

Having said that, as a proud American Muslim, Sheriff Baca, I spent over a decade in law enforcement, including some time in an intelligence capacity with the Department of Homeland Security. I want to thank you for dispatching the sergeant to meet with me as I visited Los Angeles.

But during the time I worked with law enforcement, I worked with informants and cooperating witnesses from all backgrounds on a wide variety of cases, and in every case one reality held true: That those who trusted law enforcement, the judicial system, and our Government, were most likely to provide useful information in a very timely manner. Also, those who felt singled out or targeted were much less likely to provide useful information as well.

Since the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security and the passage of the PATRIOT Act, there have been considerable discussions about certain law enforcement and intelligence practices that may do more to spur anti-American sentiment in the Muslim community than to apprehend terrorist plotters. National Security letters, warrantless and roving wiretaps, as well as undercover investigations in mosques have already caused many Muslims to fear that their Constitutional rights are being disregarded in the name of preventing terrorism.

Can you tell us, Sheriff, how these and other law enforcement and intelligence practices have impacted the Muslim populations in Los Angeles particularly? Also tell us if you have any suggestions about how this committee and Congress might better structure these procedures to protect civil rights while maintaining effectiveness.

Sheriff BACA. Well, that is a very tough question to answer in a short period of time, but I will make my best effort.

Intelligence gathering, in and of itself, is an interesting subject. As we know, in many of the experiences the United States has gone through since 9/11, that intelligence in and of itself moves the subject matter around; meaning, what you believe is in one report may be modified by another report, which may be modified by another report, which ultimately leads to where is the pea under the shell.

I don't think anybody that is in the law enforcement world that is involved in intelligence gathering—and I am pleased to know you have been—understands that if you don't have the authority in the intelligence world to make an arrest at the time that the evidence demonstrates it should be done, then the question is: What intelligence do you believe and what intelligence don't you believe, and who are your sources and what are your source's motives for providing you the information?

Now, it is very clear to me that if Abdulmutallab's dad came into a police station anywhere in American and said that my son is acting a little weird and I need some help, that we would know exactly what to do. But this was not the case. The process was morphed into an intelligence mode, and then it went into a status file as opposed to an active file, and I think we have corrected that in our Federal intelligence gathering system.

But if we look at intelligence as being the bible of all truth, we are in deep trouble in this country. What we have to do is we have to continue to improve what we do, to use techniques that are clearly not obscuring evidence but clearly making sure that the evidence is in fact what it is being reported to be. I think therein is a whole different discussion that the Intelligence Committee can deal with, or subcommittee.

But when it comes down to the truth of all forms of investigative work, then it is not an exact science 100 percent of the time. So what are the safeguards? It has to be there are rules to follow.

Now, we follow the rules that the Federal Government set forth in intelligence gathering at our local joint regional intelligence centers and the Joint Terrorism Task Force, so we have the rules in place. But the human element is another issue with me. That is, that if we intelligence officers that have a bias about a particular group they are investigating, you are going to have some problems with the communication capabilities there.

I believe in bias-free policing. I believe in public-trust policing. I don't believe you can judge one Muslim for the acts of another. You can't judge anybody for the acts of another. What we have to do is get to the point where whatever is being advised to Congress, we say: Okay, we get it, we have had a hearing, now we got to go out into the communities that are affected by the subject matter.

I welcome the continual dialogue, the continual examination, and the continual visitation. But I do believe that we need to always be mindful of what is going on in the intelligence community.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Sheriff Baca, my understanding from talking with the Ranking Member is that you will have to catch a plane, I believe at 3 o'clock, and he suggests you may have to leave by 1:30. Whatever time you leave is obviously up to you.

In the event we are in the middle of something when you leave, I want to thank you sincerely for your testimony and your contribution and your patience.

Sheriff BACA. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and your committee. It has been a pleasure.

Mr. THOMPSON. If the gentleman will yield, Sheriff, thank you very much. I know you made a big sacrifice to get here. Your testimony has been absolutely essential to this committee. Thank you much.

Mr. BIHI. May I give a response before the sheriff leaves?

Chairman KING. No. Actually we will go to the next. I now recognize the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Rigell, for 5 minutes.

Mr. RIGELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank each of our panel of witnesses here for participating in the hearing.

Americans of Muslim faith, they truly are an integral part of our Nation's community and contribute to the quality of life in this country. They are our neighbors and our friends. Muslims serve honorably as policemen, teachers, and in our armed services, and some indeed have given the ultimate sacrifice in defense of our freedom and way of life. My deep respect for the Muslim community is the foundation upon which I approach this critical issue.

So it is with alarm, and frankly with a degree of sadness, that I conclude that the radicalization of our youth, one that is intent on spreading violent Islamic extremism, is indeed taking place in this country, posing a serious and increasing threat to our security. That is why I respectfully reject the charge that this hearing is unnecessary and an assault on any particular faith.

I see this as a conversation, albeit an overhyped one, but it is a conversation that must take place, and I commend the Chairman for remaining steadfast and holding a thoughtful dialogue on this subject.

Dr. JASSER, I would like to address my first question to you, sir. I note that in your written testimony, you conclude one paragraph with this line: "The liberty narrative is the only effective counter to the Islamist narrative." You certainly have my attention. I fully agree with that.

What are the next steps to play that out and to use that proper message to counter what is taking place now?

Dr. JASSER. You know, I think I look at my own life about why I turned out the way I did and Nidal Hisan turned out the way he did. I grew up, for example, learning that in our system of governance, people are innocent until proven guilty; our law enforcement is innocent until proven guilty. So, the same process.

I think what we need to do is we don't have—we have talked abroad about nation-building and how that doesn't work. Now we have shifted into to institution-building. It is interesting that some-

how we compartmentalize things abroad differently than we do domestically. In fact, it is the same issue, it is the same diagnosis.

The concept of liberty, my parents were blessed, my father was blessed to have been educated in London, so the understanding of separation of church and state was something he internalized as an undergrad. But there is no educational infrastructure to bring Jeffersonian democracy to many of our own heritages.

So if we are going to get these ideas into the communities so that it becomes part of the institutions we build, and we take on the imams, and we remind the imams that imam means “teacher,” it doesn’t mean “leader.” All you do is teach us religion. You don’t lead society and you don’t have a role in government.

This whole enlightenment process needs institutions that you can help us build, help us provide the infrastructure to do that, but yet allow Muslims to do it. I think it doesn’t cross the First Amendment, because your role is to advance liberty, to advance freedom, advance and help ideas of equality, of human rights, universal human rights concepts, and then you make sure that we live to those and our Islamic institutions endorse those.

Then we start engaging in Al Jazeera, in media and Muslim media these ideas, because right now most of the foreign media or Islamic media is not having this discourse. It is all about polarity of being Islam, being Muslim, advocating for Islam versus the West, and that polarity can go away with institution-building.

Mr. RIGELL. Thank you. In the short time we have remaining here, what role have foreign imams played, and in fact are playing today, in spreading this radical form of Islam?

Dr. JASSER. I can’t tell you how important that is, in that what they are doing—and former CIA Director Jim Woolsey talked about the fact that the Saudis have spent over \$90 billion in spreading their ideology of Wahhabism in the past two generations.

Mr. RIGELL. Including America?

Dr. JASSER. Including the United States. That is why I mentioned those mosques. There is a mosque in Cincinnati, in Los Angeles and New York, all across the country, that have been part of Saudi investments in their ideology abroad. In order to counter that, we need a strategy to help counter those institutions that are building those ideas.

Mr. RIGELL. Dr. Jasser, and all of our witnesses today, I thank you so much for being here. Dr. Jasser, I applaud you being a bold voice on this subject. Thank you.

I yield back.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentleman for yielding. Now I recognize the gentleman from Texas, a former Member of this committee, Mr. Green. It is good to have you back.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is an honor to be back.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Thompson, I came by today because I love America. I love what America stands for. I love the Pledge of Allegiance. It means something to me, liberty and justice for all.

I love the Declaration of Independence, all persons created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

I love the Constitution, a copy of which I hold in my hand. “We the people” is what it says. Then it goes on to say with this very

first amendment, the very first amendment, "Congress shall make no law representing an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." By the way, this clause recognizes religion first. It is the first of the first. The first.

I want you to know not only do I love America, I love the American people. I love them regardless of race, creed, color, national origin, ethnicity, or sexuality. I love the American people. Because I love the American people, I want to say in clear and concise terms, I have no problem with discussing terrorist organizations that are rooted in religion, which is why I want to discuss the KKK.

The KKK requires that its members profess a belief in Jesus Christ. The KKK says that the Christian faith is the white man's religion. The KKK says that Jews are people of the anti-Christ. The KKK wants to preserve the true gospel, the gospel of the white man's religion.

By the way, I am the son of a Christian preacher. I have some credentials when it comes to Christianity. I was born into Christianity, baptized into Christianity. No one can say that I am less a Christian than anybody else, and I am no more a Christian than anybody else.

We have had 111 years of terrorism perpetrated by the KKK on Jews and African Americans and some others in this country. One hundred years.

Which brings me to my point. Mr. Chairman, I love you and I love all of my friends here today. I do not assign any malice aforethought to anybody. I don't believe anything has any degree of malevolence associated with you.

But I must tell you, it is not enough for things to be right, they must also look right. It may be right, but it doesn't look right when we take on Islam and allow this to take place, and we don't tell the truth about the abuses associated with the KKK and Christianity.

Christianity, according to the KKK, is the reason why they do what they do. Why not include the KKK in this discussion today? Why not have a broader topic that does not focus on one religion?

It doesn't look right, Mr. Jasser, when we focus on one religion to the exclusion of others. That is the point being made. You are an intellectual, and you understand what I am saying. It is not about what you are defending and the points you are making; nor yours, Mr. Bledsoe, nor yours, Mr. Bihi. It is about the fundamental fairness associated with freedom of religion in this country, and we don't single out one religion and give the appearance by in so doing that there is something dastardly associated with being a part of this religion. Regardless as to all of the disclaimers that are going to be made, that is still a perception that some people will have.

I want you to know that when I board an airplane, I am looked upon with an eye of suspicion. For some reason people tend to think that I am Muslim. For some reason a person told me that I needed to go back home to my foreign country, that I don't belong in this country. For some reason people think that people who are Muslim many—how many is many?

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GREEN. I still have 5—

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you for the time, Mr. Chairman. May I just say this, Mr. Chairman? Let us not only let things be right, let us make them look right, and let us broaden this and not single out the American Muslim.

Chairman KING. Now I recognize the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Duncan.

Mr. DUNCAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to yield 30 seconds or so to Mr. Bledsoe to respond, if he would like to respond to Mr. Green's comments.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Again, I think that he is making a point, but, I mean, today we are not talking at this hearing about KKK. We are talking about extremist Islam, radicalization of American citizens. I hope that you get that day that you can be back in this hearing room. That is my hope. Thank you.

Mr. GREEN. Will the gentleman Mr. Duncan yield 10 seconds?

Mr. DUNCAN. No.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, it is within protocol to ask for a yield.

Chairman KING. It is up to the gentleman—

Mr. DUNCAN. A Newsweek article, October 22, 2010, said this: The left is wrongly defending Islamism, an extremist and at times violent ideology, which it confuses with the common person's Islam—which, I add, is a religion—while the right is often wrongly attacking the Muslim faith, which it confuses with Islamism. Thank you guys for pointing that out this morning.

I want to thank Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Bihi for sharing your stories of your sons. As a father of sons myself, my heart goes out to you.

I am not aware of anyone on this side of the political spectrum that is attacking Islam, nor anyone wishing to limit anyone's First Amendment rights. But rather, I believe we are raising awareness of Islamism, a political ideology, and how that ideology is being used in this country.

I am regularly astonished and outraged, outraged by this administration's continued failure to single out who our enemy is. Mr. Bledsoe said in his testimony that there is a big elephant in the room, but our society continues not to see it. You say that this wrong is caused by political correctness and even political fear.

I have got a slide on the board, and I know it is going to be hard to read, but if you would look at the 9/11 Commission and the number of times enemy jihad, Muslim Brotherhood, al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas are mentioned, then if you will look at the FBI Counterterrorism Analytical Lexicon and the National Intelligence Strategy, you will see zeros beside the fact that they don't mention enemy jihad, Muslim Brotherhood, al-Qaeda. It is an astonishing contrast.

[The information follows:]

THE DISAPPEARING LANGUAGE OF TERROR			
	9/11 Commission Report <sup>1</sup> (2004)	FBI Counter-terrorism Analytical Lexicon <sup>2</sup> (2008)	National Intelligence Strategy <sup>3</sup> (2009)
Violent Extremism	3	29	9
Enemy	39	0	0
Jihad	126	0	0
Muslim	145	0	0
Islam	322	0	0
Muslim Brotherhood	5	0	0
Religious	65	3	1
Hamas	4	0	0
Hezbollah	2	0	0
al Qaeda	36	0	1
Caliph/Kalif	7	0	0
Shariah	2	0	0

Mr. DUNCAN. But what I came here today to comment on and delve into is a completely different line of thought, and it is this, an issue that is of particular concern to me and my constituents, and that is the threat of Shari'a law to the United States Constitution.

The Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments produced a report in 2008 on the global war on terrorism, authored by Robert Martinage, currently Deputy Under Secretary of the Navy. In that report, Martinage states that the centerpiece of al-Qaeda's strategy for the long war is exploiting Muslim sense of individual religious obligation by declaring a defensive jihad against the West and apostate regimes.

The Organization of Islamic Conference, representing 57 member states, declares on its website that it has a considerable weight within these institutions where it makes others listen to the Voice of Islamic Ummah and presents the image of moderate Islam, tolerant, open to dialogue and bearing the message of peace, harmony, and solidarity between men. But according to the OIC's own Cairo Declaration on Human Rights and Islam, article 25, it clearly states that Islamic Shari'a is the only source of reference for the explanation or clarification of any of the articles in this declaration.

As the United States Constitution is the law of this land, any attempt to subvert it amounts to sedition. I took an oath to uphold the Constitution against enemies, both foreign and domestic. It is



my desire to see multiple hearings, Mr. Chairman, not only here in this committee, but also in House Armed Services Committee, Intelligence Committee, Foreign Affairs Committee, Judiciary Committee examining the role that Islamic doctrine plays in the radicalization process, assessing the degree to which jihadist organizations such as Muslim Brotherhood and its front organizations influence our American Muslim communities.

So I want to ask this to Dr. Jasser: Do you feel that the U.S. Government has done an adequate job learning about Islam and how Islamic doctrines affect the behavior of and the community norms of Muslims residing in America? How does the Islamic doctrine and Shari'a law shape the responsiveness of local U.S. Muslim communities to law enforcement efforts that target Islamic jihad?

Dr. JASSER. Thank you, Congressman Duncan. I think that is a wonderful question. I think, just like we talked about, there is various forms of Islam around the world.

Shari'a also means very different things to different Muslims. My home, it is a private thing. Do I want it in government? Absolutely not. That is really the doctrine of the enemy. They want to create an Islamic state. There is no way any concept of the Brotherhood has of an Islamic state could ever be a great ally of the United States because there is two different lenses through which we see the world. We are allies with other democracies that are secular, but to ever be an ally with an Islamic state based in Shari'a would be impossible.

I think ultimately this is the problem is that—and this is why I provided a list of scholars in my testimony that are based through the Assembly of Muslim Jurists. These scholars are still based in Islamic law from the 13th, 14th century from people like Ibn Taymiyya and others. They have not created a new school of thought. What happens is that intellectual Islam or authoritative Islam still has not absorbed the ideas of a Western society based under God rather than under Islam.

Our forefathers went through this whole discussion of not having the word “Christian” in our founding documents. The Islamic community has not gone through that discussion and that evolution, and we are avoiding it. We need to address it. We need to address the fact that the government we seek—we don't only accept the laws of this land as a minority, but even if we were a majority, we would want the same laws.

That hypocrisy is part of the world many Muslims live in. They absorb the laws of the land as a minority, but they have a doctrine that they believe in, that they follow within their own organization that is based on Islamic law, which allows a duality that I think affects their identification with this society. Not all mosques—I know many mosques that don't teach that. They are looking for the right books. If you go—and I would tell all of you to go to the Islamic book services—

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Dr. JASSER [continuing]. And you won't find too much reform work in that.

Mr. DUNCAN. Thank you.

Chairman KING. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey, also a former Member of the committee, Mr. Pascrell.

Mr. PASCRELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield 10 seconds to Mr. Green.

Mr. GREEN. I will be very brief. I thank God that we did not have a hearing on Christianity and how it is radicalizing young American boys. We could have. We did not. That is my point. I yield back.

Mr. PASCRELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Green. It is good to see you both.

We have been here since 9:30. I was thinking a little longer than that. We were here since the beginning of this committee. It wasn't my idea to leave, but they put me in something else.

Chairman KING. We miss you, Bill.

Mr. PASCRELL. Yeah, sure.

Chairman KING. Sometimes.

Mr. PASCRELL. We will see in another 5 minutes whether you are saying the same thing.

Islam is a beautiful religion, Mr. Chairman, but this hearing was not on Islam. It is on the Muslim community. There is a big difference. So when you are admonishing people that they don't know what they are talking about, there is the title of this hearing. Correct, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman KING. Whatever you say is on the paper.

Mr. PASCRELL. Well, it says it. That is what we are talking about. But the extreme is many times in the eye of the beholder. When we don't understand people, we are all—all of us—bound to mischaracterize and to stereotype. I don't believe anything I have heard—and I was in the hearing for quite some time today, and part of it I wasn't. I was in another meeting. I don't think I heard anything from any of the panelists—and thank you for being here—trying to bring to a—leap to a conclusion that we should start stereotyping more or we should start profiling, because you always have to find a response or an answer to what you are trying to attack.

We want to protect this country. We love this country. Democrats don't love it any more than Republicans and vice versa. So I must say to you, Mr. Bledsoe, when you say "the other side," I don't know what the hell you are talking about. We are all in this together, believe me, sir. My heart goes out to you and Mr. Bihi. But we are all in this together. Let us get it straight from the beginning.

I am convinced that this hearing would result in good, because when reasonable people will conclude that the greatest majority of Muslims, like every other community in this country, are patriots, are patriots to America; right, Dr. Jasser?

Dr. JASSER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PASCRELL. You agree with me, Dr. Jasser, don't you?

Dr. JASSER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PASCRELL. Every sit-down, every sit-down that I have had—we have discussed this with the FBI about my own district. I come from Paterson, with one T, New Jersey, the second largest Muslim community, Paterson and its environments, in the country. I grew up in the neighborhood, an Arabic neighborhood. I ate more Arabic

food than Italian food. That doesn't make me know more about the community, but you will have to take my word for it now, and I will stand corrected if you come up with something else.

Every time I have sat down with the FBI about my own district, I was told many times that there is no hidden agenda, and that you need not fear the recruiting, and the very recruiting that we are talking about today in this hearing.

Now, does that mean that every district in the country—does that mean that Chairman King's district has the same kind of review? I don't know. I mean, some pretty bad people came out of some mosques, and some pretty bad people came out of Catholic churches, et cetera, et cetera. But we have got to do everything we can to avoid a wide brush because it gets us nowhere, and we can't defend our own children and our own neighborhoods if we have bad information.

Why should we be surprised? We know our enemies are probing this system every day. They come in many forms, many shapes. Right now as we speak in this hearing, the enemy is probing our systems. No question about it. So we need to be strong.

The graph you showed a few moments ago is very hurtful to the very community you are investigating, very hurtful. It is very hurtful to the administration, because I don't think one administration wants to protect us any less than another administration. That is foolish.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PASCARELL. It doesn't bring us to any resolve, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. Even after 5 minutes of that, Mr. Pascrell, I still love you.

I recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania, also another former U.S. attorney, Mr. Marino.

Mr. MARINO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank the Chair for this desperately needed hearing. I want to thank your courage and your leadership for bringing this to the forefront, and I hope that we have more of these hearings.

For my colleagues on the other side, I want to tell my good friend that I will be with you shoulder-to-shoulder in hearings for the Ku Klux Klan and any other racist group that defiles this country.

Mr. GREEN. Ten-second yield?

Mr. MARINO. No, sir. No, sir.

Chairman KING. The gentleman from Pennsylvania controls the time. The gentleman from Pennsylvania controls the time.

Mr. MARINO. Out of respect, I will be there with you. But the issue today is terrorism.

Mr. GREEN. The Klan is a terrorist organization that has been for over 100 years.

Chairman KING. The gentleman from Pennsylvania controls the time. Mr. Green is a guest of the committee.

Mr. Marino, it is your time.

Mr. MARINO. Thank you, sir.

This hearing today is not about religion, with all due respect. It is about terrorists. It is about people who kill men, women, and children in the name of religion, which is a blasphemy in and of itself.

So as far as the witnesses are concerned, I want to thank you for being here. I want to thank you for your courage to stand up as Americans in America before America and the world and tell the truth. As a United States attorney, I prosecuted a homegrown terrorist, and he is in prison now for 30 years, and it was the right thing to do.

Now, the questions that were asked today were well thought out and professionally asked, and you excellently answered them. But as a freshman Congressman, I think sometimes we fail to ask this question of you. Doctor, I would like to present this to you, and the other gentlemen can respond if we have time. What do you expect from us, from Congress? What should we be doing to promote the fact that this is not about a religion? Because I have many friends that are Muslims and love this country as much as any one of us do. What do you expect from us?

Dr. JASSER. Thank you, Congressman.

I hope and I pray every night as I do this work that you develop the political will to deal with this problem; that we separate all the theatrics and all the concern with vitriol and all of that and get to how to solve the problem, and that our enemy is using a language that some people will articulate as offensive, and I, as a Muslim, I am telling you is not offensive.

I want to deal with that. Because we use the language, we use words like “jihad” and things like that at home, but I don’t want my children to take the predominant thoughts of those that are right now predominating the web, cyber jihad. The reformist mindset is very hard to find on the web, and that is because we haven’t had the resources.

We need the political will. We need the maturity as a Nation to be able to discuss religion, sometimes say things that might not be right, but not get offended, and realize that we respect religious practice, and that the First Amendment is freedom of religion, but not freedom from religion.

But yet somehow we have gotten so polarized that we can’t do that. Because what is going to happen, and these charts have shown it, is that we have seen exponential increases in attacks, and our law enforcement is going to continue to chase their tail thinking that community outreach works, and we are not draining the pool of the ideology because we can’t confront it. It is surrender.

Mr. MARINO. I have less than a minute left. Gentlemen, please.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I would like to say I would like for the Congress to get here out of this is call a terrorist what it is. Say what it is. I mean, many times I have been hearing people say everything but what it is. For the gentleman sitting next to you, the other side is—I am speaking of—when I spoke about the other side, I shouldn’t have us talking about the side that was—didn’t understand what this meeting is all about.

Mr. MARINO. In 20 seconds.

Mr. BIHL. I think that this is not about religion. This is about saving families, and young people who were supposed to be doctors, and the security of this Nation. I think we should forget about our political affiliations and conditions and just take an opportunity and take advantage of Muslim families, American Muslim families

coming forward, demonstrating to be heard what is happening in their community. I think it is a great challenge.

I thank the committee. I thank Congressman King. This is very important, and it should continue to open the doors. Nobody hates me. I don't see Muslims hurting me. I see my own community hurting me. I want you to allow me to deal with that. I want to deal with that. I don't want somebody else I don't know—

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Let me, first of all, thank all of the witnesses. Of course, Sheriff Baca, who had to leave, I want to thank him tremendously for his testimony. He has been before this committee a number of times. We also thank Dr. Jasser, Mr. Bledsoe, Mr. Bihi for your testimony.

Let me on a personal note thank the Ranking Member. Despite some of the consternation, this meeting actually went a lot easier than it could have. I thank the Ranking Member for making a number of procedural agreements prior to the committee to eliminate and to avoid unnecessary problems we could have had, and I thank him for that.

Members of the committee may have some additional questions, and we will ask you, the witnesses, to respond to those in writing. The record will be held open for 10 days.

Without objection, the committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:49 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]



## APPENDIX I

STATEMENTS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY HONORABLE LORETTA SANCHEZ  
ATTACHMENT 1.—STATEMENT OF THE BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS  
LIBERTY

MARCH 8, 2011.

The Honorable PETER KING,  
*Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security, United States House of Representa-*  
*tives.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I write as the Executive Director of the Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty (“BJC”), a 75-year-old education and advocacy organization committed to defending and extending religious liberty for all and maintaining the institutional separation of church and state. We champion our Baptist heritage, which emphasizes that religion must be freely exercised, neither advanced nor inhibited by government. The BJC serves 15 Baptist bodies and thousands of individuals and churches in New York State and Nation-wide.

We urge you to broaden the scope of your planned hearing on the “radicalization” of American Muslims. The actual or implied allegation that terrorist threats to the American people result from one religious group is an insult to the millions of peaceful Muslim American citizens and an affront to the religious liberty protections of our Constitution.

You were quoted in *The New York Times* as saying that the inclusion of terrorist groups associated with other religions would “dilute the hearing.”<sup>1</sup> To the contrary, the hearing will send a message that Muslims present a greater threat of terrorism than other religions. Further, it would imply that the potential for terrorism from outside of Islam is not significant enough to merit a hearing. Highlighting only one potential “breeding ground” for terrorism ignores the reality that other sources of terrorism exist.

We recognize that religion is sometimes the impetus for committing acts of terrorism. History books are replete with examples of the atrocities that human beings have perpetrated in the name of their particular faith—be it Islam, Christianity, or a host of other faiths. While the BJC applauds your committee’s mandate to investigate terrorist threats, singling out a particular religion sets an unfortunate precedent. A sweeping, general equation of terrorism with Islam—or any religion—is both dangerous and disingenuous. It is a suggestion that plays on a widespread misunderstanding of the Muslim faith, and it encourages the American people to view extremist outliers in Islam as representative of the entire faith. That would set a troubling standard that could lead to further discrimination against all faiths.

Thank you for your consideration of the BJC’s objections to this proposed hearing. We believe that the specific targeting of any religion belies the principles and values underlying the Constitutional protection of religious liberty that has served Americans so well for more than two centuries. I sincerely hope that you will broaden the scope of your hearing to address all sources of terrorism—religious and otherwise.

Very truly yours,

J. BRENT WALKER,  
*Executive Director.*

<sup>1</sup>New York Times, February 7, 2011 <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/08/us/politics/08muslim.html?partner=rss&emc=rss>.

ATTACHMENT 2.—STATEMENT OF AMINA SAEED, PRESIDENT, MUSLIM BAR  
ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO

The Muslim Bar Association of Chicago submits this outside witness statement for the United States House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security, examining the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community and the community's response to it.

Founded in 1997, the Muslim Bar Association of Chicago is the Nation's oldest Muslim bar association and has served as a model for other Muslim bar associations across the Nation. Our Members include accomplished attorneys, law professors, judges, and law students. Our mission is to foster the highest ethics, integrity, and honor of the legal profession. One of our objectives is to advance and improve the administration of justice for all Americans.

As a legal association, that is committed to protecting and preserving civil and human rights, the Muslim Bar Association of Chicago strongly objects to hearings focusing exclusively on one religious community called by the Chair of the Committee on Homeland Security, Congressman Peter King. Chairman King has characterized the hearings as focusing exclusively on the "radicalization of the American Muslim community and homegrown terrorism."

Chairman King's singling out a group of Americans based on their faith for close Government scrutiny is divisive and wrong. These hearings will inevitably examine activities protected by the First Amendment, an affront to fundamental freedoms upon which our country was founded.

Additionally, we fear these hearings will further escalate widespread suspicion and mistrust of the American Muslim community. During 2010, there was an increase in anti-Muslim hatred in public discourse, as well as hate crimes and violence targeting Americans Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim. Across the Nation, this hatred was manifested through vandalism and arson of mosques, physical attacks, bullying of children in schools, and attempted murder.

In the Chicago area, anti-Muslim sentiment has greatly affected Muslims in all aspects of their lives, including at their schools, workplaces, mosques, and public places. In particular, there has been increased attention and controversy regarding Muslim communities' zoning requests for mosques, a Muslim woman was denied travel on a Greyhound bus because of her clothing, a Muslim family was denied access to a public pool, a Muslim graduate student's art exhibit on anti-Muslim hate crimes was defaced, a Muslim teacher's request for unpaid leave so she could perform Hajj, a religious pilgrimage, was denied, and an electric sign using a racial slur to call for the death of Muslims and African Americans appeared at a business. These incidents have been instigated by irrational fear of peaceful Chicago Muslims.

Any hearings held by the House Homeland Security Committee should proceed from a clear understanding that individuals are responsible for their actions. Entire peaceful communities must not be held responsible for the actions of a few deranged individuals.

Thank you for your attention to our concerns.

ATTACHMENT 3.—STATEMENT OF DEBBIE ALMONTASER, BOARD CHAIR, MUSLIM  
CONSULTATIVE NETWORK

MARCH 10, 2011

Muslim Consultative Network submits this outside witness statement for the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security, examining the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community and the community's response to it.

The Muslim Consultative Network (MCN) works to strengthen Muslim American civil society in the greater New York area. There are over 600,000 diverse Muslims in the area we serve. In addition to running health and community education programs, and offering community capacity building workshops, MCN has been an advocate of protecting Muslims' civil liberties, rights, and social justice. As we interact with community stakeholders, we note the high degree of anxiety about the hearings and feel that we must give voice to these concerns.

Given the importance of working together for a safer America, we ask ourselves why the pre-eminent Muslim American organizations were not made planning partners and diverse voices brought in to enhance inquiry. Why were the so-called "experts" chosen from one end of the ideological spectrum? The choice of Mr. Zuhdi Jasser as speaker is unfortunate as he has been operating a smear campaign against these Muslim groups in the name of reform—a clearly divisive and counter-productive approach.



Therefore, on February 1, 2011 MCN joined over 50 multiple other advocacy groups and organizations in calling on U.S. House of Representatives leaders to change their planned hearings focused exclusively on “Muslim Radicalization” to investigate violence motivated by extremism, in all its forms, in a fair and objective manner. MCN has also signed the statement on the same issue circulated by Faith in Public Life. We note that literally hundreds of organizations have signed similar petitions opposing the hearings as they are currently designed.

MCN objects to a main premise of the hearings—that Muslim leadership is not engaged in productive dialogue with law enforcement. As a faith-based community organization concerned about civil and human rights, we work in dialogue and partnership with other faith groups and also promote dialogue with law enforcement. Muslim organizations do not oppose such responsible civic engagement; however many of them, like our colleagues at Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) also correctly work to ensure that Muslim community members know their rights. Though sometimes our Government unfortunately excludes such groups from the table for political reasons, we have partnered and will continue to partner with CAIR and others. We work together to engage in critical dialogue with police and FBI through co-founding such coalitions as the Muslim American Civil Liberties Coalition (MACLC) an organization which is currently challenging the NYPD’s use of harshly Islamophobic training materials including hateful videos narrated by Mr. Jasser.

Mr. King has not refuted his unfounded claim that over 80 percent of Muslim mosques are radicalized. This leaves us with the clear implication this hearing is about the radicalization of over 80 percent of our community!

By sowing suspicion about an entire faith community, Chairman King’s hearings will likely stoke Islamophobic sentiment, which has affected me (in a well-known case regarding my school the Khalil Gibran International Academy) and other Muslim-American colleagues in so many ways. We are currently concerned that communities in our immediate area are even opposing the right to build a house of worship—and next week will decide whether to change zoning laws to prevent a mosque from being built in nearby Bridgewater, New Jersey.

Islamophobia is a growing challenge. And we very much regret to read in today’s *New York Times* (3/8/11) that Mr. King was recently a guest of the extremist group Act! for America and associates with other well-known purveyors of paranoia and anti-Muslim hate.

Because of these concerns about the political and ideological aspects of these unbalanced hearings—which can only alienate Muslims and cannot make us safer—we joined an interfaith coalition this past weekend (3/6/11) and were able to gather 1,000 New Yorkers of all backgrounds to protest these hearings despite the pouring rain. One of the wonderful speakers we worked to bring on was Mr. Alioune Niassa a West African Muslim vendor who helped prevent the Times Square bombing.

We know Muslim Americans wish to be part of the solution to a range of problems including serious security concerns. And this is why, while we share concerns about security and the spread of ill-founded religious interpretations on the internet, we and our Muslim community colleagues will continue to promote partnership instead of submit to persecution, smear campaigns and political witch hunts that only weaken our Nation.

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ATTACHMENT 4.—STATEMENT OF SOUTH FLORIDA MUSLIM COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

MARCH 10, 2011

The undersigned organizations submit this outside witness statement for the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security, examining radicalization in the American Muslim community and the community’s response to it.

The institutions signed on to this letter comprise religious, cultural, education, charitable, and civil rights groups from the South Florida area. The South Florida Muslim community comprises some 100,000 individuals from a wide range of ethnic, cultural, and racial backgrounds. There are over 35,000 registered Muslim voters in the South Florida counties of Palm Beach, Broward, and Miami-Dade.

As Florida-based organizations concerned about civil and human rights, we strongly object to the hearings supposedly on extremism within the American Muslim community called by the Chair of the Committee on Homeland Security, Congressman Peter King. Chairman King has characterized the hearings as focusing ex-

clusively on the “radicalization of the American Muslim community and homegrown terrorism.”

This hearing does not appear designed to truly deal with finding solutions to the issue of homegrown terrorism. If that were the case the hearing would include an analysis of non-Muslims who have committed acts of terrorism on U.S. soil. Further this investigation if sincere would have input from those who are working on solutions within the American Muslim community to deal with those few young people who are vulnerable to negative influences. We as a community of Muslim-Americans are now and will continue to be part of the solution to our Nation’s problems such as terrorism.

Anti-Muslim incidents have been seen all across Florida. Incidents such as: A truck being driven into a mosque in Tallahassee, a pipe bomb in a Jacksonville mosque, a podiatrist who plotted to blow up schools full of Muslim children, shootings at a mosque in Brevard County, and the defacing of mosques in South Florida. There is no doubt we fear this hearing will stoke the flames of such enmity and further divide us as a community of Floridians. It is the responsibility of our political leaders to lead us as a Nation together, not create divisions that lead to hate.

The South Florida Muslim-American community has repeatedly condemned terrorism and violence in all its forms regardless of who perpetrates the violence. The U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Florida, the U.S. Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigations, and previous Florida Attorney Generals have developed close relationships and continue to work with Muslim religious, interfaith, and public service organizations. The U.S. Attorney himself has recognized the value of the Muslim community in its counter-terrorism efforts, as well as other matters relevant to crime prevention and prosecution in our community. There are Floridian Muslims in law enforcement, serving in our military, and serving in Government.

It is important to maintain the rich fabric of a tolerant and diverse America by working together to find solutions, not striving to use anti-Muslim sentiment as a wedge issue for political gain. It is our hope that in these difficult economic times this committee will renew its commitment to the people of America and work towards real solutions to real problems.

Thank you for your attention to our concerns.

Sincerely,

AMANA,  
ASSALAM CENTER OF BOCA RATON,  
CAIR-FL,  
COALITION OF SOUTH FLORIDA MUSLIM  
ORGANIZATIONS,  
DAR-UL-ULOOM,  
EMERGE-USA,  
ERSHAD CENTER,  
FLORIDA ASSOC. OF YOUNG MUSLIMS,  
FLORIDA ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION,  
ISLAMIC CENTER OF BOCA RATON,

ISLAMIC FOUNDATION OF SOUTH  
FLORIDA,  
ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF FLORIDA,  
MASJID AL IMAN,  
MASJID MIAMI,  
MASJID MUMINEEN,  
MASJID-AL-ANSAR,  
MASJID-AN-NOOR,  
MUSLIM COMMUNITY ASSOC. OF SOUTH  
FLORIDA,  
NUR-UL-ISLAM.

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ATTACHMENT 5.—STATEMENT OF LAURA W. MURPHY, DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON  
LEGISLATIVE OFFICE, THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

MARCH 10, 2011

Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, and Members of Congress: The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is a non-partisan organization of over half a million members, countless additional activists and supporters, and 53 affiliates Nation-wide dedicated to the protection of individual rights and civil liberties under the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. As we have discussed with many of you in private, we have serious concerns with Chairman King’s decision to focus these hearings on the American Muslim community. Such a focus ignores the pleas of fellow Members of Congress, advocacy groups, and community leaders to adjust the scope of the hearings to examine acts of domestic terrorism generally. Hearings that focus on American Muslims threaten to burden the free exercise of religion, give the appearance of official endorsement of one set of religious beliefs over another, and chill free association and free speech. Moreover, the rhetoric by some in advance of this hearing has targeted the American Muslim community for special attention even though the rhetoric is factually inaccurate and counterproductive to shared homeland security goals.

People who commit acts of domestic terrorism cannot be identified by any religious, ideological, ethnic, economic, educational, or social profile, and holding hearings that suggest otherwise is counterproductive to keeping America safe from real terrorist threats. In February 2010, Andrew Joseph Stack III of Texas flew a plane into an IRS building in Austin leaving behind an anti-Government rant largely focused on taxes.<sup>1</sup> A lot of Americans oppose taxes, some vehemently, but this terrorist incident did not lead to an investigation of all tax opponents. In August 2003 the environmental group Earth Liberation Front reportedly burned down a nearly-completed \$23 million apartment complex just outside San Diego in protest of urban sprawl. Two years later the FBI declared eco-terrorists the country's biggest domestic terrorist threat.<sup>2</sup> Even then authorities did not target all those favoring environmental protection for investigation to root out "radicalized" individuals. The arrests of members of the Hutaree militia for planning to use roadside bombs in the Midwest has not provoked Congressional investigations into the reasons why the millions of American gun control opponents aren't more cooperative with law enforcement in identifying those who would commit violence against the U.S. Government.<sup>3</sup> We know that there is a difference between people with certain belief systems and those who are willing to commit acts of violence. Broadly targeting the entire American Muslim community for counterterrorism enforcement will make it more likely that law enforcement officials will misunderstand the factual evidence surrounding risk factors for violence and focus their investigative efforts on innocent Americans because of their religious beliefs rather than on true threats to the community.

We, together with most Americans, acknowledge that Government has an obligation to help protect society from terrorists and other violent criminals, and that studying previous terrorist attacks and the people who committed them could provide clues useful to preventing future acts of violence. But to avoid infringing on fundamental rights that are essential to the functioning of a healthy democracy, Congress must tread carefully when attempting to examine people's thoughts or classifying their beliefs as inside or outside the mainstream. By focusing on the American Muslim community and its response to "radicalization", this committee risks doing exactly what it should not: Stepping on the basic First Amendment freedoms to which American Muslims, like all Americans, have a right. Sacrificing our civil liberties in the pursuit of security is unwise, unnecessary, and according to several recent studies, counterproductive to preventing extremist violence.

Barry Goldwater, accepting the Republican nomination for the Office of President of the United States in 1964, said that "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice!" This committee must keep in mind that extremism is nothing more than a chosen set of beliefs and, as such, is absolutely protected under the First Amendment. Asking whether extremist ideology is the precipitator of violence or not presumes that a connection exists between the belief system and the commission of violence. But recent empirical studies of terrorism downplay such a causal connection. We do not assume all those who oppose abortion are worthy of investigation just because there have been acts of violence committed by some who share that political view. To assume without evidence that everyone of a particular faith or ideology or political belief is a threat because of the actions of a few would betray American values and waste security resources. The Government cannot and should not censure extremist ideology, in and of itself.

Violent action, on the other hand, whether in the name of ideology or otherwise, deserves the full-throated condemnation of the Government and its people. As this committee carries on its work, it has the opportunity to set a sterling and courageous example for the Nation by rejecting the call to target a specific faith community and instead focusing on the root causes of violence. We will fully support this committee's examination of the historical events that may tend to explain why particular individuals choose to use violence as a means to effect social or political change in a manner that threatens the National security. We will steadfastly oppose any effort to examine, and thus cast official disapproval upon, any religious or political belief system. Any such effort would chill the First Amendment rights of those involved and be an unfair slap at untold numbers of wholly innocent Americans.

<sup>1</sup>Brick, Michael, *Man Crashes Plane Into Texas I.R.S. Office*, The New York Times (Feb. 18, 2010) available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/19/us/19crash.html>.

<sup>2</sup>Schorn, Daniel, *Burning Rage*, CBS News (November 13, 2005) available at <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/11/10/60minutes/main1036067.shtml>.

<sup>3</sup>Mark Guarino, *Hutaree Militia Arrests Point to Tripling of Militias Since 2008*, Christian Science Monitor (Mar. 29, 2010) available at <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Justice/2010/0329/Hutaree-militia-arrests-point-to-tripling-of-militias-since-2008>.

## I. FIRST AMENDMENT FREEDOMS

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, speech, press, petition, and assembly.<sup>4</sup> These protections are based on the premise that open and unfettered public debate empowers democracy by enriching the marketplace with new ideas and enabling political and social change through lawful means.<sup>5</sup> Our First Amendment freedoms also enhance our security. Though “vehement, caustic and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials” have to be endured under our Constitutional system of government, the uninhibited debate these freedoms guarantee is recognized as “essential to the security of the Republic” because it ensures a Government responsive to the will of the people.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, as Justice Brandeis explained, our Nation’s Founders realized that the greater threat to security lay not in protecting speech, but in attempting to suppress it:

“Those who won our independence . . . knew that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction; that it is hazardous to discourage thought, hope, and imagination; that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; that hate menaces stable government; that the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies, and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones. Believing in the power of reason as applied through public discussion, they eschewed silence coerced by law—the argument of force in its worst form. Recognizing the occasional tyrannies of governing majorities, they amended the Constitution so that free speech and assembly should be guaranteed.”<sup>7</sup>

## II. CONTEMPORARY INVESTIGATIONS OF TERRORISM

Of course, Congress can and should investigate terrorism. The danger posed by modern terrorists is real and Congress must understand the scope and nature of the threat and exercise its authorities to the utmost in overseeing the Government’s response, holding our military, law enforcement, and intelligence agencies accountable, and crafting sensible legislation that enhances security while protecting the rights of innocent persons. But the security threat was no less real during the first red scare and during the Cold War. The question is not whether Congress should respond but how it should respond. History tells us that conflating the expression of certain belief systems or even hostile beliefs with threats to security only misdirects resources, unnecessarily violates the rights of the innocent, and unjustly alienates communities unfairly targeted as suspicious. Justice Brandeis argued that “[f]ear of serious injury cannot alone justify suppression of free speech and assembly. Men feared witches and burnt women. It is the function of speech to free men from the bondage of irrational fears.”<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately some Government officials, including some on this committee, have been influenced by ill-conceived and methodologically flawed Government reports that claim not only that terrorist acts are linked to the adoption of certain beliefs but that there is a uniform process of “radicalization” in which one progresses from belief to association to terrorism. The New York Police Department (NYPD) report, *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat*, published in 2007, purports to identify a four-step “radicalization process” through which terrorists progress. But even the authors of the study admit that not all individuals who begin the process pass through all the stages, that many “stop or abandon this process at different points”, and that “individuals do not always follow a perfectly linear progression” through the four steps.<sup>9</sup> Obviously, the steps along the path are not consecutive at all, but rather four stones scattered in the woods which a terrorist or anyone else wandering through may or may not touch. What is dangerous is that the each step involves Constitutionally-protected religious and associational conduct, and the au-

<sup>4</sup>The Constitution of the United States, Amendment 1: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

<sup>5</sup>See *United States v. Associated Press*, 52 F.Supp. 362, 372 (D.C.S.D.N.Y. 1943); *Roth v. United States*, 354 U.S. 476, 484 (1957).

<sup>6</sup>See *New York Times, Co. v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254, 270 (1964), quoting *Stromberg v. California*, 283 U.S. 359, 369 (1931).

<sup>7</sup>*Whitney v. California*, 274 U.S. 357, 375–376, (1927) (Brandeis, J., concurring).

<sup>8</sup>*Whitney v. California*, 274 U.S. 357, 376, (1927), (Brandeis, J., concurring).

<sup>9</sup>Mitchell Silber and Arvin Bhatt, New York Police Department, *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat*, p. 6, (2007). This report seems to draw heavily from an earlier FBI Intelligence Assessment, “The Radicalization Process: From Conversion to Jihad,” (May 10, 2006), though it is not cited.

thors ignore the fact that millions of people may progress through one, several, or all of these stages and never commit an act of violence. Moreover, these conclusions are based on just five terrorism cases, clearly a statistically insignificant sample from which to draw such sweeping conclusions.

The NYPD report drew quick condemnation from the civil liberties and Muslim communities. The Brennan Center for Justice issued a memo complaining of the report's "foreseeable stigmatizing effect, and its inferential but unavoidable advocacy of racial and religious profiling."<sup>10</sup> New York City Muslim and Arab community leaders formed a coalition in response to the NYPD report and issued a detailed analysis criticizing the NYPD for wrongfully "positing a direct causal relation between Islam and terrorism such that expressions of faith are equated with signs of danger," and potentially putting millions of Muslims at risk.<sup>11</sup> Unfairly focusing suspicion on a vulnerable community also threatens to create the very alienation that effective and proper counter-terrorism policies should seek to avoid.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, contrary to the NYPD study, a 2008 analysis by the United Kingdom's domestic intelligence service, MI-5, which was based on hundreds of case studies of individuals involved in terrorism, reportedly concluded that there is no single identifiable pathway to extremism and "a large number of those involved in terrorism do not practice their faith regularly."<sup>13</sup> The MI-5 study concluded that the U.K. government should support tolerance of diversity and protection of civil liberties, conclusions that were echoed in a National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) paper published in August 2008. In exploring why there was less violent homegrown extremism in the United States than the United Kingdom, the NCTC paper authors cited the diversity of American communities and the greater protection of civil rights as key factors.<sup>14</sup>

The significant shortcomings with the NYPD report became so evident that the NYPD was compelled to insert a "Statement of Clarification" in 2009 that explained that:

"NYPD understands that it is a tiny minority of Muslims who subscribe to al Qaeda's ideology of war and terror and that the NYPD's focus on al Qaeda inspired terrorism should not be mistaken for any implicit or explicit justification for racial, religious or ethnic profiling. Rather, the Muslim community in New York City is our ally and has as much to lose, if not more, than other New Yorkers if individuals commit acts of violence (falsely) in the name of their religion. As such, the NYPD report should not be read to characterize Muslims as intrinsically dangerous or intrinsically linked to terrorism, and that it cannot be a license for racial, religious, or ethnic profiling."<sup>15</sup>

More important, the statement of clarification said, "This report was not intended to be policy prescriptive for law enforcement."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Aziz Huq, "Concerns with Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt, N.Y. Police Dep't, Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat," New York University School of Law, Brennan Center for Justice, (Aug. 30, 2007), at: [http://brennan.3cdn.net/436ea44ae969ab3c5\\_sbm6vtxgi.pdf](http://brennan.3cdn.net/436ea44ae969ab3c5_sbm6vtxgi.pdf). See also, *Coalition Memo to the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Regarding "Homegrown Terrorism,"* American Civil Liberties Union et al. (May 7, 2008) available at <http://www.aclu.org/safefree/general/35209leg20080507.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Muslim American Civil Liberties Coalition, *CountertERRORism Policy: MACLC's Critique of the NYPD's Report on Homegrown Terrorism*, (2008).

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Hearing of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, *Violent Islamist Extremism: The European Experience* (June 27, 2007) particularly the testimony of Lidewijde Ongerig and Marc Sageman, available at [http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Hearings.Hearing&Hearing\\_ID=9c8ef805-75c8-48c2-810dd778af31cca6](http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Hearings.Hearing&Hearing_ID=9c8ef805-75c8-48c2-810dd778af31cca6).

<sup>13</sup> Alan Travis, "MI5 Report Challenges Views on Terrorism in Britain," *The Guardian*, (August 20, 2008) at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/aug/20/uksecurity.terrorism> and; Alan Travis, "The Making of an Extremist," *The Guardian* (Aug. 20, 2008) available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/aug/20/uksecurity.terrorism>.

<sup>14</sup> National Counterterrorism Center Conference Report, *Towards a Domestic Counterradicalization Strategy*, (August 2008). Notwithstanding the conclusion, the paper inexplicably went on to examine how the United States could better adopt U.K. counterterrorism strategies.

<sup>15</sup> See "Statement of Clarification," p. 11-12 (added in 2009) to Mitchell Silber and Arvin Bhatt, New York Police Department, *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat*, p. 6, (2007), available at [http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/public\\_information/NYPD\\_Report-Radicalization\\_in\\_the\\_West.pdf](http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/public_information/NYPD_Report-Radicalization_in_the_West.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*, at 12.

Unfortunately, the NYPD failed to retract the report altogether and inserted the clarification without public announcement, so it received little publicity.<sup>17</sup> As a result, the NYPD report is still being referenced uncritically in academic and official government publications. A report by the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee (HSGAC) entitled *Violent Islamist Extremism, The Internet, and the Homegrown Terrorism Threat* ignored the criticisms and flaws of the NYPD report, and simply re-stated the NYPD's flawed "radicalization" theories in arguing for a National strategy "to counter the influence of the Ideology."<sup>18</sup> As they did in response to the NYPD report, Muslim and Arab civil liberties organizations united to issue a joint letter complaining that the HSGAC report "undermines fundamental American values" and "exacerbates the current climate of fear, suspicion and hatemongering of Islam and American Muslims."<sup>19</sup> In testimony before the HSGAC, Dr. Marc Sageman, who conducted empirical studies of actual terrorists, downplayed the role of religious belief as a driver of violence: ". . . there has been far too much focus on ideology in trying to understand radicalization. In my observations of Islamist terrorists, I came to the conclusion that there were not Islamic scholars"<sup>20</sup> (emphasis in original). Instead, Sageman cited moral outrage at the Iraq war, abuses of U.S. detainees in Abu Ghraib and "GITMO," and the perception of a western "War against Islam" as causal factors, and warned against taking any counterterrorism measures that would tend to "alienate the Muslim community."<sup>21</sup>

Most recently, the special report on the Ft. Hood shootings issued by HSGAC Chairman Joseph Lieberman and Ranking Member Susan Collins explicitly endorsed the unsupported "radicalization framework" of the NYPD report and recommended that the Department of Defense and the FBI develop training regarding "ideological indicators and warning signs."<sup>22</sup> This recommendation not only clearly ignores the NYPD's warning that its report should not be policy prescriptive for law enforcement; it directly conflicts with a scientific literature review documented in the Department of Defense Ft. Hood report. Citing scientific studies, the DoD concluded that "identifying potentially dangerous people before they act is difficult," because while people who commit acts of violence can often later be shown to have exhibited identifiable risk factors, few people who have risk factors actually go on to assault or kill others.<sup>23</sup> In particular, and contrary to the NYPD report, the DoD found, "religious fundamentalism alone is not a risk factor; most fundamentalist groups are not violent, and religious-based violence is not confined to members of fundamentalist groups."<sup>24</sup> Yet the FBI has already acted on the Lieberman-Collins recommendations and developed "radicalization" training that was presented to three field offices in 2010.<sup>25</sup>

The negative influence of the NYPD report continues to be pervasive and damaging. The Virginia Fusion Center has cited the NYPD report, and two other similarly flawed reports that are based upon it, in designating Virginia's universities and colleges as "nodes of radicalization" requiring law enforcement attention and characterized the "diversity" surrounding a Virginia military base and the State's "historically black" colleges as possible threats to security.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See Muslim American Civil Liberties Coalition *Letter to Raymond Kelly, "Response to NYPD Statement of Clarification,"* (Sept. 2009) available at <http://maclc1.wordpress.com/2009/09/08/maclc-90809-letter-response-to-nypd-statement-of-clarification>.

<sup>18</sup> United States Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Majority and Minority Staff Report, "Violent Islamist Extremism, The Internet, and the Homegrown Terrorist Threat" (May 8, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Coalition Letter to the Honorable Joseph I. Lieberman and the Honorable Susan M. Collins, May 14, 2008, available at: [http://www.muslimadvocates.org/documents/temporary\\_HSGAC\\_report-Allied\\_response\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.muslimadvocates.org/documents/temporary_HSGAC_report-Allied_response_FINAL.pdf).

<sup>20</sup> Marc Sageman, testimony before the Hearing of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, *Violent Islamist Extremism: The European Experience*, p. 2, (June 27, 2007), available at: [http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Hearings.Hearing&Hearing\\_ID=9c8ef805-75c8-48c2-810dd778af31cca6](http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Hearings.Hearing&Hearing_ID=9c8ef805-75c8-48c2-810dd778af31cca6).

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* at 5.

<sup>22</sup> Special Report by Joseph I. Lieberman, Chairman, and Susan M. Collins, Ranking Member, U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, "A Ticking Time Bomb: Counterterrorism Lessons from the U.S. Government's Failure to Prevent the Fort Hood Attack," (Feb. 2011), 77, available at: [http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/\\_files/Fort\\_Hood/FortHoodReport.pdf](http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/_files/Fort_Hood/FortHoodReport.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> Department of Defense, *Protecting the Force: Lessons from Fort Hood*, Report of the DOD Independent Review at Appx. D (Jan. 2010) available at [http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/DODProtectingTheForce-Web\\_Security\\_HR\\_13jan10.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/DODProtectingTheForce-Web_Security_HR_13jan10.pdf).

<sup>24</sup> *Id.* at D-2.

<sup>25</sup> Lieberman-Collins report, p. 77.

<sup>26</sup> See ACLU press release, "Fusion Center Declares Nation's Oldest Universities Possible Terrorist Threat," (Apr. 6, 2009) available at <http://www.aclu.org/technology-and-liberty/fusion-center-declares-nation%E2%80%99s-oldest-universities-possible-terrorist-threat>.

It is disturbing and disheartening to see the discredited NYPD report relied upon again and again by people seeking an easy explanation for domestic threats. Chairman King's public statements in advance of this hearing suggest a similar unwarranted reliance on this flawed theory of a discernable "radicalization" process, which undermines any legitimate rationale for holding them.<sup>27</sup> A more rigorous and more comprehensive examination of publicly available information might have led this committee down a different and more productive path than the one it is now following.

### III. HISTORICAL ABUSE

Unfortunately, in times of National crisis we have often failed to recognize the strength of our democratic ideals. Indeed the ACLU was founded in 1920 to come to the defense of immigrants, trade unionists, and political activists who were illegally rounded up by the thousands in the infamous Palmer raids during America's first "red scare," a period of significant anarchist violence. Rather than focusing on finding the perpetrators of the violence, the Government sought anyone who supported similar political views, associated with disfavored organizations or wrote or spoke in opposition to Government policies. Lawyers who complained of the abuse, which included torture, coerced confessions, illegal searches, and arrests, were subject to investigation themselves.<sup>28</sup>

The Department of Justice General Intelligence Division (GID), the precursor agency to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), collected 150,000 secret files "giving detailed data not only upon individual agitators connected with the radical movement, but also upon organizations, associations, societies, publications, and social conditions existing in certain localities."<sup>29</sup> The New York State Legislature also initiated a 2-year investigation into the spread of radical ideas. The Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities (commonly referred to as the Lusk Committee) ultimately produced a report, *Revolutionary Radicalism: Its History, Purpose and Tactics*, which "smeared liberals, pacifists, and civil libertarians as agents of international Communism."<sup>30</sup> Though thousands were arrested, few were prosecuted or deported and little incriminating information was obtained during the committee's investigation.<sup>31</sup> Studying radicals was of little help in finding actual terrorists.

Due in part to the public outcry over the red scare abuses, the Department of Justice reformed its policies to focus strictly on violations of law, but these reforms did not hold.<sup>32</sup> The Cold War brought about a second red scare characterized by Congressional witch hunts orchestrated by Senator Joseph McCarthy's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which ruined the careers of many loyal Americans based purely on their associations. At the same time, and sometimes in support of these Congressional investigations, the FBI ran a domestic counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) that quickly evolved from a legitimate effort to protect the National security from hostile foreign threats into an effort to suppress domestic political dissent through an array of illegal activities. The Senate Select Committee that investigated COINTELPRO (the "Church Committee") said the "unexpressed major premise of . . . COINTELPRO is that the Bureau has a role in maintaining the existing social order, and that its efforts should be aimed toward combating those who threaten that order."<sup>33</sup> Once again, instead of focusing on violations of law, these investigations targeted people based on their beliefs, political activities, and associations.

<sup>27</sup> Peter King, "What's Radicalizing Muslim Americans?", *Newsday* (Dec. 19, 2010) available at <http://homeland.house.gov/news/newsday-king-whats-radicalizing-muslim-americans>.

<sup>28</sup> Select Comm. to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities, U.S. Senate, 94th Cong., Final Report on Supplemental Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans (Book III), S. Rep. No. 94-755, at 385 (1976), available at: [http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/reports/book3/html/ChurchB3\\_0196b.htm](http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/reports/book3/html/ChurchB3_0196b.htm).

<sup>29</sup> Select Comm. to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities, U.S. Senate, 94th Cong., Final Report on Supplemental Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans (Book III), S. Rep. No. 94-755, at 386 (1976), [Church Report] available at: [http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/reports/book3/html/ChurchB3\\_0196b.htm](http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/reports/book3/html/ChurchB3_0196b.htm).

<sup>30</sup> Samuel Walker, *In Defense of American Liberties: A History of the ACLU*, Oxford, (1990) p. 16.

<sup>31</sup> The Lusk Committee: A Guide to the Records of the Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities: A Guide to the Records Held in the New York State Archives, available at: [http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/research/res\\_topics\\_bus\\_lusk.shtml](http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/research/res_topics_bus_lusk.shtml).

<sup>32</sup> Church Report, at 388.

<sup>33</sup> *Id.*, at 7.

In his Church Committee testimony White House liaison Tom Charles Huston, author of the infamous “Huston Plan,” explained the hazards of this shift in focus:

“The risk was that you would get people who would be susceptible to political considerations as opposed to national security considerations, or would construe political considerations to be national security considerations, to move from the kid with a bomb to the kid with a picket sign, and from the kid with the picket sign to the kid with the bumper sticker of the opposing candidate.”<sup>34</sup>

FBI headquarters opened over 500,000 domestic intelligence files between 1960 and 1974, and created a list of 26,000 individuals who would be “rounded up” in the event of a National emergency.<sup>35</sup> The FBI used the information it gleaned from these improper investigations not for law enforcement purposes, but to “break up marriages, disrupt meetings, ostracize persons from their professions and provoke target groups into rivalries that might result in deaths.”<sup>36</sup>

Our history shows that it is the Executive branch that most often abuses power and targets political, ethnic, or religious minorities, and it is the Legislative branch—the Church Committee—or the judiciary that investigates or remedies the abuses. But our history also shows—as the activities of the McCarthy Committee and HUAC demonstrate—that Congress is not immune to its own form of overreaching. Indeed, in the context of a case examining a Congressional committee witness’ refusal to identify those who might espouse disfavored beliefs, the Court acknowledged Congress’ broad investigative powers inherent to its legislative function, and its unquestioned authority to hold recalcitrant witnesses in contempt. But it also held that abuse of the investigative process could lead to an unconstitutional abridgment of protected rights.<sup>37</sup> This Committee’s focus on the American Muslim community risks imposing exactly the kind of damage the Court warned of in the 1950’s, and in doing so it will alienate this minority community. It is for this reason that we urge this Committee not to target the American Muslim community so that these hearings do not become yet another example of misguided and abusive Government action.

#### IV. DISTINGUISH EXTREMISM FROM VIOLENCE

By its title, this hearing focuses on the “radicalization” of the Muslim community. The Counterterrorism Enhancement and Department of Homeland Security Authorization Act of 2010 defines “violent radicalization” as the process of adopting or promoting an extremist belief system for the purpose of facilitating ideologically based violence to advance political, religious, or social change.<sup>38</sup> This definition presents two distinct concepts as if they were one. Extremism is defined by one dictionary as the “advocacy of extreme measures or views.”<sup>39</sup> Extremism is a state of mind or a set of beliefs. There is nothing about the notion of extremism or a radical belief system that necessarily denotes violence. And, as Goldwater suggested, some forms of extremism are to be admired. But all forms of extremism are entitled to protection under our Constitution.

Violence on the other hand is entitled to no such deference. The same source defines “violence” as the “exertion of physical force so as to injure or abuse.”<sup>40</sup> It is an invasive force intended to do harm and, as such, qualifies for no Constitutional protection. It bears emphasis, again, that extremist viewpoints do not necessarily lead to violent action. In addition, conflating extremism and violence wrongly suggests that violence associated with extremism is somehow worse—or more worthy of examination—than other forms of violence, a misconception that can lead to flawed policy-making.

Violence that has no discernible tie to ideology occurs far more frequently and has far wider impact than violence assumed to arise out of extremist views. It would be a mistake to dismiss “regular crime” as not causing the same broad and lasting damage to society that terrorism does. Consider the societal impact of student shootings at Virginia Tech and Columbine, the anthrax attacks and the sniper shootings in Washington, DC, and elsewhere in the country—not to mention gang violence, and violence against women, children, and the elderly. The FBI reported there were

<sup>34</sup> *Id.*, at 27.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*, at 6–7.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.*, at 5.

<sup>37</sup> *Watkins v. United States*, 354 U.S. 178 (1957).

<sup>38</sup> See [Thomas.gov](http://thomas.gov) available at <http://thomas.gov/cgi-bin/query/F?c111:1:/temp/~c111dswbTII:e19995>.

<sup>39</sup> Merriam Webster’s Online Dictionary, available at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Extremism>.

<sup>40</sup> *Id.* at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/violence>.



1,382,012 violent crimes committed in the United States in 2008, including 16,272 murders and 89,000 rapes.<sup>41</sup>

The courts began to ratify such a distinction between extreme ideologies and violent actions in the first half of the 20th century. In a number of cases addressing convictions under the Smith Act, which criminalized advocating the violent overthrow of the United States or membership in any organization that did, the Supreme Court began drawing a line between advocacy of violence as a tactic of political change and incitement to violence: “the mere abstract teaching . . . of the moral propriety or even moral necessity for a resort to force and violence is not the same as preparing a group for violent action and steeling it to such action.”<sup>42</sup> These cases culminated in *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, in which the Court established that advocacy of violence could be criminalized only where “such advocacy is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action.”<sup>43</sup>

The important element, therefore, is to examine the violence—not the belief system held by the violent actor. The committee must ensure that its examination does not single out violent actions committed by adherents to any particular faith or ideology for scrutiny. It should not study only Muslims—just as it would not study only tax opponents or only environmentalists. To do so would pre-determine an outcome and cast a chilling net over all those non-violent individuals who happen to share all or some of the characteristics or beliefs of those studied. Moreover, to do so would tend to perpetuate the perception of alienation that, according to some, fuels the violence. Significantly, in this regard, one can infer that a renewed dedication to the protection of civil liberties, including associational, speech, and religious rights, is our best defense. As one expert who has conducted empirical studies of actual terrorists testified, “we must continue to promote core American values of justice and fairness and fight those elements in our society that try to single out and antagonize part of our nation.”<sup>44</sup>

#### V. MUSLIM COMMUNITY’S COOPERATION WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT

One of the core justifications made for and in advance of this hearing is that the American Muslim community has failed to cooperate sufficiently with law enforcement in the fight against domestic terrorism.<sup>45</sup> The assertion is baseless. Numerous law enforcement officials have gone on the record to dispute this charge,<sup>46</sup> academic studies have catalogued the assistance Muslims have provided to anti-terrorism efforts,<sup>47</sup> and the undersigned organizations work closely with many Muslim civil rights and advocacy groups that are deeply involved in efforts to improve security policies. Indeed, your committee has heard testimony from several law enforcement witnesses regarding their engagement with Muslim-American communities on a host of issues.<sup>48</sup>

Further, we are concerned by the claim that American Muslims’ “cooperation” in National security efforts must be measured by their willingness to provide information voluntarily to counterterrorism enforcement agencies. Although warning law

<sup>41</sup>Uniform Crime Reports, Crime in the United States, 2008, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Table 1 (2009), at: [http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2008/data/table\\_01.html](http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2008/data/table_01.html).

<sup>42</sup>*Noto v. United States*, 367 U.S. 290, 297–298 (1961). See also, *Dennis v. United States*, 341 U.S. 494 (1951); and *Yates v. United States*, 354 U.S. 298 (1957).

<sup>43</sup>395 U.S. 444, 447 (1969).

<sup>44</sup>Marc Sageman, testimony before the Hearing of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, *Violent Islamist Extremism: The European Experience*, p. 5, (June 27, 2007) available at [http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Hearings.Hearing&Hearing\\_ID=9c8ef805-75c8-48c2-810dd778af31cca6](http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Hearings.Hearing&Hearing_ID=9c8ef805-75c8-48c2-810dd778af31cca6).

<sup>45</sup>Peter King, “What’s Radicalizing Muslim Americans?”, *Newsday* (Dec. 19, 2010) available at <http://homeland.house.gov/news/newsday-king-whats-radicalizing-muslim-americans>.

<sup>46</sup>See Counterterrorism Experts Reject Peter King’s Targeting of Muslims, National Security Network (Jan. 28, 2011) available at <http://www.nsnetwork.org/node/1847>; “Baca: No Evidence Muslims Not Cooperating with Police,” CBS Los Angeles (Feb. 11, 2011) available at <http://losangeles.cbslocal.com/2011/02/07/baca-noevidence-us-muslims-not-cooperating-with-police/>.

<sup>47</sup>See Charles Kurzman, “Muslim-American Terrorism Since 9/11: An Accounting,” Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security (Feb. 2, 2011) available at [http://sanford.duke.edu/centers/tcths/about/documents/Kurzman\\_Muslim-American\\_Terrorism\\_Since\\_911\\_An\\_Accounting.pdf](http://sanford.duke.edu/centers/tcths/about/documents/Kurzman_Muslim-American_Terrorism_Since_911_An_Accounting.pdf).

<sup>48</sup>See, e.g., Hearing of the House Homeland Security Committee Subcommittee on Intelligence, Information Sharing, and Terrorism Risk Assessment, “Working with Communities to Disrupt Terror Plots” (Mar. 17, 2010); Hearing of the House Homeland Security Committee Subcommittee on Intelligence, Information Sharing, and Terrorism Risk Assessment, “Radicalization, Information Sharing, and Community Outreach: Protecting the Homeland from Homegrown Terror” (Apr. 5, 2007).

enforcement officials of threats is indeed a shared civic and social responsibility, it would be illegal, unfair, and impractical for Congress or law enforcement officials to require any religious or belief community to prove its loyalty to this country by “informing” on its members. To the contrary, American Muslims, like the rest of this country’s citizens, have the right to protest illegal, overzealous, or abusive Government security measures and to vigorously exercise, and encourage others to exercise, rights guaranteed in the Constitution. There are also legitimate concerns about whether individuals who volunteer information to law enforcement will find themselves threatened with legal jeopardy. Advising individuals to speak to lawyers before talking to law enforcement or even to refrain from talking to law enforcement is both prudent and completely legal speech protected by the Bill of Rights. We expect that many corporations, businesses, and even Congressional offices would advise their employees to consult a lawyer before speaking with law enforcement as well.

Recognizing and respecting the line between protected beliefs and illegal activity does not undermine our security, but rather strengthens it. Basing security policy on factually flawed “radicalization” theories will only waste precious security resources. Law enforcement has been successful in preventing terrorist plots many times over the past few years by focusing on facts and evidence. Inquiring how many Muslims hold “radical” beliefs, however that phrase is defined, will not aid those efforts. To the contrary, it will undermine the crucial bonds between communities and the Government and law enforcement. Most dangerously, it is likely to undermine our efforts to demonstrate to Muslims at home and abroad that the United States seeks to live up to its ideals in its treatment of all Americans, including Muslims, and is not engaged in a “war against Islam.”

#### VI. CONCLUSION

We urge this committee to cease holding hearings that target any specific religious or ideological group for investigation based on unsubstantiated theories about “radicalization” and instead focus the Government’s anti-terrorism investigations on actual terrorist acts and those who commit them. A fact-based investigation of historical events will likely be more successful at providing a clear picture of the threats we face and the appropriate methods we need to employ to address them without violating the Constitutional rights of innocent persons. Neither fear, nor a misapprehension of beliefs held by a religious minority, should drive our Government policies. As Justice Brandeis reminds us,

“To courageous, self-reliant men, with confidence in the power of free and fearless reasoning applied through the processes of popular government, no danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present unless the incidence of the evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion . . . Only an emergency can justify repression. Such must be the rule if authority is to be reconciled with freedom.”<sup>49</sup>

Protecting our First Amendment freedoms will both honor our values and keep us safe. We urge this committee to re-orient its hearings so as not to target the American Muslim community and instead focus on achieving a beneficial and accurate understanding of today’s domestic threats.

ATTACHMENT 6.—LETTER FROM GARY SAMPLINER AND JEANNE TUSTAIN

MARCH 9, 2011.

The Honorable BENNIE G. THOMPSON,  
*Ranking Member, House Committee on Homeland Security.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE THOMPSON: Like many Americans, we have been very concerned about the direction of Chairman Peter King’s forthcoming hearings on the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community. We appreciate your committee’s focus on the need for vigilance to prevent terrorist threats from materializing, and recognize that an effective program to deal with the most violent extremism must deal with al-Qaeda and its fundamentalist Muslim allies as a critical threat. Notwithstanding this fact, we fear that holding hearings that single out the American Muslim community for scrutiny of radicals in its midst is more likely to sow distrust and resentment of a “war on Islam” by U.S. authorities than it is to bring tangible results—and ironically, could give rise to the very radicalism you are seeking to prevent.

<sup>49</sup> *Whitney v. California*, 274 U.S. 357, 376, (1927), (Brandeis, J., Concurring).

We think a more productive direction for your hearing would be to look for ways to enhance the engagement of the American Muslim community in the American Dream, thereby preventing the resentments that result in radicalism from arising. One of these means of engagement has been the efforts underway by American Christian, Jewish, and other congregations to welcome our Muslim brothers and sisters into our midst and build up a sense of trust and understanding between our communities.

We are writing you in our personal capacity as co-chairs of the Intercongregational Partnership Committee of Bethesda Jewish Congregation and Bradley Hills Presbyterian Church in Bethesda, MD, where we have been developing a relationship with a local mosque for several years. Our two congregations have cohabited in the same building, with a wonderful harmonious relationship, since 1964—one we believe to be the longest-lived such relationship between a church and synagogue in the United States. Shortly after September 11, a number of our like-minded congregations decided that it was important to build on the lessons we had learned and try to establish a relationship with a local mosque. In 2003, we learned of efforts by a group from one such mosque, the Idara-e-Jaferia Islamic Center in Burtonsville, MD, to reach out to nearby churches and synagogues, and we began our relationship with them shortly thereafter.

Over the past several years, we have been working to establish and build up our relationship in as many ways as possible. Since 2006, we have gotten our three congregations together for joint Thanksgiving services and discussions, and our members have gone to celebrate Ramadan at the mosque, as well as events such as Iman Hussein Day and their Mother's Day celebration. We have worked together on community social action projects, such as Habitat for Humanity construction work and events to draw attention to atrocities in Darfur. We have had joint study/discussion sessions with our three spiritual leaders, have jointly sponsored speakers, had a movie and discussion on the life of Mohamed, and have had several potluck dinners for smaller groups at our members' houses to get to know each other on a more personal level. We have started a joint women's discussion group, have had some joint Book Club discussions on books such as Lawrence Wright's "The Looming Tower" and Sari Nusseibeh's "Once Upon a Country," and have even had some small group get-togethers to discuss more difficult topics involving Israel, Palestine, and Iran.

The purpose of our joint events has been to create better understanding based on mutual respect for each of our religions, traditions, and cultures—not to attack Islamic radicalism or do any similar thing. But we have no doubt that participants in our joint activities from the mosque get such a strong message of our support and interest in them that the last thing in the world they contemplate is taking extremist action. We have never felt anything but the warmest of welcomes from our friends at the Idara-e-Jaferia in our joint events, and we daresay that they receive the same feelings from us.

We have been encouraged to hear in recent years of numerous interfaith activities under way by other Christian, Jewish, and other congregations and religious groups to build understanding and respect of their Muslim brethren. We hope that in the forthcoming hearings, the committee will focus on on-going interfaith outreach efforts as an activity that, over time, should have far more success than the use of investigations and informants in addressing the root causes of Islamic radicalism.

Sincerely,

GARY SAMPLINER,  
JEANNE TUSTIAN.

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ATTACHMENT 7.—LETTER TO SPEAKER BOEHNER AND MINORITY LEADER PELOSI

FEBRUARY 1, 2011.

The Honorable JOHN BOEHNER,  
*Office of the Speaker, H-232 The Capitol, Washington, DC 20515.*

The Honorable NANCY PELOSI,  
*Minority Leader, 235 Cannon HOB, Washington, DC 20515.*

DEAR SPEAKER BOEHNER AND LEADER PELOSI: The undersigned community organizations and groups concerned about civil and human rights and National security strongly object to the hearings on violent extremism recently announced by the Chair of the Committee on Homeland Security, Congressman Peter King. Chairman King has characterized the hearings, tentatively scheduled for February 2011, as focusing exclusively on the "radicalization of the American Muslim community and

homegrown terrorism.”<sup>1</sup> If Chairman King proceeds with these hearings, please urge him to address all forms of violence motivated by extremist beliefs and to do so in a full, fair, and objective way.

Today, American Muslims reflect every race and ethnicity that comprise our Nation’s rich heritage. In fact, Muslims have been an integral part of America since its founding when the first slave ships arrived on its shores. Muslims serve our Nation as teachers, business owners, factory workers, cab drivers, doctors, lawyers, law enforcement, firefighters, Members of Congress, and members of the armed forces. Their research and innovation adds to the progress of our Nation in science, business, medicine, and technology. They contribute to every aspect of our Nation’s economy and society. The essence of our country is *e pluribus unum*: out of many, practicing their faith freely and contributing each in their own way, comes a strong, unified one.

The hearings planned by Chairman King, however, are inconsistent with this vision of America. Singling out a group of Americans for Government scrutiny based on their faith is divisive and wrong. These hearings will inevitably examine activities protected by the First Amendment, an affront to fundamental freedoms upon which our country was founded. It harkens back to hearings held in the 1950s by then-U.S. Senator Joe McCarthy. That dark chapter in our history taught us that Congress has a solemn duty to wield its investigatory power responsibly.

In the course of justifying the focus of the hearings, Chairman King has made broad and unsubstantiated assertions about the American Muslim community. For example, he continues to perpetuate the myth that 80% of mosques in America are run by extremists,<sup>2</sup> implying that they are hotbeds of extremism. To the contrary, experts have concluded that mosque attendance is a significant factor in the prevention of extremism.<sup>3</sup> In addition, during a recent interview, Chairman King made a statement insinuating that American Muslims are not American:

“When a war begins, we’re all Americans. But in this case, this is not the situation. And whether it’s pressure, whether it’s cultural tradition, whatever, the fact is the Muslim community does not cooperate anywhere near to the extent that it should. The irony is that we’re living in two different worlds.”<sup>4</sup>

If Chairman King is suggesting that American Muslims are somehow less American—simply by virtue of their faith—then that is an affront to all Americans.

Providing a public, Government platform for these erroneous and offensive views has consequences. The American public takes cues from Government officials. These hearings will almost certainly increase widespread suspicion and mistrust of the American Muslim community and stoke anti-Muslim sentiment. During 2010, we saw an increase in anti-Muslim hatred in public discourse, as well as hate crimes and violence targeting American Muslims, and those perceived to be Muslim, including vandalism and arson of mosques, physical attacks, bullying of children in schools, and attempted murder. No American should live in fear for his or her safety, and Congress should not help create a climate where it is acceptable to target a particular faith community for discrimination, harassment, and violence.

Furthermore, a hearing that demonizes the American Muslim community will not go unnoticed by Muslims around the world and will contribute to perceptions of how the U.S. Government treats Muslims. Equal treatment and respect for all faiths are among our Nation’s greatest strengths and are essential to a free and just society.

Our Nation faces serious threats, both foreign and domestic. Violence motivated by extremist beliefs is not committed by members of one racial, religious, or political group. The Committee on Homeland Security should focus on keeping us safe, rather than engaging in fear-mongering and divisive rhetoric that only weakens the fabric of our Nation and distracts us from actual threats.

We strongly urge you to object to the hearings in their current form. If Chairman King wishes to address violent extremism, then we hope you will ensure that he examines violence motivated by extremist beliefs, *in all its forms*, in a full, fair, and objective way. The hearings should proceed from a clear understanding that individuals are responsible for their actions, not entire communities.

<sup>1</sup>Peter King, *What’s Radicalizing Muslim Americans?*, Newsday, December 17, 2010.

<sup>2</sup>*The Laura Ingraham Show*, January 24, 2011.

<sup>3</sup>See David Schanzer, Charles Kurzman, Ebrahim Moosa, *Anti-Terror Lessons of Muslim Americans*, Duke University, January 6, 2010, at 28–29.

<sup>4</sup>*Secure Freedom Radio With Frank Gaffney*, January 6, 2011.

Thank you for your attention to the issues raised in this letter. We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION  
COMMITTEE,  
AMERICAN PAKISTAN FOUNDATION,  
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA,  
ARAB AMERICAN INSTITUTE,  
ARAB COMMUNITY CENTER FOR  
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SERVICES,  
BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE FOR  
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,  
CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS,  
COUNCIL ON AMERICAN-ISLAMIC  
RELATIONS,  
EMERGE-USA,  
HUMAN RIGHTS FIRST,  
INDIAN MUSLIM RELIEF & CHARITIES,  
INTERFAITH ALLIANCE,  
ISLAMIC MEDICAL ASSOCIATION OF  
NORTH AMERICA,  
ISLAMIC NETWORKS GROUP,  
ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA,  
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE,  
MUSLIM ADVOCATES,  
MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL,  
NATIONAL NETWORK FOR ARAB  
AMERICAN COMMUNITIES,  
OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE,  
PAKISTANI AMERICAN PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
COMMITTEE,  
SIKH COALITION,  
SOUTH ASIAN AMERICANS LEADING  
TOGETHER,  
TANENBAUM CENTER FOR  
INTERRELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING,  
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST SERVICE  
COMMITTEE,  
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN MUSLIM  
LAWYERS,

AMERICAN MUSLIM LAW ENFORCEMENT  
OFFICERS ASSOCIATION,  
ARAB AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF NEW  
YORK,  
ASIAN LAW CAUCUS,  
BAY AREA ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM  
LAWYERS,  
COUNCIL OF ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS OF  
GREATER CHICAGO,  
DRUM—DESIS RISING UP AND MOVING,  
FLORIDA MUSLIM BAR ASSOCIATION,  
THE FREEDOM AND JUSTICE  
FOUNDATION,  
GEORGIA ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM  
LAWYERS,  
HOUSTON SHIFA SERVICES FOUNDATION,  
INNER-CITY MUSLIM ACTION NETWORK,  
ISLAMIC SHURA COUNCIL OF SOUTHERN  
CALIFORNIA,  
MAJLIS ASH-SHURA OF METROPOLITAN  
NEW YORK,  
MICHIGAN MUSLIM BAR ASSOCIATION,  
MUSLIM ALLIANCE OF INDIANA,  
MUSLIM BAR ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO,  
MUSLIM BAR ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK,  
MUSLIM BAR ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN  
CALIFORNIA,  
MUSLIM CONSULTATIVE NETWORK,  
NETWORK OF ARAB AMERICAN  
PROFESSIONALS—NY,  
NEW ENGLAND MUSLIM BAR  
ASSOCIATION,  
NEW JERSEY MUSLIM BAR ASSOCIATION,  
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA ISLAMIC  
COUNCIL,  
OHIO MUSLIM BAR ASSOCIATION,  
SOMALI COMMUNITY SERVICES—SAN  
JOSE, CA.

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ATTACHMENT 8.—STATEMENT OF 54 PUBLIC INTEREST ORGANIZATIONS

MARCH 10, 2011

We are organizations that support the fundamental American values of civil rights and civil liberties for all. We write to strongly object to the House Homeland Security Committee's plans to hold hearings on the "radicalization" of American Muslims. Our concern is that these hearings will serve to further promote the demonization and scapegoating of millions of American Muslims, while providing little valuable insight into the prevention of domestic terrorism.

While we all take the threat of terrorism seriously, we see no productive outcome in singling out a particular community for examination in what appears to be little more than a political show-trial. American Muslims, like all Americans, want to keep our country safe, and to cooperate with law enforcement when they are aware of criminal activity. Yet many elected officials have chosen to demonize all American Muslims, denigrating their religion and questioning their patriotism. We fear that these hearings will only add to this toxic climate of suspicion toward American Muslims and may hinder the important efforts to maintain trust and mutual respect between American Muslims, law enforcement, and public officials.

We commend your interest in exploring the roots of violent extremism, but we urge you to do so in a way that does not demonize millions of Americans for no reason but their faith.

Sincerely,

ADVOCATES FOR YOUTH,  
AFRICAN AMERICAN MINISTERS IN  
ACTION,  
ALLIANCE FOR JUSTICE,  
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION,  
AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION  
COMMITTEE,  
AMERICANS UNITED FOR CHANGE,  
APPEAL FOR JUSTICE,  
ARAB AMERICAN INSTITUTE,  
ARIZONA PROGRESS ACTION,  
ASIAN AMERICAN LEGAL DEFENSE AND  
EDUCATION FUND,  
CENTER FOR COMMUNITY CHANGE,  
CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS,  
CENTER FOR MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY,  
COMMON CAUSE,  
COUNCIL ON AMERICAN-ISLAMIC  
RELATIONS—NEW YORK,  
COURAGE CAMPAIGN,  
CREDO,  
DRUM—DESIS RISING UP & MOVING,  
EQUAL JUSTICE SOCIETY,  
FEMINISTS FOR FREE EXPRESSION,  
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL  
LEGISLATION,  
GREATER NEW YORK LABOR-RELIGION  
COALITION,  
IMMIGRATION EQUALITY,  
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE,  
JEWISH FUNDS FOR JUSTICE,  
LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS  
UNDER LAW,  
MEDIA MATTERS ACTION NETWORK,  
MUSLIM ADVOCATES,

MUSLIM CONSULTATIVE NETWORK,  
MUSLIM PEACE COALITION USA,  
NATIONAL ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN  
WOMEN'S FORUM,  
NATIONAL CENTER FOR LESBIAN RIGHTS,  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN,  
NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE  
ACTION FUND,  
NATIONAL LATINA INSTITUTE FOR  
REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH,  
NATIONAL RELIGIOUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST  
TORTURE,  
NEW SECURITY ACTION,  
NEW YORK NEIGHBORS FOR AMERICAN  
VALUES,  
NYC COALITION TO STOP ISLAMOPHOBIA,  
PARENTS, FAMILIES AND FRIENDS OF  
LESBIANS AND GAYS NATIONAL,  
PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY,  
PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,  
PROGRESSIVE JEWISH ALLIANCE,  
PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST  
CONVENTION, INC.,  
PROJECT VOTE,  
PUBLIC ADVOCATES INC.,  
PUBLIC CITIZEN,  
SECULAR COALITION FOR AMERICA,  
SOUTH ASIAN AMERICANS LEADING  
TOGETHER,  
THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS,  
THE SIKH COALITION,  
TRUMAN NATIONAL SECURITY PROJECT,  
WARISACRIME.ORG,  
WOMEN OF REFORM JUDAISM.

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ATTACHMENT 9.—LETTER FROM 11 ORGANIZATIONS

MARCH 7, 2011.

Honorable PETER KING,  
*Committee on Homeland Security.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN KING: The undersigned organizations write to express our grave concerns about the House Homeland Security Committee's upcoming March 10 hearing on "The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community."

Our organizations work with the diverse Asian Pacific American and Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander communities around the country. Over the past decade, we have witnessed the harmful impact of post-September 11 policies and practices on members of the South Asian, Muslim, Arab American, and Sikh communities. We are also keenly aware of how the backlash against communities after September 11 mirrors the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, and believe that the mistakes that our country made during that time should not be repeated now.

We strongly object to this hearing as it will perpetuate the on-going targeting of individuals based on their faith, and will send the message to the general public that Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim are worthy of suspicion and scrutiny. Questioning an entire community's loyalty based on actions of a few is counter to American values and principles.

In light of these concerns faced by community members, we urge you to cancel this hearing. In the alternative, we recommend that the hearing be reframed towards a dialogue focused on constructive solutions to address threats to security.

Our country was founded on principles of tolerance and inclusion and we urge that this hearing not run counter to those values that we all hold so dear.

For further information, please contact Priya Murthy, Policy Director, at South Asian Americans Leading Together.

Sincerely,

ASIAN AMERICAN JUSTICE CENTER  
(AAJC),

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN LABOR  
ALLIANCE (APALA),

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE  
(JAACL),

LAOTIAN AMERICAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE  
(LANA),

NATIONAL ASIAN AMERICAN PACIFIC  
ISLANDER MENTAL HEALTH  
ASSOCIATION (NAAPIMHA),

NATIONAL COALITION FOR ASIAN PACIFIC  
AMERICAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT  
(NATIONAL CAPACD),

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF FILIPINO  
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION (NAFFAA),

OCA—EMBRACING THE HOPES AND  
ASPIRATIONS OF ASIAN PACIFIC  
AMERICANS,

SIKH AMERICAN LEGAL DEFENSE AND  
EDUCATION FUND (SALDEF),

SOUTH ASIAN AMERICANS LEADING  
TOGETHER (SAALT),

SOUTHEAST ASIA RESOURCE ACTION  
CENTER (SEARAC).

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ATTACHMENT 10.—STATEMENT OF AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH  
AND STATE

MARCH 10, 2011

Americans United for Separation of Church and State submits this testimony to the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security for a hearing entitled: “The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and That Community’s Response.” The freedom of religion, including the right to practice religion unencumbered by the Government’s intrusion, disparagement, or burden, is one of our country’s most fundamental freedoms. This hearing, however, threatens that freedom by singling out for scrutiny one particular community solely based on its religion. We fear that this hearing could have a chilling effect on religious practice, foster anti-Muslim sentiment, and promote misconceptions about the Muslim community and religion.

Rather than focus on threats or actual acts of domestic terrorism generally, Chairman King has instead decided to examine only “radicalization” in the American Muslim community. The focus, limited only to those with a particular religious belief, is misguided. It conflates religious practice with terrorism, even though the vast majority of American Muslims are peaceful, law-abiding citizens. This hearing risks mischaracterizing and demonizing one particular religious group. And further stoking anti-Muslim sentiment is particularly dangerous at a time when anti-Muslim rhetoric and violence is already on the rise.

Furthermore, perpetuating falsehoods about the Muslim community is also counterproductive to the asserted goal of understanding “radicalization.” It moves America no closer to understanding the actual roots of domestic terrorism and it risks alienating citizens from their Government. This committee should not treat an entire religious community as suspect because of the actions of a few. Indeed, it would be unthinkable for the committee to hold a hearing investigating and questioning the “radicalization” of other religious groups, such as Christians, based on a few members of their community.

As the hearing proceeds, we urge Members of the committee to proceed cautiously and remember the importance our society and the Constitution place on the right to the free exercise of religion. Our Nation’s leaders should measure their words carefully and temper their passion with reason. We ask that you steer clear of inflammatory and misleading labels and that you refrain from declaring what is orthodox or heretical, or what is a true or false religion.

America is a religiously diverse country. Such diversity is a natural and expected result of our constitutionally protected religious liberty, which fosters inclusiveness and allows all Americans to freely exercise their beliefs, whether or not they practice a religion. Our Nation’s religious diversity is, indeed, a source of strength, not weakness. Hearings targeting religious minorities contradict these American values and threaten to divide our Nation among religious lines rather than bring us all together as Americans.

Thank you for considering our views on this important matter.

## ATTACHMENT 11.—STATEMENT OF THE ARAB AMERICAN INSTITUTE

MARCH 10, 2011.

## ISLAMAPHOBIA CAN CREATE RADICALIZATION

Let me state quite directly: Islamophobia and those who promote it are a greater threat to the United States of America than Anwar al Awlaqi and his rag-tag team of terrorists.

On one level, al Awlaqi, from his cave hide-out in Yemen, can only prey off of alienation where it exists. Adopting the persona of a latter-day Malcolm X (though he seems not to have read the last chapters of the “Autobiography” or learned the lessons of Malcolm’s ultimate conversion), he appears street-smart, brash, self-assured, and assertive—all of the assets needed to attract lost or wounded souls looking for certainty and an outlet for their rage. Like some parasites, al Awlaqi cannot create his own prey. He must wait for others to create his opportunities, which until now have been isolated and limited—a disturbed young man here, an increasingly deranged soldier there.

Islamophobia, on the other hand, if left unchecked, may serve to erect barriers to Muslim inclusion in America, increasing alienation, especially among young Muslims. Not only would such a situation do grave damage to one of the fundamental cornerstones of America’s unique democracy, it would simultaneously rapidly expand the pool of recruits for future radicalization.

I have often remarked that America is different, in concept and reality, from our European allies. Third generation Kurds in Germany, Pakistanis in the United Kingdom, or Algerians in France, for example, may succeed and obtain citizenship, but they do not become German, British, or French. Last year, I debated a German government official on this issue. She kept referring to the “migrants”—a term she used to describe all those of Turkish descent, living in her country, regardless of the number of generations they had been there. Similarly, following their last election, a leading British newspaper commented on the “number of immigrants” who won seats—without noting that many of those “immigrants” were third-generation citizens.

America has prided itself on being different. Being “American” is not the possession of a single ethnic group, nor does any group define “America.” Not only do new immigrants become citizens, they also secure a new identity. More than that, as new groups become American and are transformed—the idea of “America” itself has also changed to embrace these new cultures.

Within a generation, diverse ethnic and religious groups from every corner of the globe have become Americans, dramatically changing America in the process. Problems remain and intolerant bigots, in every age, have reared up against new groups, but history demonstrates that, in the end, the newcomers have been accepted, incorporated, and absorbed into the American mainstream.

This defines not only our National experience, but our defining narrative, as well. When immigrant school children in Europe learn French, German, or British history—they are learning “their host’s” history. In the United States, from the outset, we are taught that this is “our new story”—that it includes all of us and has included us all, from the beginning.

It is because new immigrants and diverse ethnic and religious communities have found their place and acceptance in the American mainstream that the country, during the last century, survived and prospered despite being sorely tested with World Wars, economic upheaval, and bouts with internal strife. During all this time we had to contend with anti-black, anti-Asian, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-immigrant, and anti-Japanese movements. In the end, after creating their moment of pain, these efforts have always lost.

They lose, but they do not always go away. The Islamophobia we are witnessing today is the latest campaign by bigots to tear apart the very fabric of America. We know the groups promoting it. First, there is the well-funded “cottage industry,” on the right, of groups and individuals with a long history of anti-Arab or anti-Muslim activity. Some of the individuals associated with these efforts have been given legitimacy as commentators on “terrorism,” “radicalization” or “national security concerns”—despite their obvious bias and even obsession with all things Arab or Muslim (in this, they remind me of good old-fashioned anti-Semites who never tired of warning of Jewish threats or conspiracies or who while always claiming to like individual Jews, rallied against any and all Jewish organizations).

If these “professional bigots” have provided the grist, the mill itself was run by the vast network of right-wing talk radio and TV shows and websites and prominent preachers who have combined to amplify the anti-Muslim message Nation-wide.



Their efforts have done real damage. They have tormented decent public servants, created protests that have shuttered legitimate institutions, fomented hate crimes, and produced fear in the Muslim community.

In just the past 2 years, we have seen a dramatic upsurge in the activity of these bigots. More ominously, their cause has been embraced by National political leaders and by elements in the Republican Party—who appear to have decided, in 2010, to use “fear of Islam” as a base-building theme and a wedge issue against Democrats for electoral advantage.

In the past only obscure or outrageous Members of Congress (like: North Carolina’s Sue Myrick who expressed nervousness and insecurity because of “who was owning all those 7/11’s”; or Colorado’s Tom Tancredo who once warned that he “would bomb Mecca”) were outspoken Islamophobes. After the National Republican Congressional Campaign Committee embraced opposition to Park 51 as a campaign theme, it is hard to find a leading Republican who has not railed on some issue involving Islam or Muslims in the United States.

The net impact here is that this current wave of Islamophobia has both played to the Republican base, while firming up that base around this agenda. The polling numbers are striking and deeply disturbing. Fifty-four percent of Democrats have a favorable attitude toward Muslims, while 34% do not. Among Republicans, on the other hand, only 12% hold a favorable view of Muslims, with 85% saying they have unfavorable views. Additionally, 74% of Republicans believe “Islam teaches hate” and 60% believe that “Muslims tend to be religious fanatics.”

The danger here is that to the degree that this issue has become a partisan and, in some cases, a proven vote-getter for the GOP, it will not go away any time soon. The longer we are plagued by this bigotry, and the displays of intolerance it breeds (the anti-mosque building demonstrations or the anti-Sharia law efforts now spreading across the country) the longer young Muslims will feel that the “promise of America” does not include them—and they will feel like aliens in their own country.

It is this concern that has prompted many inter-faith religious groups and leaders and a diverse coalition of ethnic and civil rights organizations to so vigorously oppose Congressman Peter King’s (R-NY) hearings that will deal with the radicalization of American Muslims later this week. They know, from previous statements made by King, of his personal hostility to American Muslims. They also know that what King is doing will only aggravate an already raw wound, creating greater fear and concern among young Muslims—who have already witnessed too much bigotry and intolerance.

What they should also know, is that in the process of targeting a religion in this way and engaging in this most “un-American activity” King and company are, in fact, opening the door for increased alienation and future radicalization. Al Awlaqi must be smiling from inside his cave.

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ATTACHMENT 12.—STATEMENT OF THE ASIAN AMERICAN CENTER FOR ADVANCING JUSTICE

MARCH 10, 2011

Today the House Committee on Homeland Security will hold a hearing titled “Radicalization of the American Muslim community and Homegrown Terrorism.” On behalf of the Asian American Center for Advancing Justice, we would like to express our deep concern and opposition to the singling out of the Muslim community in America. This hearing not only violates our country’s founding belief in religious freedom by targeting one community because of their religion, but undermines public safety and our National security by eroding a community’s trust in law enforcement and diverting scarce law enforcement resources.

Collectively, the members of the Asian American Center for Advancing Justice are non-profit, non-partisan organizations that enrich and empower the Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) community and other underserved populations through public policy, advocacy, litigation, research, and community education. Our mission is to promote a fair and equitable society for all by working for civil and human rights and empowering Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and other underserved communities.

It is un-American to single out and deny any community their rights because of their race, religion, or political views. The AAPI community has suffered a long history of wholesale discrimination because of our race. Up until 1965, Federal law limited the entry of certain immigrants based solely on their race, including at one time barring virtually all Asians from immigrating to the United States. During World War II, Japanese Americans were ripped from their homes and sent to prison in

desolate internment camps. Despite being born and raised in the United States, they were deemed “enemies” simply because of their race. In more recent times, South Asian Americans and Arab Americans have felt the brunt of post-9/11 discriminatory law enforcement practices. Discrimination in any form has no place in our society. America’s promise is that we have always been a Nation of many faiths and beliefs. In fact, America’s greatest strength is our diversity and commitment to protecting freedom, a commitment that sets us apart from other nations. Targeting Muslim Americans violates this very tenet upon which our Nation was founded.

Furthermore, targeting a community based on religion makes our communities and our Nation less safe. To effectively maintain public safety, law enforcement requires the trust and cooperation of people in the communities they serve. Yet, any community that feels vulnerable and targeted is much less likely to trust law enforcement and therefore, less likely to report crimes or act as witnesses in investigations and prosecutions. Consequently, fear and suspicion of law enforcement in one community jeopardizes public safety for all.

History has shown that targeting an entire community because of their race, religion, or political views has always been counterproductive to our National security. Despite being rounded up and interned for “National security” during World War II, not one Japanese American interned was found guilty of sabotage or espionage. Moreover, many Japanese Americans internees joined the 442nd Regimental Combat team, which became the most highly decorated unit of its size. Others joined the Military Intelligence Service that helped end the war with Japan. After 9/11, many citizens and legal permanent residents were detained indefinitely or deported through secret proceedings in the name of “homeland security.” However, not one charge of terrorism resulted from these mass detentions. The further targeting of Muslim Americans as a result of this hearing will not only be ineffective in securing our Nation’s safety, but will divert already scarce law enforcement resources away from real threats.

Lastly, leading law enforcement officials have rejected claims that Muslim Americans are not cooperating with law enforcement. For example, Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca notes that there is nothing to support the view that American Muslims are being uncooperative with law enforcement.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, the Asian American Center for Advancing Justice urges the committee to cancel any future hearings on “Muslim Radicalization” and to focus on security measures that target individual behavior, not whole communities of faith. Furthermore, policies that serve to combat racial profiling must be protected and strengthened. For example, the 2003 Department of Justice (DOJ) Guidance Regarding the Use of Race by Federal Law Enforcement Agencies should be amended to include a ban on religious profiling and to remove the National security and border integrity exemptions that permit law enforcement racial profiling. This is the only way to protect the well-being and safety of all Americans and to preserve our Nation’s promise to protecting the freedoms of Americans of all races and religions. Thank you.

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ATTACHMENT 13.—STATEMENT OF THE BRENNAN CENTER FOR JUSTICE

MARCH 7, 2011.

DEAR REP. THOMPSON: I am pleased to enclosed a copy of *Rethinking Radicalization*,<sup>1</sup> a new publication from the Liberty and National Security Program at the Brennan Center for Justice, as a statement for the record in Representative Peter King’s (R-NY) upcoming hearing on radicalization.

Radicalization is a tangled issue, touching on both speech that receives the most robust First Amendment protection and criminal acts that must be punished with the full force of the law. *Rethinking Radicalization* tests the radicalization theories put forward by some (but not all) law enforcement officials against research from the social sciences, the intelligence community, and other Government agencies. The report details how theories with serious flaws nonetheless spur a heavy-handed law enforcement response. Not only does this response raise important First Amendment issues, but it also jeopardizes the very counterterrorism efforts it is meant to advance by driving away the communities whose help has been so important in thwarting terrorist plots.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, Ben. “LA sheriff takes on King.” POLITICO. 7 February 2011, Web. 7 March 2011. [http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0211/LA\\_sheriff\\_takes\\_on\\_King.html?showall](http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0211/LA_sheriff_takes_on_King.html?showall).

<sup>1</sup>Due to length, this document has been retained in committee files and is available at [http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/rethinking\\_radicalization/](http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/rethinking_radicalization/).

The report recommends specific measures that our government can take to recalibrate its approach to radicalization, in order to ensure that the measures it has undertaken are effective and in keeping with our fundamental Constitutional values.

As you consider this topic, we hope that our report will be helpful to you. If you have any questions or require any further information, please contact me.

Best Regards,

FAIZA PATEL,  
*Co-Director, Liberty & National Security Program.*

ATTACHMENT 14.—STATEMENT OF KATE MARTIN, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

MARCH 10, 2011

We appreciate the opportunity to submit this statement for the record and the committee's consideration of our views. The Center for National Security Studies is a think tank and civil liberties organization, which for 30 years has worked to ensure that civil liberties and human rights are not eroded in the name of National security. The Center is guided by the conviction that our National security must and can be protected without undermining the fundamental rights of individuals guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. In our work on matters ranging from National security surveillance to intelligence oversight, we begin with the premise that both National security interests and civil liberties protections must be taken seriously and that by doing so, solutions to apparent conflicts can often be found without compromising either.

We appreciate this committee's important oversight responsibilities regarding the Department of Homeland Security. However, we write to express our concern that the committee's series of planned hearings on "radicalization" of the American Muslim community raises serious Constitutional concerns and poses a potential threat of chilling freedom of religion and speech protected by the First Amendment.

There is no doubt that Congress has the responsibility to examine the problem of al-Qaeda recruitment of individuals to commit terrorist acts. And we appreciate that this committee has held multiple hearings on this problem, including the hearing last month with testimony from Secretary Napolitano and Director Leiter.

However, hearings about the "radicalization" of American religious communities are fundamentally different. While "radicalization" (or "extremism") is used to mean many different things, we are concerned that these hearings will focus on religious beliefs and communities of faith, rather than on criminal acts. Doing so would risk threatening fundamental First Amendment freedoms of religion and speech and association.

Religious liberties are protected by the First Amendment's command to respect individual rights by limiting Government authority. While Congress has broad and necessary powers of oversight and inquiry, they are not unlimited. As the Supreme Court held in 1957 in one of the cases arising out of the hearings held by the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities on the domestic threat of American communists, Congressional inquiries, like legislation, may not tread on First Amendment freedoms. The Supreme Court affirmed that: "The Bill of Rights is applicable to investigations as to all forms of governmental action. Witnesses cannot be compelled to give evidence against themselves. They cannot be subjected to unreasonable search and seizure. *Nor can the First Amendment freedoms of speech, press, religion, or political belief and association be abridged.*" *Watkins v. United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 188 (1957) (emphasis added).

The Supreme Court just reaffirmed last week that even the most offensive speech by individuals is protected by the First Amendment. It held that the Westboro Baptist Church could not be sued for protesting at soldiers' funerals because their protests are protected speech. *Snyder v. Phelps*, No. 09-751 (Mar. 2, 2011) available at <http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/10pdf/09-751.pdf>. Accordingly, the First Amendment protects those who criticize or attack another's religion; it protects individuals questioning the "true nature of Islam," even when they express offensive and false or extremist views, just as it protects individuals who may hold religious beliefs deemed "radical" by others.

Thus, the FBI may not target individuals for investigation based simply on their "radical" statements—whether anti-Muslim or anti-United States—because those statements, however hateful, are protected by the First Amendment. Of course, when individuals engage in criminal acts of violence inspired by their views, they forfeit First Amendment protections and are fully subject to investigation and prosecution. And the Government may properly investigate, target, and prosecute those

who are suspected of planning such criminal acts, as the planning itself is a crime and sometimes a terrorism crime.

This committee, like law enforcement, should be careful to distinguish between protected First Amendment speech and religion—whether radical or not—and criminal terrorist activity or plots. Only the latter may properly be the subject of official inquiry. Indeed, that Constitutional limitation has been recognized by Congress in the prohibition on the use of Foreign Intelligence Surveillance techniques (FISA) against Americans based solely on First-Amendment protected activity. 50 USC § 1805(a)(2)(a).

The Framers well knew the tendency of all governments to seek to suppress minority, dissenting, or “radical” views, especially on religious matters. “[T]he Fathers of the Constitution were not unaware of the varied and extreme views of religious sects, of the violence of disagreement among them, and of the lack of any one religious creed on which all men would agree. They fashioned a charter of government which envisaged the widest possible toleration of conflicting views. Man’s relation to his God was made no concern of the state. He was granted the right to worship as he pleased and to answer to no man for the verity of his religious views.” *United States v. Ballard*, 322 U.S. 78, 87 (1944). The First Amendment recognizes that in order to protect religious freedom, the Government must distinguish between religious views, which must be protected from Government interference, and criminal acts of violence, which may be punished.

The committee’s hearings threaten to impermissibly blur this distinction. One of the individuals identified as a witness has been very critical of “Islamic” beliefs and of public statements by Muslim Americans.<sup>1</sup> Ironically, one of his claims is that Islamic ideology sometimes fails to respect the appropriate boundary between Government and theology, a boundary these hearing themselves risk trespassing. The witnesses’ views are, of course, protected by the First Amendment; and the tenets of Islam, like the tenets of Catholicism, are properly publicly debated. But creating a Government platform and the appearance of Government endorsement for one set of views, through the process of Congressional hearings, is a different matter. A Congressional committee, through its choice of witnesses and its questions to witnesses, should not be seen as taking sides on matters of religious doctrine. Congress should not conduct an inquiry into the true nature of Islam, or whether there exists an “ideology” of “political Islam,” or what individual Muslim Americans (or others) have said about these controversies. By analogy, it’s doubtful that Congress would consider it appropriate to investigate a Christian pastor labeled as “radical” by other Americans for suggesting the Government should be run based on particular Christian principles. (And the fact that one-time followers of such a pastor may have committed crimes “in the name of their faith” would not change that conclusion.) As Republican Senator Mark Hatfield cautioned in 1979 when the Congress was holding an “Information Meeting,” not a hearing, on religious cults after the Jonestown mass suicides: “if the government launch[es] into a pattern of preemptive interference with even marginal religious groups . . . a precedent with regrettable implications might be established for the future of religious freedom in the United States . . . [B]e very, very wary about plowing into a field so complex, so personal as religious philosophy that could encumber the First Amendment to our Constitution.” *Joint Congressional Information Meeting on the Cult Phenomenon in the United States*, 96th Congress 6–8 (Feb. 5 1979) (statement of Sen. Mark Hatfield).

The core of the First Amendment is that the Government should not be seen as favoring or disfavoring particular religions or religious doctrine. The upcoming hearing risks causing the evils the First Amendment is meant to protect against: Burdening the free exercise of religion, giving the appearance of official endorsement of one set of religious beliefs over another, and chilling both free association and free speech. A Congressional inquiry puts enormous pressure on private groups and individuals who are singled out for scrutiny. This is especially true where the hearings focus on the beliefs of minority religious communities who have already been the targets of both hate speech and actual violence. And the impacts extend beyond those who are actual witnesses.<sup>2</sup> Even if the greater part of the penalty may be in

<sup>1</sup>Laurie Goodstein, *Muslims to be Congressional Hearings’ Main Focus*, N.Y. TIMES, Feb. 7, 2011, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/08/us/politics/08muslim.html?r=2&ref=politics>.

<sup>2</sup>As the Supreme Court has explained: “Abuses of the investigative process may imperceptibly lead to abridgment of protected freedoms . . . And when those forced revelations concern matters that are unorthodox, unpopular, or even hateful to the general public, the reaction in the life of the witness may be disastrous . . . Nor does the witness alone suffer the consequences. Those who are identified by witnesses, and thereby placed in the same glare of publicity, are equally subject to public stigma, scorn, and obloquy. Beyond that, there is the more subtle and immeasurable effect upon those who tend to adhere to the most orthodox and uncontroversial

the form of social pressures or ostracism inflicted by private persons, this fact does not relieve Congress of the responsibility of “initiating the reaction.” See *Watkins*, 354 U.S. at 197–8.

As a civil liberties organization, we have fought for many years against Government proposals to investigate the religious or political beliefs of any group of Americans, whether those who oppose abortion or others who oppose a particular war, whether labeled “radical” or “extremist”. We subscribe to the views of the Attorney General that “law enforcement has an obligation to ensure that members of every religious community enjoy the ability to worship and to practice their faith in peace, free from intimidation, violence or suspicion. That is the right of all Americans. And it must be a reality for every citizen. In this nation, our many faiths, origins, and appearances must bind us together, not break us apart.”<sup>3</sup> We hope that you will agree that this is also the obligation of the Congress. Consistent with First Amendment values, we urge the committee to avoid using its Government power to target individuals or communities based on their religious beliefs—whether characterized as “radical,” “extremist,” or “fundamentalist.” Instead the Homeland Security Committee should focus on al-Qaeda’s criminal efforts to recruit Americans to carry out terrorist acts.

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ATTACHMENT 15.—STATEMENT OF ZAHER SAHLOUL, M.D., CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL OF ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS OF GREATER CHICAGO

MARCH 10, 2011.

This statement is hereby submitted in my capacity as chairperson of the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (hereinafter, the “Council” or “CIOGC”) to the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security with respect to its forthcoming hearing entitled “The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community’s Response to it.”

BACKGROUND ON THE COUNCIL OF ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS OF GREATER CHICAGO

The Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, *www.cioac.org*, is a federation of over 50 mosques, Islamic schools and other Muslim organizations throughout the State of Illinois. The Council’s member organizations collectively represent over 400,000 Muslims. The Council works to coordinate the activities of the Muslim community as well as provide education, training, networking, and advocacy to and on behalf of our member organizations.

The Council works closely with governmental and law enforcement agencies at the local, State, and Federal levels. Council representatives meet regularly with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in Chicago roundtable meetings organized by the office of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties of DHS. These meetings serve to improve coordination and strengthen the relationship between Federal law enforcement and the Muslim community, with the express purpose of keeping our communities safe from extremism and protecting civil liberties. These regularly held meetings are clear examples of the level of cooperation between different Muslim American organizations and law enforcement agencies at the local and National levels.

Representatives of the Council also participated in several meetings organized by DHS in Washington DC, where more than 20 National and regional Muslim organizations were invited for discussion on fighting violent extremism. Frank and open feedback was provided by Muslim leaders about different DHS initiatives, and that has in my view helped develop better policies, as well as improve their implementation at the community level.

The Council also places high priority on our community’s youth and on civic engagement. Our youth activities and programs promote character, spirituality, and citizenship. For example, for the past 3 years, we sponsor the “Illinois Muslim Action Day”—a highly anticipated event which brings together hundreds of students and Muslims of all ages from across the State to travel to Springfield to engage directly with their elected representatives and advocate for reform in such areas as education, health and nutrition, refugee assistance, and the environment. We believe that engaging youth at the civic level helps promote a balanced and strong American identity that prevents alienation and radicalization. We also provide sen-

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views and associations in order to avoid a similar fate at some future time.” *Watkins*, 354 U.S. at 197–8.

<sup>3</sup>Attorney General Eric Holder, Remarks at Muslim Advocates’ Annual Dinner (Dec. 10, 2010).

sitivity training to public schools, leadership development programs, writing workshops, teacher trainings, and other activities.

CONCERNS REGARDING THE COMMITTEE'S HEARING ON "RADICALIZATION"

Our concerns regarding the hearing are not about whether there exists a potential for violent radicalization among a small percentage of misinformed and alienated Muslim Americans, similar to that of other minorities. We do acknowledge this risk. And we are committed to protect our communities, promote civic values among Muslim Americans, and work with our Governmental and law enforcement agencies in order to reach our shared goals.

However the hearing focuses on this phenomenon within the Muslim community while ignoring putting the issue into perspective. Violent terrorist acts committed by Muslim Americans represented a very small percentage of all violent crimes committed in the United States, and while it is important to address this issue, without providing a broader perspective, Congress risks giving the wrong impression to policy makers and to the American public.

Our concerns also are based on the very real potential that this hearing may further inflame an already toxic environment in which too many Americans hold their Muslim American neighbors with suspicion. Many polls have shown that a large percentage of the American public has negative views of Muslim Americans and Islam in general, and that this perception has been trending worse over the past 9 years. We have witnessed a tangible increase in Islamophobia in our State and around the country. This was evident in the unfortunate drama this past summer surrounding the Park51 Center, in arson attacks on mosques, physical violence against Muslims or those suspected of being and closer to home, disproportionate and unfairly imposed burdens we are facing with respect to zoning issues concerning our mosques and community centers.

We are also concerned because of the prior remarks made by Representative Peter King, Chairman of the House Committee on Homeland Security. Rep. King has a history of making misinformed and widely irresponsible statements regarding our community. He continues to claim that some 80% of our Nation's mosques are led by extremists, saying "this is an enemy living among us." Nothing could be further from the truth as has been proven time and again by the many studies on Muslim American communities. A recent Duke study has shown that mosques actually protect against radicalization of Muslims in the United States, and that increasing the capacity of Muslim organizations and mosques should help in the fight against violent extremism.

We are also concerned because of the way in which this hearing has been named. From the secrecy surrounding the witness list to the close cooperation Chairman King's staff has had with known Islamophobe Steven Emerson in preparing for the hearing to its actual title, it seems clear that it is a whole faith community coming under scrutiny.

In conclusion, the singling out of a group of Americans based on their faith is divisive and simply unproductive. We expect more from our representatives in Congress.

Thank you for your attention to our concerns.

Sincerely,

DR. ZAHER SAHLOUL,  
*Chairman, Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago.*

ATTACHMENT 16.—STATEMENT OF VICTOR GHALIB BEGG, SENIOR ADVISOR, COUNCIL OF ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS OF MICHIGAN

MARCH 10, 2011.

The Council of Islamic Organizations of Michigan (CIOM) submits this outside witness statement for the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security, examining the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community and the community's response to it.

As a council of 18 organizations representing an estimated 300,000 Muslims, CIOM's mission is to coordinate and proactively communicate key issues for Michigan's Islamic communities and build bridges and positive collaboration with Government, law enforcement, civic, interfaith, and media organizations. We strive to present Islam in all its facets, and to constructively respond to any negative, stereotypical portrayal of Islam and Muslims.

CIOM has served the Muslim community of Michigan since the 1980s and is a well-respected and recognized organization in the State of Michigan. Past Repub-

lican and Democratic governors, Detroit's Mayors and Michigan's Congressional delegation and other civic, media, Government, and religious leaders regularly attend CIOM events and work with its leadership—both in the past and on a continuing basis. As part of its goals and objectives, CIOM provides effective advocacy on critical social justice issues impacting American-Muslims and educates fellow Americans about Islam as a religion and a peaceful way of life, Muslim cultures and traditions. CIOM further deals with critical issues and challenges facing American Muslims as well as Muslims in other parts of the world.

CIOM also works with other local and National organizations, Muslim and non-Muslim, engaged in building peaceful and inclusive neighborhoods with a goal of making lives of average people better in the State of Michigan.

As a faith-based regional community umbrella organization concerned about civil and human rights, we strongly object to the hearings supposedly on radicalization within the American Muslim community called by the Chair of the Committee on Homeland Security, Congressman Peter King. Chairman King has characterized the hearings as focusing exclusively on the “radicalization of the American Muslim community and homegrown terrorism.”

America has experienced a difficult past few years. We have seen a rise in acts of violence by marginalized and disgruntled individuals. Some have proven mentally unsound while others have been motivated by politics or by their misinterpretation of religion—both trends that we must challenge in all their forms, working as one Nation committed to a shared struggle. However, we must not target one faith or community in this endeavor. We strongly believe that these hearings will paint an entire faith community with a broad brush of suspicion and distrust based on the actions of a tiny minority of violent extremists. In our opinion and in the opinion of many, Chairman King's singling out a group of Americans based on their faith for Government scrutiny is divisive and wrong. These hearings will inevitably examine activities protected by the First Amendment, an affront to fundamental freedoms upon which our country was founded.

We believe these hearings are largely based on unsubstantiated claims and generalizations. We beg to differ with Rep. King's assumption that American Muslims do not cooperate with law enforcement, a claim that simply does not square with the facts.

The Imams Committee of CIOM and other Islamic leaders in Michigan meet regularly with the local U.S. Attorney's office and with the FBI's Special Agent in charge of the Detroit Office. Such meetings are equally aimed at protecting the civil rights of the Muslim community and making sure that there is a strong and open dialogue with law enforcement. Issues are openly discussed in order to build trust and enhance communications. It is critical to hear the testimony of law enforcement officials who have worked so diligently across America to build partnerships with local Muslim communities.

We respectfully submit that it is preposterous to think American Muslims would not want safe communities—Muslims have much to lose should there be a terrorist attack committed by a person with a Muslim name or affiliation.

Mainstream Muslim leadership from such organizations like CIOM must be given the opportunity to speak. While there are many Muslim community organizations, social service groups, and political associations, none will be represented through direct testimony in this hearing, as we understand. Instead, the committee has sought the testimony of people like Walid Phares, a “former official” of a militia implicated in the infamous 1982 massacre of civilian men, women, and children at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. We are happy to know Mr. Phares has just recently been dropped from the witness list, due to the credit of journalists who raised questions about his own extremist past. And Rep. King has called upon others like M. Zuhdi Jasser, who boasts of a long record of Islamophobic remarks, but has few other credentials. We urge that Mr. Jasser's prejudicial testimony be excluded.

Mainstream Muslim community leaders, given the opportunity by Congressman King, would gladly articulate how hard they work to fight violent extremists in their own backyard because they know what is at stake. They would gladly testify of their love for their country and their commitment to keeping it safe.

Muslim Americans are an important part of the security of our Nation. The tone of these hearings and the exclusion of mainstream Muslims will do nothing to build upon that asset or strengthen the effectiveness of law enforcement. Instead, these hearing in their present form will further divide Americans by casting suspicion upon their law-abiding Muslim neighbors, while sowing fear among Muslims with regard to whatever anti-Muslim bigotry may be unleashed.

Thank you for your attention to our concerns.

Sincerely,

VICTOR GHALIB BEGG,  
*Senior Advisor, Council of Islamic Organizations of Michigan.*

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ATTACHMENT 17.—STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL ON AMERICAN-ISLAMIC RELATIONS\*

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ATTACHMENT 18.—STATEMENT OF C. DIXON OSBURN, DIRECTOR OF LAW & SECURITY,  
 HUMAN RIGHTS FIRST

MARCH 10, 2011

INTRODUCTION

We are pleased to submit this statement on behalf of Human Rights First. Human Rights First is a U.S.-based international human rights organization. The Law & Security program for Human Right First promotes security policies that respect the rule of law and human rights. We work in coalition with retired generals and admirals, law enforcement officials, professional interrogators, National security organizations and civil liberties groups.

We appreciate the role of the House Homeland Security Committee in protecting our homeland. The House Homeland Security Committee has a responsibility to address threats facing our Nation. Those threats are real and complex. The United States must constantly assess how to identify, mitigate, prepare for, and respond to threats to our National security. Experts have identified best practices for homeland security and cautioned against measures that would undermine that objective. This statement outlines the current threat assessment, principles behind best and worst practices in responding to the current threat, and unintended negative consequences of racial and religious profiling.

THE CURRENT THREAT ASSESSMENT

The nature of the threat facing the United States has evolved since 9/11. We are facing an increasing use of small-scale attacks by lone actors who are American residents and who defy racial, ethnic, and religious phenotypes.

Department of Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano testified before this committee on February 9, 2011 that the current threat we face is from small-scale attacks by American residents. She said, “One of the most striking elements of today’s threat picture is that plots to attack America increasingly involve American residents and citizens . . . [in] smaller-scale attacks . . . .”<sup>1</sup> The Institute for Homeland Security Solutions also concluded that “more than 40% of terrorist plots from 1999 to 2009 were planned or carried out by single individuals or ‘lone wolves.’”<sup>2</sup>

Those who are instigating threats to our homeland cross religion, ethnicity, race, and gender. The diversity of high profile terrorists includes: White Texan Joseph Stack who crashed a plane into an IRS building in Austin, Texas; shoe bomber, Richard Reid, who was half-Jamaican, half-Caucasian; Hispanic-American Jose Padilla who was suspected of plotting to build a dirty bomb, and was convicted on conspiracy-related charges; half-Pakistani, half-American David Headley of Chicago who helped plan the terrorist attacks in Mumbai in 2008; white Colleen LaRose (AKA Jihad Jane) who plotted to kill a cartoonist who blasphemed Muhammad; and the Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh, a white male.

In a February 2011 report, “Assessing the Jihadist Terrorist Threat to America and American Interests,” Peter Bergen of the New America Foundation came to the same conclusion: One development in the current threat of homegrown terrorism “is the increasing diversification of the types of U.S.-based . . . militants, and the

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\* Due to length, this document has been retained in committee files and is available at <http://www.cair.com/ActionCenter/PeterKingHearings.aspx>.

<sup>1</sup> *Understanding the Homeland Threat Landscape—Considerations for the 112th Congress: Hearing Before the H. Comm. on Homeland Sec.* 112th Cong. 2 (2011) (statement of Janet Napolitano, Dep’t of Homeland Sec. Sec’y).

<sup>2</sup> Kevin Strom et al., *Building on Clues: Examining Successes and Failures in Detecting U.S. Terrorist Plots, 1999–2009*. (Institute for Homeland Security Solutions, 2010), available at [https://www.ihssc.org/portals/0/Building\\_on\\_Clues\\_Strom.pdf](https://www.ihssc.org/portals/0/Building_on_Clues_Strom.pdf).



groups with which those militants have affiliated. Indeed, these [militants] do not fit any particular ethnic, economic, educational, or social profile.”<sup>3</sup>

The Institute for Homeland Security Solutions also concluded that less than half of the plots examined were al-Qaeda or al-Qaeda-inspired plots.<sup>4</sup> An almost equal number of violent extremism plots in the United States were motivated by white supremacy or militia/anti-Government intent.<sup>5</sup>

#### PRINCIPLES BEHIND BEST PRACTICES FOR MITIGATING HOMEGROWN TERRORISM

The threat posed by small bore attacks by a diverse set of lone wolves is that it more difficult to identify actionable intelligence. As Department of Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano testified, “The logic supporting these kinds of terrorist plots is simple: They present fewer opportunities for disruption by intelligence or law enforcement than more elaborate, larger-scale plots by groups of foreign-based terrorists.”<sup>6</sup>

Law enforcement and security experts agree that the best method of identifying, disrupting, mitigating, preparing for, and responding to threats is a multi-layered approach that involves the community and law enforcement. Significant intelligence comes from local citizens “seeing something, saying something.” Community tips are not about our Nation being lucky, as some have derisively claimed, but leveraging the ability of local and Federal officials to quickly detect and assess anomalies that may be a precursor to an attack.

According to the Institute for Homeland Security Solutions, “Approximately 40% of plots were thwarted as a result of tips from the public and informants. Establishing trust with persons in or near radical movements is jeopardized by tactics such as racial, ethnic, religious, or ideological profiling.”<sup>7</sup>

Secretary Napolitano explained to this committee, “Law enforcement at the state, local and federal levels are leveraging and enhancing their relationships with members of diverse communities that broadly and strongly reject violent extremism.”<sup>8</sup>

The willingness of Americans to report suspicious activity rests on trust and confidence in our leaders to handle such reports with integrity. Racial, ethnic, religious, or ideological profiling erodes that trust. Increasing surveillance of any group of Americans undermines our security. Former Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff has said, “Our history of social integration and religious tolerance are important defenses against homegrown terrorists. We should be careful to maintain these traditional values even as we address new efforts by our enemies to establish footholds here at home.”<sup>9</sup>

Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca said, “Muslim Americans in the county of Los Angeles have been overwhelmingly astounded by terrorist attacks—like everyone else—and overwhelmingly concerned about a non-repeat performance of that kind—and are willing to get involved and help.”<sup>10</sup> Attorney General Eric Holder has come to the same conclusion: “[T]he cooperation of Muslim and Arab-American communities has been absolutely essential in identifying, and preventing, terrorist threats.”<sup>11</sup> As Faisal Shahzad sought to detonate a bomb in Times Square last year, it was Aliou Niasse, a Muslim street vendor, who first alerted police to the threat.<sup>12</sup> According to Muslim Public Affairs Council, four out of every ten al-Qaeda plots

<sup>3</sup> Peter Bergen et al., *Assessing the Jihadist Terrorist Threat to America and American Interests*, NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION, [http://counterterrorism.newamerica.net/publications/articles/2011/assessing\\_the\\_jihadist\\_terrorist\\_threat\\_to\\_america\\_and\\_american\\_interests#](http://counterterrorism.newamerica.net/publications/articles/2011/assessing_the_jihadist_terrorist_threat_to_america_and_american_interests#) (last visited March 4, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Strom, *supra* note 2, at 1.

<sup>5</sup> Strom, *supra* note 2, at 1.

<sup>6</sup> Napolitano, *supra* note 1, at 2.

<sup>7</sup> Strom, *supra* note 2, at 2.

<sup>8</sup> Napolitano, *supra* note 1, at 3.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Chertoff, *Our Homegrown Terror Threat*, The Daily Beast, (Jan. 21, 2010 6:23 PM) <http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-01-01/our-homegrown-terror-threat/full/>.

<sup>10</sup> Ben Smith, *LA Sheriff Takes on King*, POLITICO.COM Blog (Feb. 7, 2011, 3:17 PM) [http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0211/LA\\_sheriff\\_takes\\_on\\_King.html?showall](http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0211/LA_sheriff_takes_on_King.html?showall).

<sup>11</sup> Eric Holder, Att’y Gen. of the U.S., Remarks at the Muslim Advocates’ Annual Dinner (Dec. 10, 2010) available at <http://www.mainjustice.com/2010/12/11/holders-prepared-remarks-at-muslim-advocates-dinner-in-san-francisco/>.

<sup>12</sup> Alexandra Frean, *Unexploded car bomb in Times Square ‘amateurish one-off’ terrorism attempt*, The Sunday Times, May 2, 2010 available at [http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/us\\_and\\_americas/article7114495.ece](http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/us_and_americas/article7114495.ece).

since 9/11 have been foiled because of intelligence shared by the American Muslim Community.<sup>13</sup>

President Obama said, “Thanks to our intelligence and law enforcement professionals, we are disrupting plots and securing our cities and skies. And as extremists try to inspire acts of violence within our borders, we are responding with the strength of our communities, with respect for the rule of law, and with the conviction that American Muslims are a part of our American family.”<sup>14</sup>

Building trust with local communities is more than providing a safe environment in which to report possible threats. It means ensuring that the Government understands and addresses the social and economic challenges faced by all Americans so that they can reach their full potential and live the American dream. Deputy National Security Advisor Denis McDonough said on March 6, 2011, “We refuse to ‘securitize’ the relationship between the government and millions of law-abiding, patriotic Muslim Americans and other citizens. We refuse to limit our engagement to what we’re against, because we need to forge partnerships that advance what we’re for—which is opportunity and equal treatment for all.”<sup>15</sup>

#### COUNTERPRODUCTIVE APPROACHES TO MITIGATING HOMEGROWN TERRORISM

The challenge in identifying, mitigating, preparing for, and responding to threats from lone actors planning small-scale attacks is like trying to find a needle in haystack. What Government officials do not want to do is increase the amount of intel-

In the context of homeland security, the issue has not been the lack of intelligence, but the challenges in identifying, assessing, and sharing signals intelligence across agencies. According to the Breakthrough Institute, “The preponderance of evidence suggests that the greatest barrier to more effective [counterterrorism] remains the operational challenges to intelligence sharing, analysis, and ‘connecting the dots’ (what the 9/11 Commission called “institutional imagination”).”<sup>16</sup>

Hence, experts agree that the increased search and surveillance measures taken post-9/11 have decreased our tenor response capability by generating too much data, most of which is just “noise.” In addition, there is no evidence that racial or religious profiling has yielded any benefit, and indeed is considered detrimental to sound homeland security practices. Again, according to the Breakthrough Institute, “Our investigation into plots foiled since 9/11 uncovers no credible evidence that the expansion of search and surveillance tools resulted in the discovery of those activities either. According to our analyses of news accounts, FBI investigation reports, and recent studies on foiled terrorist plots, all were broken open due to the combination of well-deployed undercover agents, information from citizen or undercover informants, and tips from foreign intelligence agencies.”<sup>17</sup>

#### UNINTENDED NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL & RELIGIOUS PROFILING

While security experts and local law enforcement have stressed that the best practices of thwarting terrorist plots includes a multi-layered approach that rests on trust between Government and community, they have also cautioned that racial and religious profiling can undermine our National security at home and abroad. There is significant concern that these hearings focused on the “extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community and that community’s response” will have unintended consequences that actually undermine the mission of the House Homeland Security Committee.

Al-Qaeda has said that America is at war with Muslims. Speaking about racial or religious communities as threats to the United States feeds into al-Qaeda propaganda. As John Brennan said, “Describing our enemy in religious terms would lend credence to the lie—propagated by al-Qaeda and its affiliates to justify terrorism—that the United States is somehow at war against Islam. The reality, of course, is

<sup>13</sup> Alejandro Buetel, Data on Post-9/11 Terrorism in the United States, 3, (Muslim Public Affairs Council 2011) available at <http://www.mpac.org/assets/docs/publications/MPAC-Post-911-Terrorism-Data.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> Barack Obama, Pres. of the U.S., State of the Union Address (Jan. 25, 2011) available at [http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/State\\_of\\_the\\_Union/state-of-the-union-2011-Full-transcript/story?id=12759395&page=4](http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/State_of_the_Union/state-of-the-union-2011-Full-transcript/story?id=12759395&page=4).

<sup>15</sup> Denis McDonough, Deputy Nat’l Sec. Advisor to the Pres. of the U.S., Remarks at ADAMS Center, Sterling, VA: Partnering with Communities to Prevent Violent Extremism in America (March 7, 2011) available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/03/06/remarks-denis-mcdonough-deputy-national-security-advisor-president-prepa>.

<sup>16</sup> Nick Adams et al., Counterterrorism Since 9/11: Evaluating The Efficacy of Controversial Tactics 18 (Breakthrough Institute 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Id.

that we never have been and will never be at war with Islam. After all, Islam, like so many faiths, is part of America.”<sup>18</sup>

Brian Fishman, an associate at West Point’s Combating Terrorism Center, warns that anti-Islamic rhetoric feeds into the message of al-Qaeda propagandists like Anwar al-Awlaki, who try to recruit terrorists by advancing claims that American Muslims face a dark future of ever-worsening discrimination and vilification. Fishman said, “When the rhetoric is so inflammatory that it serves the interests of a jihadi recruiter like Awlaki, politicians need to be called on it.”<sup>19</sup>

U.S. commanders have warned that religious intolerance undermines our National security. General David Petraeus, U.S. Commander in Afghanistan, said that incidents like the proposed Koran burning in 2010 could “endanger troops and it could endanger the overall effort here . . . [I]n fact, images from such activity could very well be used by extremists here and around the world.”<sup>20</sup>

Those charged with building bridges abroad also note that targeting Muslims at home undercuts security and diplomatic efforts abroad. Karen Hughes, former Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, said, “I believe it is in America’s strategic interest, and in the interest of defeating terrorism, that we make clear that we view most Muslims as our allies in a common struggle against extremists.”<sup>21</sup>

Major General Paul Eaton, U.S. Army (Ret.), explained how anti-Muslim rhetoric is harmful to the military’s objectives: “It is a slap in the face to a great many people we wish to have as allies. We are trying to make allies of our colleagues in Iraq and Afghanistan and this is not helpful.” He also added, “This is unhelpful to the American fighting men and women and counter to the image we wish to portray in Afghanistan and Iraq.”<sup>22</sup>

It is vital to recognize the service and patriotism of all Americans, and ensure that through words and deeds, we do not do them a disservice. President George W. Bush said, “Muslim members of our Armed Forces and of my administration are serving their fellow Americans with distinction, upholding our nation’s ideals of liberty and justice in a world at peace.”<sup>23</sup>

General Colin Powell, on the sacrifice of a young American soldier: “Is there something wrong with being a Muslim in this country? The answer is no. That’s not America . . . I feel particularly strong about this because of a picture I saw in a magazine. It was a photo essay about troops who were serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. And one picture at the tail end of this photo essay was of a mother at Arlington Cemetery and she had her head on the headstone of her son’s grave. And as the picture focused in, you could see the writing on the headstone, and it gave his awards—Purple Heart, Bronze Star—showed that he died in Iraq, gave his date of birth, date of death, he was 20 years old. And then at the very top of the head stone, it didn’t have a Christian cross. It didn’t have a Star of David. It has a crescent and star of the Islamic faith. And his name was Kareem Rashad Sultan Khan. And he was an American. He was born in New Jersey. He was fourteen years old at the time of 9/11, and he waited until he could serve his country and he gave his life.”<sup>24</sup>

We urge the House Homeland Security Committee to assess threats to the homeland, but to do so in a way that is consistent with known best practices involving a multi-layered approach of trust between community and government. Alienating communities will undermine our security. Overreacting to each threat will play into the hands of terrorists who want us to abandon our values and institutions. Legislating racial profiling, increasing surveillance, and data collection will only make us

<sup>18</sup> John Brennan, Ass’t to the Pres. for Homeland Sec. and Counterterrorism, Address at Center for Strategic and International Studies: Securing the Homeland by Renewing American Strength, Resilience, and Values (May 26, 2010) available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-assistant-president-homeland-security-and-counterterrorism-john-brennan-csi>.

<sup>19</sup> Scott Shane, *U.S. Anti-Islam Protest Seen as Lift for Extremists*, N.Y. Times, Aug. 20, 2010 available at [http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/21/world/21muslim.html?\\_r=2](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/21/world/21muslim.html?_r=2).

<sup>20</sup> Martha Raddatz, *General Petraeus: Burn a Quran Day Could ‘Endanger Troops,’* ABCNews.com, Sept. 7, 2010 available at <http://abcnews.go.com/WN/Afghanistan/burn-quran-day-sparks-protests-afghanistan-petraeus-endanger/story?id=11569820>.

<sup>21</sup> Karen Hughes, *Move the New York City mosque, as a sign of unity*, WASH. POST, Aug. 22, 2010, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/20/AR2010082002124.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Joe Strupp, *Retired General and Bush Official Blast Mosque Opposition*, Media Matters for AM, Aug. 16, 2010, available at <http://mediamatters.org/blog/201008160044>.

<sup>23</sup> George W. Bush, Pres. of the U.S., Remarks on Eid Al-Fitr, (Dec. 5, 2002), available at <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021205-5.html>.

<sup>24</sup> Colin Powell *Salutes Muslim Americans in Obama Endorsement*, Talking Points Memo Blog (Oct. 19, 2008), <http://tpmcafe.talkingpointsmemo.com/talk/blogs/eades/2008/10/colin-powell-salutes-muslim-am.php>.

less secure by increasing the informational noise that will cover the signal intelligence we must identify, share, and assess to thwart threats.

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ATTACHMENT 19.—STATEMENT OF REV. DR. C. WELTON GADDY, PRESIDENT,  
INTERFAITH ALLIANCE

MARCH 10, 2011

As a Baptist minister, a patriotic American and the President of Interfaith Alliance, a National, non-partisan organization that celebrates religious freedom and is dedicated to protecting faith and freedom and whose 185,000 members Nation-wide belong to 75 faith traditions as well as those without a faith tradition, I submit this testimony to the House Committee on Homeland Security for the record of the hearing on “The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community’s Response.”

By singling out one particular religious community for investigation, these hearings fly in the face of religious freedom as it is enshrined in the First Amendment to our Constitution. Furthermore, these hearings are not only the wrong answer to the wrong question, but in the end, they may only perpetuate the problems the Homeland Security Committee seeks to solve, as well as add to a disturbing climate of anti-Muslim sentiment extant in America today.

Freedom of religion as guaranteed by the First Amendment protects the freedom of all Americans to believe in any religious faith, as they choose, without fear of criticism, retribution, or investigation because of it. In our Nation, all people and all faiths are equal with none favored over any other. The fact that Muslims in this country are taking full advantage of all clauses of the First Amendment does not make them inherently any more radical than any other religious community in this country. They have the right to practice their faith, they have the right to speak freely—even if it is to raise concerns about Government policy—and they have the right to practice those freedoms while assembled together. These freedoms are an integral part of American democracy.

There is no doubt that our Nation faces serious threats to its security both at home and abroad, but the continued demonization of Muslims and questioning of the Muslim faith is not the answer. I fear that this approach is misguided and will only result in further alienating the American Muslim community. Terrorism is a real threat that requires serious investigation based on fact. At the same time, conducting hearings into what is being presented as a major trend of “radicalization” in the Muslim community that leads to violence, when there is little to no evidence to support that claim, is also a real threat. Posing questions like “whether the American Muslim community is becoming radicalized” or “whether the American Muslim community is cooperating with law enforcement has the dangerous potential to intensify, rather than to lessen, prejudice toward Muslims and puts an unjustifiably greater responsibility on Muslim Americans to help root out terrorism than is placed on Americans of other faiths and belief systems.

There exists in our country today a pervasive and unsettling trend of anti-Muslim fear, bigotry, and rhetoric and a general lack of understanding of the real differences between Islamic extremists who commit acts of terrorism and non-violent adherents to Islam. Targeting one particular faith for scrutiny when the overwhelming majority of that faith’s adherents in this country are peaceful, law-abiding citizens seems counterproductive and just plain wrong. It is the responsibility of our elected officials to promote reason, truth, and civility in the public forum—especially at a time when Islamophobia is on the rise—not to waste time and public resources on victimizing select groups.

Interfaith Alliance’s work is driven by the fundamental principle that protecting religious freedom is most critical in times of crisis and controversy. Even the most basic knowledge of the history of the First Amendment includes the understanding that religious freedom exists in part to protect the rights of the minority from what Alexis de Tocqueville not unrealistically called the tyranny of the majority. In fact, it would not be a stretch to say that if our Founding Fathers had relied on polling data, the First Amendment might not exist at all. Unfortunately, in today’s political climate, it may not ensure an “electoral win” to defend the rights of the American Muslim community, but there is no question that it is the right thing to do.

Thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony on this important issue.

## ATTACHMENT 20.—STATEMENT OF THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA

MARCH 10, 2011

The Islamic Society of North America expresses its concern about today's hearing on the "The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community's Response." While we share the committee's commitment to ensuring the security of our Nation, we strongly believe that there is a better way to ensure our National security than singling out one faith community. The hearing as it is currently structured proposes holding a public scrutiny of one specific community on the basis of religion; such institutionalized generalizations have not been seen since the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

We all shared in the suffering of 9/11 as one American family. American Muslims died in the Twin Towers that day, and we mourned their loss just as we mourned the loss of all the victims of that day's brutal attacks. Since then, we too, have felt the fear of potential terrorist attacks, and many in our community have spoken out when they suspected danger to their communities. In Times Square, for example, a Muslim street vendor notified authorities when he saw a parked van that seemed suspicious, and on many occasions, Muslim parents have turned in their own children. A study by Duke University indicated that the largest single source of information about attempted terrorist attacks is members of the American Muslim community.

The Islamic Society of North America is wholeheartedly committed to keeping our country safe, for us, for our children, and for our American brothers and sisters of all religions or of no religion. We are seriously aggrieved each time the name of God is used to commit such ungodly acts as terrorism, and we have taken strides to counter extremist ideologies within our communities, as we would encourage everyone to do in theirs. As Brian Levin of the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University said regarding Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad, the son of one of the committee's witnesses today, "This is an example where it really is the fanatic and not the faith . . . It's their contortion of it."

We will continue to do our part to prevent terrorism, and we ask that the committee on Homeland Security continue to do its part as well. Rather than emphasizing our differences, our safety as a Nation would be better enhanced if the committee instead united us, so that all the diverse communities of America can work together for our Nation's security.

One positive outcome of this committee's actions has been the overwhelming support American Muslims have received from individuals and organizations of all kinds, particularly the interfaith community. Leaders of the interfaith community first came to support us on September 7 of last year to publicly condemn the rise in anti-Muslim incidents, and we were grateful for their faithful demonstration of love for their neighbors. Following that event, we came together to form a multi-religious campaign entitled, "Shoulder-to-Shoulder: Standing with American Muslims; Upholding American Values." Members of the campaign include representatives from a variety of National faith-based, interfaith, religious organizations, such as the National Council of Churches, the Union for Reform Judaism, and the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

When this committee first announced it would hold hearings specifically about the Muslim community, the members of Shoulder-to-Shoulder were immediately ready to stand in solidarity with us and to vocalize their opposition to such unjustified public scrutiny of one community from among our many communities of faith.

Later today, Shoulder-to-Shoulder will once again stand united in a National press conference to publicly convey our concern about the format of these hearings. While any threat to our National security is worth examining, singling out one community of faith is contrary to our American value of religious freedom.

Thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony to the committee, and we hope you will take these important issues into consideration.

## ATTACHMENT 21.—STATEMENT OF MUSLIM ADVOCATES

Muslim Advocates submits this written statement for the record of the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security, hearing entitled, "The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community's Response."

Muslim Advocates (<http://www.muslimadvocates.org>) is a National legal advocacy and educational organization dedicated to promoting freedom, justice, and equality for all, regardless of faith, using the tools of legal advocacy, policy engagement, and education and by serving as a legal resource to promote the full participation of

Muslims in American civic life. Founded in 2005, Muslim Advocates is a sister entity to the National Association of Muslim Lawyers, a network of Muslim American legal professionals. Muslim Advocates seeks to protect the founding values of our Nation and believes that America can be safe and secure without sacrificing Constitutional rights and protections.

America's greatest strength is our diversity and our commitment to freedom. Indeed, religious freedom and the freedom to express oneself is essential to who we are as Americans. Muslims have been an integral part of America since its founding when the first slave ships arrived on its shores. Muslims serve our Nation as teachers, business owners, factory workers, cab drivers, doctors, lawyers, law enforcement, firefighters, Members of Congress, and members of the armed forces. Their research and innovation adds to the progress of our Nation in science, business, medicine, and technology. They contribute to every aspect of our Nation's economy and society. The essence of our country is *e pluribus unum*: Out of many, practicing their faith freely and contributing each in their own way, comes a strong, unified one.

The essence of our country, where there is no established state church, is that it is the land of the free for all people to practice their faith, free of persecution and protected by the Constitution's inalienable rights guaranteed to all individuals. This hearing, however, is inconsistent with this vision of America. Singling out a group of Americans based on their faith for government scrutiny is divisive and wrong. It goes against centuries of religious freedom in our country and contradicts the proud history of being American that many Muslim families can trace back generations. As General Colin Powell reminded us in the course of the 2008 Presidential elections, "Is there something wrong with being a Muslim in this country? The answer's no, that's not America."<sup>1</sup> Broadly targeting American Muslims, as these hearings do, harkens back to the dark era of McCarthyism, where innocent Americans were tarred with false accusations and an unjust presumption of guilt held sway. This period arguably served as one of the darkest chapters in the history of the U.S. Congress.

Our Nation faces serious threats, both foreign and domestic. However, a hearing that feeds public fear and hysteria about Islam and Muslims undermines National unity and National security. As LAPD Deputy Chief Michael Downing, Commanding Officer for Counter-Terrorism and Special Operations Bureau, stated:

"[T]here are two sides of extremism, the side from Al Qaeda and the affiliates bent on attacking the West, and the other side of those who continue to demonize Muslims and Islam in an effort to keep people afraid and angry. Both are not helpful to protecting our nation from terrorist attacks."<sup>2</sup>

As several prominent public figures have noted recently, individuals are accountable for their actions, not entire communities. People who engage in violence motivated by extremist beliefs hail from myriad racial, ethnic, religious, or political backgrounds, and Congress should be focused on exploring violent extremism in all its forms. The Committee on Homeland Security should focus on keeping us safe, rather than engaging in fear-mongering and divisive rhetoric that only weakens and distracts us from actual threats to our safety.

Neither law enforcement nor Members of Congress should assign blame, or target, members of an entire mosque, neighborhood, or the vast population of millions of hard-working, law-abiding American Muslims because of acts of violence that are committed by individuals in that community. In testimony before this very committee last month, National Counterterrorism Center Director Michael Leiter said that the prevalence of violent extremists in American Muslim communities was "tiny . . . a minute percentage of the [U.S. Muslim] population."<sup>3</sup> Further, in a report released last year, the RAND Corporation stated that the low rate of would-be violent extremists—only 100 amongst an estimated 3 million American Muslims—"suggest[s] an American Muslim population that remains hostile to jihadist ideology and its exhortations to violence. A mistrust of American Muslims by other

<sup>1</sup> Powell, Colin. "Meet the Press" transcript for Oct. 19, 2008." [http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/27266223/ns/meet\\_the\\_press/](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/27266223/ns/meet_the_press/).

<sup>2</sup> "Congress Should Take Cue from Law Enforcement on Engaging Muslim Communities." Muslim Public Affairs Council, November 26, 2010. <http://www.mpac.org/programs/government-relations/dc-news-and-views/congress-should-take-cue-from-law-enforcement-on-engaging-muslim-communities.php>.

<sup>3</sup> Michael, Leiter. "Statement for the Record before the House Committee on Homeland Security on the subject: 'Understanding the Homeland Threat Landscape—Considerations for the 112th Congress.'" National Counterterrorism Center, Feb. 9, 2011, [http://www.nctc.gov/press\\_room/speeches/Transcript-HHSC\\_Understanding-the-Homeland-Threat.pdf](http://www.nctc.gov/press_room/speeches/Transcript-HHSC_Understanding-the-Homeland-Threat.pdf).

Americans seems misplaced.”<sup>4</sup> And in a report released last month by the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security, researchers found that a total of eleven American Muslims have successfully executed terrorist attacks in the United States since the attacks of September 11, 2001, killing 33 people.<sup>5</sup> This is about three deaths per year. To put this number in context, and to underscore the wrong-headed nature of hearings that target only the American Muslim community, there have been approximately 150,000 murders in the United States since 9/11. According to the FBI, there were approximately 15,241 murders in the United States in 2009 alone.<sup>6</sup>

American Muslims—like all Americans—want to live in safe communities. American Muslims report criminal activity to do their part to keep communities safe. Muslim communities around the country continue to engage in constructive dialogue with local and National law enforcement and take very seriously their role in countering violence. As Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca recently stated:

“We have as much cooperation as we are capable of acquiring through public trust relationships [with the American Muslim community]. Muslim Americans in the county of Los Angeles have been overwhelmingly astounded by terrorist attacks—like everyone else—and overwhelmingly concerned about a non-repeat performance of that kind—and are willing to get involved and help.”<sup>7</sup>

A January 2010 study of American mosques and communities by Duke University researchers found that, in addition to there being low numbers of radicalized Muslims, that communities were taking specific steps to counter violent rhetoric and behavior, including: Public and private denunciations of terrorism and violence; self-policing; community building; political engagement; and embracing their cultural identity as Muslims and Americans.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to taking on their role as vigilant members of society, American Muslims want to be afforded the same legal rights and protections afforded to us all under the Constitution. These hearings evince the exact opposite treatment with potentially grave consequences. Putting an entire community under suspicion erodes trust in law enforcement, which in turn undermines public safety. A 2006 study commissioned by the Department of Justice found that Arab Americans were significantly fearful and suspicious of Federal law enforcement due to Government policies. It also found that both community members and law enforcement officers determined that diminished trust was the most important barrier to cooperation.<sup>9</sup> At a time when we as Americans need to come together, these hearings only serve to further divide us. As President Obama recently noted, it is time for Americans to talk to each other “in a way that heals, not in a way that wounds.”<sup>10</sup>

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Congress has a solemn duty to wield its power responsibly. Providing a public, Government platform where erroneous and offensive views are promoted is not without consequence. The American public takes cues from Government officials. These hearings will inevitably increase widespread suspicion and mistrust of the American Muslim community and stoke anti-Muslim sentiment. During 2010, we saw an increase in anti-Muslim hate in public discourse, as well as hate crimes and violence targeting the American Muslim community, including vandalism and arson of mosques, physical attacks, bullying of American Muslim children in schools, and attempted murder. Behind these attacks is the

<sup>4</sup>Jenkins, Brian Michael. “Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States Since September 11, 2001.” p. viii. Rand Corporation, 2010. [http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\\_papers/2010/RAND\\_OP292.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/2010/RAND_OP292.pdf).

<sup>5</sup>Kurzman, Charles. “Muslim-American Terrorism Since 9/11: An Accounting.” Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security, Feb. 2, 2011. [http://sanford.duke.edu/centers/teths/about/documents/Kurzman\\_Muslim-American\\_Terrorism\\_Since\\_911\\_An\\_Accounting.pdf](http://sanford.duke.edu/centers/teths/about/documents/Kurzman_Muslim-American_Terrorism_Since_911_An_Accounting.pdf).

<sup>6</sup>U.S. Department of Justice—Federal Bureau of Investigation. “Crime in the United States, 2009.” Released September 2010. <http://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2009/documents/murdermain.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup>“Baca: No Evidence US Muslims Not Cooperating With Police.” CBS Local Media, February 7, 2011. <http://losangeles.cbslocal.com/2011/02/07/baca-no-evidence-us-muslims-not-cooperating-with-police/>.

<sup>8</sup>Henderson, Nicole J. et al. *Law Enforcement and Arab-American Community Relations After September 11*. Vera Institute of Justice, 2006. <http://www.bipartisanpolicy.org/sites/default/files/NSPG%20Final%20Threat%20Assessment.pdf>.

<sup>9</sup>Henderson, Nicole J. et al. *Law Enforcement and Arab-American Community Relations After September 11*. Vera Institute of Justice, 2006. <http://www.bipartisanpolicy.org/sites/default/files/NSPG%20Final%20Threat%20Assessment.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup>Obama, Barack. “Remarks by the President at a Memorial Service for the Victims of the Shooting in Tucson, Arizona.” The White House, January 12, 2011. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/01/12/remarks-president-barack-obama-memorial-service-victims-shooting-tucson>.

rhetoric of hate groups that, for the first time, number over 1,000 in the United States.<sup>11</sup> This rise in hate speech and violence has a direct impact on the American Muslim community. Just this week, a video was released showing an elected official from Yorba City, CA calling for the death of American Muslims. No American should live in fear for their safety, and Congress should not be complicit in creating a climate where it is acceptable to target a particular faith community for discrimination, harassment, and violence, including death threats.

It is for the above reasons that we strongly object to these hearings in their current form, and urge the Committee to recognize the negative impact these hearings will have on American Muslims and our country.

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ATTACHMENT 22.—LETTER FROM THE NATIONAL COALITION OF SOUTH ASIAN ORGANIZATIONS

MARCH 7, 2011.

Honorable PETER KING,  
*U.S. House of Representatives, House Committee on Homeland Security, H2-176  
 Ford House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN KING: The undersigned organizations, as members of the National Coalition of South Asian Organizations, write to express our grave concerns about the House Homeland Security Committee's upcoming March 10 hearing on "The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community."

As organizations that serve, organize, and advocate on behalf of South Asian community members, many of whom are Muslim, we have witnessed the pernicious effects of the scapegoating of our communities since September 11. Over the past decade, South Asians, Arab Americans, Sikhs, Muslims, and those perceived to be Muslim have endured bias, discrimination, and profiling. Incidents of hate crimes, bias-based bullying, and workplace discrimination have spiked; community members have been subjected to heightened scrutiny by airport security officials, law enforcement officers, and immigration authorities; and places of worship have been placed under surveillance. In addition, there has been a rise in xenophobic rhetoric against these communities, particularly in the political realm.

We strongly object to this hearing as it will perpetuate the on-going targeting of individuals based on their faith, and will send the message to the general public that Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim are worthy of suspicion and scrutiny. Questioning an entire community's loyalty based on actions of a few is counter to American values and principles.

In light of these concerns faced by community members, we urge you to cancel this hearing. In the alternative, we recommend that the hearing be reframed towards a dialogue focused on constructive solutions to address threats to security. Our country was founded on principles of tolerance and inclusion and we urge that this hearing not run counter to those values that we all hold so dear.

For further information, please contact Priya Murthy, Policy Director, at South Asian Americans Leading Together.

Sincerely,  
 ASHA FOR WOMEN,  
 CHHAYA CDC,  
 COUNSELORS HELPING (SOUTH) ASIAN  
 INDIANS, INC.,  
 DAYA, INC.,  
 INDO-AMERICAN CENTER,  
 MAI FAMILY SERVICES,  
 MANAVI,  
 THE SIKH COALITION,

SIKH AMERICAN LEGAL DEFENSE AND  
 EDUCATION FUND (SALDEF),  
 SOUTH ASIAN AMERICANS LEADING  
 TOGETHER (SAALT),  
 SOUTH ASIAN NETWORK,  
 SOUTH ASIAN YOUTH ACTION,  
 TURNING POINT FOR WOMEN AND  
 FAMILIES,  
 UNITED SIKHS.

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<sup>11</sup> Siemaszko, Corky. "Southern Poverty Law Center lists anti-Islamic NYC blogger Pamela Geller, followers a hate group." Daily News, Feb. 25, 2011. [http://www.nydailynews.com/ny\\_local/2011/02/25/2011-02-25\\_southern\\_poverty\\_law\\_center\\_lists\\_antiislamic\\_nyc\\_blogger\\_pamela\\_geller\\_follower.html](http://www.nydailynews.com/ny_local/2011/02/25/2011-02-25_southern_poverty_law_center_lists_antiislamic_nyc_blogger_pamela_geller_follower.html). Potok, Mark. "The Year in Hate & Extremism, 2010." Southern Poverty Law Center, Spring 2011, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2011/spring/the-year-in-hate-extremism-2010>.



ATTACHMENT 23.—STATEMENT OF DR. DAVID P. GUSHEE, PRESIDENT, NEW  
EVANGELICAL PARTNERSHIP FOR THE COMMON GOOD

MARCH 10, 2011

CHAIRMAN KING, RANKING MEMBER THOMPSON, AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE: Today's hearing on what the committee's website calls "al-Qaeda's coordinated radicalization and recruitment of people within the American Muslim community" has set off alarm bells, especially in the Muslim community, but also among many others.

As an American, and as a Christian, I dispute the way you have framed these hearings, and I am very concerned about their possible implications. My reasons will be clear shortly. But I do not dismiss the legitimate fears that lie behind widespread public support for such hearings.

We have indeed seen a steady flow of high-profile Islamist terrorist plots and arrests over the past decade. Since 2001, according to a recent study from the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security (Duke University/University of North Carolina/RTI International), 161 American Muslims have been publicly accused of planning or carrying out terror attacks. Eleven succeeded, killing 33 people.

WELL BEYOND 9/11 FEARS

Most recently, a Saudi student named Khalid Ali-M Aldawsari has been charged with plotting terrorist attacks in Texas and elsewhere. His alleged targets included the home of former president George W. Bush. Last year, we encountered Faisal Shahzad, the man who allegedly plotted a car bombing of Times Square. Before that, came the Christmas day attempt to down a jetliner bound for Detroit. The steady drumbeat of sensational plots has had its impact on American public opinion. It's not just about 9/11 anymore.

Further, as lead Triangle Center researcher Charles Kurzman has noted, Islamist extremists are involved in wide-ranging terrorist recruitment efforts via the internet and elsewhere. This is standard operating procedure.

So what's the problem with the hearings? The committee is overlooking or misstating critically important facts about what is going on in the American Muslim community. It is ignoring clear data about the full range of terror threats facing our country. These hearings have the potential to inflame already tense relations between American Muslims and the rest of their fellow citizens. And they threaten the perceived legitimacy of any practice of Islam in the United States, therefore risking one of our most fundamental liberties—freedom of religion.

Let's begin with the American Muslim community. I have had the privilege of working with key leaders in this community, and I do not recognize the hateful portrait being painted of them in portions of the mainstream media, not to mention the gutter-precincts of the internet.

More than 2 million Muslims live in the United States, the vast majority of whom, as the Chairman himself has rightly noted, are "hardworking, dedicated Americans." Kurzman points out that the data show American Muslims' "level of recruitment (into terrorism) is extremely low." Islamist recruitment efforts are not making real inroads in the United States. Meanwhile, many Muslims serve in our military, law enforcement, diplomatic, and intelligence services. More careful framing of the hearings might make it sound less like the committee believes the American Muslim community as a whole is becoming a local branch of al-Qaeda.

Further, the Muslim community has no pattern of aiding and abetting terrorism. To the contrary: According to the Triangle Center study, 30% of the U.S. Muslims suspected of terrorist activity since 2001 have been stopped through tips by fellow American Muslims. The Chairman has made the inflammatory claim that law enforcement has received "little or—in most cases—no cooperation from Muslim leaders and imams." Unless he can support that claim with data, he should withdraw it.

Plenty of other terrorist threats are out there. Consider this: A 2007 study of State law enforcement agencies by the University of Maryland found that "just as many State police agencies view neo-Nazis as posing a serious threat to their own State's security as consider Islamic Jihadists to pose a serious threat."

When State law enforcement agencies were asked in that same study to identify the actual extremist groups operating within their State, "Islamic Jihadi" groups ranked 11th. Law enforcement authorities in 92% of responding States named neo-Nazis as operating within their borders, while 62% of the States named Muslim extremists. Here is the Top 10, in order: Neo-Nazis, militia/patriot, racist skinheads, freemen/sovereign citizen, extreme animal rights, extreme environmentalists, KKK, Christian Identity, extreme anti-tax, and extreme anti-immigrant.

## CONSIDER ALL THE THREATS

Clearly, the threat from the homegrown extreme right is profound. According to data compiled by the Muslim Public Affairs Council, since President Obama's election there have been more than twice as many terror plots (45) by domestic non-Muslim extremists as there have been among Muslims (22). Yet the Chairman has derided requests to broaden the hearing as mere political correctness.

I am concerned about all terrorist threats to our Nation. But effective National security requires getting our facts straight. If right-wing extremists together with Islamist extremists are clearly the two major domestic terror threats we face, then, just as clearly, both groups should receive serious public scrutiny.

But there is another unique dimension to these hearings. The focus, after all, is on the purported radicalization of the "American Muslim community." Not a tiny pocket. But all Muslim Americans can fall under this umbrella of suspicion.

It is always a very dangerous thing when one group is singled out in front of the rest. It is humiliating, shaming, and stigmatizing, and almost invites average citizens to marginalize and mistreat members of the targeted group. When religion is involved, and a minority religious group to boot, the danger grows exponentially.

These hearings might intensify fear, hatred, and mistreatment of Muslims. Some Christian leaders are already succumbing, such as former Arkansas governor and Fox News host Mike Huckabee, who recently described Muslims collectively as people who believe that "Jesus Christ and all the people that follow him are a bunch of infidels who should be essentially obliterated."

I fear that the tolerance and restraint generally shown by Americans after the 9/11 attacks is fraying, and that anti-Muslim rhetoric and violence will intensify in the wake of these hearings.

It will become even more disastrous if the committee or today's witnesses succumb publicly to the rapidly spreading anti-Muslim hysteria among us. I dread the possibility that the Chairman might repeat some of his past claims, such as that "there are too many mosques in this country" and that Muslims are "an enemy living amongst us." Will this be the time when the halls of Congress echo with hysterical claims that Muslims are secretly trying to impose sharia law on America?

Chairman King, please consider your responsibilities soberly. Be very careful with your language, and with the witnesses you have invited. So much is at stake.

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ATTACHMENT 24.—STATEMENT OF SHOAIB KHALID, CHAIRMAN AND RIYAD ALASAD,  
VICE-CHAIRMAN, NORTH TEXAS ISLAMIC COUNCIL

MARCH 10, 2011

The North Texas Islamic Council (NTIC) submits this outside witness statement for the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security, examining radicalization in the American Muslim community and the community's response to it.

The NTIC was incorporated in 2006 as an independent nonprofit operating according to the laws of the State of Texas and the United States of America. The NTIC provides a collective platform for two dozen of Dallas-Fort Worth's organized Muslim community organizations, serving 150,000 area Muslims, to coordinate efforts and build partnerships with civic, interfaith, media, and Governmental entities. In that capacity the NTIC has built upon multiple existing local relationships with the law enforcement community on behalf of a membership body that includes most of the region's largest Islamic congregations (Mosques), Islamic schools, and community services organizations.

As a faith-based community organization that has partnered extensively with the FBI to confront the threat of violent extremism over the past 5 years, we would like to strongly register our objection to this committee's hearing on extremism within the American Muslim community as called by the Chair of the Committee on Homeland Security, Congressman Peter King.

Chairman King has characterized the hearings as focusing exclusively on the "radicalization of the American Muslim community and homegrown terrorism," and in the process also alienated mainstream community groups with Islamophobic anti-community rhetoric and by electing to not invite any mainstream community group or community-based counter-radicalization experts to testify.

Chairman King's singling out an entire community of Americans based on their faith for Government scrutiny is counter-productive, and is exactly the opposite approach our experience working extensively with law enforcement has found most effective. An important lesson learned was that effective law enforcement and community partnerships are enhanced through a trust building process but are thoroughly

undermined by the politicization of counter-radicalization efforts as this hearing has already done.

With little understanding of the hearing's topic expressed thus far in Chairman King's public pronouncements, we fear that the hearing will inaccurately highlight politically unpopular First Amendment protected nonviolent views as a radicalization indicator. Such a hearing would be a great disservice to our country and the hard-working law enforcement community in North Texas, as well as undermine vital community partnerships Nation-wide as invariably a cloud of suspicion is cast widely upon the American Muslim community.

Our community personally witnessed the damage unleashed by hate when an innocent American simply presumed to be Muslim was murdered as a reprisal for 9/11, or most recently last month when another bigoted violent extremist confessed to burning down a children's playground while trying to burn down a local Mosque at the height of the Park 51 National debate.

Violence motivated by extremist beliefs is not committed by members of one racial, religious, or political group. Any hearings held by the House Homeland Security Committee should proceed from a clear understanding of two vital components. First is that individuals are responsible for their actions and not entire communities. Second is that the alienation of mainstream communities undermines the vital trust partnerships between law enforcement and those communities being targeted by violent extremist networks.

Thank you for your consideration of our concerns.

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ATTACHMENT 25.—STATEMENT OF RABBI RACHEL KAHN-TROSTER AND JOSHUA BLOOM, CO-DIRECTORS, RABBIS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS—NORTH AMERICA

The members of Rabbis for Human Rights—North America (RHR-NA) proudly stand with our fellow children of Abraham, the Muslim-American community, in urging that extremism be fought wherever it is found, and that one community not be singled out for unnecessary scrutiny.

RHR-NA represents hundreds of rabbis of every Jewish denomination, who unite in the common belief that every human being is a reflection of God's image. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights—written in the aftermath of the Holocaust, when hatred and discrimination against a minority group reached a horrific conclusion—holds up the universal values of freedom of religion, freedom of worship, and freedom from discrimination. These universal values are also deeply American values. The United States has long been a place of safety for members of minority groups. We cannot undermine our values out of a misplaced belief that it will keep us safer.

Today's world is fraught with a danger. We understand that we have to challenge fundamentalism, but in the pursuit of that goal, we must not fragment the family of humankind. The threat from extremist groups is real, but these hearings will only serve to strengthen those who hold hatred against Muslims in the heart. Extremism—and violence—it is found in every religion and in every community. It is un-American to single one minority group for scrutiny. If we have a society that scapegoats entire religious groups or ethnic minorities based on what a few individuals do, Jews and other minorities will not be safe either. Government hearings should not be used for political sound bites at the expense of the safety and well being of religious groups in America.

The Jewish community is acutely aware of the consequences of singling out newcomers for discrimination and prejudice. It was not so long ago in this country when many communities looked on Jews with suspicion, would not sell them homes, and discouraged the building of synagogues. We have in past faced hatred because of our religious customs and distinctive garb, and we thought that our country had learned from the Jewish experience to embrace members of all religious and ethnic groups with open arms. Instead, we watch with alarm as cities and States prevent the construction of mosques, and hold misguided campaigns to outlaw Sharia law. Rep. King's hearings merely add fuel to the fire, spreading the misguided notion that our Muslim neighbors and colleagues—who work hard, support our communities, and are proudly America—undermine our collective safety.

The Torah commands us to protect the stranger, because we were strangers in the land of Egypt. Indeed, the injunction to love the stranger is mentioned more often in the Torah than the laws of the Sabbath or of keeping kosher. Today, that commandment impels us to join together with Muslim Americans and people of all faiths in opposing discrimination. If we stand together, we are stronger. If we stand together, we ensure we are safe. If we stand together, united, then we will ensure that American values are upheld.

ATTACHMENT 26.—STATEMENT OF MARK J. PELAVIN,<sup>1</sup> DIRECTOR, COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM AND ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, RELIGIOUS ACTION CENTER OF REFORM JUDAISM

MARCH 10, 2011

On behalf of the Union for Reform Judaism, which represents nearly 900 synagogues encompassing 1.5 million members across North America, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which has a membership of 1,800 rabbis, I welcome the opportunity to submit testimony today.

In short, although we are indeed deeply concerned about the threat posed by radicalism, we believe today's hearing—with its exclusive focus on the American Muslim community—is fundamentally flawed. A wide-ranging exploration of radicalism writ-large is necessary, and we would welcome it. But today's hearing is not that exploration. It is a narrow, myopic, investigation into the American Muslim community which unfairly targets one group of citizens in Congressional proceedings.

This hearing is deeply unsettling. First, it fails to address radicalism in general, choosing instead to focus only on American Muslims. Additionally, it seems to accept profiling and stereotyping as valid tools of investigation, practices our country, with such a strong history of civil rights, opposes, and is unwilling to compromise for security.

The narrow focus of today's hearing is also counterproductive in failing to recognize the role that moderate Muslims have played in the past in preventing terror threats, creating a filter through which that community may feel less comfortable approaching law enforcement officials. These hearings threaten to reduce, rather than enhance, our security.

Further, we believe that these hearings are based on factual inaccuracies. According to a Duke University study,<sup>2</sup> the largest single source of initial information that brought terror suspects to the attention of the U.S. Government was tips from the Muslim-American community. Muslim-Americans provided initial tips in 40% of cases involving terror suspects since 9/11. Furthermore, according to a Rand Corporation report,<sup>3</sup> from 9/11 to the end of 2009 there have been just 46 cases of radicalization that include plots to carry out a terrorist attack, providing information to foreign terrorists or leaving the country to join a jihadist organization abroad. Out of the estimated 3 million American-Muslims, the total number of people involved in these incidents was just 109. To hold a hearing implicating 3 million Americans in the public eye for the actions of just over 100 is beyond saddening.

As I noted above, I want to be clear that our opposition to these hearings is not based on an opposition to investigations into radicalization in general. We support the right of this committee and other appropriate Government institutions to defend America from both external and internal threats. We acknowledge that a small number of radical Muslims exist in America. We insist, however, that this committee not fail to recognize that radicalism is not limited to Islam and in no way are all Muslims radical. If this hearing were part of a series of hearings on radicalism it would be justified; but as an isolated inquiry it is not. Radicalism can—and has—manifested itself in many forms: Jews, Christians, Muslims; liberals, conservatives; first-generation Americans and Americans who can trace their ancestry to our country's very beginning. But, for every radical in a given demographic, there are thousands who are as patriotic as you or I.

We also believe these hearings may well have a chilling effect on the right of Americans to practice their religion freely without fear of consequence from the Government or fellow citizens. Casting an entire faith in a questionable light because of the actions of a few is a form of modern-day McCarthyism. Doing so threatens the freedom of religion that the earliest founders of this country sought when they came to the Americas. A 1790 letter by George Washington to the Jews of Newport stated, "For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection, should demean themselves as good citizens." Washington's powerful eloquence, in response to a congratulatory note from the Newport Jewish community, demonstrates America's unending commitment to freedom of religion, for all its inhabitants.

For the Jewish community, singling out a religious group for Government scrutiny and questioning in this manner is particularly concerning, for we have been among

<sup>1</sup> 2027 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington DC 20036.

<sup>2</sup> [http://sanford.duke.edu/centers/tcths/about/documents/Kurzman\\_Muslim-American\\_Terrorism\\_Since\\_911\\_An\\_Accounting.pdf](http://sanford.duke.edu/centers/tcths/about/documents/Kurzman_Muslim-American_Terrorism_Since_911_An_Accounting.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\\_papers/2010/RAND\\_OP292.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/2010/RAND_OP292.pdf).

the quintessential victims of group hatred, persecution, and discrimination in Western civilization. We know all too well the impact of discrimination and the power that malicious and fallacious speech can have, especially when endorsed by a Government. In the Babylonian Talmud, (Arakhin 15b), a central text of discussion on Jewish law, we are taught that disparaging speech kills three people, the person who says it, the person who listens to it and the person about whom it is said. Today's hearing, which singles out American Muslims, has the potential to cause real damage to our society and its commitment to freedom and independence for all.

I urge you to consider the affects of these hearings carefully and realize the potential damage they may cause.

Thank you.

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ATTACHMENT 27.—STATEMENT OF MARGARET HUANG, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, RIGHTS WORKING GROUP

Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, and Members of the committee: My name is Margaret Huang, and I am honored to submit this testimony for the record on behalf of the Rights Working Group regarding today's hearing on "The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community's Response."

Formed in the aftermath of September 11, the Rights Working Group (RWG) is a National coalition of nearly 300 organizations from across the country representing civil liberties, National security, immigrant rights, and human rights advocates. RWG seeks to restore due process and human rights protections that have eroded since 9/11, ensuring that the rights of all people in the United States are respected regardless of citizenship or immigration status, race, National origin, religion, or ethnicity. Among our core principles is protecting the right to free exercise of religion without fear of Government intrusion or intimidation. RWG is particularly concerned about today's hearing which singles out Muslims in America for public scrutiny and infringes on this right.

The United States was founded on the ideal of religious freedom and our participatory democracy requires that all of us are able to freely exercise our freedoms of speech, religion, and association without fear. By positing today's hearing as an investigation into the Muslim community in America, the committee suggests that Americans should look upon Muslims as suspect simply because of their religion. This is contrary to deeply held American values. As Rep. Mike Honda recently noted, "This should be deeply troubling to Americans of all races and religions. An investigation specifically targeting a single religion implies, erroneously, a dangerous disloyalty, with one broad sweep of the discriminatory brush."<sup>1</sup> The committee's examination of a single community of faith is antithetical to American principles as it infringes upon the rights of Muslims in America to freely and safely practice their religion. By placing suspicion on one religious community, the hearings imply Governmental endorsement of other religions above Islam. Doing so creates a chilling effect upon the religious practice of Muslims in America and violates their fundamental First Amendment rights. Moreover, the committee's hearings will reveal little about actual National security threats to our country since racial and religious profiling are not effective methods of fighting terrorism.<sup>2</sup>

By targeting an entire community of faith, the committee's actions promote and encourage racial and religious profiling. Racial and religious profiling is illegal under the Constitution and violates our human rights. Particularly important in the context of today's hearing, numerous National security experts have argued that ra-

<sup>1</sup>Rep. Mike Honda, "Hearings on Muslim Americans is un-American," San Francisco Chronicle, February 28, 2011, available at [http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/blogs/opinionshop/detail?entry\\_id=84016](http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/blogs/opinionshop/detail?entry_id=84016).

<sup>2</sup>See Rights Working Group, "FACES OF RACIAL PROFILING A Report from Communities Across America," September 2010 at 4, quoting Rafi Ron, former Chief of Security for Ben Gurion Airport in Israel and consultant to Boston's Logan International Airport, "One of the problems with racial profiling is that there's a tendency to believe that this is the silver bullet to solve the problem. In other terms, if you're a Middle Easterner or if you're a Muslim, then you must be bad . . . But back in 1972, Ben Gurion Airport in Tel Aviv was supposed to be attacked by a Palestinian . . . [it] was never attacked by one. It was attacked by a Japanese terrorist . . . And it was attacked in the mid-80s by a German terrorist answering to the name Miller." See also Ayres, Ian and Jonathan Borwsky, "A Study of Racially Disparate Outcomes in the Los Angeles Police Department," ACLU of Southern California, October 2008 available at <http://www.aclu-sc.org/documents/view/47>; "Inquirer Editorial: UnAmerican," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 19, 2011, available at [http://articles.philly.com/2011-02-19/news/28611738\\_1\\_radicalization-muslims-house-hearings](http://articles.philly.com/2011-02-19/news/28611738_1_radicalization-muslims-house-hearings).

cial and religious profiling is an ineffective way to protect our country.<sup>3</sup> For example, former Attorney General John Ashcroft has said, “Using race . . . as a proxy for potential criminal behavior is unconstitutional, and it undermines law enforcement by undermining the confidence that people can have in law enforcement.”<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Ranking Member Thompson has stated, “Today’s terrorists do not share a particular ethnic, educational, or socioeconomic background . . . The most effective means of identifying terrorists is through their behavior—not ethnicity, race or religion.”<sup>5</sup> Rep. Keith Ellison, a witness before the committee here today, has noted, “If you put every single Muslim in the U.S. in jail, it wouldn’t have stopped Jared Loughner . . . It wouldn’t have stopped the young man who killed his classmates at Virginia Tech. It wouldn’t have stopped the bombing in Oklahoma City or the man who killed a guard at the Holocaust Museum in Washington.”<sup>6</sup> The committee’s hearings, by targeting a religious community, implicitly support profiling policies; such policies are ineffective at making us safer.

Post-9/11 policies that profiled Muslims and those perceived to be Muslims instilled a significant fear of law enforcement and Government in those communities. Such fears resulted in a decline of reports by victims of crime, such as domestic violence victims, seeking law enforcement assistance; some crime victims from targeted communities failed to seek necessary emergency medical attention.<sup>7</sup> This hearing today is likely to compound the fear of law enforcement and Government that such communities experience, causing domestic violence victims to stay in violent situations and victims of assault to neglect to seek medical treatment for their injuries. Additionally, the committee’s hearings, which are likely to cause a spike in anti-Muslim sentiment in America, could cause a rise in violence and hate crimes against Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim. Last year there was a rise in anti-Muslim harassment and mosque vandalism following the Park 51 controversy, which fomented backlash against Muslims.<sup>8</sup> “Rather than promoting violence, American Muslims today are more likely to be victims of hate crimes or harassment . . . Last year, a New York cabbie’s throat was slashed by a passenger, reportedly because he was a Muslim. A Florida mosque was firebombed while 60 Muslims prayed inside. Arson fires ravaged mosques in Tennessee and Oregon . . . anti-Muslim rhetoric is fueling anti-Muslim violence.”<sup>9</sup> The committee’s hearings which erroneously focus on the Muslim community in America have potentially dangerous consequences, especially given the rise of hate crimes and violence against Muslims in our country today.

#### CONCLUSION

The hearings, as currently formulated, infringe upon the First Amendment rights of American Muslims, do not respond to actual threats to our National security, and decrease the safety of all communities in America.

- The committee should work to ensure that Muslims in America can continue to enjoy religious freedom, civil liberties, and their other Constitutional and human rights, and committee Members should make strong statements against any intolerance, discrimination, or hate crimes directed at this community.
- The committee should reformulate its hearings on homegrown terrorism and focus on actual threats to our homeland security, rather than engaging in divisive and destructive rhetoric against Muslims. To do so, the committee must in-

<sup>3</sup>Campbell Brown, “Investigating the Christmas Day Terror Attack: Obama Administration Downplaying War on Terror?,” *CNN*, December 30, 2009, transcript available at <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0912/30/ec.01.html>.

<sup>4</sup>United States Department of Justice, “Fact Sheet Racial Profiling,” June 17, 2003, available at [http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2003/June/racial\\_profiling\\_fact\\_sheet.pdf](http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2003/June/racial_profiling_fact_sheet.pdf).

<sup>5</sup>Ranking Member Bennie Thompson, “Homegrown Terrorists Are Not Just Muslims,” *Politico*, January 27, 2011, available at <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0111/48239.html>.

<sup>6</sup>Laurie Goodstein, “Muslims to Be Congressional Hearings’ Main Focus,” *New York Times*, February 7, 2011, available at [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/08/us/politics/08muslim.html?\\_r=2&hpw](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/08/us/politics/08muslim.html?_r=2&hpw).

<sup>7</sup>Immigration Policy Center, “BALANCING FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL PRIORITIES IN POLICE-IMMIGRATION RELATIONS: Lessons from Muslim, Arab, and South Asian Communities Since 9/11,” *Immigration Policy IN FOCUS*, Vol. 6, Iss. 3 at 5, June 2008.

<sup>8</sup>American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, “The 2010 ADC Legal Report LEGAL ADVOCACY & POLICY REVIEW,” at 6, 2010, available at [http://adc.org/fileadmin/ADC/Pdfs/2010\\_ADC\\_Legal\\_Report.pdf](http://adc.org/fileadmin/ADC/Pdfs/2010_ADC_Legal_Report.pdf).

<sup>9</sup>Star Tribune Editorial, “Terror hearings fuel anti-Muslim fears,” February 25, 2011, available at <http://www.startribune.com/opinion/editorials/116955498.html>. See also Human Rights Watch, “WE ARE NOT THE ENEMY” Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to be Arab or Muslim after September 11, Vol. 14, No. 6, November 2002, available at <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2002/11/14/we-are-not-enemy>.

investigate individual and suspicious behavior rather than an entire community of faith.

- Congress should introduce and pass the “End Racial Profiling Act” instating a Federal ban on profiling based on race, religion, ethnicity, and National origin at the Federal, State, and local levels.

Thank you again for this opportunity to express the views of the Rights Working Group coalition. We would welcome the opportunity for further dialogue and discussion about these important issues.

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ATTACHMENT 28.—STATEMENT OF TALAT HAMDANI, SEPTEMBER 11TH FAMILIES FOR PEACEFUL TOMORROWS

I write you on behalf of September Eleventh Families for Peaceful Tomorrows, a National organization of more than 200 relatives of victims of the 9/11 attacks. As families who suffered terribly on September 11, 2001 we are acutely aware of the need to ensure that our country is secure, that an event like 9/11 never happens again, and that other mothers do not have to bury their sons, fathers bury their daughters, or children bury their parents as a result of a preventable terrorist attack. We understand that it is you, our elected representatives, who have responsibility for ensuring our collective security and we appreciate all the efforts that you make towards those ends.

However, we are equally concerned with sustaining our American traditions of fair play and tolerance. And it is for that reason we write each of you to voice our profound concern about the forthcoming hearings before the House Homeland Security Committee on “The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community’s Response.” We believe, as currently constituted, those hearings represent an affront to these fundamental American values.

Our concern is that, as currently constituted, the hearings single out a group of people and demonizes them based on unfair stereotypes. Many Muslims were murdered on 9/11 including my own son, a police cadet who died as he responded to the tragedy. Similarly, as we know too well, violent extremism has stalked America since well before 9/11; it is not the domain of a single religion or ethnic group. Indeed, those who monitor extremist groups note that there are 932 hate groups operating in American today and they come in all colors and stripes.

Accordingly, September Eleventh Families for Peaceful Tomorrows supports Rep. Bennie G. Thompson’s call to Rep. Peter King asking him to reconsider his decision to confine his hearings to an investigation of the Muslim community and that the hearings are expanded to include all potential sources of domestic extremism that threaten our National security.

We urge that each of you heed our call and the calls of all Americans who share our dual vision of ensuring our security without violating our values.

It’s the American thing to do.

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ATTACHMENT 29.—STATEMENT OF THE SIKH COALITION

MARCH 10, 2011

The Sikh Coalition writes to express its opposition to the decision of the Committee on Homeland Security to single out the Muslim American community for scrutiny during the committee’s March 10, 2011 hearing on domestic radicalization. As detailed below, we believe that the hearings will exacerbate bias and discrimination against members of our communities.

Sikh Americans in the post-9/11 environment have endured hate crimes, workplace discrimination, racial profiling, and school bullying on account of our appearance. Although the overwhelming majority of Americans who wear turbans are Sikhs, we are often mistaken for Muslims and have experienced the same bigotry to which Muslims are subjected. Like Muslim children, our children are called “terrorists” at school.<sup>1</sup> Like Muslim men who keep beards for religious reasons, our men are summarily denied jobs with law enforcement agencies, despite our desire to pursue such careers with honor.<sup>2</sup> Like Muslims of both sexes who wear religious

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<sup>1</sup>See Sikh Coalition, *Sikh Coalition Bay Area Civil Rights Report 2010 (2010)*, available at [http://www.sikhcoalition.org/documents/Bay\\_Area\\_Civil\\_Rights\\_Agenda.pdf](http://www.sikhcoalition.org/documents/Bay_Area_Civil_Rights_Agenda.pdf).

<sup>2</sup>Don Thompson, *Bearded man can’t be prison guard, Calif. says*, MSNBC.com, Jan. 25, 2011, at [http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41263508/ns/us\\_news-crime\\_and\\_courts](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41263508/ns/us_news-crime_and_courts).

headcoverings, Sikhs are subjected to disproportionate screening at airports, despite the availability of screening technologies that obviate the need for such screening.<sup>3</sup>

As Sikh Americans, we therefore have some insight into what it is like to be perceived as a Muslim in the United States. In our judgment, your hearing will sensationalize the extent of radicalization among American Muslims and simultaneously reinforce bigoted stereotypes of the sort that underlie hate crimes, discrimination, bullying, and profiling against Sikh and Muslim Americans. From our prior experience, this will eventually lead to backlash attacks against our communities. Our concerns about backlash are compounded by your failure to publicize studies indicating that 7 out of the last 11 al-Qaeda plots were foiled with the assistance of Muslims, and that most terrorist plots against the United States since 9/11 have involved domestic non-Muslim extremists.<sup>4</sup>

In light of the foregoing concerns, we urge you to take a more nuanced approach to the problem of domestic extremism in the United States. By forcing all Muslim Americans—and only Muslims Americans—under the microscope, you are giving intellectually dishonest cover to bigots and endangering our beleaguered communities.

ATTACHMENT 30.—LETTER FROM HILARY O. SHELTON, DIRECTOR, NAACP  
WASHINGTON BUREAU

MARCH 8, 2011.

The Honorable PETER KING,  
*Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.*

The Honorable BENNIE THOMPSON,  
*Ranking Member, Committee on Homeland Security, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN KING AND RANKING MEMBER THOMPSON: On behalf of the NAACP, our Nation's oldest, largest, and most widely-recognized grassroots civil rights organization, I am writing to strongly urge you to reconsider holding the narrowly focused and reckless hearings planned by the Committee on Homeland Security, tentatively scheduled for March 10, 2011, on the "Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community's Response." Such a hearing, as presently planned with its limited and skewed focus on one religious-ethnic group, would be not only counter-productive as it clearly does not provide a focus on so many of the other "homegrown terrorist" groups working to radicalize sectors of U.S. religious communities, but it is also divisive and potentially harmful to our Nation's security interests.

The NAACP is no stranger to domestic terrorism: As the surviving friends and family of Harry T. and Henrietta Moore, Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King, Jr., Schwerner, Goodman, and Chaney, and Emmett Till, not to mention the 168 killed and 450 injured in the Alfred T. Murrah building in Oklahoma City, and too many others can attest, we are all too familiar with the evil concept. We are also too familiar with the process of being ostracized and demonized because of who we are or what we look like. Finally, members of the NAACP also have a long history of working with and benefitting from the goodwill of people of all races and ethnicities regardless of their background. It is clear that the most effective means of identifying terrorists is through their behavior—not ethnicity, race, or religion.

Factual history has clearly demonstrated that "homegrown domestic terrorism" cannot be relegated to one racial or ethnic group. To do so is to overlook actual historic and current events, which are both riddled with terrorist acts by extremists from a large variety of racial, ethnic, political, social and religious groups. Furthermore, by identifying one group as being largely responsible for current terror threats against our Nation, you are promoting misinformation and stereotypes that can only build mistrust among members of that group. This in turn will make it more difficult for members of that group to cooperate with authorities in identifying or reporting genuine threats, and more unlikely that they will. On the other side of the equation, this approach creates misguided hostility towards Muslims or perceived

<sup>3</sup> See *Racial Profiling and the Use of Suspect Classifications in Law Enforcement Policy Hearing Before the House Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties of the House Committee On the Judiciary*, 111th Cong. (2010) (statement of Amardeep Sinah, Director of Programs, Sikh Coalition), available at [http://judiciary.house.gov/hearings/printers/111th/111-131\\_56956.PDF](http://judiciary.house.gov/hearings/printers/111th/111-131_56956.PDF) and <http://judiciary.house.gov/hearings/pdf/Singh100617.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Muslim Public Affairs Council, *Data on Post-9/11 Terrorism in the United States* (2011), available at <http://www.mpac.org/assets/docs/publications/MPAC-Post-911-Terrorism-Data.pdf>.



Muslims by perpetuating stereotypes which incite further misunderstandings or even violence against those groups.

So I must again urge you in the strongest terms possible to rethink the focus of your proposed hearings on domestic terrorism. The United States today clearly faces a wide variety of dangers, from both foreign and domestic sources, and to focus on one group presents not only a disservice to that group, but also to our Nation. I look forward to working with you in the upcoming Congress to help identify and eradicate threats against our Nation. Please feel free to contact me whenever you feel that the NAACP can be of assistance.

Sincerely,

HILARY O. SHELTON,  
*Director, NAACP Washington Bureau & Senior Vice President for Advocacy and Policy.*

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ATTACHMENT 31.—LETTER FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN CAUCUS

MARCH 9, 2011.

The Honorable PETER KING,  
*Chairman, House Committee on Homeland Security, U.S. House of Representatives.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN KING: We are writing in regards to the upcoming hearings to be held by the Homeland Security Committee on the radicalization of the American Muslim community and homegrown terrorism. We are greatly concerned by the title of this set of hearings and the tone that it suggests the hearings should take.

As Members of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus (CAPAC), we are opposed to the narrow scope of the hearings and the negative impact it will have on American Muslim communities. Singling out one group based on race, ethnicity, religion, or National origin does nothing to better protect our country and challenges the fundamental rights of the communities that are the subject of the hearing. Moreover, this hearing exacerbates a climate of discrimination and prejudice against those who are, or perceived to be, Muslims.

The majority of American Muslims are peaceful, family-oriented, patriotic, hard-working individuals whose contributions play a vital role in our society. But by broadly targeting this group based on their religion, the hearings imply that people of certain faiths are not as worthy to receive the protections that the law provides. These hearings send the message to the American people that all Muslims should be viewed as potential radicals and treated as such. They also send the wrong message to Muslims abroad and will encourage negative perceptions of how the United States treats Muslims, further compromising our National security.

Recently we have seen a sharp increase in the number of anti-Muslim reactions across the country, including the plans of a church to host an "International Burn a Quran Day" and the hostilities against the building of the Park51 Muslim community center in Lower Manhattan. The United States Congress plays a pivotal role in fostering an atmosphere of inclusivity and protecting the rights of individuals to practice religion free from discrimination and harassment. The hearings, however, will only contribute to the anti-Muslim sentiment and increase mistrust and fear of American Muslims.

Additionally, these hearings focus specifically on the radicalization of Muslims rather than radicalization generally, regardless of religious, political, or other affiliation. There have been terrorist attacks in this country performed by people who were not Muslim, but were radicals who belonged to other faiths or ideologies. For example, Timothy McVeigh, David Koresh, & Ted Kaczynski all committed what we would define as terrorist acts on American soil, but they were not affiliated with the Muslim religion. Singling out one type of affiliation that may or may not be relevant rather than focusing on the problem of radicalization itself is unnecessary, excessive, and does not contribute to furthering our National security.

We encourage you to broaden the scope of the hearings to consider radicalization beyond the Muslim community or cancel the hearings altogether. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

JUDY CHU,  
*Chair, CAPAC,*  
BOBBY C. SCOTT,  
*Chair, CAPAC Civil Rights Taskforce,*

MADELEINE BORDALLO,  
COLLEEN HANABUSA,  
RAUL GRIJALVA,  
AL GREEN,  
MAZIE HIRONO,

MIKE HONDA,  
BARBARA LEE,

ZOE LOFGREN,  
DAVID WU.

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ATTACHMENT 32.—STATEMENT OF SUE UDRY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, DEFENDING  
DISSENT FOUNDATION

MARCH 7, 2011

The decision to hold a hearing that questions the patriotism and decency of the entire American Muslim community smacks of McCarthyism, intolerance, and prejudice. However, broadening the scope of the hearing to include a wider range of Americans whose religious or political beliefs may be defined as “radical” (as some have suggested), would simply subject more Americans to unconstitutional scrutiny. The mission of the House Homeland Security Committee is not to become America’s thought police.

Governmental efforts to deal with the problem of “homegrown terrorism” have raised serious civil liberties concerns in the past. The first challenge policy makers face is to define the problem that is to be addressed. It is critically important that the articulation of the problem does not cause people merely exercising their First Amendment rights to fear being swept into the net of suspicion. For example, any definition of the problem must recognize that it is perfectly permissible for Americans to hold and promote a system of beliefs that others might find “extreme,” and for those who hold those beliefs to seek, without violence, political, religious, and social change based on those beliefs. The reference to the “radicalization in the American Muslim community” raises concern that advocacy of particular beliefs is the focus of the committee, instead of the violence that a person engages in, citing such beliefs.

A second challenge is to determine whether there even is an identifiable process that leads to terrorism. A statistically and methodologically flawed study by the New York Police Department purports to identify a four-step “radicalization process” that terrorists go through, but even the authors of the study admit limitations to the application of their model, namely:

- that not all individuals who begin the process pass through all the stages;
- that many “stop or abandon this process at different points;” and finally,
- that “individuals do not always follow a perfectly linear progression” through the four steps.

What is dangerous is that the four steps each involve religious conduct, and the authors fail to note that millions of people progress through these “stages” and never contemplate or commit an act of violence.

The Government should not be in the business of trying to thwart the adoption of belief systems to which some in Government object, or holding an entire religious community responsible for the acts of a very few members.

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ATTACHMENT 33.—STATEMENT OF DEEDEE GARCIA BLASE, FOUNDER/PRESIDENT,  
SOMOS REPUBLICANS

We are aware of the upcoming “terror hearings” that will be heard by Members of the Homeland Security Committee. We believe that it is a good idea for Homeland Security Committee Chairman Pete King (R-NY) to call for the hearing, however, we should not limit the “homegrown terrorists” to Muslim Americans living in this country because we believe the concern should also apply to any other hate group regardless of race, religion, and color.

For instance, we have our own home-grown terrorists near our border, and they are not Muslim. Recently the Pima County jury convicted Shawna Forde of two counts of first-degree murder in the May 30, 2009 deaths of Arivaca residents Raul Junior Flores and his 9-year-old daughter, Brisenia. Most Americans have never heard of these senseless murders of a family in their home near the Arizona border with Mexico; because they were not undocumented immigrants, drug smugglers, or Muslim terrorists, but a group of Minutemen (also known as domestic terrorists), led by their leader, Shawna Forde. Forde was also a member of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corp (MCDC), until leaving to form her own group, Minutemen American Defense, and has appeared on TV as a representative for FAIR. Shawna Forde also had a long criminal record before joining any of the Minutemen groups.

In addition to the “terror hearings, we are asking Congressman Peter King, Chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee, to conduct a complete and thorough investigation on other forms of domestic terrorism—specifically as it re-

lates to border vigilantes. This epidemic of domestic terrorism and hate crimes are on the rise because of vigilantes along our border, Minutemen, Nativists, Neo-Nazis, and any other extremist groups.

If the upcoming hearings are isolated to Muslims only, we would ask other Members of Congress to initiate and complete a thorough investigation of all domestic terrorist groups regardless of race, religion, and color. The shooting of our Congresswoman Gabby Giffords should put us all on alert, and we should take every opportunity to investigate all other forms of domestic terrorism where hate is palpable. It is our hope that Congressman Keith Ellison of Minnesota initiate and advocate for Brisenia's Law which is a law that would prevent known hate groups and individuals who have been convicted of a hate crime to not be allowed to roam and patrol the border without the notification or authorization of governing authorities. We believe the Homeland Security Committee should set parameters that will avoid toxic situations near the border.

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ATTACHMENT 34.—STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION FORUM

MARCH 10, 2011

The National Immigration Forum works to uphold America's tradition as a Nation of immigrants. The Forum advocates for the value of immigrants and immigration to the Nation, building support for public policies that reunite families, recognize the importance of immigration to our economy and our communities, protect refugees, encourage newcomers to become new Americans and promote equal protection under the law.

We are submitting our views about the subject of this hearing, "the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community." It is regrettable that the committee has decided to look at extremist behavior in one particular religious group. This is yet another hearing where the House leadership is pitting one set of Americans against others, as we have seen repeatedly in this Congress in hearings pertaining to immigrants and New American communities.

Racial profiling doesn't work for identifying terrorists. Extremist behavior is not isolated to individuals of a particular religion or race, and the implication that the Muslim community is extremist is a distraction from the serious work of deterring extremist threats. To the contrary, pitting community against community undermines our ability to gain the critical information we need to detect those who intend to harm us. Putting an entire community under suspicion undermines the efforts of law enforcement to gain the trust of immigrant and other minority communities. The task of law enforcement—protecting public safety—is made that much more difficult when individuals in a particular community fear stepping forward to report a crime or act as witnesses.

Law enforcement on its own will never be able to anticipate every crime or act of terrorism. It will take all of us to do our part. For that, we need all people living and working permanently in this country to feel they are a part of it. Instead of isolating communities, we should be doing what we can to strengthen them.

Thank you for the opportunity to provide our view on this matter.

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ATTACHMENT 35.—LETTER TO PETER T. KING, CHAIRMAN

MARCH 9, 2011.

DEAR CHAIRMAN KING: We are writing regarding the Homeland Security Committee's upcoming hearings, which you have stated will focus exclusively on radicalization among Muslim Americans and homegrown terrorism. We agree that Congress and all levels of Government have a duty to protect America from terrorism, whether from abroad or homegrown. We are, however, deeply concerned that the stated narrow scope and underlying premises of these hearings unfairly stigmatizes and alienates Muslim Americans. We ask that you reconsider the scope of these hearings and instead examine all forms of violence motivated by extremist beliefs, rather than unfairly focusing on just one religious group.

We believe that the tone and focus of these hearings runs contrary to our Nation's values, Muslim Americans contribute to our Nation's well-being in many professions including as doctors, engineers, lawyers, firefighters, business entrepreneurs, teachers, police officers and Members of Congress. Their hard work helps to make our country exceptional.

Furthermore, casting a negative light on an entire community—rather than focusing on actual dangerous fringes will only strain community relationships and trust

that local, State, and Federal law enforcement agencies have worked hard to develop. Muslim Americans are an integral part of our larger American society and should be treated as such, not viewed with suspicion.

The choice between our values of inclusiveness and pluralism and our security is a false one.

If you wish to examine violent extremism, we ask that you do so by examining violence motivated by extremist beliefs in all its forms. Singling out one religious group and blaming the actions of individuals on an entire community is not only unfair, it is unwise—and it will not make our country any safer.

Sincerely,

PETE STARK,  
JOHN D. DINGELL,  
HENRY C. "HANK" JOHNSON,  
DALE E. KILDEE,  
GARY C. PETERS,  
SUSAN A. DAVIS,  
GWEN MOORE,  
BOB FILNER,  
GEORGE MILLER,  
MICHAEL CAPUANO,  
ANDRÉ CARSON,  
GREGORY W. MEEKS,  
ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON,  
JUDY CHU,  
RUSH D. HOLT,  
MARCIA L. FUDGE,  
ROBERT C. "BOBBY" SCOTT,  
MICHAEL M. HONDA,  
MAZIE K. HIRONO,  
JANICE D. SCHAKOWSKY,  
MAXINE WATERS,  
JESSIE L. JACKSON, JR.,  
SHEILA JACKSON LEE,  
YVETTE D. CLARKE,  
RAÚL M. GRIJALVA,  
RICK LARSEN,  
EARL BLUMENAUER,  
BOBBY L. RUSH,  
AL GREEN,

LOIS CAPPS,  
EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON,  
DAVID N. CICILLINE,  
DAVID E. PRICE,  
JAMES P. MCGOVERN,  
DONNA F. EDWARDS,  
KEITH ELLISON,  
DANNY K. DAVIS,  
DORIS O. MATSUI,  
GRACE NAPOLITANO,  
EDWARD J. MARKEY,  
JOHN GARAMENDI,  
LYNN C. WOOLSEY,  
BARBARA LEE,  
BETTY SUTTON,  
TAMMY BALDWIN,  
BARNEY FRANK,  
JIM McDERMOTT,  
JARED POLIS,  
JAMES P. MORAN,  
JOHN CONYERS, JR.,  
MADELEINE Z. BARDALLO,  
BETTY MCCOLLUM,  
JOSÉ E. SERRANO,  
ZOE LOFGREN,  
DENNIS J. KUCINICH,  
LUIS V. GUTIERREZ,  
JOHN LEWIS.

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STATEMENT SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY HONORABLE SHEILA JACKSON LEE

STATEMENT OF DENIS McDONOUGH, DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TO THE  
PRESIDENT, ADAMS CENTER, STERLING, VIRGINIA

MARCH 6, 2011

PARTNERING WITH COMMUNITIES TO PREVENT VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN AMERICA

Thank you, Imam Magid, for your very kind introduction and welcome. I know that President Obama was very grateful that you led the prayer at last summer's Iftar dinner at the White House—which, as the President noted, is a tradition stretching back more than two centuries to when Thomas Jefferson hosted the first Iftar at the White House.

Thank you, also, for being one of our Nation's leading voices for the values that make America so strong, especially religious freedom and tolerance. Whether it's here at the ADAMS Center, or as President of the Islamic Society of North America, you've spoken with passion and eloquence, not only about your own Islamic faith, but for the need to build bridges of understanding and trust between faiths.

That's evident here today, in the presence of so many different faith communities—Muslims, Christians, Jews, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists. The fact that we can come together in a spirit of respect and fellowship speaks to the bonds that we share, as people of faith and as Americans.

That's why, on a very personal level, it's such an honor to be with you today. Sunday afternoons at a parish center—or a community center—is familiar territory for me. I grew up in Stillwater, Minnesota in a proud Catholic family. I am one of 11

kids, and I can think of countless Sunday afternoons like this one spent at festivals, games, or meetings at our home parish of St. Mike's or at the church of my older brother, who is a priest.

Like all of you and like me, millions of Americans find community, comfort, and support in their faith. That includes President Obama, drawing as he does on his Christian faith. So today reminds us that being religious is never un-American. Being religious is quintessentially American.

In my life—working in Government and studying and traveling in many parts of the world—I've also come to appreciate the diversity and richness of Muslim communities, here in America and abroad. I accompanied then-Senator Obama when he traveled to the Middle East, including Israel and the West Bank, where he spoke to Israelis and Palestinians about the imperative of peace. During the Presidential campaign, I had the honor of meeting with Muslim American leaders and communities across the country, in places like Cedar Rapids, Iowa, home to the oldest mosque in America.

Over the past 2 years, I—along with my White House colleagues—have benefited from the advice of many of your organizations through our Office of Public Engagement. Because, after all, your communities have the same concerns as all Americans—the economy, education, health care, the safety of our children, and our country. For example, this week at the White House, students from the Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities will join young people from across America for a conference with the President and First Lady to prevent bullying.

I was privileged to join the President in Cairo, where he called for a new beginning between the United States and Muslim communities around the world. And here at the ADAMS Center—with one of the largest mosques in America—you see the incredible racial and ethnic diversity of Islam. And yet, as Imam Magid once explained, here you find common ground, as Americans.

So, for me, being here is not unlike going to St. Mike's back home in Minnesota, or for that matter, going to any house of worship or community center in America. This is a typically American place. We just saw that in the wonderful program this afternoon, including the Boy Scouts presenting the American flag and leading us in the Pledge of Allegiance.

You see it in all the activities that occur here, just like in communities all across America—youth programs, sports, playgroups for moms and their young children, charitable programs, including help for the homeless. This is a place where Americans come together—not only to practice their faith, but to build stronger communities, with people of many faiths.

Here in Virginia and across the country, Muslim Americans are our neighbors and fellow citizens. You inspire our children as teachers. You strengthen our communities as volunteers, often through interfaith projects, like the President's "United We Serve" program. You protect our communities as police officers and firefighters.

You create jobs and opportunity as small business owners and executives of major corporations. You enrich our culture as athletes and entertainers. You lead us as elected officials and Members of Congress. And no one should ever forget that Muslim Americans help keep America safe every day as proud Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, Marines, and Coast Guardsmen. Indeed, some of these heroes have made the ultimate sacrifice for our Nation and now rest in our hallowed National cemeteries.

That's why I appreciate the opportunity to be here today. It's this very idea—the idea of America as a secure and pluralistic Nation; as a society that doesn't just accept diversity; but which is strengthened by it—this idea is more important than ever.

Over the last several months and again later this month in New York City, John Brennan, Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, will continue to outline the steps we are taking—across our Government—to keep America and our communities safe and secure, including from the threat of al-Qaeda and its adherents.

I am here to talk with you about how our communities—your communities—contribute to keeping our country safe: Specifically, as part of our approach to preventing the radicalization that leads to a range of threats here at home, including terrorism. As the President's Deputy National Security Advisor, I've been responsible, for more than a year, for coordinating and integrating our efforts across the Federal Government to help prevent violent extremism in the United States. And today I want to discuss our approach, which we'll be releasing publicly in the coming weeks.

Preventing radicalization that leads to violence here in America is part of our larger strategy to decisively defeat al-Qaeda. Overseas, because of the new focus and resources that the President has devoted to this fight, the al-Qaeda leadership in the border regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan is hunkered down and it's harder

than ever for them to plot and launch attacks against our country. Because we're helping other countries build their capacity to defend themselves, we're making it harder for al-Qaeda's adherents to operate around the world.

Here at home, we've strengthened our defenses, with improvements to intelligence and aviation screening and enhanced security at our borders, ports, and airports. As we've seen in recent attempted attacks, al-Qaeda and its adherents are constantly trying to exploit any vulnerability in our open society. But it's also clear that our dedicated intelligence, law enforcement, and homeland security personnel have disrupted many more plots and saved many American lives.

At the same time, we're confronting the broader challenge of violent extremism generally—including the political, economic, and social forces that can sometimes lead people to embrace al-Qaeda's murderous ideology. This includes challenging and undermining the twisted ideology—the political propaganda—that al-Qaeda uses to recruit, radicalize, and mobilize its supporters to violence.

Of course, the most effective voices against al-Qaeda's warped worldview and interpretation of Islam are other Muslims. As the President said in Cairo, "Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism—it is an important part of promoting peace." Around the world, poll after poll shows that the overwhelming majority of Muslims reject al-Qaeda. Many Muslim leaders around the world have loudly condemned al-Qaeda and its murderous tactics and declared that it is a violation of Islam to murder innocent people. They've spoken out at great risk to their lives, and some have lost their lives because of it.

Still, President Obama recognizes that through our words and deeds we can either play into al-Qaeda's narrative and messaging or we can challenge it and thereby undermine it. We're determined to undermine it.

For example, we know there are many different reasons why individuals—from many different faiths—succumb to terrorist ideologies. And there is no one easy profile of a terrorist. But based on extensive investigations, research, and profiles of the violent extremists we've captured or arrested, and who falsely claim to be fighting in the name of Islam, we know that they all share one thing—they all believe that the United States is somehow at war with Islam, and that this justifies violence against Americans.

So we are actively and aggressively undermining that ideology. We're exposing the lie that America and Islam are somehow in conflict. That is why President Obama has stated time and again that the United States is not and never will be at war with Islam.

On the contrary, we've strengthened alliances and partnerships with Muslim-majority nations around the world, from Turkey to Indonesia. As a result of the President's speech in Cairo, we've forged new partnerships with Muslim communities to promote entrepreneurship, health, science and technology, educational exchanges, and opportunities for women. In fact, the President insisted that his National Security Staff create a new office, a Global Engagement Directorate, to make these partnerships a priority.

We also undermine al-Qaeda's ideology by exposing the lie that it is somehow defending Islamic traditions when, in fact, al-Qaeda violates the basic tenets of Islam. The overwhelming majority of al-Qaeda's victims are Muslim. In contrast to the ethics and accomplishments of the Islamic Golden Age—a period of scientific learning; networks of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish intellectuals and philosophers; advances in mathematics, agriculture, technology, and the arts—al-Qaeda practices nothing but religious bigotry and glorifies suicide bombing.

We undermine al-Qaeda's ideology by showing that it is the power of nonviolence and democratic change that leads to progress, not senseless terrorism. And now people across the Arab world are proving the point.

Consider this. Al-Qaeda's second-in-command, Ayman Zawahiri, an Egyptian, has spent decades trying to overthrow the government of Egypt through terrorism. But in just a few short weeks, it was the people of Egypt—men and women, young and old, secular and religious, Muslims and Christians—who came together and changed their government, peacefully. It is the most dramatic change in the Arab world in decades, and al-Qaeda had nothing to do with it. And so President Obama made it a point to commend the Egyptian people and their embrace of "the moral force of nonviolence—not terrorism, not mindless killing."

There's another way that we expose and undermine the lies of al-Qaeda's ideology. They want Muslims around the world to think that the United States is somehow anti-Muslim—when, in fact, we embrace people of all faiths and creeds. That is why President Obama has said repeatedly—"Islam is part of America." And that's one of the reasons why this administration makes it a point—whether in the President's speech in Cairo, at Iftars at the White House, in outreach by our Federal agencies,

or with my presence here today—to celebrate the extraordinary contributions that Muslim Americans make to our country every day.

For all these reasons—our stronger defenses at home; our progress against al-Qaeda overseas; the rejection of al-Qaeda by so many Muslims around the world; and the powerful image of Muslims thriving in America—al-Qaeda and its adherents have increasingly turned to another troubling tactic: attempting to recruit and radicalize people to terrorism here in the United States.

For a long time, many in the United States thought that our unique melting pot meant we were immune from this threat—this despite the history of violent extremists of all kinds in the United States. That was false hope, and false comfort. This threat is real, and it is serious.

How do we know this? Well, al-Qaeda tells us. They're not subtle. They make videos, create internet forums, even publish on-line magazines, all for the expressed purpose of trying to convince Muslim Americans to reject their country and attack their fellow Americans.

There's Adam Gadahn, who grew up in California and now calls himself an al-Qaeda spokesman. There's Anwar al-Awlaki, who was born in the United States and now exhorts Americans to violence from hiding in Yemen as part of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. And there's Omar Hammami, an Alabama native who joined the terrorist group al-Shabaab in Somalia and uses rap and hip hop in an attempt to reach young Americans.

Sadly, these violent extremists have found a miniscule but receptive audience. Fortunately, good intelligence, effective law enforcement, and community partnerships have allowed us to discover and thwart many of their plots before they could kill. Examples include: Najibullah Zazi of Denver, who conspired to bomb the New York City subway; Daniel Patrick Boyd of North Carolina, and others, who conspired to murder U.S. military personnel; and individuals who planned to bomb buildings in Illinois and Texas. Over the past 2 years, dozens of American citizens have been arrested and charged with terrorism counts.

Tragically, other plots were not prevented, among them: The murder of 13 innocent Americans at Fort Hood; David Headley, of Chicago, who helped to plan the 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India; and Faisal Shazad, who packed an SUV with explosives and attempted to detonate it in Times Square.

Of course, disrupting plots is dealing with this threat at the back end, after individuals have succumbed to violent extremism. Our challenge, and the goal that President Obama has insisted that we also focus on, is on the front end—preventing al-Qaeda from recruiting and radicalizing people in America in the first place. And we know this isn't the job of Government alone. It has to be a partnership with you—the communities being targeted most directly by al-Qaeda.

I work with President Obama every day. He's been focused on this since he took office. Behind closed doors, he has insisted that his National security team make this a priority. The effort that I've been leading is a policy committee made up of deputy secretaries from departments and agencies across Government. We meet regularly to consider new policy, drawing not only on the expertise of our traditional National security agencies, but also the Departments of Education and Health and Human Services.

In our review of the Fort Hood attack, we deepened our understanding of the tactics that extremists like al-Awlaki use to push people toward violence, as well as how an individual becomes radicalized. The President's National Security Strategy, released last year, stated, "Our best defenses against this threat are well-informed and equipped families, local communities, and institutions."

Indeed, senior administration officials—including Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano, Attorney General Eric Holder, and John Brennan—have met with and engaged many of your organizations. Many of you have approached the administration offering to help, and you've worked with us to help prevent terrorists from targeting your communities.

Most recently, in the State of the Union, the President summed up our approach this way. "As extremists try to inspire acts of violence within our borders," he said, "we are responding with the strength of our communities, with respect for the rule of law, and with the conviction that Muslim Americans are a part of our American family."

With the time I have left I want to address three aspects of our approach: How we think about and see this challenge; the principles that are guiding our efforts; and what we're actually doing, in partnership with your communities.

How are we in Government thinking about this challenge? After years of experience, we have a better understanding, not only of how terrorist recruiters try to radicalize people, but how we can reduce the chances that they will succeed.

We know, for example, that not unlike gang lords and drug dealers, terrorist recruiters prey on those who feel disillusioned or disconnected from their family, community, or country. They target individuals who are perhaps struggling with their identity, suggesting to them that their identities as an American and as a Muslim are somehow incompatible and that they must choose between their faith and their country.

But we also know that this is a false choice and that it fails to resonate with individuals when they have the strong support of their families and communities; when they have faith in their ability to achieve change through the political process; and when they feel that they, too, have a chance to realize the American Dream.

In other words, we know, as the President said, that the best defense against terrorist ideologies is strong and resilient individuals and communities. This should be no surprise. In America we have a long history of community-based initiatives and partnerships dealing successfully with a whole range of challenges, like violent crime.

And we know something else—that just as our words and deeds can either fuel or undermine violent extremism abroad, so too can they here at home.

We have a choice. We can choose to send a message to certain Americans that they are somehow “less American” because of their faith or how they look; that we see their entire community as a potential threat—as we’ve seen in several inexcusable incidents in recent weeks across the country that were captured on video. Well, those incidents do not represent America. And if we make that choice, we risk feeding the very feelings of disenchantment that may push some members of that community to violent extremism.

Or, we can make another choice. We can send the message that we’re all Americans. That’s the message that the President conveyed last summer when he was discussing Muslim Americans serving in our military and the need to honor their service. “Part of honoring their service,” he said, “is making sure that they understand that we don’t differentiate between them and us. It’s just us.”

Informed by what we know, several basic principles must guide us in what we do—as individuals, as communities and as a country. We must resolve not to label someone as an extremist simply because of their opposition to the policies of the U.S. Government or their strong religious beliefs. Under our Constitution, we have the freedom to speak our minds. And we have the right to practice our faiths freely knowing that the Government should neither promote nor hinder any one religion over the other.

As such, we must resolve to protect the rights and civil liberties of every American. That’s why, under President Obama, the civil rights division at the Justice Department is devoting new energy and effort to its founding mission—protecting civil rights. It’s why we are vigorously enforcing new hate crimes laws. And it’s why even as we do everything in our power to protect the American people from terrorist attacks, we’re also doing everything in our power to uphold civil liberties.

We must resolve that, in our determination to protect our Nation, we will not stigmatize or demonize entire communities because of the actions of a few. In the United States of America, we don’t practice guilt by association. And let’s remember that just as violence and extremism are not unique to any one faith, the responsibility to oppose ignorance and violence rests with us all.

In the wake of terrorist attacks, instead of condemning whole communities, we need to join with those communities to help them protect themselves as well. And if one faith community faces intimidation, we need to come together across faiths, as happened several years ago here at the ADAMS Center, when Christian and Jewish leaders literally stood guard overnight to protect this center from vandalism. You showed us the true meaning of *e pluribus unum*—out of many, one.

Let’s resolve that efforts to protect communities against violent extremists must be led by those communities. Indeed, we’re fortunate that Muslim Americans, including organizations represented here today, have taken an unequivocal stand against terrorism.

Islamic scholars have issued fatwas declaring terrorism as un-Islamic. Like Muslim American communities across the country, the ADAMS Center has consistently and forcefully condemned terrorist attacks. And not only here in the United States. You’ve condemned terrorism around the world against people of other faiths, including Christians and Jews. In so doing, you’ve sent a message that those who perpetrate such horrific attacks do not represent you or your faith, and that they will not succeed in pitting believers of different faiths against one another.

After the attack at Fort Hood, Muslim Americans reached out to offer sympathy and support to the victims and their families. Across the country, Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities have held conferences and launched awareness campaigns to address the challenge of radicalization that leads to violence. Imam Magid is



among the many Muslim leaders who have been recognized by the Director of the FBI for their efforts to strengthen cooperation between Muslim communities and law enforcement.

To counter the propaganda videos from the likes of al-Awlaki, Imam Magid even joined with other clerics and scholars to make their own videos, which have gone viral, explaining that Islam preaches peace, not violence. Most Americans never hear about these efforts, and, regrettably, they're rarely covered by the media. But they're going on every day—and they're helping to keep our country safe.

In fact, many of the incidents and arrests that do make headlines are because of the good citizenship and patriotism of Muslim Americans who noticed something and spoke up. Since the September 11 attacks, a number of individuals inspired by al-Qaeda's ideology and involved in supporting or plotting terrorism were stopped, in part, because of the vigilance of members of local communities, including Muslim Americans.

That's why Lee Baca, the Sheriff in Los Angeles County—which has one of the largest Muslim communities in the country—has said that Muslim Americans “have been pivotal in helping to fight terrorism.” And it's why Attorney General Holder has said that cooperation from Muslim Americans and Arab Americans “has been absolutely essential in identifying and preventing, terrorist threats.”

The bottom line is this—when it comes to preventing violent extremism and terrorism in the United States, Muslim Americans are not part of the problem, you're part of the solution.

We also believe in another principle—that no community can be expected to meet a challenge as complex as this alone. No one community can be expected to become experts in terrorist organizations, how they are evolving, how they are using new tools and technologies to reach young or impressionable minds. And that's where Government can play a role.

Which leads me to the final area that I want to address today—our approach at the Federal level, in partnership with communities. Broadly speaking, we're working along five areas of effort.

First, we're constantly working to improve our understanding of the process of radicalization that leads people to terrorism—because the more we understand it, the more we can do to stop it. As I said, we've learned a great deal about the factors that make individuals susceptible to extremist ideologies and violence. Our success in disrupting so many plots is a testament to this. But with al-Qaeda and its adherents constantly evolving and refining their tactics, our understanding of the threat has to evolve as well.

So we're devoting extensive resources and expertise to this, including entire analytic units at the Department of Homeland Security and the National Counterterrorism Center. We have a new senior intelligence official focused full-time on radicalization that leads to violence. And we're constantly working with Congress, academic, and research institutions, as well as foreign governments, to gain a more precise understanding of this challenge and how to address it.

Second, equipped with this information, we've expanded our engagement with local communities that are being targeted by terrorist recruiters. The Departments of Homeland Security and Justice have created new advisory groups, instituted regular outreach sessions, and held dozens of roundtables across the country. It's all been with the goal of listening to your communities, sharing information on how al-Qaeda attempts to recruit and radicalize, and answering the question so many communities have asked us—what can we do to protect our young people?

But we've also recognized that this engagement can't simply be about terrorism. We refuse to “securitize” the relationship between the Government and millions of law-abiding, patriotic Muslim Americans and other citizens. We refuse to limit our engagement to what we're against, because we need to forge partnerships that advance what we're for—which is opportunity and equal treatment for all.

So other departments, like Health and Human Services and Education, have joined with communities to better understand and address the social, emotional, and economic challenges faced by young people so they can realize their full potential in America. And our U.S. Attorneys are leading a new coordinated Federal effort to deepen our partnerships with communities on a host of issues. Because we don't just want to keep our young people from committing acts of violence, we want them to help build our country.

Third, based on this engagement, we're increasing the support we offer to communities as they build their own local initiatives. Every community is unique, and our enemy—al-Qaeda—is savvy. It targets different communities differently. So we're working to empower local communities with the information and tools they need to build their own capacity to disrupt, challenge, and counter propaganda, in both the real world and the virtual world.

Where the Federal Government can add value, we'll offer it. But often times, the best expertise and solutions for a community will be found in that community—in the local organizations, institutions, and businesses that understand the unique challenges of that community. Technology experts in the private sector, for instance, can share tools to counter terrorist narratives and recruiting on the internet. In those instances, the Federal Government will use our convening power to help communities find the partnerships and resources they need to stay safe.

Fourth, because the Federal Government cannot and should not be everywhere, we're expanding our coordination with State and local governments, including law enforcement, which work directly with communities every day. We are in close collaboration with local governments, like Minneapolis and Columbus, Ohio, and we're drawing on their best practices. We recognize, as Secretary Napolitano has said, that "homeland security begins with hometown security."

But we also recognize that while local officials have the best and deepest understanding of the challenges facing individuals, groups, and families in their communities, they also have limited knowledge of al-Qaeda and its tactics. We have therefore developed and expanded training for law enforcement, counter-terrorism fusion centers, and State officials. We're putting a new emphasis on training to help officials better understand and relate to a diverse range of community partners. In fact, in just the past 5 months alone, DHS has offered this sort of training to more than 1,000 law enforcement and other Government personnel across the country.

Finally, we're working to improve how we communicate with the American people about the threat of violent extremism in this country and what we're doing to address it—because we cannot meet this challenge if we do not see it for what it is, and what it is not. This includes dispelling the myths that have developed over the years, including misperceptions about our fellow Americans who are Muslim.

Put simply, we must do exactly what al-Qaeda is trying to prevent. We must come together, as Americans, to protect our country in a spirit of respect, tolerance, and partnership. That is the message I hope to leave with you today. And that is the message that President Obama has delivered, and will continue to deliver, throughout his Presidency.

As he said in a speech at West Point last year, al-Qaeda and its supporters "will continue to recruit, and plot, and exploit our open society." But, he went on to say, "We need not give in to fear every time a terrorist tries to scare us. We should not discard our freedoms because extremists try to exploit them. We cannot succumb to division because others try to drive us apart. We are the United States of America."

Thank you all very much and thank you for all that you do to enrich and protect this country that we all love.

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STATEMENTS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY HONORABLE LAURA RICHARDSON

ATTACHMENT 1.—CQ CONGRESSIONAL TRANSCRIPTS

FEBRUARY 9, 2011

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

*House Homeland Security Committee Holds Hearing on Understanding Homeland Threat Landscape*

NAPOLITANO: Well, I know. And let me just suggest, first of all, that when we add random screening to whatever we are doing, it has to be truly random. Otherwise, you use the value of unpredictability.

Secondly, I'd be happy to have you briefed in a classified setting about how when we set firm rules about we won't screen this kind of person that kind of person, that our adversaries, they know those rules, and they attempt to train and get around them.

BROWN: Well, thank you. And I'd appreciate that briefing.

We've got to focus on those people who want to do us harm. And this administration and your—your department are seen to be very adverse to focusing on those entities that want to do us harm and have even at times back when—when your spokesman came and testified before this committee, he would not even describe that Fort Hood massacre as a terrorist threat and talked about an alleged attack.

I think this is unconscionable. We've got to focus on those people who want to harm us. And the people who want to harm us are not grandmas, and it's not little children. It's the Islamic extremist. There are others, and I want to look into those, too, but your own department has described people who are pro-life, who are pro-

(inaudible), who believe in the Constitution, and—and military personnel as being potential terrorists.

Now, come on. Give me a break. We do need to focus on the folks who want to harm us. And—and I encourage you to—to maybe take a step back and look and see how we can focus on those people who want to harm us. And we've got to profile these folks. You all have not been willing to do so, in my opinion. And I hope that you will—will look at this issue, because I think it's absolutely critical for the safety of our Nation and for the American citizens.

I'll submit the other questions for written comment. And thank you both for being here.

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ATTACHMENT 2.—CBS NEWS

ATTORNEY GENERAL ERIC HOLDER: THREAT OF HOMEGROWN TERRORISM “KEEPS ME UP AT NIGHT”<sup>1</sup>

DECEMBER 21, 2010

*Posted by Lucy Madison*

In an interview with ABC's “Good Morning America,” U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder spoke of the ongoing fight to protect American national security and expressed his growing concern with the threat of homegrown terror—a danger which he said “keeps me up at night.”

“What I am trying to do in this interview is to make people aware of the fact that the threat is real, the threat is different, the threat is constant,” Holder told ABC's Pierre Thomas, in an interview that aired Tuesday morning.

“The threat has changed from simply worrying about foreigners coming here, to worrying about people in the United States, American citizens—raised here, born here, and who for whatever reason, have decided that they are going to become radicalized and take up arms against the nation in which they were born,” Holder added.

The attorney general said that of 126 people who have been charged with allegations related to terrorism in the past 24 months, 50 had been American citizens.

“It is one of the things that keeps me up at night,” Holder said. “You didn't worry about this even two years ago—about individuals, about Americans, to the extent that we now do. And—that is of—of great concern.”

Holder noted that while he was confident in the United States' counter-terrorism efforts, Americans “have to be prepared for potentially bad news.”

“The terrorists only have to be successful once,” he said.

Holder pointed to Anwar Al Awlaki, a radical Islamic cleric and dual U.S.-Yemeni citizen, as so dangerous as to be considered among the ranks of Osama bin Laden.

“He would be on the same list with bin Laden,” Holder said of Al Awlaki. “He's up there. I don't know whether he's one, two, three, four—I don't know. But he's certainly on the list of the people who worry me the most.”

As a U.S. citizen, Holder said, Awlaki possesses a degree of familiarity with American culture that most foreign terrorists lack. And he has been a common link, Holder says, among many American-bred converts to al Qaeda-tied groups.

“He's an extremely dangerous man,” Holder said. “He has shown a desire to harm the United States, a desire to strike the homeland of the United States . . . He is a person who—as an American citizen—is familiar with this country and he brings a dimension, because of that American familiarity, that others do not.”

“The ability to go into your basement, turn on your computer, find a site that has this kind of hatred spewed . . . they have an ability to take somebody who is perhaps just interested, perhaps just on the edge, and take them over to the other side,” Holder added of Awlaki and his associates' ability to reach potential converts through the Internet.

Holder dismissed criticism of recent FBI sting operations, which some have argued employed the use of illegal “entrapment,” offering that “options are always given all along the way for them to say, ‘You know what, I have changed my mind. I don't want to do it.’”

“I have to have all those tools available to me to try to keep the American people safe, and to do the job that I'm supposed to do as a 21st century attorney general,” Holder said. “We are doing everything that we possibly can to keep the American people safe . . . We are vigilant, we are doing everything we can to keep our homeland secure.”

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<sup>1</sup>[http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503544\\_162-20026288-503544.html](http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503544_162-20026288-503544.html).

When asked about WikiLeaks and the potential prosecution of Julian Assange, Holder said, "it's an ongoing investigation."

"What Wikileaks did, at the end of the day, was harmful to American security, put American agents and properties . . . at risk . . . and I think for arrogant and misguided reasons," he said.

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ATTACHMENT 3.—LETTER FROM MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

MARCH 9, 2011.

The Honorable PETER KING,  
*Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN KING: We the undersigned members of the House Committee on Homeland Security write to express our deep concern regarding the hearing scheduled for March 10, which has been called to investigate "The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community's Response." Due to the incomplete and unduly divisive nature of this inquiry, we respectfully request that you strongly consider canceling the upcoming hearing. We understand that Ranking Member Thompson has written to you on February 1, 2011 with a similar request. We support the Ranking Member for the reasons stated in his letter and for the following additional reasons:

Forging strong, positive relationships with the Muslim community is vital to our law enforcement community's ability to combat homegrown terrorism. According to the Congressional Research Service, Islamic communities have helped U.S. security officials prevent more than two out of every five al-Qaeda plots threatening the United States since the attacks of September 11, 2001 and helped prevent over 75 percent of all the plots that occurred in the past year.

Our concern is that holding a hearing that targets this community will have the unintended consequences of breeding alienation and fostering feelings of resentment. As a result, we risk hindering law enforcement's efforts to detect, deter, or prevent potential threats that hide themselves within these communities.

Alternatively, should you elect to proceed with the proposed hearing, we urge you to broaden its scope. From Jared Lee Loughner to Timothy McVeigh, history has shown us that domestic terrorism in the United States crosses many spectrums and ideologies. For example, since the 2008 Presidential election, there have been 44 plots by domestic non-Muslim violent extremists. By comparison, there have been 20 domestic terror plots by American Muslims or foreign born Muslims operating in the United States. While we recognize that "Islamic radicalization" is real and should be included in any inquiry into homegrown terrorism, it is arbitrary and even counterproductive for this topic to be the sole focus of the upcoming hearing.

We sincerely hope that you consider these requests and look forward to continue working with you to protect the safety and liberties of every American.

Sincerely,

LAURA RICHARDSON,  
*Member of Congress,*

YVETTE CLARKE,  
*Member of Congress,*

SHEILA JACKSON LEE,  
*Member of Congress,*

DANNY K. DAVIS,  
*Member of Congress,*

DONNA CHRISTENSEN,  
*Member of Congress.*

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ATTACHMENT 4.—POLITICO<sup>1</sup>

REP. PETER KING: THERE ARE "TOO MANY MOSQUES IN THIS COUNTRY"

*September 19, 2007*

New York Rep. Peter King, a prominent House Republican, said there are "too many mosques in this country" in a recent interview with *Politico*.

"There are too many people sympathetic to radical Islam," King said. "We should be looking at them more carefully and finding out how we can infiltrate them."

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<sup>1</sup>[http://www.politico.com/blogs/thecript/0907/Rep\\_King\\_There\\_are\\_too\\_many\\_mosques\\_in\\_this\\_country\\_.html](http://www.politico.com/blogs/thecript/0907/Rep_King_There_are_too_many_mosques_in_this_country_.html).

King is the ranking Republican on the House Homeland Security Committee. And as an outspoken advocate of strong anti-terror measures, he has been unafraid to ruffle some feathers in his drive to protect the homeland.

When asked to clarify his statement, King did not revise his answer, saying “I think there has been a lack of full cooperation from too many people in the Muslim community.” The interview was for a profile of the committee, as part of Politico’s Committee Insider Series.

Earlier, King had said in an interview with radio and television host Sean Hannity that 85 percent of the mosques in this country are controlled by “extremist leadership,” a comment that prompted strong condemnations from many religious organizations and from the Democratic National Committee.

**Update:** On Wednesday, the Congressman said: “The quote was taken entirely out of context by Politico. My position in this interview, as it has been for many years, is that too many mosques in this country do not cooperate with law enforcement. Unfortunately, Politico was incapable of making this distinction.”



## APPENDIX II

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY RANKING MEMBER BENNIE G. THOMPSON FOR M. ZUHDI JASSER

*Question 1.* In your testimony, you state that “many mosques do teach an Islam that is spiritual, patriotic, and not in conflict with America. But there are also many that are transmitting ideas that are Islamist and push Muslims down that pathway toward intoxication and possible violent radicalization.” Please provide any objective evidence you may have to bolster this statement. For instance, it would be helpful to provide any articles, statistical surveys, or other studies you may have that support these statements.

Answer. Ranking Member Thompson, understanding the entire drawn-out process of radicalization is central to any effective counterterrorism and counter-radicalization programs our Nation may have. Our National focus on “violent extremism” alone has been too myopic and obviously ineffective as evidenced by the fact that homegrown terror plots have only increased exponentially among American Muslims since 9/11 and especially in the last 2 years despite Homeland Security’s focus on violent extremism (please see evidence provided herein Appendix I and Appendix II).

I will reiterate for you as I mentioned at length in my written and oral testimony available to you, radicalization does not happen overnight. “Violent extremism” is only the final common steps of a long pathway of Muslim radicalization for those who end up threatening our National security. Prior to their invocation of violence these extremists undergo a radicalization that includes a process of progressive estrangement, separatism, and isolation into Islamism (political Islam and the Islamic state) and away from Americanism. I defined political Islam for you in my testimony as the desire of some Muslims to create Islamic states based in Islamic law (shariah) where the Muslim community (ummah) is also synonymous with the “Islamic nation-state”. Thus, they are unable to identify with and bond positively to our own American concept of a nation based in an Establishment Clause, the separation of mosque and state, a man-made Constitution and reason rather than their own Islamist concept of a theocracy heavily influenced and driven predominantly (in a quasi-oligarchy) by Islamic experts from Muslim communities like imams, clerics, and Islamist scholars (ulemaa).

I provided for you Prime Minister David Cameron’s speech in Munich from February 2011 as evidence in which he also similarly notes that counter-radicalization efforts in the United Kingdom have been a failure because they have not dealt in any real way with treating the identification problem of British Muslim youth with their British nationality and identity in order to inoculate them against the concept of the Islamic state. Not only does the evidence of our researchers prove his point and mine, but as a Muslim my testimony to you is that it is an imminently rational conclusion that the primary root cause of Muslim radicalization is the inherent separatism of the ideologies of political Islam, the Ummah (as nation-state), and Islamism.

Only Muslims can unravel and dissect the details of this process of radicalization. The steps of this process has been laid out by many experts in such well-thought-out analyses as that provided in the NYPD Report on Homegrown Terrorism (2007) which I brought to your attention and provided your committee in my testimony and have again attached here (Appendix III). That study is vital to your understanding of the lengthy process and science of radicalization. Now, I will reiterate, only Muslims can intervene in those steps laid out and only Muslims can dissect the theological ideologies involved in the early radicalization before they become violent. This stands to reason because when a global political movement (Islamism) intertwines itself into a theology only the followers of that faith can extricate that political movement from their own spiritual path to God. Reform can only happen from within the faith communities and consciousness. That was the point I tried to lay

out for you in my testimony to your committee. I also provided the work and diagrams of counterterrorism expert Patrick Poole whose analyses discussed the continuum of radicalization and the years it may take going down that slippery slope (Appendix IV).

Also note that extensive research and documentation on the connection between the ideology of the Islamic state (and its closely associated corollary of Caliphism) and eventual radicalization has been provided by the work of experts like Dr. Magnus Ranstorp, Director of Research at the Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies at Sweden's National Defense College. In his work on "Preventing Violent Radicalization and Terrorism: The Case of Indonesia", he basically stated my premise from my research and my own experiences as a Muslim. He stated,

"Our research demonstrates that the Caliph imagery is a strong motivator within Muslim discourse. Pious zealots are often swept into the political expression of Jihad while attending small study groups (Hairgrove & McLeod, forthcoming 2008). For some Muslims, the imagery of an Islam reflective of the golden era of Muhammad is a religious value worthy of pursuit in terms of life goals, finances, and personal sacrifice 'in the cause of Allah.' This ideological war for the 'hearts and minds' for Muslims is considered a war for a 'collective identity' and has no shortage of patriots willing to join the struggle." (Appendix V)

Please also review the work of A.H.E. Kyai Haji Abdurrahman Wahid, former President of Indonesia who edited the book, *The Illusion of the Islamic State* soon to be released in English. This book lays out "How an Alliance of Moderates Launched a Successful Jihad Against Radicalization and Terrorism in the World's Largest Muslim-Majority Country" (Appendix VI).

As to my own experiences, I testified extensively to you in that regards on March 10 and in my written testimony. I believe that Islamist ideologies drive American Muslim youth away from an American national identification and away from a love for America and leads them instead towards a yearning for an Islamic state. In my experience as a practicing and activist Muslim that duality and separatism is the primary idea that radicalizes some Muslims early on.

Therefore, it stands to reason that highlighting some commonly known examples and also some of my own experiences in a few mosques can serve to augment the science above. Sermons from imams that promote a virulent anti-Americanism and anti-Westernism are very relevant to understanding the process of gradual radicalization. In my testimony I discussed how prior to Imam Anwar Al-Awlaki becoming a radicalizer, he was being radicalized. It is not irrelevant that he had led prayer services in mosques in Denver, San Diego, and Northern Virginia prior to leaving the United States to become a militant jihadist. Before he became violent, he would have certainly expressed ideologies that discerning Muslims would have easily picked up on as being separatist and radicalizing.

I have actively participated in mosques throughout my life from Wisconsin to Northern Virginia, District of Columbia, Norfolk, Virginia, Maryland, Arkansas, and Arizona to name a few. As you already mentioned, I have stated repeatedly that most American Muslims are very patriotic and nationalist but there are also many who including some imams believe in Islamism and have a very negative view of western systems of governance. I have spoken across the country to some imams and mosque leaders who have without equivocation endorsed Islamism. For example, a leader of the Islamic Center of Des Moines, Iowa, Luai Amro told the audience at Drake University on October 7, 2010 in response to my statements about the need for Muslim reform to separate mosque and state—"you cannot separate mosque and state in Islam". An Arizona Imam, Ahmed Shqeirat of the Islamic Center of Tempe, Arizona showed the vile picture of an American soldier during a sermon in April 2004 which I've attached for you again here (Appendix VII). He showed that offensive picture while telling the Muslim audience there for spiritual renewal that this is what American soldiers are doing in Iraq and on "Muslim lands". The anger from some Muslims listening to him was obviously a radicalizing stimulus.

I would hope and pray that you are not waiting for me to give you a hard example of explicit "violent extremism" in order to be convinced that we need to support all American Muslims who are willing to acknowledge and directly counter those radicalizing ideas. I have also had the privilege to visit large Muslim communities in Columbus, Ohio, Boca Raton, FL, and Boston, MA to name a few in order to discuss and debate these ideas and the need for Muslims to counter the separatism of Islamism.

*Question 2.* In the biographical sketch distributed prior to the hearing, you are described as the founder of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy (AIFD). Please provide information on this organization. For instance, to understand the in-



fluence of the AIFD in the American Muslim community, it would be helpful to understand whether the group is a membership organization, the number of members, whether membership is limited to Muslims, and whether membership dues are the only source of funding. Additionally, please provide a copy of the by-laws, charter or other organizing documents of the AIFD. Please provide a listing of the names and positions of each member of the AIFD board of directors and advisory board.

Answer. The American Islamic Forum for Democracy (AIFD) is a nonprofit 501(c)(3) charitable organization. AIFD's mission advocates for the preservation of the founding principles of the United States Constitution, liberty and freedom, through the separation of mosque and state. AIFD is not a membership organization and we get support from Muslims in addition to a broad representation of Americans in the United States. We do not have a faith test for our support. Funding is obtained through foundation grants and individual donations. We do offer a membership option for our levels of fundraising contributions only. Our current board members include: Soul Khalsa, Charles Herring, and M. Zuhdi Jasser. As our by-laws indicate (Appendix VIII), AIFD's work is supported by our anonymous Islamic Review Committee (IRC), whose role is to provide commentary on AIFD's Islamic-related outreach activities and guidance on activities undertaken that focus on its mission. Their anonymity is part of our charter and necessary for their safety due to the intimidation we often get as a result of our reform work. I am enclosing publicly available information on AIFD. More information can be found at our website at [www.aifdemocracy.org](http://www.aifdemocracy.org). Please feel free to contact me personally with any further questions. A copy of our IRS letter is attached along with our original articles of incorporation (Appendix IX and X).

Lastly, with regards to the central intent of your question about the "influence" of AIFD, our measure of success is related to the impact that AIFD and its ideas have upon the National agenda related to Muslims and especially our movement towards real Islamic reform against the concept of the Islamist state. We consistently reach out to Muslim and non-Muslim communities across the Nation to help us lift up the need for Islamic reform, which is directly wedded to our National security. As to truly measurable influences, our public engagement programs have documented in 2009 approximately 49,000,000 viewers who have been exposed and impacted by our ideas. In 2010, that rose to 170,000,000 viewers exposed and impacted by our message. Please see question three regarding influence with Muslim youth. Also note that one of our other initiatives that speaks to our influence in Muslim communities is the central leadership role we have played in forming the American Islamic Leadership Coalition (AILC) ([www.americanislamicleadership.org](http://www.americanislamicleadership.org)). AILC had projected only 6–7 member organizations at its founding in September 2010 and now it has brought together over 16 confirmed Muslim leaders (either prominent thought leaders or organizational leaders) from North America to our coalition. We are in conversation with over 17 others to join our coalition that provides an alternative to the Muslim Brotherhood legacy groups in America with which you are all too familiar.

*Question 3.* On the AIFD website, you state that "We will work to engage Muslim youth and empower them with the independence to question the ideas of imams, clerics, and so many 'tribal' leaders of Muslim communities unwilling to look toward reform and modernity." Please describe the activities undertaken by the AIFD designed to reach out to Muslim youth.

Answer. Through our efforts at AIFD, I participate on behalf of AIFD in approximately 12–15 speaking engagements across the country each year. With each engagement, we attempt to involve outreach activities with Muslim youth groups, including student associations, interfaith organizations, and groups of young adults in the communities where I am speaking. I have spoken to young adults in universities across the country, including Stanford University, Pepperdine Law School, Ceritas University, University of Florida, Denison University, Florida Atlantic University, Suffolk University Law School, Princeton University, and Drake University, to name a few.

For the past 2 years, we have been building the foundations of our primary program for young Muslims, which we have called the *Muslim Liberty Project (MLP)*. MLP is our signature project for young Muslims. MLP is aimed at Muslims age 17–40. Our goal is to bring young American Muslims together to discuss liberty concepts and Jeffersonian principles of the separation of mosque and state, religious freedom, the Establishment Clause and reform away from the concept of the Islamic state. Our goal is to create Liberty Ambassadors within Muslim communities across the country.

In March 2011, we held our first MLP Retreat here in Phoenix, Arizona where we brought in 24 Muslim youth, their guardians, mentors, and supporters. They were selected for the scholarships in a competitive essay contest chosen from those

best able to articulate the importance of and tenets of Islamic reform toward the separation of mosque and state. Young Muslims came to Phoenix from 12 different States across the country. The 3-day weekend was an incredible experience for all of those involved and demonstrated that our Muslim youth are desperate to create an interpretation of their Islamic faith that steps into modernity and away from the Islamist ideologies that are poisoning some Muslim communities and hijacking their identity.

One of the outcomes from the retreat is that we are embarking on an aggressive digital campaign this year that will give the students the opportunity to continue the conversation and dialogue to continue building Muslim-led solutions to counter the problems related to the ideologies that lead toward radicalization. We hope that our young Ambassadors will allow the liberty narrative to gain a greater foothold against the Islamist narrative within Muslim communities.

*Question 4.* The website for the Clarion Fund indicates that you sit on the Advisory Board. What is your position on the Advisory Board and what does it entail?

Answer. I hold no formal position at all with the Clarion Fund. I have been listed as an advisory board member only since 2011, and my role is limited to honorary in nature. Since being given the title, I have only participated in one conference call earlier this year that discussed the group's latest documentary *Iranium*.

*Question 5.* News reports indicate that you served as the narrator in a movie entitled the "Third Jihad," which was produced and distributed by the Clarion Fund. Are those reports accurate? If so, as the narrator, were you responsible for writing the script?

Answer. Yes, I did serve as a narrator. No, I was not responsible for writing the script nor did I have authority over the entire script. I was responsible only for approving my portions of the script.

#### APPENDIX I—AIFD MUSLIM INVOLVEMENT IN TERROR CHRONOLOGY 2009

##### AMERICAN MUSLIMS INVOLVED IN TERRORISM: MAY 2009—PRESENT

A partial listing of native-born American Muslims, Muslim immigrants who became U.S. citizens, and American citizens who converted to Islam, who've been indicted or convicted for threatening or perpetrating violent acts, with Islam as their justification.

Presented as a public service by the American Islamic Forum for Democracy, March 2011.

(1) *May 20, 2009:* James Cromitie, David Williams IV, Onta Williams, and Laguerre Payen—all Muslim U.S. citizens from the NY–NJ area—were arrested by the FBI for plotting to blow up a New York synagogue and a Jewish community center, and shoot down U.S. military jets. In October 2010, all four were found guilty. Prosecutors called it a "chilling plot," and an example of the danger of home-grown terrorists. "Home-grown terrorism is a serious threat," said U.S. Atty. Preet Bharara. "The defendants in this case agreed to plant bombs and use missiles they thought were very real weapons of terrorism."<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, all four were in prison together, and all four attended the same mosque after being released, which was run by imams with connections to the N.Y. prison system where they were incarcerated.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *June 1, 2009:* Abdulhakim Muhammed, a Muslim U.S. citizen from Memphis, TN was charged with shooting two soldiers outside a military recruiting center. One soldier died and the other was wounded. In a January 2010 letter to the judge hearing his case, Muhammed asked to change his plea from not guilty to guilty, claimed ties to al-Qaeda, and called the shooting a jihadi attack "to fight those who wage war on Islam and Muslims."<sup>3</sup> Muhammed converted to Islam sometime after 2004, and quickly became radicalized. He is alleged to have also considered targeting other recruiting centers, Jewish organizations, a Baptist church, and a day care center.<sup>4</sup>

(3) *July 27, 2009:* Daniel Patrick Boyd, a Muslim U.S. citizen from North Carolina, was arrested and charged with recruiting six men, including two of his sons, to take part in a conspiracy "to advance violent jihad, including supporting and participating in terrorist activities abroad and committing acts of murder, kidnapping,

<sup>1</sup>"Four convicted in New York synagogue bomb plot," *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 2010.

<sup>2</sup>"Bronx Trial Shows How Prisons Breed Terrorists," Patrick Dunleavy, *IPT News*, August 30, 2010.

<sup>3</sup>"Recruiter Shooting Suspect Had Ties to Extremist Locations," By Pierre Thomas, Richard Esposito, and Jack Date, ABCNews.com, June 3, 2009.

<sup>4</sup>"Little Rock Shooter Eyed Bigger Targets," *IPT News*, June 4, 2009.

or maiming persons abroad.”<sup>5</sup> The Investigative Project on Terrorism reported that “During a bond hearing . . . the FBI case agent said 24 guns and more than 27,000 rounds of ammunition were seized from Boyd. Agents found a trench under a deck at Boyd’s home that witnesses said had been used to store weapons.”<sup>6</sup> On February 9, 2011 Boyd pleaded guilty to two of the more serious charges in exchange for his agreement to testify against his fellow conspirators.<sup>7</sup>

(4) *September 24, 2009*: Michael C. Finton (aka Talib Islam), a Muslim U.S. citizen from Decatur, IL was arrested by the FBI after driving a truck filled with what he believed to be “a ton of explosives” to a busy Federal courthouse building, and trying to detonate it remotely via cell phone.<sup>8</sup> Finton had recently converted to Islam while in prison for other crimes. He will be going to trial in March 2011.<sup>9</sup>

(5) *October 16, 2009*: Colleen Renee LaRose (aka “Jihad Jane”), a Muslim U.S. citizen from Pennsburg, PA was arrested by the FBI and charged with conspiracy to commit murder, and providing material support to terrorists. LaRose was a recent convert to Islam who became radicalized soon thereafter. She claimed on her MySpace page, “I support all the Mujahideen [Muslim warriors]. I hate zionist [sic] & all that support them!” The target of the murder plot was Lars Vilks, a Swedish artist who had caused anger among some Muslims because he drew a depiction of the Prophet Muhammad’s head on the body of a dog. LaRose was preparing to fly to Sweden and told a co-conspirator that killing Vilks was her objective: “I will make this my goal till I achieve it or die trying.” On February 1, 2011, LaRose pleaded guilty, and now awaits sentencing.<sup>10</sup>

(6) *November 5, 2009*: Maj. Nidal Hasan, a Muslim U.S. citizen and Army psychiatrist from Texas, murdered 13 American soldiers and wounded 30 more at Fort Hood in Killeen, TX. Internal documents show that officers within the Army were aware of Hasan’s tendencies toward radical Islam since 2005.<sup>11</sup> U.S. intelligence agencies intercepted Dr. Hasan’s discussions<sup>12</sup> with top al-Qaeda recruiter Anwar al-Awlaki about killing American soldiers—but then stopped investigating, believing that mere discussion is protected free speech.<sup>13</sup> On January 15, 2010 the Department of Defense released the findings of an internal investigation which found that the Department was unprepared to defend against internal threats.<sup>14</sup> Curiously, the report made no mention of Islam, or of the fact that Hasan was yelling, “Allahu Akbar!!!” as he shot American soldiers.<sup>15</sup>

(7) *December 8, 2009*: David Coleman Headley, a Muslim U.S. citizen from Chicago, was charged with being materially involved in the December 2008 Mumbai, India terror attacks that killed 170 people, including six Americans.<sup>16</sup> Headley pleaded guilty to all charges, and is now awaiting sentencing.<sup>17</sup>

(8) *January 5, 2010*: Ramy Zamzam, a Muslim U.S. citizen from Washington, DC was arrested in Pakistan along with four American Muslim college students, all of whom are also from the northern Virginia/DC area. The five men were allegedly in Pakistan seeking to join radical Islamist groups and fight against American forces and their allies in a “jihad.” Zamzam, who recently served as the president of the Muslim Student Association’s Washington, DC branch,<sup>18</sup> told reporters, “We are not terrorists. We are jihadists and jihad is not terrorism.”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Wikipedia: Daniel Patrick Boyd.

<sup>6</sup> “Armed to the Teeth, N.C. Terror Cell Members Talked of Jihad,” *IPT News*, August 20, 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Wikipedia: Daniel Patrick Boyd.

<sup>8</sup> Wikipedia: Michael Finton.

<sup>9</sup> “Experts: U.S. ‘lucky’ on plots,” by Marisol Bello, *USA TODAY*, November 29, 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Wikipedia: Colleen LaRose.

<sup>11</sup> Wikipedia: Ft. Hood shooting.

<sup>12</sup> “On Al-Jazeera.net—First Interview with U.S.-Born Yemen-Based Imam Anwar Al-Awlaki on Major Hasan and the Fort Hood Shooting: Nidal [Hasan] Contacted Me a Year Ago,” MEMRI *Jihad and Terrorism Threat Monitor*, December 23, 2009.

<sup>13</sup> “Senior Official: More Hasan Ties to People Under Investigation by FBI,” by Martha Raddatz, Brian Ross, Mary-Rose Abraham and Rehab El-Buri, ABCNews.com, Nov. 10, 2009.

<sup>14</sup> “Pentagon Report on Fort Hood Details Failures,” by Elisabeth Humiller and Scott Shane, *The New York Times*, January 15, 2010.

<sup>15</sup> “The Fort Hood Report: Why No Mention of Islam?,” by Mark Thompson, *Time*, January 20, 2010.

<sup>16</sup> “U.S. citizen charged with conspiring to aid terrorists in 2008 Mumbai attack,” by Carrie Johnson and Spencer S. Hsu, *The Washington Post*, December 8, 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Wikipedia: David Headley.

<sup>18</sup> “George Mason University Victorious in Battle of MSAs,” by Mehreen Rasheed, *Muslim Link*, November 29, 2008.

<sup>19</sup> “Breaking News: Pakistan Reportedly Detains Five D.C.-Area Muslims on Suspicion of Terror,” *IPT News*, December 8, 2009.

(9) *January 8, 2010*: Adis Medunjanin, a Muslim U.S. citizen from New York, was arrested for his involvement in an al-Qaeda plot “to blow up New York City,” after traveling to Pakistan for terrorist training in 2008.<sup>20</sup>

(10) *January 10, 2010*: Zarein Ahmedzay, a U.S. citizen from Queens, NY was indicted for his role in an al-Qaeda plot to conduct coordinated suicide bombings on New York’s subway system in September 2009. On April 23, 2010 he pleaded guilty,<sup>21</sup> but claimed “The real enemy of this country are the ones destroying the country from within. I believe it’s a special group—Zionist Jews, I believe, who run a permanent government in the United States.”<sup>22</sup>

(11) *March 8, 2010*: Jamie Paulin-Ramirez (aka “Jihad Jamie”), a Muslim U.S. citizen from Leadville, CO, was arrested by the FBI and charged with conspiracy to commit murder and providing material support to terrorists. The target of the murder plot was Lars Vilks, a Swedish artist who had caused anger among some Muslims because he drew a depiction of the Prophet Muhammad’s head on the body of a dog.<sup>23</sup> Ramirez, a recent convert to Islam who quickly became radicalized, was preparing to fly to Sweden to carry out the Vilks murder.<sup>24</sup>

(12) *May 2, 2010*: Faisal Shahzad, a Muslim U.S. citizen from New York, was arrested and charged with attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction, after he attempted to blow up a vehicle packed with explosives in Times Square. American officials later announced that the Pakistani Taliban likely played a role in the bomb plot, including providing Shahzad with terrorist training. Shahzad was found guilty in October, 2010 and sentenced to life in prison.<sup>25</sup>

(13) *July 10, 2010*: Zachary Adam Chesser, a Muslim U.S. citizen from Alexandria, VA was arrested by the FBI and charged with posting threats on his websites against “South Park” creators Matt Parker and Trey Stone, and for aiding Al Shabaab, an Islamist terror group. The basis for Chesser’s threats was his allegation that Parker and Stone insulted the Prophet Muhammed. He is also alleged to have solicited others to “pay them a visit.” Chesser claimed he became interested in Islam in 2008, converted, soon became radicalized, and established email communications with Anwar al-Awlaki, also a Muslim U.S. citizen and a top al-Qaeda recruiter.<sup>26</sup> In October, 2010 he pleaded guilty to all charges; in February 2011 he was sentenced to 25 years in prison.<sup>27</sup>

(14) *October 27, 2010*: Farooque Ahmed, a Muslim U.S. citizen from Ashburn, VA was indicted for attempting to provide material support to a terrorist organization, collecting information to assist in planning a terrorist attack on a transit facility, and attempting to provide material support to help carry out multiple bombings in the DC Metro subway system.<sup>28</sup> According to CBS research, Ahmed “lived in middle-class suburban comfort with his wife and their infant son. They held steady jobs in northern Virginia’s technology industry and mostly kept to themselves. They got along with neighbors, sometimes even cooking saffron rice and chicken for them. Ahmed enjoyed fishing, and his English-born wife, Sahar Mirza-Ahmed, was part of a group of ‘Hip Muslim Moms.’ Both were on social-networking sites.”<sup>29</sup>

(15) *November 26, 2010*: Mohamed Mohamud, a Muslim U.S. citizen from Corvallis, OR was arrested by the FBI and charged with attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction in connection with a plot to detonate a vehicle bomb at an annual Christmas tree lighting ceremony in Portland, OR.<sup>30</sup> The massive fake bomb consisted of six 55-gallon drums with what appeared to be real detonation cords and plastic caps. Mohamud tried to detonate the bomb by dialing a cell phone that was attached to it. When the device failed to explode, the undercover agent suggested he get out of the car to obtain better reception. When he did so, arresting agents

<sup>20</sup>“FBI grills Queens man Adis Medunjanin after he flees; sources say he has ties to Al Qaeda, Zazi,” *New York Daily News*, January 8, 2010.

<sup>21</sup>“Zarein Ahmedzay Pleads Guilty to Terror Violations in Connection with Al-Qaeda New York Subway Plot,” Department of Justice Press Release, April 23, 2010.

<sup>22</sup>“Najibullah Zazi cohort Zarein Ahmedzay admits terror plot role; blames ‘Zionist Jews’ for US woes,” by John Marzulli, *New York Daily News*, April 23, 2010.

<sup>23</sup>“Small-Town Mom Second American Woman Arrested in Terror Plot on Swedish Cartoonist,” FOXNews.com, March 13, 2010.

<sup>24</sup>“Paulin-Ramirez’s family feels ‘pity’ for ‘Jihad Jamie’; say she was likely egged on to join plot,” by Corky Siemaszko, *New York Daily News*, March 15, 2010.

<sup>25</sup>“Times Square Plotter Gets Life Term,” by Chad Bray, *The Wall St. Journal*, October 5, 2010.

<sup>26</sup>Wikipedia: Zachary Adam Chesser.

<sup>27</sup>“Muslim Convert Who Tried to Join Terrorists Gets 25 Years,” FoxNews.com, February 24, 2011.

<sup>28</sup>“Arrests Seen as Part of a Wider Plot,” *IPT News*, October 27, 2010.

<sup>29</sup>“Farooque Ahmed Described as Quiet Suburban Dad,” CBSNews.com, October 28, 2010.

<sup>30</sup>“Oregon Resident Arrested in Plot to Bomb Christmas Tree Lighting Ceremony in Portland,” Department of Justice press release, November 26, 2010.

moved in. Mohamud tried to kick the arresting agents and police, and shouted “Allahu Akbar!” after he was taken into custody.<sup>31</sup>

Other useful data:

- A 2007 Pew survey found that 24% of American Muslims aged 18–29 believe suicide bombings against civilians are justifiable, at least sometimes.<sup>32</sup>
- The Investigative Project on Terrorism: Homegrown Terrorist research file.<sup>33</sup>

## APPENDIX II—DOJ STATS DRAFT

### ISLAMISTS DOMINATE DOJ’S LIST OF TERROR PROSECUTIONS

BY THE INVESTIGATIVE PROJECT ON TERRORISM

*March 8, 2011*

More than 80 percent of all convictions tied to international terrorist groups and homegrown terrorism since 9/11 involve defendants driven by a radical Islamist agenda, a review of Department of Justice statistics shows.

Though Muslims represent about 1 percent of the American population, they constitute defendants in 186 of the 228 cases DOJ lists.

On Thursday, the House Homeland Security Committee holds its first hearing into radicalization among Muslim Americans. Critics have taken issue with the focus on one religious minority, but the DOJ list shows that radical Islamists are disproportionately involved in terror-related crimes.

Al-Qaeda is involved in the largest number of prosecutions, representing 30 percent of the 228 terror cases involving an identified group. Hizballah-affiliated defendants are involved in 10.5 percent of the cases and Hamas is part of 9 percent. Pakistani-based Lashkar-e-Tayyiba was involved in 6.5 percent of the cases.

The Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and the Colombian FARC leads the non-Islamist terrorist groups, combining for 14 percent of the total.

The Investigative Project on Terrorism analysis involved reviewing the Justice Department’s list of more than 400 successful terrorism-related prosecutions from Sept. 11, 2001, through March 18, 2010. Those cases that demonstrated defendants with a clear Islamist agenda were placed in that category, while those without a clear tie to radical Islam were excluded. In some cases, defendants with Arabic-sounding names were excluded from the Islamist category, because no definitive tie could be made.

The cases are divided between those involving direct support for terrorist plots or organizations, and those where investigations “involved an identified link to international terrorism” but the resulting charges involved charges such as fraud, immigration violations, firearms, drugs, false statements, and obstruction of justice.

Among all cases, an Islamist connection was found in at least 46 percent. An almost equal percentage, however, involved cases listed by the DOJ as terror-related, but in which there was insufficient information to determine whether a person was tied to an Islamist cause. In many, it was unclear why the case was included on a list of terror-related prosecutions.

The list emphasizes international terror, so domestic extremist groups like the Hutaree militia and eco-terrorists are not included.

Thirty of the terror cases listed, or about 13 percent, involve homegrown Islamist terrorists.

As the DOJ statistics cover cases prosecuted through March 2010, a series of homegrown Islamist terrorist plots thwarted in the last year are not included. For example, Jordanian Hossam Smadi pleaded guilty in May 2010 to attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction to blow up Fountain Place, a well-recognized skyscraper in downtown Dallas. In September of 2009, Smadi parked a vehicle loaded with what he thought was a live bomb underneath the building. After moving several blocks away from the building, he used a cell phone to detonate the explosive device. Smadi was unaware that the device, provided by the FBI, was inert.

The FBI gained interest in Smadi while monitoring a radical group on-line. According to the Government, Smadi’s “vehement intention” to carry out terrorist attacks on U.S. soil separated him from others in the group. Smadi’s statements exhibited his Islamist beliefs. “To sacrifice in person is the best type of jihad,” “Oh how I love, my brothers, to perform jihad with you in the same rank, in the same field against the same enemy” and statements of support for al-Qaeda leaders like Osama bin Laden are just some examples given in a criminal complaint.

<sup>31</sup> Wikipedia: 2010 Portland car bomb plot.

<sup>32</sup> Pew: “Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream,” May 22, 2007.

<sup>33</sup> Investigative Project on Terrorism: Homegrown Terrorism writings.

Similarly, the FBI arrested several men last fall in separate incidents who had attracted scrutiny due to their expressed desire to participate in violent jihad. Upon sending in agents to investigate further, the FBI discovered the men were all ready to take their rhetoric to the operational level. Farooque Ahmed plotted to attack the Washington, DC Metro system, Antonio Martinez targeted a military recruitment center in Maryland and Mohamed Osman Mohamud, tried to bomb a Portland, Ore. Christmas tree-lighting ceremony.

Prosecutors say Ahmed had been “inquiring about making contact with a terrorist organization in order to participate in jihad” overseas. He told someone he thought was a terrorist operative that he wanted to kill Americans in Afghanistan. He replied “of course” when the operative asked whether he wanted to become a martyr.

In a posting on his Facebook page, Martinez exclaimed that “The sword is cumin the reign of oppression is about 2 cease inshallah ta’ala YA mulismeen! Don’t except the free world we are slaves of the Most High and never forget it!”

Mohamud attempted to contact an associate in Pakistan to make plans to travel abroad to prepare for violent jihad and wrote pieces for “Jihad Recollections,” an on-line publication which condones violent jihad.

Nor does the DOJ list include pending cases, like the prosecution of seven North Carolina men who tried to wage jihad abroad and then talked of shifting to domestic targets when that didn’t work, and most of the prosecutions of more than 20 people charged with providing material support for the Somali terrorist group al-Shabaab.

Examples of cases included in the DOJ list with direct ties to international terrorism include failed airplane bomber Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab and Lashkar-e-Tayyiba operative David Headley, who scouted targets for the 2009 Mumbai attacks.

Cases not directly tied to terrorism but that indirectly helped aid terrorist activity, include Sabri Benkahla, who was convicted in February 2007 on charges of lying to a grand jury, obstruction of justice and making a false statement. Benkahla was part of the “Virginia jihad network” of young Muslim men who played paintball to train for jihad against nations hostile to Islam, including the United States. The group’s spiritual leader Ali Al-Timimi is serving a life sentence for inciting terrorist activity by urging followers to wage jihad against American forces in Afghanistan.

In another case, Fawaz Damra, former imam of the Islamic Center of Cleveland, was convicted by a Federal jury in 2004 of lying on his naturalization application about his involvement with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), a designated terrorist organization. Evidence presented at his trial included a 1991 speech in which Damra called Jews “the sons of monkeys and pigs” and openly raised money for the PIJ. Damra was subsequently stripped off his U.S. citizenship and deported to the Palestinian territories.

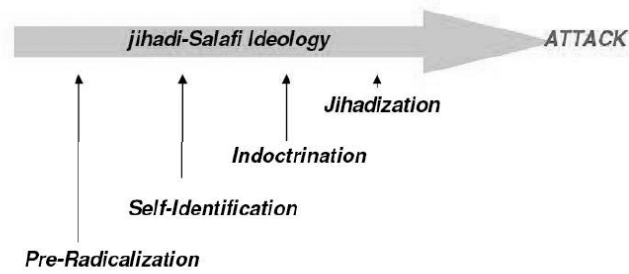
The DOJ list does not demonstrate that vast segments of the Muslim community constitute a threat to carry out terrorist attacks or support groups which do. Assuming a Muslim American population of about 5 million people, the DOJ cases amount to .000004 percent of the community.

However, it is clear that Islamist terrorist movements have been successful in getting support from extremists in the United States. As other recent hearings have shown, more sophisticated on-line recruitment has helped lure more people to seek jihad.

Unless that trend changes, the DOJ data likely will grow even more disproportionate.

Appendix IV (BT Query) Radicalization diagrams Poole

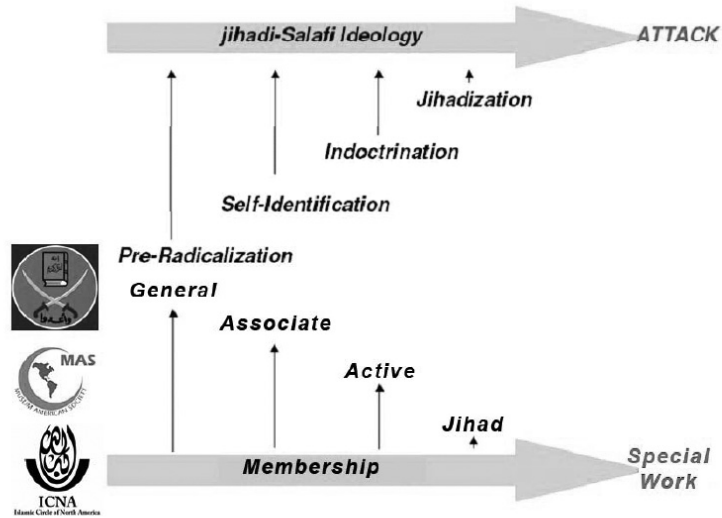
## The Radicalization Problem



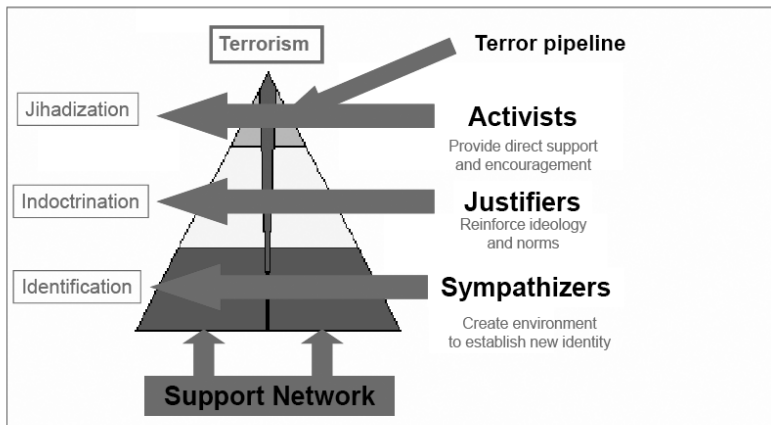
Mitchell Silber and Arvin Bhatt, "Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat", p. 19 ("NYPD report")

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\*Due to length, document has been retained in committee files.



### Radicalization in the Pyramid Model







National Consortium for the  
Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism

## Support for the Caliphate and Radical Mobilization

**Project Title:** Communication and Radical Mobilization

**Working Group:** Terrorist Group Formation

**Project Lead:** Douglas M. McLeod

**Other Project Researchers:** Frank Hairgrove

### Overview

The desire for the return of the Caliph, a religious and political leader for Muslims worldwide, is an often-mentioned goal in radical Islamic discourse, yet is rarely discussed in the counterterrorism literature. As part of an ongoing project examining extremist Islamist groups in Indonesia, our research has examined the role of the Caliph ideology in radical mobilization.

### Background

On August 12, 2007, Indonesia's branch of Hizbut Tahrir (HT-I) hosted the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Caliphate Conference in the Jakarta. In contrast to the 5,000 attendees of the first such conference in May 2000, the 2007 conference drew over 90,000 participants from at least 39 different countries. Groups in attendance ranged from moderate Islamic organizations to those associated with Al Qaeda. Conference attendees were bound by the desire to reestablish the Caliph as a religious and political leader of a global Islamic state (a Caliphate).

The Caliph dates back to the Prophet Muhammad in the early 7<sup>th</sup> Century. During the Ottoman Empire, the Caliphate was moved to Turkey where it resided for over three hundred years. In 1924, the Islamic Turkish government, seeking to become a more secular country, banned the Caliphate after having chain of over one thousand Caliphs. Reestablishing the Caliph has been a salient cause among some Islamic circles ever since.

Current radical Islamist movements seek to facilitate re-establishing the Caliphate, deposing the Saudi government, and returning the Caliph to the land of the Prophet Muhammad. These radical movements trace their roots to reform movements such as Salafism and Wahabism and the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, all of which sought, among other things, to reestablish the Caliphate (Mitchell, 1969; Stanley, 2005). When these pious movements failed to achieve this goal, insurgent movements, most notably Al Qaeda, developed strategies to overcome the obstacles that had thwarted the reestablishment of the Caliph—obstacles such as the U.S. government, its allies, and moderate Islamic governments such as Indonesia, Turkey, and Egypt (Gerges, 2005). Islamist websites describe the shame felt by the Islamic community resulting from the loss of the Caliph and the hegemony of western entities. Social psychologists note that such shame is an intense motivator for extremist organizations (Sageman, 2004; Selengut, 2003).

START Research Brief, January 2008

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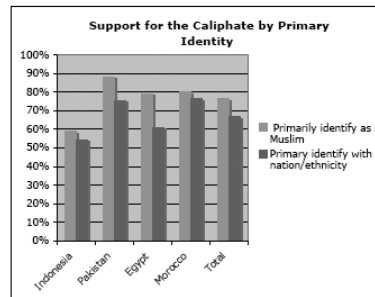
*Current difficulties in re-establishing the Caliphate.* When Muhammad died in 632, he did not leave clear instructions for the succession of his leadership (Arnold, 1965). Subsequent discussion among the early followers of Islam sought to determine whether the succession of leadership (Caliph) should follow the Arabian model of bloodline or, rather, the leader should be chosen solely based on his ability to maintain the religious and philosophical tenets of the movement. The first four Caliphs were chosen by the Muslim leadership according to the latter criteria, but the selection of subsequent Caliphs deviated from this practice, which has been blamed as the primary reason for Islam's failure to achieve the religious and political domination envisioned by Muhammad (Tahrir, 2003; Taji-Farouki, 1996). Currently, there is no consensus among Muslims regarding the Caliph selection process.

#### Our Research

We use multiple data sources to investigate the power of the Caliph ideology. First, we conducted in-depth interviews with leaders and cadre of the radical Islamic group Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia during the weeks leading up to the 2007 caliphate conference in Jakarta. Second, we analyzed data from the 2007 START survey conducted by the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) in four Islamic majority countries.

*Hizbut Tahrir-Indonesia.* Based on organizational publications and our interviews with HT-I's leader, Ismail Yusanto, we know that his organization favors a "staged process" for re-establishing the Caliphate. By taking political control over a government in a non-violent *coup d'état*, they would then hold Islamic elections in that country to choose a Caliph who would lead that country in overthrowing neighboring Muslim countries. Competing Islamic groups such as Muslim Brotherhood are unwilling to embrace HT's approach to re-establishing the Caliph, an example of the interorganizational struggle over the Caliph selection process, which will lead to long-term instability among radical Islamic organizations.

*Do average Muslims dream of the Caliphate rule?* Analyzing data from four Islamic countries gathered by PIPA in 2007, the answer is yes. Survey respondents indicated whether their primary identification was religious or nationalistic, and whether they support an Islamic world unified under a Caliph. Support among Muslim and national identifiers is substantial (77% and 67% respectively). While differences between identifier groups was significant for Pakistan and Egypt—with Muslim identifiers significantly more likely to support a Caliphate—no differences were found between religious and nationalists in Indonesia and Morocco. These findings demonstrate that the longing for the return of the caliph transcends ideological orientations and reflects what scholars posit as a "collective identity" issue (Castells, 1997).



### Conclusion

Our research demonstrates that the Caliph imagery is a strong motivator within Muslim discourse. Pious zealots are often swept into the political expression of Jihad while attending small study groups (Hairgrove & McLeod, forthcoming 2008). For some Muslims, the imagery of an Islam reflective of the golden era of Muhammad is a religious value worthy of pursuit in terms of life goals, finances, and personal sacrifice "in the cause of Allah." This ideological war for the "hearts and minds" for Muslims is considered a war for a "collective identity" and has no shortage of patriots willing to join the struggle.

Internal struggles within the Islamic community over reestablishing the Caliphate will be ongoing, with spillovers into the geo-political landscape such as 9-11, the "war on terror," Iraq, and the elections in Islamic majority countries such as Turkey, Indonesia, and Egypt. This issue will continue to over-shadow other geo-political issues until world bodies assist the Islamic world in addressing the Caliphate issue, turning the discourse inward, instead of outward in jihad against western interests.

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The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terror (START) is a U.S. Department of Homeland Security Center of Excellence, tasked by the Department of Homeland Security's Science and Technology Directorate with using state-of-the-art theories, methods, and data from the social and behavioral sciences to improve understanding of the origins, dynamics, and social and psychological impacts of terrorism. START, based at the University of Maryland, College Park, aims to provide timely guidance on how to disrupt terrorist networks, reduce the incidence of terrorism, and enhance the resilience of U.S. society in the face of the terrorist threat. For general matters pertaining to the START Center, please contact: [infostart@start.umd.edu](mailto:infostart@start.umd.edu)

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Appendix VI (BT Query) Title Page Illusion of the Islamic State Final 04-01-2011

## THE ILLUSION OF AN ISLAMIC STATE

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How an Alliance of Moderates Launched a  
Successful Jihad Against Radicalization and Terrorism  
in the World's Largest Muslim-Majority Country

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Kyai Haji Hodri Arief, Prof. Dr. Ratno Lukito and C. Holland Taylor

**The WAHID Institute**  
Sowing Plural and Peaceful Islam

  
LIBFORALL  
FOUNDATION

**MAARIF**

APPENDIX VII.—CAIR PHOTO ENLARGED

Appendix VII (BT Query) CAIR Photo Enlarged



APPENDIX VIII.—AIFD BYLAWS \*

APPENDIX IX.—501(C)(3) IRS LETTER \*

APPENDIX X.—ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION AIFD \*

\* Retained in committee files.



## THE THREAT OF MUSLIM-AMERICAN RADICALIZATION IN U.S. PRISONS

Wednesday, June 15, 2011

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 9:34 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Peter T. King [Chairman of the committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives King, Lungren, Rogers, Bilirakis, Walberg, Cravaack, Meehan, Quayle, Rigell, Long, Duncan, Marino, Farenthold, Brooks, Thompson, Jackson Lee, Cuellar, Clarke of New York, Richardson, Davis, Higgins, Speier, Richmond, Clarke of Michigan, and Hochul.

Chairman KING. Good morning. The Committee on Homeland Security will come to order. The committee is meeting today to hear testimony on the extent of radicalization of Muslim Americans in the United States' prison system.

The Chairman wishes to remind our guests today that demonstrations from the audience, including the use of signs, placards, and T-shirts, as well as verbal outbursts, are violations of the rules of the House. The Chairman wishes to thank our guests for their cooperation in maintaining order and proper decorum.

As far as proper decorum, let me welcome a new Member to our committee, Ms. Hochul of New York. It is always good to have another New Yorker on the committee.

Even though you are on the other side of the aisle, we certainly welcome you and look forward to working with you. Thank you for your interest in this issue.

I would also, at this time, make a unanimous consent request. Congressman Keith Ellison has asked to have a statement submitted into the record of the hearing.

Without objection, so ordered.

[The statement of Mr. Ellison follows:]

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN KEITH ELLISON (MN-05)

JUNE 15, 2011

Chairman King, thank you for allowing me to submit this statement to the Congressional Record today. Thank you also for allowing me to testify at your last hearing on this subject, "The Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community."

As I said then, I do not agree with the premise of these hearings. Violent extremism is indeed a serious concern to all Americans, and is the legitimate business of this committee. However, this committee's approach to violent extremism is contrary to American values, and threatens our security. We need increased under-

standing and engagement with Muslim Americans, including ones who are incarcerated.

Continuing to single out a religious or racial minority is no way to keep America safe. Instead of fostering understanding and engagement with Muslim-American communities, these hearings stigmatize them. Imagine a Congressional hearing entitled “The Threat of Black Radicalization in U.S. Prisons,” or “The Threat of Jewish Radicalization in U.S. Prisons.” The very title of this hearing presumes that “Muslim Americans” en masse are radicalized in U.S. prisons and pose a threat.

The facts indicate that the opposite is true. In a recent analysis, Professor Charles Kurzman of the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security found that Muslim-American radicalization in U.S. prisons is not a major threat to homeland security. The vast majority of Muslim-American terrorists since 9/11 did not spend time in U.S. prisons; of the 178 Muslim Americans involved in terrorism since 9/11, only 12—or less than 10 percent—were former inmates.

As someone with 16 years of experience as a criminal defense attorney, I know that religious instruction, including Islamic instruction, has had a beneficial impact on many inmates. Churches and mosques run prison-outreach programs, and prisons have generally been supportive of such initiatives. Many inmates report that studying Islam has helped them become law-abiding and more productive citizens. This hearing casts suspicion on Islamic outreach programs, which is sad. It interferes with the right of freedom of worship and could compromise the progress of outreach programs in creating calm, orderly prison environments.

Unfortunately, the committee is committing precious resources to an issue that does not pose a significant threat to the homeland. As Professor Bert Useem will make clear in his testimony today, “If prisons were a cause of jihad radicalization, even a weak cause, then the country would be rife with terrorists.” Of course that is not the case because the extent of Muslim-American radicalization in U.S. prisons is not significant. As Professor Useem concluded in his 2009 *Criminology & Public Policy* study, “The claim that prisons will generate scores of terrorists spilling out into the streets of our cities—the position described at the opening of this paper—seems to be false, or at least overstated.”

Let me repeat that violent extremism is a serious concern of mine. I have worked closely with the Department of Homeland Security in my own Congressional district to minimize the threat of domestic terrorism in ways that do not alienate and stigmatize the Muslim-American community. I would be more than happy to meet with you if you would like to discuss these initiatives.

Chairman KING. Does the Ranking Member have any—

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I would also like to welcome our new Member from New York, who is on the right side of the committee. But I would also like to enter into the record letters regarding our hearing. I would also like to enter an article entitled “Prison Islam and the Age of Sacred Terror”.\*

Chairman KING. So ordered.

[The information follows:]

LETTER SUBMITTED BY RANKING MEMBER BENNIE G. THOMPSON

JUNE 15, 2011.

The Honorable PETER KING,  
U.S. House Committee on Homeland Security, 339 Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, DC 20515.

DEAR CHAIRMAN KING: The undersigned groups write to express our serious concern regarding the Committee on Homeland Security’s upcoming hearing entitled, “The Threat of Muslim-American Radicalization in U.S. Prisons.” We are concerned that this inquiry will foster continuing misimpressions about and hate and prejudice toward the American Muslim community. We note that there is no credible evidence or expert research that Muslim prisoners pose a unique or particular threat.

According to the witness list, there will be no officials called from the Federal Bureau of Prisons (“BOP”) or the U.S. Department of Justice for this hearing. We strongly urge you to reconsider this omission. A representative from the Department or the BOP would be in the best position to testify about current conditions and potential threats in the prison system from a system-wide perspective. There are also

\*The article has been retained in committee files, and is also available at <http://bjc.oxfordjournals.org/content/49/5/667.abstract>.



academic and other experts who have conducted system-wide studies. We are concerned that instead the invited witnesses will focus on isolated instances of violent extremism by former or current inmates who are Muslim, without the proper context of the threat of recidivism and violent extremism by all former or current inmates, regardless of faith background.

Indeed, there are a number of problems in the U.S. prison system that are legitimate subjects of Congressional inquiry, such as disparities in sentences for people of color, overcrowding and dangerous conditions of confinement, and the lack of sufficient rehabilitation and reentry programs to reduce prisoner recidivism. Instead of focusing on these issues, solutions to which will only strengthen our criminal justice system and ensure public safety, the upcoming hearing is divisive and distracts from both our country's National security concerns and challenges faced by our prison systems.

We urge the committee to rethink its decision to hold another hearing singling out a group of Americans based on their religious faith, and instead focus on serious examinations of the real threats to our National security.

Sincerely,

Alliance for Justice	Muslim Advocates
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)	Muslim Bar Association of Chicago
American Muslim Voice Foundation	Muslim Bar Association of New York
Arab American Association of New York	Muslim Bar Association of Southern California
Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS)	Muslim Consultative Network
Arab Muslim American Federation	Muslim Lawyers Association of Houston, Inc.
Asian American Justice Center, a member of the Asian American Center for Advancing Justice	Muslim Legal Fund of America
Asian Law Alliance	Muslim Peace Coalition USA
Association of Muslim American Lawyers	Muslim Public Affairs Council
Bay Area Association of Muslim Lawyers (BAAML)	National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum
Center for Media and Democracy	National Network for Arab American Communities (NNAAC)
Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA)	New England Muslim Bar Association
Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC)	New Jersey Muslim Lawyers Association
Council of Islamic Organizations of Michigan (CIOM)	Northern California Islamic Council
Council on American Islamic Relations—New York (CAIR-NY)	Ohio Muslim Bar Association
Counselors Helping (South) Asians, Inc. (CHAI)	People For the American Way Rights Working Group
Defending Dissent Foundation	Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF)
Desis Rising Up & Moving (DRUM)	South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT)
EMERGE—USA	South Asian Network (SAN)
Georgia Association of Muslim Lawyers	Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition
Interfaith Alliance	The National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild
Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)	The Sentencing Project
Islamic Society of Greater Houston, Inc.	The Sikh Coalition
Japanese American Citizens League	TrikoneNorthwest
Michigan Muslim Bar Association	UNITED SIKHS
	Women In Islam, Inc.

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STATEMENT OF MUSLIM ADVOCATES

JUNE 15, 2011

Muslim Advocates submits this written statement for the record of the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security, hearing entitled, "The Threat of Muslim-American Radicalization in U.S. Prisons."

Muslim Advocates (<http://www.muslimadvocates.org>) is a National legal advocacy and educational organization dedicated to promoting freedom, justice, and equality for all, regardless of faith, using the tools of legal advocacy, policy engagement, and education and by serving as a legal resource to promote the full participation of Muslims in American civic life. Founded in 2005, Muslim Advocates is a sister enti-

ty to the National Association of Muslim Lawyers, a network of Muslim American legal professionals. Muslim Advocates seeks to protect the founding values of our Nation and believes that America can be safe and secure without sacrificing Constitutional rights and protections.

Congress has a solemn responsibility to examine threats to our National security. Any such inquiry, however, must be undertaken with great care to ensure that no ethnic, racial, or religious group is singled out for scrutiny based on the actions of individuals within that community. As U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder stated earlier this year when asked whether the Committee on Homeland Security's hearing held on March 10, 2011, on the radicalization of the American Muslim community could polarize Americans, "[m]y focus is on individuals as opposed to communities and I think that is what we need to be focused on . . . . We don't want to stigmatize, we don't want to alienate entire communities . . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Despite the multitude and range of pressing National security issues facing our country, this committee continues to expend valuable time and resources by holding hearings that single out and focus entirely on one faith community, American Muslims. Indeed, today's hearing on the threat of American Muslim radicalization in U.S. prisons is being held despite a lack of evidence that former or current American Muslim prisoners poses a special or particular threat. As a result, this committee is poised to perpetuate and exacerbate hate and prejudice towards American Muslims, specifically American Muslim prisoners.

As with this committee's prior hearing on the "radicalization" of American Muslims, this hearing does not feature witnesses that are the best situated to speak to the topic. The committee has called no current officials from the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the U.S. Department of Justice, or any other State or Federal prison system. Officials from these agencies are most knowledgeable about potential threats from prisoners and whether current conditions in the prison system give rise to National security concerns.

Rather than rely on facts and experts, the testimony of three of the witnesses focuses on isolated, anecdotal instances of violent extremism by former or current inmates who are Muslim. This anecdotal testimony also makes broad unsubstantiated statements about the propensity of American Muslim prisoners towards violence. These statements are made without context of the threat of recidivism and violent extremism by all former or current inmates, regardless of faith or ideological background.

Furthermore, as Bert Useem, the fourth witness and a professor of sociology who has actually studied the U.S. prison system, concludes, "U.S. prisons are not systematically generating a terrorist threat to the U.S. homeland."<sup>2</sup> The witness testimony does not demonstrate that Muslim prisoners pose a special or unique threat to our Nation's security that would warrant an exclusive Congressional hearing. In fact, many of the plots discussed by the witnesses in their testimony as examples of Muslims who are being "radicalized" in prison, are akin to criminal activities organized and executed by white supremacist groups and street gangs—all groups that exploit and capitalize on the prison environment. As it would be inappropriate to hold a Congressional hearing targeting the entire faith, ethnic, or racial communities of Neo-Nazi prison gang or drug cartel members, so too is it inappropriate to extrapolate the criminal activity of a few Muslim prisoners onto the larger American Muslim prison population and all American Muslims.

This hearing will only feed the public's fear and bias against American Muslims. Last year our Nation experienced a marked increase in anti-Muslim sentiment, which continues to rise as American Muslims are targeted for scrutiny by politicians and officials looking for political gain. This anti-Muslim bigotry has real life and death consequences for Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim. American Muslims have been subjected to hate crimes and violence, including vandalism and arson of mosques, physical attacks, bullying of American Muslim children in schools, and attempted murder.

American Muslim prisoners are not immune to this anti-Muslim sentiment and discriminatory targeting. Last year, the Center for Constitutional Rights ("CCR") filed a lawsuit on behalf of Muslim Federal prisoners challenging Communication Management Units—prisoner units designed to isolate and segregate certain prisoners, banning them from any physical contact with visitors and severely restricting

<sup>1</sup>See Jason Ryan, *Holder Criticizes Tone and Focus of Rep. King Hearings on Muslim Radicalization*, ABC News The Note Blog, Mar. 9, 2011, <http://blogs.abcnews.com/thenote/2011/03/holder-criticizes-tone-and-focus-of-rep-king-hearings-on-muslim-radicalization.html>.

<sup>2</sup>See Bert Useem, Statement to the House, Committee on Homeland Security, *The Threat of Muslim-American Radicalization in U.S. Prisons*, Hearing, June 15, 2011.

communication with other prisoners and individuals on the outside.<sup>3</sup> Approximately 60–70 percent of the prisoners held in these units are Muslim, despite Muslims representing only 6 percent of the general Federal prison population.<sup>4</sup> CCR found that many prisoners are sent to these units for exercising Constitutionally-protected religious beliefs or unpopular political views, based on stereotypes, political scapegoating, and religious profiling.<sup>5</sup> This hearing will only perpetuate the myth that American Muslim prisoners pose a special threat to our National security and prison system that would justify discriminatory treatment.

Additionally, we are concerned that focusing on American Muslim prisoners casts a net of suspicion that will follow them upon release, making their reentry and reintegration into society that much more difficult. Rehabilitation and reentry programs are vital for a prisoner's successful reintegration after incarceration, with faith-based reentry programs and social and religious networks providing important resources for many prisoners. That is why unsubstantiated assertions that most of the programs for Muslims transitioning out of the prison system are sponsored by mosques with extremists leanings are detrimental; they cast suspicion on both the prisoner and the faith community that is helping decrease the chance of recidivism.

Congress has a solemn duty to wield its power responsibly and take great care when spotlighting an issue for inquiry. Providing a public, Government platform where erroneous and inflammatory views are promoted is not without consequence. The American public takes cues from Congress, and generating fear and hysteria can lead to hate-motivated crimes, harassment, and discrimination. We urge the committee to refrain from holding further hearings that single out a group of Americans based on their religious faith, and instead focus on serious examinations of the real threats to our National security.

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STATEMENT OF REV. DR. C. WELTON GADDY, PRESIDENT, INTERFAITH ALLIANCE

JUNE 15, 2011

As a Baptist minister, a patriotic American and the President of Interfaith Alliance, a National, non-partisan organization that celebrates religious freedom and is dedicated to protecting faith and freedom and whose 185,000 members Nation-wide belong to 75 faith traditions as well as those without a faith tradition, I submit this testimony to the House Committee on Homeland Security for the record of the hearing on “The Threat of Muslim-American Radicalization in U.S. Prisons.”

As I noted in my testimony for this committee's hearing into the “Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community” just 3 months ago, by singling out one particular religion for investigation, these hearings fly in the face of religious freedom as it is enshrined in the First Amendment to our Constitution. Furthermore, this hearing is not only the wrong answer to the wrong question, but there appears to be little factual basis to necessitate this line of inquiry and in the end, this series of hearings may only perpetuate the problems the Homeland Security Committee seeks to solve, as well as add to a disturbing climate of anti-Muslim sentiment extant in America today.

Freedom of religion as guaranteed by the First Amendment protects the freedom of all Americans to believe in any religious faith, as they choose, without fear of criticism, retribution, or investigation because of it. In our Nation, all people and all faiths are equal with none favored over any other. Many incarcerated individuals turn their religion or find new faith while repaying their debt to society and indeed doing so can have positive results in many cases. Furthermore, the chaplains in our Nation's prisons serve an important role, facilitating the free exercise rights of prisoners. All Americans have the right to practice their faith or to pursue a different religious tradition should they choose; this is an integral part of American democracy just as rehabilitation and effective reentry are important parts of our criminal justice system. And any suggestion that clergy should have to pass some sort of values test of their own religion is a serious attack on our First Amendment.

There is no doubt that our Nation faces serious threats to its security both at home and abroad, but the continued demonization of Muslims and questioning of the Muslim faith is not the answer. I fear that this approach is misguided and will only result in further alienating the American Muslim community. Terrorism is a real threat that requires serious investigation based on fact. At the same time, con-

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<sup>3</sup>See Center for Constitutional Rights, *CMUs: The Federal Prison System's Experiment in Social Isolation*, available at <http://ccrjustice.org/cm-factsheet>.

<sup>4</sup>Id.

<sup>5</sup>Id.

ducting hearings into what is being presented as a major trend of “radicalization” in the Muslim community that leads to violence when there is little to no evidence to support that claim, is also a real threat. Posing questions like “whether the American Muslim community is becoming radicalized”—whether supposedly occurring in prisons or in houses of worship—has the dangerous potential to intensify, rather than to lessen, prejudice toward Muslims.

There exists in our country today a pervasive and unsettling trend of anti-Muslim fear, bigotry, and rhetoric and a general lack of understanding of the real differences between Islamic extremists who commit acts of terrorism and non-violent adherents to Islam. Targeting one particular faith for scrutiny when the overwhelming majority of that faith’s adherents in this country are peaceful, law-abiding citizens seems counterproductive and just plain wrong. It is the responsibility of our elected officials to promote reason, truth, and civility in the public forum—especially at a time when Islamophobia is on the rise—not to waste time and public resources on victimizing select groups.

Interfaith Alliance’s work is driven by the fundamental principle that protecting religious freedom is most critical in times of crisis and controversy. Even the most basic knowledge of the history of the First Amendment includes the understanding that religious freedom exists in part to protect the rights of the minority from what Alexis de Tocqueville not unrealistically called the tyranny of the majority. In fact, it would not be a stretch to say that if our Founding Fathers had relied on polling data, the First Amendment might not exist at all. Unfortunately, in today’s political climate, it may not ensure an “electoral win” to defend the rights of the American Muslim community and the Muslim chaplains who give their lives to serving the least among us, but there is no question that it is the right thing to do.

Thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony on this important issue.

Chairman KING. Today, we hold the second in a series of hearings on radicalization in the Muslim-American community, specifically on the important issue of the threat of Islamic radicalization in U.S. prisons.

I welcome our distinguished panel of witnesses. They have first-hand insights into this problem. We appreciate their willingness to share their experiences with the committee, both our witnesses and your witness, Mr. Ranking Member.

This issue of Islamic radicalization in U.S. prisons is not new. In fact, this is the third Congressional hearing on this problem in recent years. It is a hearing which is necessary because the danger remains real and present, especially because of al-Qaeda’s announced intention to intensify attacks within the United States.

A number of cases since September 11 have involved terrorists who converted to Islam or were radicalized to Islam in American prisons, then, subsequently, attempted to launch terror strikes here in the United States upon their release from custody.

They have also carried out terrorist attacks overseas. Just last year, Senator John Kerry, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, released a report which said, “Three dozen U.S. citizens who converted to Islam while in prison have traveled to Yemen possibly for al-Qaeda training.”

I will say that again. Dozens of ex-cons who became radicalized Muslims inside U.S. prisons have gone to Yemen to join an al-Qaeda group run by a fellow American, Anwar al-Awlaki, whose terrorists have attacked the U.S. homeland several times since 2008, and are generally acknowledged to be al-Qaeda’s most dangerous affiliate.

There are other cases such as Farah Mohamed Beledi, a 27-year-old Somali-American from Minneapolis, who has been indicted in Federal court for fighting in Somalia as part of Al Shabaab.

According to family members and court records, Beledi was a gang member who had been convicted for a number of crimes in-

cluding assault with a deadly weapon. Upon being released from prison where he was radicalized, he began attending the As-Saddique Islamic Center in Minneapolis and was soon on his way to fight in Somalia.

The Obama administration recognizes prison radicalization as a serious threat and that prisons are fertile grounds for recruitment. Last week, the Department of Homeland Security announced that Secretary Janet Napolitano and other State and local anti-terror partners are, “Collaborating to develop a mitigation strategy for terrorist use of prisons for radicalization and recruitment.”

The reality of the radicalization threat emanating from our prisons was demonstrated again last month when Michael Finton, who was radicalized in an Illinois State prison, pleaded guilty in Illinois to attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction.

Finton was planning to assassinate our colleague, Representative Aaron Schock, and destroy the Federal courthouse and office building in Springfield, Illinois.

Tomorrow in New York, James Crometie, who was radicalized in a New York prison, is scheduled to be sentenced for his leading role in a conspiracy to attack troop transports at an Air National Guard base in Newburgh, New York, and to attack a synagogue and Jewish community center in New York City.

Finton and Crometie are not alone. Today, we will hear about Kevin James, a radicalized former Nation of Islam follower, who formed a Jihadi group called JIS, and hatched a terror plot from behind bars at California’s Folsom Prison.

It was not just aspirational. It was operational, spreading from the prison to a local mosque, and resulting in a plot to attack a U.S. military recruiting center on the 9/11 anniversary and a Jewish temple on Yom Kippur.

Jose Padilla, known as the dirty bomb plotter, converted to Islam in a Florida jail. While on the inside, Padilla met a fellow inmate who led him to a radical mosque.

Padilla eventually moved to the Middle East and joined al-Qaeda. He was sent back to the United States in 2002 to attack our homeland with a bomb made of radioactive material and ignite gas in apartment buildings to bring them down.

Prison radicalization is not unique to the United States. Last week, the British home secretary emphasized the growing threat of Islamic radicalization and unveiled its new counter-radicalization strategy to thwart terrorist recruitment behind bars.

Just as homegrown al-Qaeda terrorist attacks in Britain, including the 2005 subway attacks in London, the 2006 liquid explosives plot to blow up American planes flying out of Britain, and the 2007 car bomb attack on the Edinburgh airport were emulated several years later in the United States with the attempted New York subway bombings in September 2009, the Fort Hood murders in November 2009, and the attempted Times Square bombing in May 2010, we must assume the same with prison radicalization.

I have repeatedly said that the overwhelming majority of Muslim Americans are outstanding Americans. Yet, the first radicalization hearing which this committee held in March of this year was met by much mindless hysteria led by radical groups such as the Coun-

cil of Islamic Relations and their allies in the liberal media, personified by the *New York Times*.

Countering Islamic radicalization should not be a partisan issue. I would urge my Democratic colleagues to rise above partisan talking points. I am here to work with the Obama administration.

Remember, it was the President's own deputy national security adviser, Denis McDonough, who said just 3 months ago that, "al-Qaeda is increasingly attempting to recruit and radicalize people to terrorism here in the United States. The threat is real and it is rising. Al-Qaeda is trying to convince Muslim Americans to reject their country and their fellow Americans."

That was the President's deputy national security adviser.

As I mentioned previously, the Department of Homeland Security is formulating a comprehensive plan to stop terrorist radicalization and recruitment in America's prisoners.

So I ask the Democratic members to join with the Obama administration in acknowledging the reality and the severity of these threats and work with us here in the committee. We look forward to your assistance.

Again, I thank the witnesses for being here today. I look forward to your testimony.

I recognize the distinguished Ranking Member from Mississippi, Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I welcome our panel of witnesses today.

As you know, the United States has the highest incarceration rate in the world. More than 2.3 million people are locked up in America. Approximately one-third of these prisoners claim some form of religious affiliation.

Islam is the fastest growing religion among prisoners. About 80 percent of those who join a religion while in prison turned to Islam. Multiple studies show that the typical inmate who converts to Islam is poor, black, upset about racism, and not particularly interested in the Middle East politics.

In preparation for this hearing, my staff spoke with the representatives from the Bureau of Prisons, the State prison officials from across the country. I regret that none of them are here to testify today.

The Bureau of Prisons and the State officials informed us that they routinely require religious staff, including imams, rabbis, and priests, to undergo rigorous vetting, including verification of religious credentials, background checks, and personal interviews.

They told us that any religious book and recorded message used must be screened and that guards monitor the services.

When we asked about radicalization by outside influences, they told us that prisoners do not have internet access and all non-legal mail is opened, read, and sometimes censored.

Judging from these accounts, it would seem that opportunities for radicalization are few.

The evidence bears that out. According to the Congressional Research Service, of the 43 violent attacks carried out by Muslims since 9/11, there were only two clear cases of radicalized released prisoners plotting a terrorist act.

Judging from this evidence, I think it is safe to conclude that the risk of terrorism originating from Muslim converts in U.S. prisons is small.

Limiting this committee's oversight of radicalization to one religion ignores threats posed by violent extremists of all stripes. There are other threats to be concerned about.

According to the National Gang Intelligence Center, a study on January 2009, approximately 147,000 documented gang members are incarcerated in Federal, State, and local jails. Intact and operational gangs within these prisons pose a security threat not only within prison walls, but also in our communities.

The ability of leaders of these criminal enterprises to control and direct operations outside of prisons should not be ignored.

Further, the violent right-wing ideology of many of these gangs must be discussed. Let us not forget that James Byrd was dragged to his death on a back road in Texas by right-wing gang members who were radicalized in jail.

Clearly, the willingness to use violence, undermine order, and commit mayhem is not dependent on religious belief or political ideology.

In May, the committee held a hearing assessing the threat to the Nation's security following the death of Osama bin Laden. At that hearing, we learned about terrorists' aspirations to launch attacks to the United States.

Earlier this month, Adam Gadahn, an American-born spokesman for al-Qaeda, released a video calling on Muslims to commit violent acts against America by taking advantage of the gun show loophole.

Gadahn told his viewers that in this country you can buy a fully automatic assault rifle without a background check at most local gun shows. He is correct. In March, the GAO reported that almost 250 people on the terror watch list were cleared to purchase firearms last year alone.

In that hearing, the expert testimony underscored that our greatest threat may be from lone wolves and solitary actors. Gadahn's video has given these potential actors encouragement, advice, and a road map.

Mr. Chairman, as we consider threats to this Nation's security, let us focus on eliminating known security gaps. We are not endangered by people who are already locked up.

In assessing risk, we must look at the evidence. We are placed at risk by gangs who use prisons as a base of criminal operations. We are placed at risk by lone wolves exploiting the gun show loophole.

I look forward to working with you on your legislation to close this known security gap. Working together, we can reduce the risk to our Nation from dangerous people roaming the streets of America.

I yield back.

[The statement of Ranking Member Thompson follows:]

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF RANKING MEMBER BENNIE G. THOMPSON

JUNE 15, 2011

The United States has the highest incarceration rate in the world. More than 2.3 million people are locked up in America.

Approximately one-third of these prisoners claim some form of religious affiliation. Islam is the fastest-growing religion among prisoners. About 80 percent of those who join a religion while imprisoned turn to Islam.

Multiple studies show that the typical inmate who converts to Islam is poor, Black, upset about racism, and not particularly interested in Middle East politics.

In preparation for this hearing, my staff spoke with representatives from the Bureau of Prisons and State prison officials from across the country. I regret that none of them are here to testify today.

The Bureau of Prisons and the State officials informed us that they routinely require religious staff, including imams, rabbis, and priests to undergo rigorous vetting, including verification of religious credentials, background checks, and personal interviews.

They told us that any religious books and recorded messages used must be screened and that guards monitor the services. When we asked about radicalization by outside influences, they told us that prisoners do not have internet access and all non-legal mail is opened, read, and sometimes censored.

Judging from these accounts, it would seem that the opportunities for radicalization are few.

The evidence bears that out. According to the Congressional Research Service (CRS), of the 43 violent attacks carried out by Muslims since 9/11, there are only two clear cases of radicalized released prisoners plotting a terrorist act.

Judging from this evidence, I think it is safe to conclude that the risk of terrorism originating from Muslim converts in U.S. prisons is small.

Limiting this committee's oversight of radicalization to one religion ignores threats posed by violent extremists of all stripes.

There are other threats to be concerned about. According to the National Gang Intelligence Center, as of January 2009, approximately 147,000 documented gang members are incarcerated in Federal, State, and local jails.

Intact and operational gangs within these prisons pose a security threat not only within prison walls but also in our communities. The ability of leaders of these criminal enterprises to control and direct operations outside of prison should not be ignored.

Further, the violent right-wing ideology of many of these gangs must be discussed. Let us not forget that James Byrd was dragged to his death on a back road in Texas by right-wing gang members who were radicalized in jail.

Clearly, the willingness to use violence, undermine order, and commit mayhem is not dependent on religious belief or political ideology.

In May, the committee held a hearing assessing the threat to the Nation's security following the death of Osama bin Laden. At that hearing, we learned about terrorists' aspirations to launch attacks in the United States.

Earlier this month, Adam Gadahn, an American-born spokesman for al-Qaeda, released a video calling on Muslims to commit violent acts against America by taking advantage of the gun show loophole. Gadahn told his viewers that "in this country you can buy a fully automatic assault rifle without a background check at most local gun shows."

He is correct. In March, the GAO reported that almost 250 people on the terror watch list were cleared to purchase firearms last year alone.

In that hearing, the expert testimony underscored that our greatest threat may be from lone wolves and solitary actors.

Gadahn's video has given these potential actors encouragement, advice, and a roadmap.

Mr. Chairman, as we consider threats to this Nation's security, let us focus on eliminating known security gaps. We are not endangered by people who are already locked up. In assessing risk, we must look at the evidence.

We are placed at risk by gangs who use prisons as a base of criminal operations. We are placed at risks by lone wolves exploiting the gun show loophole. I look forward to working with you on your legislation to close this known security gap.

Working together, we can reduce the risks to our Nation from dangerous people roaming the streets of America.

Chairman KING. I thank the Ranking Member for his statement. Now, we will hear from the witnesses.



I would ask each witness to try to keep their opening statement to 5 minutes, and then they will be followed by a series of questions from the Members of the panel.

Our first witness this morning is Patrick Dunleavy, retired deputy inspector of the Criminal Intelligence Unit of the New York Department of Corrections.

During his service, Mr. Dunleavy investigated terrorist recruitment in New York State prisons. He is the author of an upcoming book, "The Fertile Soil of Jihad: Prison's Terrorism Connection".

I would add that Mr. Dunleavy also has a very long and distinguished record prior to his activities in countering terrorism, working undercover, and is, again, doing an outstanding job in the New York State criminal justice system.

With that, I recognize Mr. Dunleavy for 5 minutes.

**STATEMENT OF PATRICK T. DUNLEAVY, DEPUTY INSPECTOR GENERAL (RET.), CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE UNIT, NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES**

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, distinguished Members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear today before you to discuss the threat of radicalization in U.S. prisons.

The prison population is vulnerable to radicalization by the same agents responsible for radicalizing Americans outside of the prison walls.

Despite appearances, prison walls are porous. Outside influences access those on the inside, and inmates reach from the inside-out. Individuals and groups that subscribe to radical Islamic ideology have made sustained efforts to target inmates for indoctrination.

In 1968, a Sunni group was founded called Dar-ul Islam. One of its goals was to establish a mosque in every prison that would adhere to its ideology exclusively.

Two of its first converts in the New York State prison system were Warith Deen Umar and Jamil Al Amin. Al Amin is regarded as the spiritual leader of the movement despite the fact that he is currently serving a life sentence for shooting two police officers.

Dar-ul's Detroit, Michigan, branch was led by imam Luqman Abdullah, who died in an October 2009 shootout with FBI agents seeking to arrest him. Luqman himself did time in prison prior to his conversion to this form of Islam.

As this ideology moved through the correctional system in the 1970s and 1980s, it gained increasing number of converts. Eventually, the Sunni/Salafist ideology was the dominant force in the prison mosques.

Then, in the late 1980s and 1990s, there was an influx of foreign-born inmates from the Middle East, some of whom were incarcerated for having committed violent acts against non-believers, individuals who had either killed, bombed, or stolen money in the name of Allah. They had international connections with terrorist organizations such as Egyptian Islamic Jihad, al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, and Hamas.

After they were arrested and incarcerated, they walked into the prison mosque and were hailed as heroes. They were inspired to deference by the Muslim inmates and by the Muslim chaplains.

Some of them were given a position by the civil service chaplain as their administrative clerks. This gave them access to a phone that was not monitored by security personnel, which allowed them to make calls throughout the United States and overseas.

One of them, el-Sayyid Nosair, while serving a sentence in Attica Correctional Facility, conspired with other individuals on the outside to bomb the World Trade Center in 1993.

The Jihad had come to America, and one of its architects was an inmate.

In 1999, several law enforcement agencies received information regarding radical Islamic activity in the prison system and specifically detailing recruitment efforts within the prison.

Authorities learned of a Jordanian-born inmate who identified himself as a follower of Osama bin Laden and said that his group was interested in recruiting inmates in the U.S. prisons.

He stated that his group intended to get inmates trained in the Middle East after their release from prison and then have them return to the United States to participate in Jihad. Not surprisingly, the Jordanian-born inmate's prison job was a chaplain's clerk.

The initial exposure to extremist Jihadi Islam may begin in prison. However, it often matures and deepens after the release. 2009, four ex-inmates were arrested for plotting to bomb synagogues in New York and shoot down military aircraft with Stinger missiles.

They did not know each other while they were incarcerated, but they met each other after their release while attending a local mosque connected to a prison ministry. That mosque had been founded by Warith Deen Umar.

In 2003, Warith Deen Umar gave an interview. Now, Warith, at the time, had retired from the New York State Department of Corrections, where he was the director of ministerial services. In his interview, he went on to call the 9/11 hijackers heroes.

He went on to say, "Without justice, there will be warfare and it can come to this country, too."

He said the natural candidates to help press such an attack in his view are African-Americans who embrace Islam in prison. In other words, prisons were a prime place to recruit terrorists.

As a result of that, the Department of Justice launched an investigation into the hiring of Islamic clergy. In its report, among its recommendations, they said that there was a need for a verifiable ecclesiastic body that would certify Islamic clergy prior to hiring.

To this date, no organization has been appointed to fulfill that role, nor has there been any formal determination as to how a vetting process would take place, or what the standards of vetting would be.

The result of that inaction brings forth two cases. A New York City Corrections imam, who was hired in 2007, was arrested in 2010 for attempting to smuggle dangerous contraband into the Manhattan House of Detention.

In an administrative hearing in March of this year, Imam Shahid asked for his job back. Shahid was formerly known as Paul Pitts and had spent 14 years in a New York State prison for murder.

How was he hired?

New York City Corrections was aware of his criminal history when they did the background check, and they said that although

a felony conviction would disqualify a person from becoming a correction officer, that rule did not apply when hiring a chaplain.

The only civil service requirement was a certification of an endorsement body. The city, in this case, relied on the Majlis Ash Shura of New York.

That organization is connected with the Muslim Alliance of North America, who lists among their leadership Luqman Abdullah and Jamil al Amin.

The same organization also certified another prison imam, Osameh Al Wahaidy. In 2003, Osameh Al Wahaidy was indicted by the U.S. attorneys office in New York for providing material support to a suspected Sunni organization in Iraq. The inmates' clerk at the time was a convicted Islamic terrorist.

Jihadi literature finds its way into prison even though it is prohibited. Anything can be gotten in prison.

Chairman KING. So maybe you could try to wrap it up. About 20 seconds left.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Anything can be gotten in prison, including a PDA or a smart phone. I would not be surprised to find a copy of al-Qaeda's *Inspire* magazine in any of the prisons.

I will just close my comments at that point. Thank you very much for allowing me to speak.

[The statement of Mr. Dunleavy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PATRICK T. DUNLEAVY

JUNE 15, 2011

Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, distinguished Members of the House Committee on Homeland Security, it is a privilege to appear before you today to discuss the connection between radicalizing agents, both inside and outside of the prison system, and terrorist activity, and to describe some of the long-time, under-addressed vulnerabilities in the corrections system that have made it possible for radical Islamist ideology to become embedded. I also welcome the opportunity to propose policy solutions to interdict and mitigate the results of exposure to militant ideology that has driven some convicted felons to commit deadly attacks.

The prison population is vulnerable to radicalization by the same agents responsible for radicalizing Americans outside of the prison walls. Despite appearances, prison walls are porous. It is easy for outside influences to access those on the inside, and for inmates to reach from the inside out. As the former Deputy Inspector General of the Criminal Intelligence Division in the New York State Department of Corrections, I am aware that individuals and groups that subscribe to radical, and sometimes violent, ideology have made sustained efforts over several decades to target inmates for indoctrination. Some of these groups act as the certifying bodies responsible for hiring imams into the prison system, thus affording them continuous access to the prison population. In addition, the cycle of radicalization continues through post-release programs.

THE RISE OF RADICAL ISLAMIST IDEOLOGY IN THE PRISON SYSTEM

In 1968 a little known mosque in Brooklyn, New York, called Dawood, became home to a movement called Dar-ul Islam. The Sunni group was founded with the belief that African-Americans needed to transform every aspect of their lifestyle in order to cement them to the "real foundations of the worldwide Islamic revival." One of its goals was to establish a mosque in every prison that would adhere to the true fundamentals of the Islamic religion.

Two of the first converts to Dar-ul Islam in the New York State Prison System were Gene Marks, now known as Warith Deen Umar, who later became the head of Ministerial Services for the New York State Department of Corrections, and H Rap Brown, now known as Jamil Al Amin, who is regarded as the spiritual leader of the Dar-ul movement, even though he is currently serving a life sentence in Supermax prison for shooting two Fulton County, Georgia police officers. In al-

Qaeda's 4th edition of *Inspire* magazine, Jamil al Amin is listed as a political prisoner and faithful mujahid.

As the Dar-ul Islam ideology moved through the correctional system in the 1970's & 1980's it gained an increasing number of converts. Eventually, the Sunni/Salafist ideology was the dominant force in the prison mosques.

One present-day cover group of Dar-ul is "The Ummah." Its Detroit, Michigan branch was led by Luqman Abdullah, who died in an October 2009 shootout with FBI agents seeking to arrest him and several of his followers on charges of fencing stolen goods and illegal gun dealing. Luqman himself did time in prison prior to his conversion to Islam. The Ummah's stated objective is to establish an Islamic state within the borders of the United States that will be ruled according to Shariah law. Abdullah believed that succeeding in this goal would only be achieved through violent confrontation with the U.S. Government, and so the Ummah's Detroit mosque was not only used for prayers but also for weapons training.<sup>1</sup>

Then, in the late 1980's & 1990's there was an influx of foreign-born inmates from the Middle East, some of whom were incarcerated for having committed violent acts against "non-believers." Individuals like El Sayyid Nosair, Rashid Baz, Yousef Saleh, and Abdel Zaben had either killed, bombed, or stolen money in the name of Allah. They had firebombed Jewish businesses or opened fire on a van-load of Hasidic students. They had kidnapped and they had assassinated all for the cause of their brand of Islam. They had international recognition and connections with various radical terrorist organizations, such as Egyptian Islamic Jihad, al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, and Hamas. After they were arrested and incarcerated they walked into the prison mosque and were hailed as heroes. They inspired deference from the Muslim inmates and the Muslim chaplains. Many were more fluent in Arabic, had true knowledge of the Koran, and had proven their commitment to their particular derivation of Islam by committing the aforementioned crimes against the "enemies of Islam." Some of them were given a position by the civil service chaplain to be their administrative clerks. This meant more freedom of movement throughout the prison as well as access to the Chaplain's phone. This gave them the ability to call anywhere in the world without the call being subject to monitoring by prison security personnel.

One of them, El Sayyid Nosair, who, while serving a sentence in the Attica Correctional Facility for charges connected to the assassination of Rabbi Meyer Kahane, conspired with others on the outside to send a truck bomb into the World Trade Center in 1993. The jihad had now come to America, and one of its architects was an inmate.

Following the arrest and prosecution of those responsible for the first World Trade Center attacks, all of the defendants, including Nosair were transferred to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and, as a result, the subject of inmate radicalization/terrorism dropped from the attention of criminal justice and prison administrators. But it was not dormant in the inmate general population.

In 1999, 2 years prior to 9/11, several law enforcement agencies received information regarding radical Islamist activity in the prison system. The first of these incidents occurred in February 1999. At that time, both the FBI and the Inspector General's Office for the New York State Department of Correctional Services received information specifically detailing recruitment efforts within prison.

The information, from confidential informants, named individuals associated with the 1993 plot to destroy New York City landmarks and the first attack on the World Trade Center, along with several members of a domestic terrorist organization already serving time for the Brinks robbery. The intelligence also implicated a Pakistani national and a Yemeni who were in prison for murder. The informant went on to say that this group had formed an alliance with a singular goal. He called the group the "Talem Circle" and stated that; "The Talem Circle was tasked with training incarcerated members to work with Middle Eastern Muslims to perform acts of Jihad."

The second incident happened approximately 5 months later, in July of 1999, when a detective in the Yonkers Police Department received information from a confidential informant regarding terrorist recruitment efforts in prison. The informant told authorities that, while in prison, he met a Jordanian-born inmate who identified himself as a follower of Osama bin Laden and said that "his group" was interested in recruiting inmates in the U.S. prisons. The Jordanian stated that his group intended to get the inmates trained in the Middle East after their release from prison, and then have them return to the United States to "participate in Jihad."

<sup>1</sup>Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Madeleine Gruen, "The Shooting of Luqman Abdullah," November 2009, [http://www.defenddemocracy.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=11787260&Itemid=105](http://www.defenddemocracy.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=11787260&Itemid=105).

The very real threat of ex-inmates from American travelling overseas to places like Yemen to receive training was confirmed in the 2010 report from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations entitled, “Al Qaeda in Yemen and Somalia: A Ticking Time Bomb”.<sup>2</sup>

During their time in Fishkill Correctional Facility in upstate New York, the Jordanian inmate told the informant about several individuals, former inmates, who were already participating in the training that he had helped facilitate overseas. Not surprisingly, the inmate’s prison job assignment at the time was as the Chaplain’s administrative clerk.

Both of these leads fell by the wayside and were never fully investigated at the time, until after 9/11 when a task force consisting of State and local agencies revisited the leads and the issue of prison radicalization. As a result of the investigation, it has been confirmed that radical Islam is present in the New York State prison system and also in the New York City jails. The apparatus by which this radical form of Islam was introduced into the system was identified as consisting of multiple components, including, clergy, religious volunteers, visitors, fellow inmates and Islamic organizations from around the world that sent parcels and literature into the prisons.

#### EXPOSURE TO RADICAL ISLAMIST IDEOLOGY DURING THE PERIOD OF INCARCERATION AND BEYOND

The task force investigation also found that although the initial exposure/conversion/indoctrination to extremist jihadi Islam may begin in prison, it often matures and deepens after release through the contacts on the outside that the inmate made while they were serving their sentences in prison. Among those contacts are transition programs, which offer former inmates assistance in finding housing or finding work. Most of the programs for Muslims transitioning out of the prison system are sponsored by mosques that are local to the prisons. Many of these mosques have extremist leanings and are known to adhere to Wahabbi ideology. In addition to the transition programs, many of the sponsoring mosques also have volunteers or formal programs to provide religious instruction inside the prisons. Thus, contact between the outreach program and the inmate has already been established by the time the prisoner is released. The prisoner is already familiar with the program’s personnel and ideology, and therefore their transition to the outside is facilitated by familiar hands.

The criminal’s initial period of incarceration usually starts at the local or county jail following his arrest by authorities. There he or she may wait for considerable time while the case progresses through the various stages of the criminal justice system before being transferred to State or Federal custody. Here the inmate may have his first encounter with religious groups that he had not previously been familiar with. This may occur through a cell mate or a volunteer organization that has a local ministry to the jail. Often the impact lasts well beyond their period together in county. In the same manner, the problem of prison radicalization often begins at the county jail level and continues on through the State prison system, and the post-release period.

One of the influences in some of the homegrown terrorism cases has been the involvement, either directly or indirectly, of radical Islamist clergy. Since 9/11, the involvement of radical Islamist imams has been mentioned as a precipitating factor in the cases of Richard Reid, Jose Padilla, and others.

In 2009 the “Newburgh Four”; James Cromitie, Laguerre Payen, David Williams, and Onta Williams, were arrested for plotting to bomb synagogues in New York City and shoot down military aircraft with stinger missiles. All had converted to a radical form of Islam while serving time for a variety of offenses. They did not know each other while they were incarcerated, but met each other after their release, while attending a local mosque connected to a prison ministry.

Many of these cited and others went into prison for low-level crimes like burglary, drugs, or theft and came out committed to Jihad. Every one of them, while incarcerated, was exposed to extremist ideology through literature; visitors, volunteers, and clergy with ties to terrorist organizations or extremism; and/or a known terrorists who were also doing time in prison.

The former head of Ministerial Services for the New York State Department of Correctional Services is Warith Deen Umar, who is a convert and former New York State prison inmate himself. Umar is known for his controversial views and his statements about Jewish conspiracies around the world, and his belief that God serves punishment of homosexuals in the form of natural disasters, such as Hurri-

<sup>2</sup><http://foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Yemen.pdf>.

cane Katrina. In 2003, Umar gave an interview to the *Wall Street Journal* in which he called the 9/11 hijackers heroes. He went on to say, “Without justice, there will be warfare, and it can come to this country, too,” he said. The natural candidates to help press such an attack, in his view, are “African-Americans who embraced Islam in prison.” In other words, prisons were a prime place to recruit homegrown terrorists.<sup>3</sup>

After that interview, Umar was barred from both the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the New York Department of Correctional Services; in addition, the U.S. Department of Justice Inspector General launched an investigation into the hiring of Islamic clergy. The final report stated among its recommendations that there was a need for a verifiable ecclesiastical body that would certify Islamic clergy prior to hiring. To this date no Islamic organization has been appointed to fulfill this role, nor has there been any formal determination as to how a vetting process would take place, or what the standards of vetting would be.

As a direct result of this inaction, one case stands out as an example of the need for verifiable certification of Islamic clergy; New York City Department of Corrections Imam Zulqarnain Abdu Shahid, who began working for the city in 2007, was arrested in 2010 for attempting to smuggle dangerous contraband into the Manhattan House of Detention or the Tombs as it is commonly known. During a routine security check of the Chaplain’s duffel bag officers found several box cutter-type razor blades. Items which, if they had fallen into the hands of the convicts, could have proven deadly. In an administrative hearing in March of this year, Shahid asked for his job back.

Shahid, formerly known as Paul Pitts spent 14 years in a New York State prison for a murder committed in 1976 while robbing a grocery store. He was released from Sing Sing in 1993. How did Mr. Pitts become a “certified” Chaplain?

New York City Corrections stated that the Department was aware of his criminal history when they did the background check and although a felony conviction would disqualify a person from becoming a corrections officer that rule does not apply to prison Chaplains. The only civil service requirement for qualifying as a chaplain was the certification or endorsement of an ecclesiastical body. The city in this case relied on the Majlis Ash Shura of New York.<sup>4</sup> The organization, also called the Islamic Leadership Council is located in Wyandanch, New York.

Its leadership consists of several Islamic clergymen with mosques in the greater New York area. Several of the leaders of this organization are also leaders in the Muslim Alliance of North America (MANA). MANA lists among their leadership Luqman Abdullah, the Detroit Imam previously mentioned in this testimony who was killed in a shootout with the FBI. MANA also continues to maintain support for Jamil al Amin as a political prisoner.

Should Shahid get his job back, this will not be the first time something like this has happened. In 2003, Imam Osama Al Wahaidy was indicted by the U.S. Attorney General’s Office in Syracuse, NY for providing material support to a terrorist organization through a suspicious charity.<sup>5</sup> At the time of his arrest Al Wahaidy, a Jordanian national, was the prison chaplain at Auburn Correctional Facility in upstate New York. The New York State Department of Corrections immediately moved to have his employment terminated. However, following his plea agreement, in which he admitted guilt to a lesser charge to avoid imprisonment, Al Wahaidy went to a Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) hearing, requested his job back, and was reinstated. The Administrative judge did not seriously take into account his Federal conviction and what effect it would have on prison staff or inmates. This also despite knowing that the Imam’s prison clerk at the time was convicted terrorist Rashid Baz, the “Brooklyn Bridge Shooter” who opened fire on a van-load of Hasidic students in 1994 wounding several and killing Ari Halberstam. The ecclesiastical body that endorsed Imam Al Wahaidy was the Majlis Ash-Shura of New York; the very same organization from Wyandanch that certified Imam Shadid.

There is certainly no vetting of volunteers who provide religious instruction, and who, although not paid, wield considerable influence in the prison Muslim communities. Many such volunteers are former convicts.

<sup>3</sup>Paul M.Barrett, “Captive Audience: How a Chaplain Spread Extremism to an Inmate Flock,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 2003.

<sup>4</sup><http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/05/nyregion/05chaplain.html>.

<sup>5</sup><http://www.dodig.mil/iginformation/IGInformationReleases/Iraqi%20Sanctions.pdf>.

## U.S. MAIL AND INTERNET

Jihadi and extremist literature finds its way in through the mail and through the internet as well, even though it is largely prohibited. Anything can be gotten in a prison including a PDA or a Smartphone with internet access. More commonly access is facilitated through third-party cooperation. Someone on the outside may set up a Facebook page on an inmate's behalf, or get them information from a jihadi website. It would not be unthinkable or impossible for someone to provide an inmate with a copy of al-Qaeda's magazine, *Inspire*, even in the most secure correctional facility.

The issue of prison radicalization is not limited to Islamic fundamentalists. In the prison environment we have also found the influence of several domestic terrorists currently serving life sentences for killing law enforcement officers who are attempting to inject themselves into the current situation in the Middle East. Putting 60's domestic terrorists in the same prison as convicted Islamic terrorists is not a healthy mix and can produce an unholy alliance.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

As I mentioned earlier in this testimony, the problem of prison radicalization often begins at the county jail level and continues on through the State prison system, and the post-release period. Therefore, it is essential that any program to counter the problem be comprehensive. I would like to make a few suggestions about basic initiatives that may be effective in tackling the phenomenon more comprehensively, Nation-wide, not just at the State and local levels.

(1) Cooperation and coordination between responsible agencies so that any potential radicalization that may have occurred in the prison system can be tracked, contained, and defeated before it can affect the rest of society. A task force comprised of representatives from responsible agencies should be formed in all States so that coordination can be systematized and facilitated. The flow of correctional intelligence must be a two-way street.

(2) There should be a consistent methodology for data collection in correctional departments' Nation-wide, so that trends can be analyzed more quickly and effectively. Correctional departments should ensure that they are using the same variables. For example, all departments should collect data on change of religion during incarceration.

(3) The system for vetting clergy and religious volunteers who have access to the prison population should conform to a set of approved standards that are applied to prison systems in every State.

Often times the same individual may volunteer at the county, State, or Federal correctional facilities in their area as in the case of Warith Deen Umar who was both a New York State and Federal Bureau of Prisons chaplain. Therefore National standards would be the most effective.

Thank you for the opportunity to bring the important issue of prison radicalization before this honorable committee.

Chairman KING. Thank you very much, Mr. Dunleavy.

I hope the Ranking Member now realizes I am not the only one who has an accent like that. There is at least two of us.

[Laughter.]

Chairman KING. Did you understand what I was saying?

Mr. THOMPSON. Not much.

[Laughter.]

Chairman KING. Now, we have a transplanted New Yorker, our next witness, Kevin Smith, who was actually raised in my district, but had the good sense to move away.

Kevin currently serves as the deputy district attorney for San Bernardino County in California. He is the former assistant United States attorney for the Central District of California, where he prosecuted Kevin James and his co-conspirators who were convicted in one of the most significant domestic terrorist plots since 9/11.

I will say, however, the highlight of Kevin's career came earlier than that, when he attended the University of Notre Dame.

With that, Mr. Smith, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

**STATEMENT OF KEVIN SMITH, FORMER ASSISTANT UNITED STATES ATTORNEY, CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA**

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much.

Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, and distinguished Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify today.

By way of background, I have worked in law enforcement as a local and Federal prosecutor since 1996. From 2000 to 2007, I served as an assistant United States attorney with the United States Department of Justice, working in the United States attorney's office for the Central District of California.

In July 2005, I became involved as the lead prosecutor in the investigation and prosecution of a group of individuals who were involved in a seditious conspiracy to wage a war of terrorism against the United States Government by murdering U.S. military personnel and Jewish persons in southern California.

These individuals were members of a group known as Jam'iyyat Ul Islam Is Saheeh, or JIS, which was created within the California Department of Corrections prison system.

Today, I intend to discuss the JIS case and the seditious conspiracy which was engaged in by JIS' founder and leader, Kevin James, his chief operative or cell leader, Levar Washington, and the two other cell members, Gregory Patterson and Hammad Samana.

Let me begin by discussing Kevin James and JIS.

In approximately 1997, Kevin James founded JIS based on his interpretation of Islam while serving a prison sentence in the California Department of Corrections system. In fact, James remained in prison throughout the conspiracy and the resulting investigation.

James preached that it was the duty of JIS members to target for violent attack any enemies of Islam or infidels. James identified these infidels as the U.S. Government and Jewish and non-Jewish supporters of Israel.

James recruited fellow prison inmates to join JIS. But he also sought to establish a cell or a group of JIS members to wage war, or Jihad, against these perceived infidels outside the prison walls.

Kevin James also created and disseminated throughout the prison system a document referred to as the JIS Protocol. In the JIS Protocol, James stated that Muslims must be allowed to govern themselves by sharia and that JIS must wage the educational, as well as the organizational war or Jihad.

The JIS Protocol described Jihad as the only true anti-terrorist action and a defensive battle against the aggression of theological impostors led by Zionism.

Kevin James also wrote a document called "Notoriety Moves," which was essentially a proposed press release to be disseminated following an attack by JIS.

James wrote that on missions that were to be done for leaving impressions, the document would be left behind. If 187, which is the California Penal Code section for murder, were involved, a videotape would be sent to all major news stations with a JIS member reciting the document.



Levar Washington, a convert to Islam, met Kevin James in late 2004 after Washington was transferred to New Folsom Prison near Sacramento, California.

At New Folsom Prison, James recruited Washington into JIS. Washington swore an oath of loyalty and obedience to James. He was paroled in late 2004, and now had the ability to carry out a violent operation on behalf of JIS outside prison walls.

James passed Washington with a document known as “Blueprint 2005”. He required Washington to recruit five special operations members, preferably felony-free, and train them in covert operations, acquire two pistols with silencers, and appoint a special operations member to find contacts for explosives and to learn to make bombs from a distance.

Armed with these instructions from James, Washington got quickly to work. He went to a mosque in Inglewood, California, where he met Gregory Patterson, a convert to Islam, and Hammad Samana.

Washington recruited both Patterson and Samana into JIS. They swore an oath of loyalty to Washington and to JIS. The operational cell now had three members, and they began to select targets for their attacks, ultimately deciding on military recruitment centers in southern California and a Jewish temple.

They documented their selection of targets in a document known as “The Modes of Attack”. The cell had access to a shotgun, but also to fund their Jihad and to purchase an additional firearm, they engaged in a number of gas station robberies, a series of over 10 robberies in the southern California area.

Ultimately, during the investigation, or during the conspiracy, Patterson dropped his cell phone. Local law enforcement were able to—the Torrance police department were able to initiate an investigation based on that dropped cell phone.

Federal law enforcement, the FBI, the U.S. attorney’s office got involved at that point in time. We were ultimately able to successfully indict Kevin James, Levar Washington, Gregory Patterson, and Hammad Samana on the charge of seditious conspiracy to wage a war of terrorism against the United States Government.

Each of these individuals ultimately pled guilty to that charge and received Federal prison sentences, including 22 years for Levar Washington and 16 years for Kevin James.

It is my opinion that the JIS case is an excellent example of the ability of both Federal and local law enforcement to work together to secure our homeland.

Thank you very much.

[The statement of Mr. Smith follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KEVIN SMITH

JUNE 15, 2011

Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, and distinguished Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify today.

By way of background, I have worked in law enforcement as a local and Federal prosecutor since 1996. From 2000–2007, I served as an Assistant United States Attorney with the United States Department of Justice, working in the United States Attorney’s Office for the Central District of California.

After the tragic events of 9/11, I spent a great deal of my time as an Assistant United States Attorney working on counterterrorism matters. I worked very closely

with Federal agents and local law enforcement officers on a joint terrorism task force conducting investigations of threats of terrorist activity and terrorist financing.

In July of 2005, I became involved in the investigation and prosecution of a group of individuals who were involved in a seditious conspiracy to wage a war of terrorism against the United States Government by murdering United States military personnel and Jewish persons in southern California. These individuals were members of a group known as Jam'iyyat Ul Islam Is Saheeh ("JIS"), which was created within the California Department of Corrections prison system.

Today, I intend to discuss JIS and the seditious conspiracy which was engaged in by JIS's founder and leader, Kevin James, his chief operative or cell leader, Levar Washington, and the two other cell members, Gregory Patterson and Hammad Samana.

This investigation and prosecution was one of the most challenging in my nearly 15 years in law enforcement but, ultimately, also one of the most rewarding, as Federal and local law enforcement worked together seamlessly to successfully disrupt and dismantle this conspiracy and avoid any loss of life.

Let me first begin by discussing Kevin James and JIS.

#### JIS ORIGIN

In approximately 1997, Kevin James founded JIS based on his interpretation of Islam while he was serving a sentence in the California Department of Corrections prison system. In fact, James remained in prison throughout this conspiracy and the resulting investigation.

James preached that it was the duty of JIS members to target for violent attack any enemies of Islam or infidels. James identified "infidels" as the U.S. Government and Jewish and non-Jewish supporters of Israel.

James recruited fellow prison inmates to join JIS but also sought to establish a cell or group of JIS members outside of prison to wage war or jihad against these perceived infidels.

James required prospective JIS members to take an oath of obedience to him and swear not to disclose the existence of JIS. James also mandated that prospective JIS members obey a rule that required them to communicate with James at least once during every 90-day period.

#### JIS PROTOCOL

Kevin James also created and disseminated a document referred to as the JIS Protocol. In the JIS Protocol, James stated that Muslims must be allowed to govern themselves by Sharia and that JIS must wage the educational as well as organizational war or jihad. The JIS Protocol described jihad as the only true anti-terrorist action and a defensive battle against the aggression of theological impostors led by Zionism.

The JIS Protocol stated that faithful mujahids are strictly forbidden to obey disbelievers and are commanded by Allah to battle against disbelievers utilizing the most strenuous effort. In the document, James identified JIS targets as the Western forces of the United States and their infidel society and Israel. James also wrote that the group was not concerned with loss of life in pursuit of its objectives because martyrdom in service of Allah meant automatic paradise.

#### "NOTORIETY MOVES"

Kevin James wrote a document called "Notoriety Moves," which was essentially a proposed press release to be disseminated following an attack by JIS. James wrote that on missions that were to be done for leaving impressions, the document would be left behind and if "187's" [California Penal Code section for murder] were involved, a videotape would be sent to all major news stations with a JIS member reciting the document.

The "Notoriety Moves" document advised sincere Muslims not to socialize or aid the targets of JIS. The document listed these targets, including "Jewish and non-Jewish supporters of an Israeli state," "so-called Muslims who believe it is permissible to join or support the American Army (military) in any way," "so-called Muslims labelled [sic] Shi'i, and supporters of the infidel state of Iran," "so-called Nation of Islam and its idol worshipping supporters of Farrakhan," and "so-called Muslims who are employees of non-Islamic governmental institutions that are blatantly in opposition to the laws and religion of Islam." James warned these identified targets that they had a "legitimate reason to fear for their safety."

## LEVAR WASHINGTON

Levar Washington, a convert to Islam, met Kevin James in late 2004 after Washington was transferred to New Folsom Prison near Sacramento, California. At New Folsom Prison, James recruited Washington into JIS. Washington swore an oath of loyalty and obedience to James. Washington was paroled from prison in November of 2004, and he therefore had the ability to carry out a violent operation on behalf of JIS outside the prison walls.

## BLUEPRINT 2005

Kevin James gave Washington instructions on how to prepare for this jihad in a document entitled Blueprint 2005. In this document, James instructed Washington to, among other things,

- (1) recruit five "special operations members, preferably felony-free," and train them in ". . . covert operations";
- (2) acquire two pistols with silencers; and
- (3) appoint a special operations member to find contacts for explosives or learn to make bombs that could be activated from a distance.

Armed with his instructions, Washington got to work. He met Gregory Patterson, a convert to Islam, and Hammad Samana at a mosque in Inglewood, California. Washington recruited Patterson and Samana into JIS and Patterson and Samana swore an oath of obedience to Washington and JIS.

The operational cell now had 3 members, with James in prison as the leader of the conspiracy. James communicated with Washington regarding how and where to recruit new JIS members. James also warned Washington to be careful because "there are agents everywhere looking for Al-Qaida recruiters or any other threat to national security." James advised Washington that his ". . . squad will be engaged on all levels."

## PRE-OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The cell of Washington, Patterson, and Samana began to prepare for waging jihad against the United States military and Jewish persons in southern California. Gregory Patterson used a computer to conduct internet research on El Al, the national airline of Israel, and the Israeli Consulate in Los Angeles. Patterson also conducted internet research on Jewish events in Los Angeles relating to Yom Kippur, in order to maximize casualties in an attack on Jewish worshippers due to increased attendance at religious services on the religious holy day. Hammad Samana conducted internet research on military targets, including military recruitment centers.

The cell had access to a shotgun, but, in order to purchase an additional firearm and fund their jihad, Washington and Patterson began to rob gas stations in southern California using the shotgun. Samana also participated in the robbery of a gas station. Over the course of the conspiracy, Washington and Patterson robbed multiple gas stations.

In June 2005, Gregory Patterson purchased a .223 rifle for use in the operation. He was in the waiting period to actually receive the weapon when he was arrested.

Washington and Patterson also obtained an apartment in Los Angeles, which served essentially as a terrorist safehouse. The conspirators used the apartment as a place to clandestinely meet and plan their attacks. They also stored their supplies for jihad in the apartment.

## TARGETING

As the summer progressed, the cell began to refine their plot and focus on potential targets. They discussed targeting El Al Airlines at the Los Angeles International Airport and the Israeli Consulate in Los Angeles but eventually rejected them as possible targets. Instead, the conspirators focused on attacking U.S. military recruitment centers in southern California. In addition, the conspirators decided to target Jewish persons, specifically during or after these people had worshipped at religious services in Los Angeles.

To memorialize their plans, Samana created a document entitled "Modes of Attack." The Modes of Attack document contained "options" for the cell's attack, listing "LAX" and "Consulate of Zion," as well as "Military Targets," including "Army Recruiting Centers throughout the county," and "campsite of Zion."

On July 4, 2005, Washington, Patterson, and Samana conducted target practice with the shotgun in Kenneth Hahn Park in Los Angeles as preparation for their planned attacks in the Los Angeles area.

## “OPERATION TORRENTIAL RAIN”

During one of the gas station robberies, Patterson dropped his cell phone. Local law enforcement, which had noted a string of robberies in the same general area, began an investigation based on the cell phone. Ultimately, local law enforcement, specifically the Torrance, California, Police Department (“Torrance PD”), was able to identify both Patterson and Washington as suspects in the robberies. At that time, Torrance PD did not have any idea that they were tracking would-be jihadists.

Ultimately, on July 5, 2005, Torrance PD surveilled Patterson and Washington to Fullerton, California, and arrested the duo after Washington conducted an armed robbery of a gas station while Patterson waited in the getaway car as its driver.

In conducting a search warrant of the Los Angeles apartment used by the conspirators, officers found 3 tactical vests, ammunition, knives, and numerous documents.

At this point, Federal law enforcement became involved in the investigation led by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the United States Attorney’s Office for the Central District of California, for whom I worked at the time.

I received a telephone call from my counterpart at the FBI requesting my assistance with the investigation and assumed the duties as the lead prosecutor on the case.

A full-scale investigation was launched. The investigation was named “Operation Torrential Rain,” in recognition of the Torrance PD’s excellent police work in breaking the case. At this time, in addition to the FBI and the U.S. Attorney’s Office, numerous local law enforcement agencies were involved in the investigation, including the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles Sheriff’s Department.

While 3 of the conspirators were in custody—Kevin James in New Folsom Prison and Gregory Patterson and Levar Washington in the Los Angeles County Jail—the fourth conspirator, Hammad Samana, was still at large. We identified Samana, located him, and began conducting surveillance of him.

As part of the investigation, we interviewed numerous individuals, including inmates in the California Department Corrections prison system, and searched prison cells, including the cell of Kevin James.

A tremendous amount of information was generated as a result of the investigation. I had to make sense of all of the information and materials and determine whether there was a viable criminal case to be made against the conspirators.

With the help of the FBI and my colleagues in the Justice Department, we were able to pull the elements of the investigation together into a criminal case.

Based on my previous work as a counterterrorism prosecutor, I was aware of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2384, which established the crime of seditious conspiracy. The statute had been previously used by Federal prosecutors in New York in the prosecution of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and his fellow conspirators for their plot to destroy New York City landmarks.

We successfully indicted James, Washington, Patterson, and Samana, charging them with seditious conspiracy and a number of other Federal criminal violations, including conspiracy to murder U.S. military personnel, conspiracy to murder foreign officials, interference with commerce by robbery, and conspiracy to possess and discharge firearms in furtherance of crimes of violence.

Ultimately, all four defendants entered guilty pleas to the charge of seditious conspiracy and were sentenced to Federal prison terms, including 22 years for Levar Washington and 16 years for Kevin James.

In my opinion, this JIS case is an outstanding example of how local and Federal law enforcement can work together efficiently and productively in preventing terrorist attacks and securing our homeland. It was a great personal honor to have participated in the case.

Thank you.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Our next witness is Michael Downing, who is the deputy chief and commanding officer of the Los Angeles Police Department’s Counterterrorism and Special Operations Bureau.

Chief Downing was appointed to the LAPD in 1982. In May of last year, he was elected as president of the Leadership in Counterterrorism Alumni Association.

At the outset, Chief Downing, let me also express the regrets of the committee of one of the LAPD officers who was killed in Af-

ghanistan, I guess in March of this year, a reserve officer who was serving in Afghanistan.

We look forward to your testimony, and we thank you for flying all the way from the West Coast to be with us today.

Chief Downing.

**STATEMENT OF MICHAEL P. DOWNING, COMMANDING OFFICER, COUNTER-TERRORISM AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS BUREAU, LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT**

Chief DOWNING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and good morning. Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, and distinguished Members of the committee—sorry—thank you for the opportunity to discuss the Los Angeles Police Department's view and strategy of this most important phenomena relating to the evolving threat of Muslim-American radicalization in the United States prisons.

Much has been written about this topic over the last 5 or 6 years. Just as we have seen a large surge in homegrown violent extremists targeting innocent civilians with violence or plotting against the United States, we have also seen a surge in both converts and radicalization of those converts toward violent acts.

Fortunately, this still remains a phenomena of low volume. However, the radicalization of even a small fraction of this population holds high consequence for Americans and innocent people around the world.

We have the largest incarceration rate, the largest prison population of any country in the world. Prisoners, by their very nature, are at risk and susceptible to recruitment and radicalization by extremist groups because of their isolation, their violent tendencies and their cultural discontent.

Now Los Angeles is known for its outreach and engagement with Muslim communities and the commensurate strategy to overlay community policing on top of communities that are either isolated, balkanized, feel oppressed, or are not integrated into the social fabric of society.

The Muslim communities are our greatest strength as a counter-terrorism strategy. But in this context, we recognize that Islam expresses itself differently in Los Angeles than it does in the United Kingdom, than it does in Europe, even than it does in San Diego or Minnesota or New York.

There is no one organization, institute, or individual that speaks on behalf of the Ummah. The expression of Islam in the prison system is a subject which brings great concern.

Now, it is generally known that the majority of prison converts assimilate back into what they were doing prior to going to prison. However, it is the exception cases to that rule that have and will continue to strike fear in the hearts of America.

It is of great concern that up to 3 dozen African-American prison converts travel to Yemen to train with al-Qaeda's.

We talked about the cases, the JIS, Jose Padilla, Richard Reid, Michael Finton, all examples of prison converts plotting to commit acts of violence against innocent people.

There are several on-going cases whose story is yet to be told. The common denominator though is conversion to a radical form of Islam within prison.

If Islam expressed itself in the California prison system as it expresses itself in the Los Angeles region, we would be talking about the strength and value that Islam brings to prisoners in terms of behavior and value-based living.

However, this is not the case. It is not the case because of the manner in which many prison populations are exposed to Islam, carrying the disguise of dysfunction, danger, and exploitation.

Instead of providing a balanced, peaceful, contemporary perspective of one of the great and peaceful religions of the world, we are left with a hijacked, cut-and-paste version, known to the counter-terrorism practitioners as Prislam, a term coined by my good friend Frank Cilluffo.

This has been allowed to propagate through the three dynamic dimensions of people, materials, and associations.

As a matter of practice, the American Correctional Chaplains Association recommends 1 chaplain per 500, inmates. Yet we are seeing 4, 5, and sometimes 6 times that ratio.

The qualification of chaplains are different. There are different standards, where some are allowed into a correctional institution, others refused entry.

The type of materials, of effective policies and practices are designed to create understanding of what perspective faith-based staffers may utilize by way of materials to facilitate their purposes.

There is radical materials inside the prison systems still. Anwar al-Awlaki's material is inside the prison system. The "Noble Koran," English version, with the chapters entitled "The Call to Jihad, Holy Fighting in Allah's Cause," is in the prison system. The spiritual philosopher of al-Qaeda, Sayyid Qutb, who wrote the "Milestones Along the Road," is in the prison system.

Meetings are not properly monitored because of the ratios of chaplains and prison guards to these things.

Aligning people, purpose, and strategy and leaning forward is a solution to mitigate this risk.

In the policing world, the efforts to reduce crime, mitigate risk, and teach communities how to build crime-resistant neighborhoods focus stakeholder resources around three thematic areas: High-risk people, high-risk places, and high-risk activity. This model can be translated into the prison system.

Furthermore, it needs to be looked at from a whole of government, whole of community approach, utilizing nongovernmental offices, vetted community volunteers, and leadership organizations.

Would the Muslim American Ummah in the United States be proud of what converts are learning about Islam in prison? I would say, in some cases, they would be shocked and dismayed.

One of my greatest concerns is the issue of convergent threats. We are beginning to see convergence in the areas of gangs, narcotic cartels, organized crime, terrorism, and human trafficking.

Just as isolated and balkanized communities can become incubators of violent extremism, so, too, can prisons. If left unchecked, prisons can and do become incubators of radicalization, leading to violent extremism.

In 2005, after the London bombings, prior to that, after 30 years, the British said, "We have defeated the IRA." They were ready to

not fund terrorism, move on to other things. Then the attack occurred and they realized they had this threat.

Americans at that time said, “We are okay. We have good immigration policies. We don’t have this threat.” Two years later, we saw a huge ramp-up in this threat.

As we begin to uncover rocks, we see more and more of the problem. We haven’t uncovered the right types of rocks in the prison system. We have the fusion centers. We have TLO infrastructure in the prison systems. We have suspicious activity reporting system in the prison systems.

Today, just in my 7-county area that the fusion center sits on, we are getting 15 to 20 suspicious activity reports in 7 prisons a month that evolve into 3 to 4 open cases per year. That is only 7 out of 33 correctional institutions, correctional facilities in the State of California.

We do have a problem. Prisons are communities at risk.

Thank you.

[The statement of Chief Downing follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL P. DOWNING

JUNE 15, 2011

I. INTRODUCTION

Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, and distinguished Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to discuss the Los Angeles Police Department’s (LAPD) view and strategy of this most important phenomena relating the evolving threat of Muslim-American radicalization in United States prisons.

II. BACKGROUND

Much has been written about prison radicalization over the last 5 or 6 years and just as we have seen a surge in homegrown violent extremists targeting innocent civilians with violence or plotting against the United States, we have also seen a surge in both converts and a radicalization of those converts toward violent acts. Fortunately this still remains a phenomenon of low volume; however, the radicalization of even a small fraction of this population holds high consequence for Americans and innocent people around the world. The United States has the highest incarceration rate (701 out of every 100,000) and the largest prison population (over 2 million—93% of whom are in State and local prisons and jails) of any country in the world.<sup>1</sup> Prisoners by their very nature, are at risk and susceptible to recruitment and radicalization by extremist groups because of their isolation, violent tendencies, and cultural discontent. Nearly 300 Federal prisoners are serving sentences on terrorism-related charges in the United States. The Bureau of Prisons incarcerates nearly 2 dozen al-Qaeda terrorists, including men involved in the 1993 World Trade Center, the 1998 East African embassy bombings, the 1999 millennial plot to bomb the Los Angeles International Airport, and the 2000 bombing of the USS Cole. New York is holding an additional 15 al-Qaeda members awaiting trial.

Los Angeles is known for its outreach and engagement with Muslim communities and the commensurate strategy to overlay the community policing enterprise on top of communities who are either isolated, balkanized, feel oppressed, or are not integrated into the social fabric of society. In this context, we have come to recognize Islam expresses itself differently than it does in New York, Minnesota, or even San Diego. There is no one organization, institute, or individual that speaks on behalf of the Ummah (the global Muslim community). Dealing with the motivational aspects to terrorism has been a great part of the Los Angeles Police Department’s focus in delivering a counter-terrorism strategy. The expression of Islam in the prison system is a subject which brings great concern.

<sup>1</sup> Roy Walmsley, *World Prison Population* (5th Ed.) (Home Office, Publication234, 2003).

## III. PRISON CONVERTS

It is generally understood that the majority of prison converts assimilate back into what they were doing prior to going to prison, however, it is the exception cases that have and will continue to strike fear in the hearts of Americans. It was estimated that 17 to 20% of the prison population, or approximately 350,000 were comprised of Muslim inmates in 2003, and that 80% of the prisoners who convert while in prison, convert to Islam.<sup>2</sup> It is further estimated that 35,000 inmates convert to Islam annually. A Senate Foreign Relations Committee report released in 2010 announced that up to 3 dozen Americans who converted to Islam in prison have travelled to Yemen, to train with al-Qaeda.<sup>3</sup>

## IV. THE EVIDENCE AND EXPLANATION

I will leave the examination of these cases to my academic colleagues who have studied and analyzed the individuals and will be testifying before this committee. There are more than a few cases of concern:

- Jam'iyyat Ul-Islam Is-Saheeh (JIS), Arabic for Assembly of Authentic Islam—a radical prison organization led by a Rollin 30 gang member, Kevin James, who served time for robbery convictions at the New Folsom Prison near Sacramento, California. He recruited prisoners including a Rollin 60 gang member and preached the duty of members to target enemies of Islam, or “infidels,” including the United States Government and Jewish and non-Jewish supporters of Israel. The JIS network was large and crossed prison boundaries. In 2005, the Joint Terrorism Task Force thwarted the plot to attack military institutions and synagogues.
- Jose Padilla, a former Chicago gang member, arrested in 2002, converted to Islam while in prison and was recruited at a mosque to become a mujahedeen fighter. He was accused of plotting to detonate a radioactive “dirty bomb” but was convicted of unrelated terror support charges.
- Richard Reid, a British citizen and follower of Osama bin Laden, was a prison convert in England and become involved with militants after he was freed. He was apprehended while attempting to detonate a bomb on a United States commercial flight in December 2001. He is believed to have been radicalized by an imam while incarcerated in England. He is serving a life sentence at a maximum security prison in Colorado.
- Michael Finton, a United States Citizen and prison convert to Islam, attempted to bomb the Paul Findley Federal Building and the adjacent offices of a Congressman in downtown Springfield, Illinois on September 24, 2009. He pled guilty on May 9, 2011 and sentenced to 28 years in prison.

There are several on-going cases whose story is yet to be told, however, the common denominator is conversion to a radical form of Islam while in prison.

If Islam expressed itself in the California Prison system as it does in the Los Angeles region, we would be talking about the strength and value that Islam brings to prisoners in terms of behavior and value-based living. However, this is not the case and it is not the case because of the manner in which many prison populations are exposed to Islam, carrying the disguise of dysfunction, danger, and exploitation. Instead of providing a balanced, peaceful, contemporary perspective of one of the great and peaceful religions of the world, we are left with a hi-jacked, cut and paste version known to the counter-terrorism practitioners as Prislam, as my good friend Frank Cilluffo coined the phrase. This has been allowed to propagate through the three dynamic dimensions of People, Materials, and Places of Association.

*People.*—Budgets for religious services in correctional facilities have fallen to economic shortcomings, enhancing opportunities for radical prisoners to conduct their own services and support system. As a matter of smart practices, the American Correctional Chaplains Association recommends one chaplain per 500 inmates. In California, there is one chaplain for every 2,000 inmates, and some Texas prisons the ratio is one to 2,500.<sup>4</sup> It is essential that a thorough background investigation process for anyone entering a correctional institution be completed before access is granted. Additionally, consistent standards of qualification should be developed and

<sup>2</sup>“Testimony of Dr. J. Michael Waller”. United States Senate, Committee on Judiciary. 2003–10–12 [http://judiciary.senate.gov/hearings/testimony.cfm?id=960&wit\\_id=2719](http://judiciary.senate.gov/hearings/testimony.cfm?id=960&wit_id=2719). Retrieved 2010–06–05.

<sup>3</sup>“Al-Qaeda in Yemen and Somalia: A Ticking Time Bomb.” A Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, January 21, 2010, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Drum, V.L., “Professional Correctional Chaplains: Facts and Fiction,” presented at the American Correctional Association 137th Annual Congress of Corrections, Kansas City, MO, August 13, 2007.



adopted. There are numerous cases where a spiritual advisor or chaplain is denied access to a correctional facility and then admitted into another.

To better understand the competencies and qualifications of a Chaplain, consideration should be given to the following questions: What is the particular religious denomination to be supported by the individual? Is there a sponsoring religious institution associated with the individual? Is that institution locally established? Has the individual met any standards or permissions associated with the position they are seeking? Does the denomination advocate violence? Has the individual had recent travel outside of the United States? If so, where and when? Is there a foreign government sponsorship of this individual? Does the individual maintain any professional, regional, or National associations that might evidence their legitimacy? In what manner are they involved with any such organization? Will the services be conducted in English or another language? If other than English, what language?

*Materials.*—It is essential that effective policies and practices are designed to create an understanding of what prospective faith-based staffers may utilize by way of materials to facilitate their purpose. Frequent audits of books, video, audio, and other related material should be conducted to determine permissibility under existing facility security policies. These policies should be consistent throughout the prison system. *Out of the Shadows: Getting Ahead of Prisoner Radicalization*, a special report by the George Washington University, Homeland Security Policy Institute, published in September 2006 stated the following: “Radical literature and extremist translations and interpretations of the Qur’an have been distributed to prisoners by groups suspected or known to support terrorism. The Noble Qur’an, a Wahhabi/Salafist version written in English, is widely available in prisons. A recent review in the Middle East Quarterly characterized this version as reading “. . . like a supremacist Muslim, anti-Semite, anti-Christian polemic than a rendition of the Islamic scripture.” Of particular concern is its appendix, entitled “The Call to Jihad (Holy Fighting in Allah’s Cause).”

Anwar al-Awlaki, a prominent United States born Islamic scholar of Yemeni descent and internet radicalizer is wanted by the United States for terrorism prosecution. His radical literature has found its way into the prison system and has been used by known extremists to facilitate recruitment and radicalization activities within prisons.

*Differences Between the Shee’ah and Muslims Who Follow the Sunnah*, written in plain English, is another such example of radical material. Examinations of materials should not be limited to that which is brought in by faith-based service providers. Effective procedures and processes of screening inmate mail can be quite useful as prevention measures to discover prohibited, controversial, or materials advocating violence, entering or leaving local correctional facilities. Other items of interest would be military manuals, training manuals, and documentation advocating the overthrow of the U.S. Government. Communicating this information throughout the law enforcement network will prove to be effective in preventing further mobilization toward violence.

The spiritual philosopher of al-Qaeda, Sayyid Qutb, wrote the radical Islamist manifesto *Ma’alim fi al-Tariq* (Milestones Along the Road) while in an Egyptian prison. Copies of this document exist in the prison system and contribute to radicalization.

*Meetings.*—Are inmate meetings and gatherings taking place using religion as a ruse for other activities? Religious and other gatherings of inmates within correctional facilities present challenges and opportunities for inmates, service providers, and correctional staff. Staff members should make the time to monitor inmate gatherings. Audio and video equipment may be effectively used for these purposes. Regimented activities of inmates may be indicators that activities incongruent with religious services are taking place. The principles of direct supervision, a contemporary method of inmate management that is currently in use in many local detention facilities, is also supportive of correctional staff presence in inmate gatherings and activities.

#### V. ALIGNING PEOPLE, PURPOSE, AND STRATEGY/LEANING FORWARD

In the policing world, the efforts to reduce crime, mitigate risk, and teach communities how to build crime-resistant neighborhoods, focus on targeting stakeholder resources around three thematic areas: High-Risk People, High-Risk Places, and High-Risk Activity. This model also looks at 10 percent of the victims who are victimized 40 percent of the time because they expose themselves to high-risk people, high-risk places, and high-risk activity. While it is understood that prisons are certainly different than a free society or a community in an urban or rural area, they do represent a type of community with resources at their disposal. In the same manner

that police address the above crime model to include partnership, problem solving, and prevention, prisons should continue to lean forward in terms of managing risk with an eye toward People, Materials, and Places. Furthermore, this needs to be looked at from a whole of government/whole of community approach, utilizing non-governmental offices, vetted community volunteer groups, and leadership organizations.

Islam is the fastest-growing religion in the prison system, and while the majority of converts are African-American, other minority groups are converting in prison as well. Would the Muslim-American Ummah in the United States be proud of what converts in prison are learning about Islam? I would say in some cases, they would be shocked and dismayed.

As a law enforcement executive, one who has worked in Los Angeles for over 29 years with a primary focus on counter-terrorism for the last 6 years, one of my greatest concerns is the issue of convergent threats. We are beginning to see convergence in the areas of gangs, narcotic cartels, organized crime, terrorism, and human trafficking.

Los Angeles gained a reputation for being the gang capital of the United States and much of the prison structure is made up of gangs, i.e., Bloods, Crips, Mexican Mafia, Black Guerilla Family, Aryan Brotherhood, and Violent Ideological Extremists (Violent Islamic Extremists).

Just as isolated, and balkanized communities can become incubators of violent extremism, so too can prisons. If left unchecked prisons can and do become incubators of radicalization leading to violent extremism.

While I am certainly not advocating “thought policing” there is a lot that can be done to insulate prisons from the elements that create high-risk environments that we are seeing today. One major role that law enforcement can play in the fight against violent ideological extremism is that of educator. Teaching all communities about the dangers of extreme ideologies can dispel harmful rumors and myths that alienate already pressured communities. We have learned from the European experience how these alienated communities become a breeding ground for violent extremism and a safe haven for potential terrorists to hide among the population. Prisons are no exception.

Granted, the United States does not have the same types of problems as England, France, Germany, or Israel. While the tactics terrorists employ are learned behaviors that migrate across National boundaries—through groups, training camps, and the internet—the underlying motivations for these violent acts are unique to the host countries. Consequently, the remedies (i.e., jailhouse de-radicalization in Malaysia, the Channel Project in northern England, and the BIRR Project in Australia) are often contextually bounded and dependent on the depth, strength, national allegiance, and identity of the native Muslim community.

In Los Angeles, for example, there are many Muslim communities that do not share the same risk profile as those in the United Kingdom as they are much more integrated into the larger society. That said, the European example does provide U.S. law enforcement with a starting point when searching for early indicators of radicalization.

#### VI. STRATEGIES AND INITIATIVES

- Our outreach to the Muslim and non-Muslim communities has combined education with prevention. We now have Terrorism Liaison Officers (TLOs) at all of our divisions and Fire Stations who serve as the principal points of contact for terrorism information and intelligence. These liaison officers educate Department personnel and the broader community about the indicators of violent extremism and have proven to be critical assets when it comes to raising the level of terrorism prevention and preparedness. The TLO program has been integrated into the California prison system with the effect of casting an ever-wider safety net to train more people in the State to be public data collectors and First Preventers.
- We have taken our model and counter-terrorism strategy for Los Angeles and as much as possible applied these principles to prisons: Terrorism Liaison Officer, Suspicious Activity Reporting (SARS) or Tips and Leads, Capitalize on the Fusion Center Structure and Capabilities, Integrate information and analysis, and disseminate value added intelligence, Prison Radicalization Task Team assigned to the Fusion Center and aligned with a Joint Terrorism Task Force Vetting Squad.
- Note: I have an officer assigned to this Joint Terrorism Task Force Squad and the volume of Tips and Leads relative to Prison Radicalization in the 7-county footprint, is 15 to 20 tips a month which are vetted by the JTTF squad. This

- has developed into three to four open investigations/year supported by a reasonable suspicion that an individual or group of individuals are actively engaged in developing operational capability and motivation to conduct a terrorist act. Initial investigations conducted by this squad show that most of the extremists interviewed, generally, have no interest fighting in the United States; however, there is interest in fighting overseas in the name of Islam.
- Working in concert with our 7 county, regional, and Federal partners, we continue to build capacity to collect, fuse, analyze, and disseminate both strategic and operational intelligence. We are aligning our intelligence collection and dissemination process with an eye toward accountability and ensuring that our First Preventers have the information they need when they need it.

#### VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

- Prison Officials are stretched thin trying to maintain order in overcrowded and underfunded facilities. Funding and organizational structure needs to be a priority so we stay on the front end of prison radicalization.
- Effectively monitor materials coming in, and provide enough qualified, vetted clerics to meet inmates' spiritual needs. Clear policy and regulations should be established, and should apply to both volunteer leaders of religious services and extremist inmates within the prison system.
- Prisoners are highly vulnerable upon release. Offer them social support at that moment to help reintegrate them into the community. Don't let them be easy prey for recruiters with malicious intent. Budget shortfalls spurring early release programs and early parole only exacerbate the challenge, as the potential for more radicalized prisoners being paroled increases. This becomes even more important considering the issue of convergent threats—when gangs and drug cartels consider connecting with terrorist networks.
- From the parole officer to the prison guards, we need to articulate and educate as to the nature of the threat and how to best counter it.
- State correctional officers should notify law enforcement of the pending release of a violent extremist, allowing law enforcement officers to monitor the released inmate's outside activities. The Federal Bureau of Prisons already has a warning system in place to alert the FBI about the release of violent extremists in Federal institutions. Several FBI field divisions sponsor intelligence-sharing working groups with State and Federal correctional investigators that have helped improve coordination. The FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force in Los Angeles hosts a monthly prison radicalization meeting that brings correctional officers, local, State, and Federal law enforcement together to share intelligence on violent extremist prison groups and provides advance notice of a violent extremist reentry into the community. Other State prison officials may see a benefit in promoting the establishment of local prison radicalization working groups in their regions.

#### VIII. CONCLUSION

The natural question is: What factors put a community at risk? Taking a page from the European experience, diaspora communities are in transition from one culture to another, making its members particularly vulnerable to identity crises which may be very easily subverted by ideologues. As Eric Hoffer wrote in his book, "The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements": "Faith in a holy cause is to a considerable extent a substitute for the lost faith in ourselves." If there is a real or perceived threat of discrimination between the new community and the host, then an "us against them" mentality may prevail making that final step towards radicalization that much easier. Some Muslim communities may view any local discrimination as linked to Muslim causes globally, and vice versa, any discrimination against the Ummah (the global Muslim community) may be felt locally. Prisons are in fact communities at risk.

Chairman KING. Thank you very much, Chief Downing.

Our next witness, Professor Bert Useem. Did I pronounce your name correctly, sir?

Mr. USEEM. Yes.

Chairman KING. Thank you. Is a professor of sociology at Purdue University. Prior to working at Purdue, he worked in the same field at the University of New Mexico for 13 years.

Mr. Useem has published several books and papers and magazine articles, which I read, regarding prison organization and violence.

You are now recognized for your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF BERT USEEM, DEPARTMENT HEAD AND PROFESSOR, SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT, PURDUE UNIVERSITY**

Mr. USEEM. Good morning. I thank the committee for its attention to this very important matter.

The crux of my testimony is that prisons have not served as a major source of Jihad radicalization. Three sets of facts support this conclusion.

First, U.S. prisons now confine 1.6 million people. Each year, 730,000 inmates are released.

Second, from 9/11 through the first half of 2011, 178 Muslim Americans have committed acts of terrorism or were prosecuted for terrorism-related offenses.

Third, for 12 of these 178 cases, there is some evidence for radicalization behind bars.

Putting these three sets of facts together, if prisons were a major cause of Jihadist radicalization, we would expect to see a lot of it, but we don't. Why not?

In my research, I have identified seven factors that have inhibited prisoner radicalization.

First, over the last 30 years, U.S. prisons have been able to restore order and improved inmate safety. For example, prison riots, which were once common in prisons, have all but disappeared. The homicide rate in prisons has fallen by 90 percent. A byproduct of this restoration of order is that the appeal of radicalization is reduced.

Second, correctional leadership has consciously and successfully infused the mission of observing signs of inmate radicalization into organizational practices. Rather than waiting for a facility to be penetrated by radicalizing groups, correctional leaders have fashioned, staffed, and energized the effort to defeat radicalization.

Third, increasingly in recent years, correctional personnel coordinate and share information with external law enforcement.

Fourth, inmates cannot communicate freely to potentially radicalizing groups on the outside. The internet is unavailable. Mail is inspected and censored.

Fifth, a large body of evidence has shown that terrorists tend to come from better educated, advantaged backgrounds. U.S. prisoners tend to have low education and come from poor communities. The profiles of criminals and terrorists are different.

Sixth, a surprising finding that has come out of my research is that there exists a modest level of patriotism among inmates. It is the case that inmates are hyper-concerned with their own self-interest. Still, inmates express some level of loyalty to the country. This makes prison a hostile environment for Jihad radicalization.

Finally, in recent years, many correctional agencies have improved their screening and supervision of clergy and religious volunteers.

In sum, if prisons were a major cause of terrorism, we would see a large proportion of Jihad terrorists linked to prison. That is not the case.

Still, a small number of prisoners have been radicalized behind bars and attempted terrorist activities. But as long as law enforcement continues to be alert and work collaboratively with each other, the threat of terrorist activity in and from prisons will continue to be diminished.

[The statement of Mr. Useem follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BERT USEEM

JUNE 15, 2011

Nearly 7 years ago, in October 2003, the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Homeland Security of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, held hearings on the radicalization of prison inmates. Coming on the heels of 9/11, the hearings warned that Jihadist radicalization of prisoners may produce the greatest fear of all: A formidable enemy within. For example, one witness stated that radical Islamist groups “dominate Muslim prison recruitment in the U.S. and seek to create a radicalized cadre of felons who will support their anti-American efforts.” Once released, offenders would wreck havoc on the country. What have we learned about the dimension of this problem?

The dimension has been shockingly, and gratefully, small. Consider the following data points.

- U.S. prisons now confine 1.6 million offenders. Nine-five percent of them will be released; few are lifers or will suffer the death penalty. Each year, U.S. prisons release 730,000 inmates.
- The Pew Center on the States has calculated that 1 in every 100 American adults is in prison or jail. For African American males between the ages of 20 and 34, the figure is 1 in 9.
- Sociologist Charles Kurzman has identified 178 Muslim-Americans who, since 9/11, have committed acts of terrorism-related violence or were prosecuted for terrorism-related offenses. For 12 of those cases, there is some evidence for radicalization behind bars. There have been zero suicide (or attempted suicide) attacks undertaken by former prison inmates.

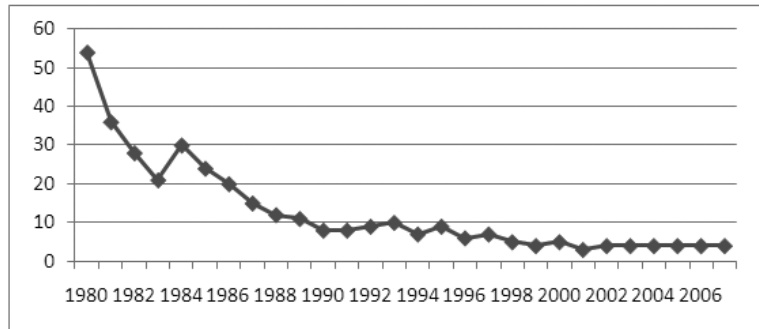
Putting these data points together, Muslim-American terrorists are not especially likely to emerge from our prisons. Why?

Working with colleague Obie Clayton, I studied this issue supported by funds from the START Center (underwritten by the Department of Homeland Security) and the National Institute of Justice (U.S. Department of Justice). We conducted interviews in 10 State correctional agencies and one jail system; visited 27 medium- and high-security prisons for men; and interviewed 210 prison officials and 270 inmates. Our analysis identified seven factors.

First, over the last 30 years, U.S. prisons have been able to restore order and improve inmate safety. For example, prison riots, once common in U.S. corrections, have nearly disappeared. The rate of prison homicides has fallen by 90%. A byproduct of this restoration of order is that the appeal of radicalization is reduced. There are clear norms for appropriate behavior which, while always challenging to enforce, are consequential. Prisons are successful, not failed, States. Far less than in the past is the prison environment one of “anything goes.”

## Prison Homicide Rate, 1980 – 2007

### Homicides per 100,000 Inmates



Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice.

Second, corrections officials are aware of the threat of inmate radicalization. Correctional leadership (at both the agency and prison-level) has consciously and successfully infused the mission of observing signs of inmate radicalization into organizational practices. Rather than being sitting ducks, waiting for their facilities to be penetrated by radicalizing groups, correctional leaders have fashioned, staffed, and energized the effort to defeat radicalization.

Third, the level of effective surveillance in prisons has improved greatly over the last two decades. Security threat groups are tracked by staff dedicated to that task; closed-circuit television cameras are omnipresent; corrections personnel coordinate and share information with external law enforcement agencies. One Islamic inmate, for example, told us: “No way you’re going to have radical groups in this prison for more than 5 minutes, without them [correctional staff] knowing it.” While al-Qaeda has proclaimed that they seek to recruit prison inmates to their cause, the obstacles to doing so are, thankfully, very great. This point has been missed by those who predict that prisons will pour out domestic terrorists.

Fourth, inmates cannot communicate freely with potentially radicalizing groups on the outside. The internet is unavailable, and mail is inspected and censored. There is some smuggling of cell phones, but correctional leaders are aware of and working to counter this threat. The one exception is lawyer-prisoner correspondence which, under Federal law, can be opened in the presence of the prisoner. This exception is given not to protect the free flow of ideas behind bars, but rather to avoid disadvantaging prisoners in asserting their legal rights.

Fifth, the educational backgrounds of male inmates help explain the finding of low levels of jihad radicalization in prisons. Education leads people to be concerned, even fervently concerned, with the issues of the day and events in distant lands, such as Iraq. Not surprisingly, a large body of evidence has shown that terrorists come from disproportionately high-education, non-disadvantaged backgrounds. In contrast, U.S. prisoners have disproportionately low levels of education and come from poor communities. In our interviews, inmates expressed low interest in public affairs, including and most strikingly, the war in Iraq.<sup>1</sup>

Sixth, a surprising finding coming out of our inmate interviews was solidarity among inmates against jihadist radicalization. Inmates are distinctively hyper-concerned with their self-interest, as often reflected in the offenses that led to their imprisonment. Still, in their own limited way, inmates expressed loyalty to the country, at least to the extent that they are opposed to efforts to damage the country.

<sup>1</sup>It is important not to overstate the case. The negative correlation between education and terrorism is modest. We should anticipate exceptions.

One inmate told us, "even though we're criminals, we see ourselves as Americans. Couldn't turn against this country."

Finally, on a less certain note, there have been significant improvements in the screening and supervision of clergy and religious volunteers. One force for change was the April 2004 report by Office of the Inspector General concerning the provision of Islamic religious services to inmates in the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The Report made 16 recommendations for change. Many State correctional agencies took these recommendations very seriously and improved in those areas as they saw appropriate. The changes have included: Requiring Imams to work closely with security staff to identify any potential security threats; not allowing volunteer Imams in facilities without supervision and background checks; close screening of prayer books. The uncertainty is the uniformity of these improved strategies Nation-wide. I know of no systematic work documenting the progress of these initiatives across all 50 State correctional agencies.

My core argument, then, is that U.S. prisons are not systematically generating a terrorist threat to the U.S. homeland. They are not the perfect storm. This conclusion does not imply that we should write down the probability of a prison-generated terrorist threat to zero. There are instances of prisoner radicalization, with potentially grave consequences. For example, a plot emerged from the California State Prison at Folsom in 2005. Inmate Kevin James formed Jam'iyyat Ul-Islam Is-Saheeh ("JIS," the Authentic Assembly of God), which later planned a three-person attack on U.S. military recruitment offices, the Israeli Consulate, and synagogues in the Los Angeles area. The plan was to kill as many people as possible at each site. But the effort was thwarted by law enforcement in its early stages. The difficult judgment to make is whether Kevin James, had he been on the streets rather than behind bars, would have been equally inclined toward violence and more capable of leading a terrorist strike.

In sum, if prison were a major cause of terrorism, we would see a large proportion of jihad-terrorists linked to prison. That is NOT the case. Still, a small number of prisoners have been radicalized behind bars and attempted terrorist activity. But as long as law enforcement continues to be alert and work collaboratively with each other, the threat of terrorists in and from prisons will continue to be diminished.

Chairman KING. Thank you very much, professor, for your testimony.

Mr. Dunleavy, you, in your testimony, talk about what appears to be the lack of proper vetting for chaplains in State prisons.

I know our staff has visited the maximum security prisons. We have been impressed by steps taken at the Federal level.

But 97 percent of prisoners are in State and local prisons. You gave the example of the imam, the chaplain, in a New York prison, who was arrested and convicted last year for smuggling razor blades into Ryker's Island.

He had been certified as a chaplain by the Islamic Leadership Council, which actually is located right outside my district in Wyandanch. I know it somewhat well, because the leaders are always picketing my office.

But the fact is you had an organization such as that certifying a chaplain who is a convicted murderer. Yet he was certified to be a chaplain in the State prison system.

Has that situation improved at all?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Again, I don't think so, because there is no standard. One of the IG's recommendations after that investigation in 2004 was there was to be a certified body, an ecclesiastical body that would do the vetting.

Chairman KING. But he was still serving in 2007.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. That is correct. So cities and States were relying on their own standards, in some cases no standards. In some cases, there was no communication between a corrections department and a police department with respect to organizations or individuals that were then hired.

Chairman KING. Professor Useem seemed to say that he does not believe the threat is that significant from the prisons.

Yet, Chief Downing, you say it is a subject which brings great concern. It is an important phenomenon relating to the evolving threat of Muslim Americans radicalization in prisons. Prisons are in fact communities at risk.

As a person who is on the ground, who has to deal with this issue every day, you consider it to be a serious issue?

Chief DOWNING. A very serious issue that I don't think we yet know the scope of the problem, because we haven't had the collection mechanisms in place to really understand the depth of the problem yet.

But in the L.A. region, in 7 counties with 7 correctional facilities, we get 15 to 20 reports a month.

They may not all be terrorism reports, but they do develop into open cases, which is of great concern, because we are looking for it now. We have educated the prison guards and the institutions on what to look for and how to report it.

Chairman KING. I am not asking you to divulge any facts of on-going investigations. But in your written statement, you say there are several on-going cases whose story is yet to be told. However, the common denominator in these cases is conversion to a radical form of Islam while in prison. So are you concerned about on-going cases relating to Islamic terrorism?

Chief DOWNING. Yes. Indeed, we are. We have on-going cases. They involve convert prison radicals that are out in the community now. That story will be told when the case is prosecuted.

Chairman KING. Mr. Smith, in the Kevin James case, it seems it was the perfect confluence of a radical form of religion, organized gang members, and almost an assembly line of radicalization in the prison, going then post-prison to a mosque to recruit and radicalize more, and then attempting to carry out terrorist plots.

Is there anything unique about a religious radical, as opposed to a gang member, a skinhead, or a neo-Nazi?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I think the analysis needs to be a comparison, for example, between an individual who has committed to Jihad that is on the outside of prison and one that has been in the prison system.

In the State of California, you can't be in a prison system unless you have committed a felony. So those individuals who are committed to Jihad in prisons have already stepped outside the norms of societal behavior. They have already crossed that line, often with violent background, often with experience with weapons. Levar Washington being a perfect example of that.

So you have an individual who is committed to Jihad and already has stepped out and has acted outside what we consider the norms of society in conducting criminal behavior.

So the Jihadist mentality is basically overlaid on an individual who knows how to handle weapons, who knows to access weapons, who knows how to communicate, even in the prison system and outside the prison system.

So when that individual then steps out of the prison, as happened to Levar Washington, paroled after being radicalized and becoming a member of JIS, you are dealing with a very, very dan-



gerous situation, because this is an individual who already has operated on the criminal side of the law and is very committed to carrying out violent acts.

Washington is a perfect example because, within 6 months' time, he had recruited two additional cell members. They had acquired weapons. They were committing armed gas station robberies to fund their Jihad and selecting targets, within a 6-month period of time essentially, which is very, very fast, and shows the convergence of criminal sophistication as well as commitment to Jihad.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

The Ranking Member is recognized.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. Dunleavy and Mr. Downing, you both have talked about the issues around prisons and the fact that so much of what is happening is because of lack of resources to do certain things.

Are you saying that in the State of New York, the reason chaplains are not vetted, like in the prison system, in the Federal system, it is a matter of resources?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. No. I don't believe that is the case. I don't believe—

Mr. THOMPSON. So why aren't chaplains vetted?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. That is a good question. I think that question has been asked since the IG's report in 2004. What are the standards? Who will establish the standards? Is there an Islamic organization, be it the Islam—

Mr. THOMPSON. No, not just Islamic. Chaplains, period. My point is if you knew in 2004 that a problem existed where chaplains can be certified without the Bureau of Prisons in New York having some standards, here we are 8 years later and we still don't.

So do you know why the State of New York doesn't have any standards for chaplains?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, again, I have to go back to the fact that the IG's report did not say all chaplains. It said Islamic chaplains. There—

Mr. THOMPSON. Is there a reason why Islamic chaplains are not vetted?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think because of the fact that the individual, Warith Deen Umar, had made the comment—now, Warith Deen Umar was not just an imam. He was—

Mr. THOMPSON. No. No. I am just trying to get to the point that, is there a reason why New York doesn't vet Islamic chaplains? Just, do you know why?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think New York does. New York State Department of Corrections does.

But I think the need for standardization between New York State, New York City, county, you also have Federal prisons within New York State. You need National standards for the vetting, not one State—

Mr. THOMPSON. So the weakness, or whatever the issue is, is something those units of government have created by not coordinating the standards?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Agreeing on the standards, that is correct.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

We all agree that there are bad people in prison.

Mr. Smith, your comment about someone getting out of prison, robbing, trying to promote a terrorist cause, we understand that. But there are a lot of people who get out of prison and who do bad things for a lot of reasons.

So I think if we look at it from that perspective, we all agree; whatever it is that is causing people to do bad, we need to fix it.

If there is a terrorist nexus to it and we can close the loophole, we should. But if we look so narrow at just that, we have a real challenge.

Mr. Downing, in your work in Los Angeles area, those counties you work, who are the most dangerous people in prison?

Chief DOWNING. I would say, well, gang members certainly are dangerous.

Mr. THOMPSON. Gang members. Describe the gang members to this committee.

Chief DOWNING. Well, in Los Angeles, we—you know, Los Angeles is probably the gang capital of the United States, with maybe 60,000 gang members in the county of Los Angeles, rather, in 400 different gangs.

They are violent. They are territorial. They have a culture that has developed that is exclusive. They are vulnerable. They are recruiters.

Mr. THOMPSON. So in your experience, those really bad people, do those gangs continue to operate when they go to prison?

Chief DOWNING. Very much so.

Mr. THOMPSON. So, basically, we have a lot of gang activities that is an on-going enterprise in a lot of prisons, primarily the State prisons. Am I correct?

Chief DOWNING. Correct.

Mr. THOMPSON. So the issue here is if we are looking at radicalization, are you saying that those radicals, bad people, are gang members primarily in the percentages, versus what we are looking at here today?

Chief DOWNING. The structure is interesting. When you go into a prison, you are in the Crip side, the Blood side, the La Eme side or this evolving Muslim side, which is getting more attention, but not enough. Many of the gang members are moving over to that side.

As you know, Kevin James was a Rolling 30. He recruited a Rolling 60, who on the outside were vicious enemies, but on the inside became aligned with an ideology.

Mr. THOMPSON. I appreciate your indulgence.

We understand the evolving threat, but the threat, as of this date, in terms of who are the most dangerous people that we have incarcerated, are many of those individuals who are affiliated with gangs, based on what you are saying, the Aryan Brotherhood, Aryan Nation, those individuals who basically operate their activity out of the prisons.

Am I correct?

Chief DOWNING. Yes, you are.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

Chairman KING. I recognize the gentleman from California, and the former attorney general of California, who knows this issue also closely, Mr. Lungren for 5 minutes.

Mr. LUNGREN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I just might say the political correctness in this room is astounding. As someone whose district includes the New Folsom Prison where the plot was hatched to commit the crimes in Southern California and as someone who represented the areas at one time where those crimes were carried out, to ignore what that is is, to me, astounding, absolutely astounding.

Let me ask the experts here that we have on gangs and terror. How many of the street gangs in either New York or California have an ideology which is dedicated to the destruction of the United States?

Mr. Dunleavy.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. None.

Mr. LUNGREN. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. None that I know of.

Mr. LUNGREN. Mr. Downing.

Chief DOWNING. None that I know of.

Mr. LUNGREN. As serious as the gang problem is—and I spent most of my life working on that problem—have you come across leaders in the various gangs who have indicated that their specific purpose is to undermine the institutions of America and in any way associate themselves with any transnational terrorist organizations?

Mr. Downing.

Chief DOWNING. No, but I will say that both represent a type of insurgency. One is to overthrow the United States and kill innocent people. The other is to survive in the shadows of society.

Mr. LUNGREN. Absolutely.

Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, but I think the distinction that needs to be made between a radicalized Jihadist and a gang member serving a prison time, even a prison gang member like a Mexican mafia gang member, a criminal is interested in enriching themselves personally with their criminal activity. All right? It is a selfish motivation. So that is their aim and their general goal.

When you contrast that with individuals like Levar Washington from the JIS case, they are not interested in engaging in criminal activity as anything other than a means to carry out violent Jihad, to carry out their war of terrorism against the United States. In that lies the difference and the danger.

Mr. LUNGREN. Isn't the aim of a terrorist attack to produce the greatest amount of terror in a community, that is to try and do the greatest amount of destruction, both physical and psychological, as opposed to gaining economic benefit?

Mr. SMITH. That is absolutely correct. I mean, one of the certainly tenets or accepted tenets of terrorism is this need to create and exploit fear in the population. That is what a Jihadist—that is what a terrorist seeks to do by targeting innocent people as we had targeted in the JIS case.

Mr. LUNGREN. Mr. Dunleavy, you have been asked some questions about why we don't properly vet certain chaplains. Isn't that the crux of the problem?

I mean, we have a religion which is an accepted, noble religion, one of the great religions of the world, that is being subjected to

a radicalization by a certain percentage of its advocates, and there is no standard to make the judgment with respect to someone who is teaching or preaching in a prison that may be of a radical version versus a non-radical version?

Isn't that the crux of the problem? How do we as a Government try and somehow sift through that?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think in getting back to the question where it was said—the question was asked who is the most dangerous inmate in the prison. My answer is the inmate who you know little or nothing about.

When you have an inmate who is of Middle Eastern descent, who may have been a Wahhabi Salafist, there was an ignorance. There was a lack of knowledge between correction administrators as to the actual religion of Islam. What is the difference between a Sunni, a Salafist, a Sufi, a Shia?

So there was a need for education. There was a need to learn. If you don't know, you can't vet. You can't establish standards.

That was I think is the weakness that we have not come any further since that 2004 report.

Mr. LUNGREN. There is an observation, about 5 years ago, the head of the prison system in California came to me and asked to have a meeting with the Chairman, at that time, to talk of his concern about the radicalization of Muslim prisoners in the California prison system.

Subsequent to that, we had a hearing—actually, it was a year later when the Democrats had assumed the majority. Congresswoman Jane Harman conducted a subcommittee hearing in Torrance, California, for the purpose of looking at the Kevin James case.

I might just note for the record there was no objection on the Majority side, and no suggestion that we were somehow involved in an improper pursuit of the truth there, or that we were somehow wrongly confining ourselves to that particular case and not dealing with all the other cases in the United States.

I salute Congresswoman Harman for her efforts on that. I just wish we would see reflected now the same concern and bipartisan support.

I thank the Chairman.

Chairman KING. I recognize the gentle lady from Texas, Ms. Jackson Lee, for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I thank the Chairman and I do thank the Ranking Member for both astute presentations as they gave their opening statements.

I would like to acknowledge a colleague, Congressman Keith Ellison, who is here, whose statement was initially submitted into the record.

Very briefly, let me define what my political correctness is. It happens to be this document, the Constitution. I won't read it, because I know everyone probably knows it by heart.

But John Marshall said "a Constitution is intended to endure for ages to come and consequently to be adapted for the various crises of human affairs."

He was one of a number of individuals who tried to interpret why we needed this document, because without having a stated vi-

sion of what America would become, he knew that we would be facing a number of crises. We face that today.

I want to thank the witnesses, each of them, for their service and I think their critical analysis that is extremely important.

But my angst with this process is that the topic lends itself, Professor Useem, to a myriad of analysis.

I want to cite two individuals. We had in a previous hearing I think the parent of a Carlos Bledsoe. Abdulhakim Muhammad was his Muslim name. He had a series of altercations with the law enforcement: Drug, traffic offenses, nothing that we would applaud.

But he had not been hardened criminal and not been in prison for a number of years, but he did wind up in Yemen. He had an overstay and wound up in the Yemen jail and became radicalized.

Or maybe we should talk about Verne Jay Merrell, who the Chairman has listed for us. Thank him for that.

He writes a letter, and he says, "Prisons are fertile recruiting grounds for radical Muslims, and they are introduced to the subject by Louis Farrakhan."

But he was arrested for bombing an abortion clinic as a Christian militant.

So my point here today, information is welcome, condemnation is not.

Mr. Dunleavy, are you familiar with the Christian militants?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Yes, I am.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Can one say that they might possibly want to undermine this country, because right now, Constitutionally, the right for women to choose is a Constitutional right. People disagree with it. But here is an individual attempting to undermine the protections that are given to women.

Would you suggest that that might be compared to trying to undermine this country? That is a possibility, is it not?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think that anyone that goes about killing in the name of God is an ideologue.

But when I talk about Dar'ul Islam, there are two worlds in the ideology of that. There is Dar-el Salaam, which is the world of Islam, and there is Dar-ul-Harb, which is the world of the infidels. There is no middle ground. There is no—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I understand that. But what I am saying is as we look to be informational, we should include an analysis of how Christian militants or others might bring down the country. We have to look broadly, do we not?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I don't know that Christian militants have foreign-country backing or foreign country finance.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I don't think that is the issue. The issue is whether or not their intent is to undermine the laws of this Nation.

I think it is clear that that is the case. So, your distinction is not answering the question.

Let me go to Mr. Useem very quickly, because I think you make some very valid points.

You indicate that we are more astute. I do want to ask this question about the Nation of Islam. Do you know what the Nation of Islam is?

Mr. USEEM. Yes, I do.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Do you view them as promoting, in the current 21st Century, the undermining of this Nation?

Mr. USEEM. No, I don't.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Can you just tell us what the Nation of Islam is?

Chairman KING. Professor, your microphone.

Mr. USEEM. The Nation of Islam is a religious group that practices the Muslim religion.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. They recruit predominantly in the black community?

Mr. USEEM. That is correct.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Now they are——

Mr. USEEM. Predominantly, but not entirely. For example——

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Are their underpinnings, to your knowledge, about improving lives or trying to straighten out? Is that your assessment, or do you know that?

Mr. USEEM. That is correct.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. All right. I don't want to put words in your mouth, but that is the basic underpinnings, as whether or not you agree or disagree?

Mr. USEEM. Can I add a point here?

Ms. JACKSON LEE. If you can, quickly.

Mr. USEEM. Okay, very quickly, prisons——

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Can I just ask this question, then?

Mr. USEEM. Certainly.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Can you defend your position about the oversight, intensity of oversight in prisons today that would fraught a massive radicalization going on in our prison?

Mr. USEEM. Can I defend the——

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Yes, can you defend your proposition? Would you defend it now?

Mr. USEEM. That there is not a massive——

Ms. JACKSON LEE. That there is an extensive oversight in prisons today. There are less violent, if you will, riots because of oversight.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentle lady has expired.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Can he answer the question, please?

Chairman KING. He will answer the question if you allow him to. Professor, you can answer the question.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I will allow him to.

Mr. USEEM. Prisons are much safer now, much more orderly, much more secure. Rates of violence are down. You walk in to a maximum security prison now, it is orderly. It is safe. Not all, but most. So that is the case.

That has promoted the ability of corrections officials to maintain and look closely at this radicalization problem.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentle lady—I am sorry.

Mr. USEEM. I was going to add, can I speak of the JIS case?

Chairman KING. No actually, the time of the gentle lady is expired.

The gentleman from Minnesota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the time.

Thank you for the witnesses today for coming and what I believe discussing a very, very important issue of what is happening here in the United States' prisons.

What I would like to first start off with is, Mr. Downing, if you could just tell me a little bit more about the radicalization process within the prisons themselves.

Can you kind of comment on that, and how someone becomes radicalized?

Chief DOWNING. Inside the prison systems, well, it is not too far from how a gang member goes through the process to become a gang member, where there is an orientation, there is an identification, there is an indoctrination process, and then there is a type of radicalization that goes through.

But it is the people. It is the charismatic leaders. It is the materials. It is the places of association that contribute to that.

We have evidence where we have seen a little bit of convergence with the gangs. We have a higher African-American prison population that is being converted. We have seen this come out onto the streets in terms of convert mosques coming in the different communities as well.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Thank you for that.

Mr. Dunleavy, could you comment on that as well.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. The process of radicalization, particularly Islamic radicalization in the prison system, is very, very selective. It is a filtering process. It does not occur with 500 inmates in the yard of Attica yelling Jihad.

The facilitators and the recruiters that are in the system have the unique ability of profiling. They are able to spot an individual who walks into a cell block for the very first time and they can tell what that person, if he has—first of all, they know he has a propensity for violence because he has already committed crime. They know that he is somewhat by himself, so he wants a sense of purpose to his life.

They do all this profiling within the first day that they meet him. Then they begin to disciple, first to convert him, then to move him when he is going to be released to a Islamic mosque that they have recommended to him.

Then from there, if he continues, to move him to an Islamic center, either in Virginia or in Florida. Then from there to filter him to overseas travel for continued studies.

So it is the process that starts often in the county jail, moves through the State system, and through the post-release and parole.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Could you explain? We are doing some research. We found that due to the insistence of the Justice Department, Attorney General Holder, the Bureau of Prisons is forced to play Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam videos as sermons or chapel services for Muslim prisoners.

Is that correct or incorrect?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I am not aware of that.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Can anybody comment on that?

Okay. The next thing, about sharia law, radical Islam, would you agree or disagree, and go across the panel here, that radical Islam would place sharia law as the primary law for their religion.

Would you agree or disagree to that?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Oh, absolutely.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, it is my understanding that is a central tenet to their agenda.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Mr. Downing.

Chief DOWNING. Yes, and that is what some of the material is that is in the prison system. Awlaki videos and lectures are about the creation of a caliphate of worldwide Muslim domination and sharia law.

Mr. USEEM. That was explicit in the Kevin James, he stated that explicitly?

Mr. CRAVAACK. In sharia law, then, could you also comment, does sharia law supersede the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. In the committed Islamic Jihadist, it absolutely does. There is only one document.

Chief DOWNING. I agree, I mean the reality is, is that for a committed Jihadist, sharia law is God's law, and that is the only law that they have to follow. Everything else is man-made law. That is not something that they feel has any authority over them in their actions.

Mr. SMITH. I would agree. However, I would just offer this, that in our outreach and engagement with Muslim communities, we recognize, and the Muslim communities recognize, that the law of the land is the Constitution. And that there may be sharia principles in their community that they look at, similar to Jewish laws, but the law of the land, the rule of law is the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. USEEM. That is correct. I would add that the Muslim community in the United States is relatively prosperous, middle class and well-educated. But they do accept the Constitution as the law of the land.

Mr. CRAVAACK. So it is specifically radical Islam, you would agree then—sharia law would supersede the Constitution of the United States in radical Islam? Would that be a correct, fair statement? I have got 4 seconds.

Mr. SMITH. I think that is the distinction that needs to be made, that this is, what I am talking about is from a radical Jihadist mentality, not mainstream Muslims.

Mr. CRAVAACK. Okay. Thank you very much.

Chief DOWNING. I think you would have to put violent radical.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Clarke, is recognized for 5 minutes.

I am sorry. I didn't see you there, Henry.

My good friend, Mr. Cuellar is recognized, 5 minutes and an extra 30 seconds because of the snub.

Mr. CUELLAR. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Thompson.

Let me just look at some of the conditions. When I was in the State of Texas, I used to chair the budget for the prison systems. As you know, Texas has a pretty good-sized prison system. I have gone through the prison system. I spent a lot of time there, trying to see what conditions there are. I think, whether it is in Texas or anywhere else, you have certain things that come in to play.

You know, staffing issues is one of them, the conditions, recidivism rates that we look at. I think all of you are very familiar with it.



So when you go in there, you know, we are talking about not only the prisons at a State level, but you know, you look at the Federal level—and I know here at the Federal level, we are looking at these particular issues.

But when you look at the majority of the prisoners that we have, I assume they are in the State prisons. Is that correct? Compared to Federal?

So how do we address the issues that you all want to bring in, or the issues of criminal gangs, whether it is, you know, Mexican mafias, or whatever it might be? How do we address the issues, when most of the prisoners are at prisons where we have to deal with budget cuts and have to deal with issues like that?

How do we address this issue? Still not forget about the criminal gangs, and, you know, especially most of them are going to stay here, not going to go abroad. They are going to stay here. They have to come back and get part of our society.

How do we address these issues without—you know, I know this is an issue that is important to some folks, but I am looking at the big picture. How do we address this with all the conditions we are facing right now? Whoever wants to take it.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think the first thing you have to do is set a National standard. I mean, all prisons, as you said, have the same circumstances.

But I think we have the resources in place. You have agencies. You have law enforcement agencies. You have correctional agencies. You have post-relief parole and probation agencies that need to work together, but there has to be some sort of standardization.

Mr. CUELLAR. Let me just, I believe 5 years ago, the Senate Homeland Security held a similar hearing on prison radicalization. Witnesses noted there that there was no consistently applied standards of procedures in State prisons to determine, for example, in this case, what religious reading materials is appropriate for prisoners.

Have we seen any improvements to them in the last 5 years, since that Senate hearing?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I don't think you have on the State level. You haven't found any standardization. Each State is kind of marching to their own step.

Mr. USEEM. May I speak to that?

Mr. CUELLAR. Yes.

Mr. USEEM. I think there have been significant improvements including in the State of Texas. Texas prisons now are much safer, much more secure.

What hasn't been done is a documentation of these changes. There are, you know, 50 State correctional agencies, the Bureau of Prisons. There is no work that I know of that compares documents, the standards that are used. That would be very helpful if that were done.

Mr. SMITH. I don't—if I can just weigh in for a second. I don't think it is as potentially complicated as it might seem. The particular groups that we are talking about, these particular radicalized inmates, represent a very small proportion.

Mr. CUELLAR. Well, right there, let me hold you. That is exactly my point. I can understand this might be important to the Chairman, and I respect his opinion. But that is a small portion.

What about the larger amount of population, prison population that we have? I mean, I believe the United States still puts more people in prison than any other country.

What about that larger picture? I know this is important, this part, but what about the rest?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I just wanted to say, it is a small portion with a much greater exponential danger to the community, okay? That is the point.

The reality is that there are procedures in place in the State institutions. They have institutional investigators to be able to look at all of these different Crips, Bloods, Mexican mafia, and the like.

So it is not as if they don't have the institutional wherewithal to examine and investigate these groups. This is simply just another group.

So it is not as if we have to reinvent the wheel to be able to take a look at, evaluate, and assess the danger presented by these radical prisoners.

Mr. CUELLAR. So your point is—because I got 30 seconds plus an additional 30 seconds. But the point is it is one group of many other groups that we still have to look at, anybody that poses a threat to our society, to make sure our streets are safe, correct?

Mr. SMITH. Correct. Although, as I said, it is my professional opinion that this particular group of radicalized inmates presents an exponentially greater danger to innocent individuals and civilians out on the outside.

Mr. CUELLAR. Right. Well, thank you so much.

I got just a few seconds.

Mr. Chairman, can I just allow—

Chairman KING. I promised you an extra 30 seconds because of the snub.

Mr. CUELLAR. Okay.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. May I introduce this in for the record, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. CUELLAR. Could I yield too to the lady? Just to introduce, nothing else.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. That can't be restrained, so I am holding up.

Chairman KING. We will see.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask unanimous consent to submit into the record an FBI law enforcement bulletin regarding two prison radicalization. It will show to you that, on balance, a ADL statement on Texas-based white supremacist gang growing and dangerous; ADL bigotry behind bars; and also gangs with cartel ties, Aryan Brotherhood, Azteca—excuse me—Black Guerrilla Family and Mexican Mafia, to show the balance and the need for an expansive review.

I ask unanimous consent to have this submitted into the record.

Chairman KING. Without objection, so ordered.

[The information follows:]

BULLETIN SUBMITTED BY HON. SHEILA JACKSON LEE

## FBI LAW ENFORCEMENT BULLETIN—PRISONER RADICALIZATION

*October 2010, by Dennis A. Ballas, MA*

On July 5, 2005, police in Torrance, California, arrested Levar Haley Washington and Gregory Vernon Patterson because of their suspected involvement in a string of gas station robberies. Officers conducting a standard follow-up investigation searched Washington's apartment and found jihadist material, including an apparent target list. Both suspects are U.S. nationals and converts to Islam. This arrest of "common criminals" quickly led to a large-scale investigation of a homegrown terrorist plot directed against targets in Southern California. Many people found it surprising that such a threat could exist in their own community. Even stranger, individuals within the confines of prison walls fermented the plot.

## IMPORTANT CASE

Washington and Patterson were part of Jam'iyyat Ul-Islam Is-Saheeh (JIS), Arabic for Assembly of Authentic Islam, a radical prison organization. The JIS interpretation of Islam, sometimes known as "Prison Islam," supports the establishment of an Islamic caliphate, or government, in the United States and advocates the targeting of the American and Israeli governments, as well as Jews, in retaliation for their policies regarding Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

In 2004, Kevin James, an inmate serving time for robbery convictions at the New Folsom Prison near Sacramento, California, led the JIS. He recruited fellow prisoners to join and preached the duty of members to target enemies of Islam, or "infidels," including the U.S. Government and Jewish and non-Jewish supporters of Israel. James distributed a document in prison that justified the killing of infidels and made members take an oath not to speak of the existence of JIS. He also allegedly sought to establish groups, or cells, of members outside prison to carry out violent attacks.<sup>2</sup>

James met Washington in prison in 2004 and introduced him to JIS and its beliefs. Prior to Washington's release that same year, James provided him with "Blueprint 2005," a document urging prospective JIS members to blend into society by marrying, getting a job, and dressing casually. The document also instructed followers to study Arabic, acquire two pistols with silencers, and learn how to make bombs.<sup>3</sup>

Washington used the document to recruit Patterson, an employee at Los Angeles International Airport (LAX), and another individual, Hamad Riaz Samana, a Pakistani citizen, at the Jamaat-E-Masjjudal mosque in Inglewood, California, where they all worshiped. Both Patterson and Samana swore allegiance to Washington and pledged to serve as "mujahideen," Muslim guerilla warriors engaged in a jihad.<sup>4</sup>

The men plotted to attack Jewish institutions and other targets in the Los Angeles area, including synagogues, the Israeli Consulate, LAX, and U.S. military recruiting offices and military bases, intending to kill as many people as possible.<sup>5</sup> They planned to carry out their attack on a synagogue during Yom Kippur to increase the number of casualties; the plotters also considered the fourth anniversary of the September 11 terrorist attacks.<sup>6</sup>

## EFFECTIVE RESPONSE

*Identification of Terrorist Activities*

The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) trains its officers on the tactics and methods used by contemporary terrorists. This includes the various steps that lead up to an attack, such as target acquisition, preattack surveillance, and supply procurement. The JIS investigation, conducted by more than 200 investigators from the Torrance Police Department (TPD), LAPD, FBI, and other local and Federal law enforcement agencies, revealed that Washington, Patterson, and Samana, under the leadership of James, had taken part in all of these activities.

<sup>1</sup> Anti-Defamation League, "Two Sentenced in Los Angeles Terror Plot Against Jewish Institutions," [http://www.adl.org/main\\_Terrorism/los\\_angeles\\_sentenced.htm](http://www.adl.org/main_Terrorism/los_angeles_sentenced.htm) (accessed March 26, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> J. Kouri, "Four Terrorists Arrested for Conspiracy, Robberies," <http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/view/2231> (accessed March 26, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Anti-Defamation League, "Two Sentenced in Los Angeles Terror Plot Against Jewish Institutions."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

Patterson and Washington originally were connected to the gas station robberies when Patterson, who lived with Washington, dropped a cell phone at one of the crime scenes. During a search of their apartment, investigators found evidence of target acquisition in a 2-page document written by Samana titled, "Modes of Attack," which listed the addresses of each location they targeted.

Prior to their arrests, the JIS members conducted surveillance and used the internet to research possible targets. They easily did so with commonly used websites that allowed them to obtain overhead and street-level views of potential target locations.

The suspects ultimately advised investigators that they conducted the gas station robberies to raise funds to finance their terror efforts. This constituted the supply procurement stage. The FBI later determined that Patterson bought a .223-caliber rifle with the proceeds from his robberies.

#### *Valuable Measures*

The JIS case serves as an excellent example of local law enforcement using straight-forward crime-fighting efforts to thwart terrorist activities. Investigators from TPD followed the clues to locate the robbery suspects, and they had the training that allowed them to recognize that they had uncovered a terrorist cell, not just a group of common criminals.

Perhaps most important, the TPD had established relationships with its local and Federal law enforcement partners. These partnerships allowed for a coordinated investigation sufficient to disrupt JIS' terror plan, identify all involved parties, and ensure an eventual successful prosecution. As stated by the special agent in charge of the FBI's Los Angeles office, "This case reminds me of the evolving terror threat we face and continues to serve as one of the finest examples of line police officers uncovering a terrorist plot and setting aside jurisdictional boundaries to work with the JTTF."<sup>7</sup>

Washington and Patterson pled guilty in 2007 to charges of conspiring to wage war against the United States. In 2008, they received sentences of 22 years and 12 years respectively. Washington also was sentenced to an additional 22 years in prison for unrelated robbery and weapons charges. Kevin James pled guilty in Federal court to conspiring to levy war against the United States. In 2009, James was sentenced to 16 years in Federal prison. Hamad Samana was sentenced to 70 months in prison in 2009 for his participation in the plot.

#### SERIOUS PROBLEM

The radicalization of Washington in prison is not unique. Kevin James himself was radicalized while incarcerated. In 1997, the then 21-year-old began serving a 10-year sentence for robbery at the California State Prison in Tehachapi. Initially while in prison, James followed a traditional form of American Islam, Nation of Islam, but found those teachings uninteresting. JIS provided him a level of protection not afforded other religious followers because it is based on a model in which its members act as a prison gang. The group not only has its own hierarchy, code of conduct, and secret communication system but the members also have their own group identity. This gives them a shared purpose and has led to a form of collective resistance against the U.S. Government.<sup>8</sup>

While only a small percentage of converts turn radical beliefs into terrorist action, the James case is not an isolated event.<sup>9</sup> Jose Padilla, a Chicago, Illinois, street gang member, is just one more example of someone who became a radical Islamist while in prison. Authorities arrested him in 2002 on suspicion of planning to explode a "dirty bomb."<sup>10</sup>

Prisons literally provide a captive audience of disaffected young men easily influenced by charismatic extremist leaders. These inmates, mostly minorities, feel that the United States has discriminated against them or against minorities and Muslims overseas. This perceived oppression, combined with a limited knowledge of

<sup>7</sup>U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Man Who Formed Terrorist Group That Plotted Attacks on Military and Jewish Facilities Sentenced to 16 Years in Federal Prison," <http://www.justice.gov/usao/cac/pressroom/pr2009/024.html> (accessed March 26, 2010).

<sup>8</sup>U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, *Prisoner Radicalization: Assessing the Threat in U.S. Correctional Institutions* (Washington, DC, 2008).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance, "Potential for Radicalization of U.S. Muslim Prison Inmates," <http://www.religioustolerance.org/islpris.htm> (accessed March 26, 2010).

Islam, makes this population vulnerable for extremists looking to radicalize and recruit.<sup>11</sup>

The shortage of qualified religious providers in prisons heightens the threat of inmate radicalization. Prisoners with little training in Islam have asserted themselves as leaders among the prison population, at times misrepresenting the faith. Prison Islam incorporates violent inmate culture with religious practice. Currently, little standardization or accreditation exists to identify persons qualified to teach Islam or lead its services in prisons. Wardens rely on local endorsing agencies or simply leave it up to inmates to choose. Prison authorities are not ensuring that religious leaders have adequate training or if they espouse radical theology.<sup>12</sup>

#### POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

Currently, and not surprisingly, researchers are proposing the need for more study in the area of prisoner radicalization. The magnitude of the problem remains unknown. Authorities must temper their responses with the understanding that religious conversion differs from radicalization. Many people have advocated the necessity of more effort in identifying and recruiting qualified chaplains who could teach a more mainstream version of Islam in prisons. Even so, the JIS case demonstrates that some prisoners will find Prison Islam more attractive than a moderate or mainstream teaching of the Quran.

Other recommended solutions to the radicalization problem stem from the position that groups, such as JIS, are prison gangs and that authorities should deal with them as such. In California, gang investigators assigned to prisons have been trained to recognize and monitor the potential radicalization of inmates. Of particular concern are people, such as Washington, who can be paroled into the community after radicalization. Such individuals pose the threat of committing acts of violent jihad. In an effort to get an early warning about any such prisoner who may play the role of the martyr, California's correctional authorities forward information about prison radicalization to the State's intelligence fusion centers, where officials from all three levels of government, as well as the private sector, share information. Likewise, the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the FBI address the problem, as well, both by vetting chaplains and religious volunteers and by closely tracking inmates with suspected terrorist ties.<sup>13</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The problem of prisoner radicalization is a serious one. Clearly, any solution will require a multiagency and multidisciplinary response and will rely on better education, intelligence, and enforcement. Seemingly, law enforcement and government in general are better positioned to respond to, if not prevent, future incidents, like the JIS case. And, certainly, a greater awareness of the threat exists.

ARTICLE SUBMITTED BY HON. SHEILA JACKSON LEE

#### TEXAS-BASED WHITE SUPREMACIST GANG "GROWING AND DANGEROUS"

*Dallas, TX, December 16, 2009.*—The Aryan Circle, an often brutal white supremacist gang based primarily in Texas, is "growing and dangerous," according to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which today released a new report on the group's widening influence inside and outside Texas prisons.

Founded by Texas prison inmates in the 1980s, Aryan Circle is now the second-largest white supremacist gang in Texas and one of the largest in the United States. Membership measures at least 1,400 people, according to the ADL report, *The Aryan Circle: Crime in the Name of Hate*.

Aryan Circle members often commit crimes to fund activities and dissemination of their white supremacist ideology. Among their most frequent crimes: Illicit drug making and selling, property theft, and identity theft. But Aryan Circle members also have been behind vicious hate crimes and assaults.

<sup>11</sup>FBI Deputy Assistant Director Donald Van Duyn, statement before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and Related Agencies, September 19, 2006, <http://www.fbi.gov/congress/congress06/vanduy091906.htm> (accessed March 26, 2010).

<sup>12</sup>George Washington University Homeland Security Policy Institute and the University of Virginia Critical Incident Analysis Group, *Out of the Shadows: Getting Ahead of Prisoner Radicalization*, available at [http://www.healthsystem.virginia.edu/internet/ciag/publications/out\\_of\\_the\\_shadows.pdf](http://www.healthsystem.virginia.edu/internet/ciag/publications/out_of_the_shadows.pdf) (accessed March 26, 2010).

<sup>13</sup>J. Straw, "Prisons: Fostering Extremism?" <http://www.securitymanagement.com/article/prisons-fostering-extremism> (accessed March 26, 2010).

“The Aryan Circle sets itself apart from other white supremacist groups by running a profit-driven and often violent criminal enterprise, both in the prison system and on the streets,” said Mark Briskman, ADL North Texas/Oklahoma Regional Director. “Aryan Circle members have participated in organized violence, including attacks against rival gangs, hate crimes, and the murders of suspected informants and law enforcement officers, while at the same time espousing an ideology that members of the white race are superior and disenfranchised.” Aryan Circle members also have a long track record of murder, including the killings by a Houston Aryan Circle member of two police officers in Bastrop, Louisiana in 2007.

Most of the group’s members are concentrated in Texas, with cells in or near many metropolitan areas, including Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, Austin, San Antonio, Waco, San Angelo, Wichita Falls, and Midland/Odessa, among others. The group also has spread its tentacles into surrounding States, has attempted to actively recruit new members in Texas’ border States, and individual cells and members have been noted across the country.

Read more on-line on our website at [http://www.adl.org/PresRele/Extremism\\_72/5678\\_72](http://www.adl.org/PresRele/Extremism_72/5678_72). The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world’s leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice, and bigotry.

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ARTICLE SUBMITTED BY HON. SHEILA JACKSON LEE

RACIST GROUPS IN U.S. PRISONS

BIGOTRY BEHIND BARS: RACIST GROUPS IN U.S. PRISONS

### *Introduction*

Driven by a belief in their superiority, white supremacist prison gangs contribute to increased racial tensions and violence in American penitentiaries. Not only do their activities undermine prison security, but their extreme rhetoric and animosity toward other races often stay with gang members long after their release.

Prison officials estimate that up to 10 percent of the Nation’s prison population is affiliated with gangs.

Since prisoners tend to segregate themselves by race, white supremacist gangs may appear more attractive to white inmates—especially those seeking protection—than they would outside penitentiary walls. Inmates already sympathetic to racist ideology become more radical in their beliefs in the racially charged prison environment.

One of the best-known racist prison gangs is Aryan Brotherhood, which emerged in the 1960s at California’s San Quentin Prison. This violent gang has since spread to prisons throughout the United States and has been linked to a number of murders, both in and out of prisons.

A number of racist groups in the U.S. sponsor prison “outreach” programs that send tapes and literature filled with white supremacist propaganda to inmates. These extremist organizations encourage racist inmates by treating them as “martyrs,” fueling their racist ideology through violent rhetoric.

### *Racist Prison Gangs*

The vicious racist murder in June of James Byrd Jr. in Jasper, Texas, has drawn attention to the disturbing fact that some inmates develop and spread racist ideologies as members of prison gangs. Prison officials estimate that up to 10 percent of the Nation’s prison population are affiliated with such gangs.

Not only do racist prison gangs jeopardize the stability of the Nation’s penitentiaries, but when members of these gangs are released, they continue to express violent racist rhetoric and a strong animosity toward other races. Indeed, at least two of the men indicted on capital charges for Byrd’s murder are believed to have associated with members of the violent white supremacist prison gang Aryan Brotherhood during their incarceration at a prison in Tennessee Colony, Texas. According to law enforcement estimates, there are 432 Aryan Brotherhood members in Texas penitentiaries.

Inside the prison system, where inmates often segregate themselves according to race, white supremacist groups may prove appealing to white convicts looking for group protection. In turn, these racist prison gangs can raise levels of mutual suspicion and antagonism. Indeed, in the wake of Byrd’s murder, friends and neighbors of those charged have said that the alleged killers did not harbor racist feelings before they entered jail.

While it is doubtful that someone with no racist inclinations would become involved with a group like Aryan Brotherhood, it is reasonable to assume that those harboring some racist sentiments—but who may have never acted on them before—could become more radical in a racially charged environment like prison, where groups like Aryan Brotherhood offer them group identity and protection from other gangs.

#### *Brotherhood of Hate*

Aryan Brotherhood originated in California's San Quentin Prison in the 1960s and has since spread to other prisons throughout the United States. Affiliated with the paramilitary hate group Aryan Nations, Aryan Brotherhood reportedly engages in extortion, drug operations, and violence in correctional facilities; many members bear the identifying tattoo of a swastika and the Nazi SS lightning bolt. Aryan Nations also publishes *The Way*, a newsletter geared toward prisoners. The 1987 inaugural issue of that publication described its purpose as being "to provide a good source of Bible study into the Israel Identity<sup>1</sup> message and its related histories and politics for convicts, while also providing news and happenings of concern to our chained brothers and sisters."

Aryan Brotherhood is not known to be as systematically organized as other prison gangs (such as the Bloods, Crips, or the Mexican Mafia), but its reputation for violence is well documented. In April 1997, John Stojetz, an Aryan Brotherhood leader at an Ohio prison, was convicted of murdering a 17-year-old Black prisoner. In October 1994, Donald Riley, a member of the Brotherhood, was sentenced to life in prison for the murder in Houston of a Black marine who had recently returned from service in Desert Storm. Moreover, of the eight inmates murdered by fellow prisoners at the Pelican Bay State Prison in California since 1996, six have been linked to an internal war within Aryan Brotherhood. A local prosecutor characterized the situation at the prison as a "reign of terror." In Pelican Bay's Security Housing Unit, there are reported to be up to 50 inmates who are members of the group.

Other racist groups have emerged from behind bars as well. One of the men charged with Byrd's murder reportedly has a Klan tattoo depicting the lynching of a Black man, and another that reads "C.K.A.," which stands for Confederate Knights of America. C.K.A. is a small white supremacist prison gang in Texas penitentiaries.

Like Aryan Brotherhood, the white supremacist gang Nazi Low Riders (NLR) originated inside the California prison system, but also has active members beyond penitentiary walls. Nevertheless, serving a prison term appears to be a requirement for membership. The gang is controlled by the "seniors," all of whom have been NLR members for at least 5 years and are voted in by other seniors. Only seniors can induct new members, and are responsible for educating the members they recruit. There is reason to believe that Aryan Brotherhood aligned itself with NLR in the late 1970s or early 1980s, when the California Department of Corrections began cracking down on Aryan Brotherhood members, many of whom ended up isolated from the rest of the prison population because of their gang ties. NLR remained a separate gang, but helped promote Aryan Brotherhood's interests within the prison system.

Like Aryan Brotherhood, NLR rallies its members around standard racist propaganda and rhetoric that bolster "white pride" while blaming Jews, Blacks, and other minorities for most of the problems in America. Still, their activity is not limited to race-baiting: NLR members reportedly seek to dominate a significant portion of the prison drug trade and other criminal activity within the white penitentiary population. Outside of prisons, NLR members are involved in drug trafficking (especially methamphetamine, or speed) and have been responsible for a number of random attacks on Blacks.

#### *Racist Outreach to Prisoners*

Many white supremacist and anti-Semitic groups reach out to prisoners by offering them heavily discounted or free copies of their publications; other readers of these racist magazines and newspapers are encouraged to write to these "prisoners of war." In 1991, the North Carolina Department of Corrections banned copies of the racist World Church of the Creator's *The White Man's Bible*, fearing it might trigger race riots. *Jubilee Newspaper*, a bi-monthly Identity-affiliated newspaper published in Midpines, California, has its own "Jubilee Prison Ministry," which sends reading material to imprisoned subscribers. In addition, Tom Metzger has

<sup>1</sup> Identity is a pseudo-theological hate movement that maintains that Anglo-Saxons, not Jews, are the biblical "chosen people," that non-whites are "mud people" on the level of animals and that Jews are the "children of Satan."

championed the causes of white supremacist prisoners on his “WAR [White Aryan Resistance] Hotline,” often providing listeners with their addresses so they may write letters of support.

There are even racist publications written by and for prisoners. Operating out of Portland, Oregon, *Thule* calls itself a “journal of philosophical, spiritual, historical, and political folkish-tribalism, dedicated to the enlightenment and progression of our prisoners.” In fact, *Thule* articles idealize Nazis, advocate the racist “theology” of the Identity Church movement and are replete with racist and anti-Semitic propaganda and conspiracy theories. The February 1998 issue of *Thule*, which drew submissions from prisoners around the country, features an article commenting on the conspiracy theories surrounding the Oklahoma City Bombing. Its author was Richard Scutari, one-time member of the terrorist group The Order, who is serving a 60-year sentence for racketeering and robbery. *Thule* also supplies its readers with the addresses of other racist organizations and publications, including Aryan Nations, World Church of the Creator, and the NSV Report.

*Prisoner of War*, a sporadically produced magazine directed at white supremacist prisoners, is published by the editors of *Storm Watch*, an Owensboro, KY, neo-Nazi publication. A recent issue of *Prisoner of War* featured an editorial by WAR leader Tom Metzger, a history of skinheads and a biography of Ben Klassen, the deceased founder of the Church of the Creator. In addition, *Storm Watch* dedicated the bulk of its December 1997 issue to a tribute to The Order, including pictures of its jailed members and inmates and essays written by some of them. In one essay, an unrepentant Scutari reflects on his role in The Order and asks himself whether he might have done things differently: “I truly believe that our culture and the survival of our Race are in jeopardy. As a man who holds the virtues of honor, loyalty, and duty as the core of my soul, I was duty bound to do no less. In fact, I am amazed that others have not picked up where we left off.”

These prison “outreach” programs fill a central role in the life of their target audience: While the prisoners’ community has shunned them for their criminal activity, racist groups engage them with white supremacist rhetoric, thereby fostering in them extremist beliefs.

#### *Treated as Heroes*

For some right-wing extremists, serving time in jail bolsters their status in the eyes of their supporters. For example, members of The Order (including Scutari and David Lane) are treated as “prisoners of war” in the rhetoric of racist publications. Moreover, *Thule* and other publications continue to provide a forum for such extremists to voice their hate: Since his imprisonment in 1985 (for racketeering, conspiracy and for violating the civil rights of slain radio personality Alan Berg), Lane has written for *The New Order*, *WAR*, *Jew Watch*, *Aryan Nations Newsletter* and *The Klansman*, published by the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. In the December 1997 issue of *Storm Watch*, he writes, “When it is truly written that judeo-America [sic] and judeo-Christianity [sic] were the twin murderers of the White race, let the executioner’s devices be equally recorded. And let the last generation of the true White men wreak vengeance with death and destruction. For ’tis far better that the great race die with the roar of a lion than the bleat of a judeo-christian [sic] sheep.” Lane’s message of hate is further publicized by his wife, Katya, who set up a small company called 14 Word<sup>2</sup> Press in St. Maries, Idaho, in 1995 to publish “the political writings and religious teachings of David Lane.”

Another popular “prisoner of war” in far-right circles is Gary “Gerhard” Lauck, now serving a 4-year sentence in a German jail for inciting racial hatred by disseminating anti-Semitic and racist materials. Lauck is head of the Lincoln, Nebraska-based neo-Nazi group NSDAP/AO (the German acronym for National Socialist German Workers Party-Overseas Organization) whose publication, *The New Order*, lists Lauck as “Publisher & Political Prisoner.” A March 16, 1998 article in *The Spotlight*, probably the most widely-read extremist publication in America today, focused on jailed German Holocaust deniers and encouraged readers to write to them as well as to Lauck, whose prison address was supplied.

#### *Non-White Racists in Prison*

White supremacist groups are not the only racist organizations active in prisons. The Nation of Islam, the Black Muslim group led by Minister Louis Farrakhan, has organized an extensive prison outreach program since 1984. NOI has fought, sometimes in court, to have its prison emissaries recognized as chaplains separate from the mainstream Muslim chaplaincy. Supporters of the prison outreach program

<sup>2</sup> 14 Word refers to the phrase, “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”



argue that NOI's message of discipline and morality helps rehabilitate prisoners; moreover, NOI's prison emissaries help inmates find jobs and housing upon their release. However, critics worry that Farrakhan's rhetoric—including a long record of anti-Semitic and anti-white statements—may spill over into NOI's prison outreach program and radicalize prisoners.

Despite efforts to integrate prisons across the country, prison officials and inmates have reported that prisoners identify themselves primarily along racial lines. This makes it easier for racist prison gangs—with the help of white supremacist “outreach” programs—to attract new members, especially those seeking protection. In such a racially-charged environment, enmity toward members of other races often grows uncontrolled—a fact which may lead some inmates to commit race-based violent crimes when they are released. This makes prison gangs a problem not only for law enforcement officials, but for the law-abiding general community as well.

ARTICLE SUBMITTED BY HON. SHEILA JACKSON LEE

#### DRUG CARTELS UNITED RIVAL GANGS TO WORK FOR COMMON BAD

*By Kevin Johnson, USA TODAY, updated 3/6/10*

Rival prison gang members, including warring white supremacist and Hispanic groups, are brokering unusual criminal alliances outside prison to assist Mexican drug cartel operations in the U.S. and Mexico, Federal law enforcement officials say.

The groups, including the Aryan Brotherhood and Mexican Mafia, remain bitter enemies in prison, divided along racial and ethnic lines. Yet outside, the desire for profits is overcoming rivalries.

Kevin O'Keefe, chief of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives criminal intelligence division, says investigators have linked the rival gangs to stolen vehicles, some loaded with currency and weapons, moving toward Mexico from Texas, Colorado, California, and even Georgia.

“They realize that the financial gain is so lucrative that they have been willing to work together,” O'Keefe says. “It's all about business.”

**MEXICO.**—President heads to site of slayings.

**2 AMERICANS KILLED.**—State Dept. warns of Mexico violence.

**DRUG GANG KILLERS.**—Blamed in ambushes of three with U.S. ties.

Herb Brown, section chief of the FBI's gang division, says the groups use tactics of intimidation and violence. “What has concerned us—and, frankly, surprised us—is the increasing nexus between these gangs and the cartels,” he says.

Most are involved with drugs, but officials say members also are moving into human smuggling.

Sigifredo Gonzalez, chairman of the Southwestern Border Sheriffs Coalition, says rival gangs have joined forces for shares of lucrative smuggling fees. Some illegal immigrants have paid up to \$20,000 per person to cross the U.S. border. “These groups are working together for a common cause, and the common denominator is money,” he says.

A South Texas Federal judge last month sentenced the last of five Aryan Circle members convicted of weapons charges and car theft for trying to smuggle vehicles to Mexican drug organizations. They were in a group headed by the Hispanic gang Raza Unida, court documents and investigators say.

“It was pretty odd to see people like that in Brownsville,” police Lt. James Paschall says of the largely Hispanic border town. “They had the shaved heads, the tattoos, the whole bit. They stuck out like a sore thumb.”

#### GANGS WITH CARTEL TIES

*Among major prison gangs with ties to Mexican drug cartels:*

- *Aryan Brotherhood: Most members are white males; primarily active in Southwest and Pacific regions.*
- *Barrio Azteca: One of the most violent prison gangs in the U.S. Most members are Mexican nationals or Mexican-American males; most active in the Southwest.*
- *Black Guerrilla Family: African-American males operating primarily in California and Maryland.*
- *Mexican Mafia: Mostly Mexican-American males who previously belonged to Southern California street gangs. Some have direct links to Mexican drug organizations.*

*Source: 2009 National Gang Threat Assessment.*

Chairman KING. I would just remind the members of Minority, for 4 years, they controlled this committee. They could have had

hearings on any of these issues at any time if they wanted to. I never heard any mention of any of these groups at these hearings until we held our first hearing on Muslim radicalization. I wish you had been as attentive during the previous 4 years.

With that, I recognize the gentleman, former United States attorney from Pennsylvania, Mr. Marino.

Mr. MARINO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Gentlemen, thank you for being here. Excuse my going back and forth because of the angle here.

Mr. Useem, am I pronouncing that correctly?

Mr. USEEM. Useem.

Mr. MARINO. Useem.

Mr. USEEM. Yes, sir. Thank you.

Mr. MARINO. I have a couple of questions with you because I applaud you on your study. I know how difficult it is to go into prisons and question people. I am a former district attorney. I am a former U.S. attorney. I have been in State prisons. I have been in Federal prisons involving cases, interviewing people, so I know how that operation works.

But have you utilized any studies involving conversion of non-Muslim gang members to Jihadists?

Mr. USEEM. No, I don't know of any such studies.

Mr. MARINO. Do you discern the difference between the mission of gang members and Jihadists? Which is most dangerous? Which one is most dangerous to the overall security of the United States?

Mr. USEEM. Jihadists are the most dangerous. The point was made earlier that gangs are out for themselves. They are out to promote their self-interest. Jihadists are out to damage the country. In some way, that explains why Jihadist radicalization in prison is very difficult, because they tend to come from individuals who are mainly guided by their self-interest.

Mr. MARINO. Just for the record, I do refer to gang members as being, in quotes "terrorists" to a certain extent as well. I don't mitigate their role and what they try to do.

Would you agree with me that, for the most part, inmates are not overly truthful when being interviewed, and have a tendency to a degree to tell the interviewer what he wants to hear? Because you did state here on your comment—I am referring to page 3, full paragraph 2, that you were talking to one Islamic inmate, for example, and were told there is no way you are going to have a radical group in this prison for more than 5 minutes without them, corrections, knowing it. Well, al-Qaeda has proclaimed that they seek to recruit.

These people are going to tell you, to a certain degree, what you want to hear. Certainly you are going to have to weigh that with a pound of salt.

Mr. USEEM. That is absolutely correct. In our study was more than talking to inmates. It is a case that they may have dissembled and not told us the truth. But we talked to not only inmates, but the security people. What was most striking to us was the consistency of responses.

Mr. MARINO. I just recently have visited two Federal prisons that I have visited before. But a concern among the officers who I had private conversations with, outside the discussion with administra-

tive individuals, is the conversion of individuals who were not Muslim; the conversion of gang members; the conversion of younger, not so well-educated inmates into Jihadists.

Now, do you actually believe that a terrorist will share with you his inner-prison hierarchy, mission, and the execution of their recruitment/mission?

Mr. USEEM. No. No, I don't believe a terrorist would tell us that.

Mr. MARINO. Okay. Again, not to mitigate or pick apart your research, because I know how difficult it is there. Thank you.

I want to go to Mr. Smith. We have somewhat of a parallel background. What is the No. 1 issue, as a former U.S. attorney, that you are faced with in the criminal justice system?

Mr. SMITH. As an assistant United States attorney, counterterrorism was our No. 1 priority, certainly. That spent the majority of my time, although I work on other matters certainly as an assistant United States attorney, working on counterterrorism and National security.

Mr. MARINO. Mr. Dunleavy and Mr. Downing, you each have 18 seconds. Would you like to respond to that?

Mr. Dunleavy.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think the recognition that Islamic radicalization occurs in prisons is necessary. First, you have to acknowledge that something exists to be able to effectively deal with it.

Mr. MARINO. Okay.

Mr. Downing, please.

Chief DOWNING. Well, two issues. One is targeting innocent civilians with violence and waging war on our country. The other is living in the shadows of society and conducting criminal enterprise for profit.

Mr. MARINO. Gentlemen, thank you.

I yield my time.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentleman.

Now I recognize the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Clarke, for 5 minutes.

Mr. CLARKE of Michigan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Just from the onset, I want to talk from personal experience. I grew up in the city of Detroit, in the inner city, born and raised there. That area has a reputation of being a tough place. Maybe it isn't. It is probably no tougher than growing up in New York or Brooklyn or something like that.

But there is one issue is that many, many young men, and in my opinion, too many young black boys end up going to prison when they would have been better off had they gotten treatment for their mental illness, for drug addiction. If they had a chance to learn how to read, they wouldn't have ended up in prison. So we do have a problem, I believe, with our sentencing policy.

But needless to say—and my closest childhood friend spent years, he spent decades in the penitentiary—is that once these young kids go to prison, they become hardened criminals by virtue of their time in prison.

So the focus of this hearing, in the sense that we are looking at what is wrong with the prison culture and how can we change it,

how can we improve it, I think it is the right focus. But to put it in the context of Islam, I think that distracts us.

Let me get right to the point. I asked someone who served time in prison: Why did they convert to Islam and why do other young men convert to Islam? You know, essentially, it is two reasons. No. 1, for protection, to protect myself from other inmates and the prison staff.

Then No. 2, because these young men were tired of their past. They wanted to break away from their criminal past and become a new man, so they became Muslim.

You know, my question is this: How can we change the culture in prison so that for those convicted felons who will be released, that they are rehabilitated; that they don't end up going back into prison or committing crimes on the street, because that is a waste of money. Taxpayers can't afford it. Not only is it a waste of money, it is a waste of lives. I have seen it happen.

You know, we talk about political correctness. Do you know what pisses me off? I am a damn Member of Congress here and my friends have rotted in prison. Those that have gotten out, they have never been the same again.

Some of them did commit crimes. They should have been punished for it. But others were in the wrong place at the wrong time. They wouldn't snitch on their friends. They have never been the same again.

I know this first-hand. We have a problem in this prison system. We have got to change it. We can't waste our money in warehousing these people, making them worse off, having them come out, commit crimes and then go back to jail, go back to prison. It costs the taxpayers billions of dollars.

Look, political correctness aside, I am a Democrat. Some of you who are Tea Party members, this is the waste we have got to stop. We are spending too much money incarcerating young men, young black men whose lives could be saved. It is not about Islam. It is about the sentencing policy. It is about this prison system. We have got to change that.

So I am not really dissing where the Chairman is coming from with this committee hearing. This is the right focus. What is going on inside our prisons is wrong. We have got to change it.

We have got to stop this prison industrial complex. We are wasting too much of our taxpayers' money. Tea Party members, we need your support here. We have got to stop the waste, the waste of money and the waste of lives.

These young men are going to Islam. They are trying to protect themselves. They want to change themselves. Are there some bad folks? Yes, there are. Well, like in every other faith and every other organization.

I know I am making a speech, but in that is the question. Let us improve this prison culture so that these young men are rehabilitated, if they are going to be released. If we are going to sentence them for life and punish them, that is a separate issue.

So that is my question.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired, but each witness will be allowed to answer.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Yes. I just like to speak to that. Having been a kid who grew up in Brooklyn, and it is a hard neighborhood to grow up in, if you would have talked to my friends when I was 16 years old and told them that I would be with the New York State Department of Corrections for 26 years, they would have had no doubt. They would have thought I would be on the other side of the bars.

So I know what you are talking about growing up in a bad neighborhood, and going into prison and coming out, and the need for rehabilitation.

This is different. Our adversaries, the committed Jihadists, know the pool that they have in the prison environment. They are able to profile. They are able to select for that same individual that you are talking about that wants to be rehabilitated, that wants to change, that wants a purpose to his life, and they select him, and they convert him. They indoctrinate him and they send him over.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman is expired.

The gentleman from Alabama, Mr. Brooks, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BROOKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your willingness to have this hearing today to focus on these issues that are of such great National importance.

My question is for either Mr. Downing or Mr. Dunleavy. I apologize for kind of speaking to the side, but that is the way my table is set up, me being a freshman with the least seniority. Well, no longer, but we are looking at each other.

After Chairman King announced the subject of this hearing, he received the following letter from a State prisoner who converted to Islam while serving a sentence for sexual assault of a minor. He now claims to serve as an imam to his fellow prisoners. The committee staff confirmed the authenticity of the prisoner and his letter and referred it to the FBI.

It reads—and by the way I had to miss a little bit, so if I cover things that have already been covered by others, please let me know: “I am in jail for 8 more months and then I will be free. I am a Muslim and I feel because of America’s war on Islam, I am the enemy of the United States.”

“The prophet said all Muslims are one brother and owe a duty to one another. The Holy Qu’ran says fight those who fight you. So by virtue of my faith, the United States is my enemy and I feel commanded to fight for my Muslim brothers and sisters.”

Then next, “What do Americans expect? Major Nidal Hasan worked on a base and saw every day Muslims being killed. What did you expect? I think he is a hero and I am sorry he ran out of bullets.”

Then further, “I have heard ‘kill Americans, Jews, Christians’ more in prison than I ever did in Chechnya.”

Then finally, “I will die for Allah.”

In your judgment, does this letter represent the sentiments of other radicalized prisoners in America’s correction system?

Chief DOWNING. In terms of violent radicalism, it does. I don’t believe we are talking about Islam here. We are talking about a hijacked, radicalized, cut-and-paste form that they call Prislam. That

is the difference. If it was Islam, he wouldn't have written that letter.

I just question his credibility in terms of what he knows about Islam. Who were his teachers? How did he get accredited? Where did he get his training?

That is part of the problem we are talking about is some of the prison inmates become spiritual advisers in very short term. That is part of the problem. It is not Islam.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. It is interesting that in the letter he mentions that he is an Imam. How does an inmate become an Imam in a prison system? We have civil service chaplains. The way it becomes is if you get to this ideology, this radical Islamic ideology, it states that the Imam is selected by the congregation. Inmates will elect their own Imam to supersede the authority of the civil service chaplain.

Mr. BROOKS. All right.

Next, please comment on the propensity of al-Qaeda prisoners in Federal civilian custody, such as the 1998 East Africa embassy bombers, to attack United State district judges, such as Leonard Sand and Federal correction officers such as Louis Pepe. Is our judicial system and law enforcement under threat?

Mr. SMITH. I think it is quite apparent that that is definitely one of the threats that are posed by these violent radical Jihadists. I mean, the reality is that whether they are behind bars or whether they are on the street, they don't turn off the belief system.

The Government of the United States is a target for violent radical Jihadists. So the representatives of that Government, whether it is in the courtroom, as your United States district judge, and in correctional facilities, whether it is a State or Federal correctional facility or the staff in there, the correctional officers.

So, indeed, they are at risk because they represent the Government which is the enemy, if you will, of these radical, violent Jihadists.

Mr. BROOKS. Finally, a question for each of you. On the basis of your extensive professional experience with the subject, what would you encourage the Congress to do about the problem of prison radicalization?

Chief DOWNING. Well, first I would try to meet the recommended ratio of chaplains-to-inmates of 1 in 500. I would create consistent policies and procedures for the materials that are going into these prisons and monitor those and audit those. Then I would make sure that all the prison staff is educated and oriented to what this threat is, and that they have a responsibility to not only share the information with Federal, State, and local authorities, but to know how to report of these types of activities.

Mr. BROOKS. Do any of the three of you others have anything you wish to add?

Mr. USEEM. The point I would add is that we do much better if we improve our capacity to release inmates, to transition them out, so that they have meaningful futures when they leave.

Mr. BROOKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The gentle lady, our new colleague from New York, Ms. Hochul, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. HOCHUL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate this opportunity to come and listen. This is my first Congressional hearing. As I said when I was a candidate, I want to come with a very open mind toward the issues that are facing our country. This gives me an opportunity truly to hear both sides of this debate.

Where I come down on this is I don't see a reason to draw a distinction between the threats of gangs in prison and radicalized Jihadis, because they are both threats. But they are different kinds of threats. I assure you there are more people killed on the streets of Buffalo and Rochester as results of gang activity that was generated in prison.

That being said, that is a problem we have to deal with. But that does not diminish our need to make sure that we are safe as a country, which is what I am hearing the witnesses testify about here today.

I am glad that the distinction has been so many times about the radicalized, violent Jihadis, because those are the ones that I am concerned about. I want to know, are there ways to identify these individuals in prison?

When they are released, what happens next? They are not going to cause much harm to us while they are sitting in prison, at least I suspect not, although they can be influencing others, no doubt about it. But what safeguards do we have in place to protect our citizens when they are released?

I come from the area where we had the Lackawanna Six case. I will tell you that the cooperation that our law enforcement received from the Muslim community was incredible. They brought the issues to our law enforcement. These people were identified. They were prosecuted, individuals who had actually trained under Osama bin Laden in a training camps and came back before 9/11.

This is the culture I come from. But we have got to find some solutions and not to have us-against-them mentality, when we are trying to protect the United States of America and our citizens.

So I want to know what is in place to assist in ensuring the safety of our country once people who have been identified as being radicalized are released from prison. Why do we have to wait for the first crime to occur before we protect ourselves? That is what I want to know.

But that does not take away from our need to have vigilance and to make sure that these gang members, upon release, do not continue to wreak havoc upon our streets and slaughter individuals as well.

So, in my judgment, we can hit both issues. It is not an either-or proposition. I just want your comments on that, the panel.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think one of the things that have to be done is to recognize that correctional intelligence is a two-way street. Corrections officials and administrators have to know about the inmates they receive, particularly if they are receiving foreign-born inmates from countries of interest. There was an inmate in New York State who was a porter. He was cleaning the cell block. He was a Pakistani national who had a degree in chemical engineering.

Again, corrections has to pass the intelligence of what they learn about radicalization back to law enforcement on the street, so that they can again know what is coming out.

Ms. HOCHUL. On that point, are there other prohibitions that you are aware of on sharing of information?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Not to my knowledge.

Ms. HOCHUL. Is it occurring, in your judgment? Is that sharing of information occurring?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I think it is, but it could be better.

Chief DOWNING. If I can? During the JIS case, that mechanism was not in place. It has since been put in place. We have an excellent relationship with the FBI in the L.A. region. Joint terrorism task force model works very well. The fusion center model, the JRIC, the Joint Regional Intelligence Center, has a vetting squad and a prison radicalization squad in that fusion center. It is excellent.

The FBI—JTTF hosts a monthly prison radicalization meeting and brings correctional officers from State, local, and Federal law enforcement together to share this intelligence. There is a mechanism in place where there is advance notice of a violent extremist's reentry into the community. I think that is a smart practice that needs to be shared across the United States.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I was going to say again, much of the mechanisms are in place for dealing, for example, with gang members. Certainly, in my community, gang members who have been identified by the institution, certainly in their packets that are sent up with them after they are convicted of crime, and also in the institutions themselves, are identified these gang members.

When they are released or paroled from prison, they go to orientation meetings where they are met with and discuss their situation with gang officers from the local police department.

So the mechanisms are in place. It is just a matter of expanding that process, if you will, to those that have been identified as violent radical Jihadists, okay for example, in the prison system, that get paroled into the community.

There is no reason that what we are currently doing can't be used, for example, to identify those individuals that are being paroled into our communities and potentially threatening our safety.

Ms. HOCHUL. I have got 5 seconds left. I am conscious of tracking my time. How do we identify them all while they are in prison? Are we really truly able to know who is going to become a threat when they leave prison cells?

Chief DOWNING. I am going to defer to Mr. Dunleavy. But I will say that the answer is yes because we can identify members of prison gangs. The intelligence is there on these other groups. So there is no reason, again, why the portfolio, if you will, can't be expanded to include violent and radical Jihadists.

Ms. HOCHUL. Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentle lady, and she has proven herself a true Member of the committee by going over time on her first question. You fit right in like everybody else.

[Laughter.]

Chairman KING. With that, I recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania, also a former United States attorney, Mr. Meehan.



Mr. MEEHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thanks to each of the distinguished panelists for your presence here today and for your work in this important area.

I want to follow up on the question from Ms. Hochul, because that is really what I am trying to comprehend here, is how we look at distinguishing where the association is being created among people who are finding each other to share some sort of a growing Prislam, versus those who are affiliating in some way into a prison culture, a gang culture. Is it distinguishable?

Mr. Dunleavy, you have been in the prisons with Mr. Smith.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Yes, I actually think it is distinguishable. I think one of the things that would help it is if corrections departments, as a whole, recorded the data for a change of religion.

We talk about how many percentage of inmates are Muslim, how many are Catholic, how many are Jewish. But how many actually change religion two or three times during a period of incarceration? Then why? I mean, that would be something to be able to follow up on. Why do we have an individual who has now been imprisoned three times?

Mr. MEEHAN. Before you go on, Mr. Smith, you touched on this earlier, or some of the panelists did, which is, in a sense, the qualification of those who are the teachers of the faith and are given access, materials, and other kinds of things in the prison. Is there any kind of a standard by which it is appropriate or legitimate for the Government to determine who should be sort of a shepherd of the flock?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think the Government has the right to determine who can enter a correctional facility, be it as an employee or be it as a volunteer. Religious volunteers have the same sway and influence as a chaplain does, and yet there is no vetting on them. There is no standardization. They simply come in. Who invites them in? How do they get in?

Mr. SMITH. I can speak to that issue. With respect to the Kevin James JIS case, I mean, the reality is that there is obviously some issue with individuals, imams from the outside coming in and meeting with prisoners.

But the problem that we also have and it was certainly illustrated in the JIS case, was the fact that Kevin James was self-taught this cut-and-paste version of Prislam, if you will, and then was able to because of his charismatic personality, because of his toughness, was able to accrue a number of followers.

So the prison system is not in a position to be able to dictate, "No, sir, you know, you cannot preach Islam or your version of Islam to these fellow inmates."

So the problem that you have there is that someone in that situation—and this goes back to your earlier question, in JIS for example, the radicalization, the creation of this group was overlaid on the prison gang model. Okay? James as the shot-caller, or as the sheikh of the particular group.

The communication protocols that they use, they passed this protocol and these messages via "kite." I don't know if you are familiar with that term. You probably are as an ex-prosecutor, where there is a clandestine communication system in probably every prison.

So they were able to get their information trans-institution. In other words, there weren't JIS members just where James was. They were throughout the California Department of Corrections.

They not only were able to communicate within the prisons they were in with via kites. James set up a system where he would send the protocol to mail on the outside, because inmates couldn't send letters to each other. Then the person on the outside would forward it to an inmate in another institution. So he was able to get State-wide coverage, if you will, of his protocol.

So that, again, they just took the prison gang model and just overlaid their radical Islamic Jihadism.

Mr. MEEHAN. So what is the solution? In other words, we are constantly amazed at the way that inmates are able to communicate and the ingenuity that is associated with it. But is the real goal for us then not so much to be worried about the method of communication, but to identify those who seem to be sharing this philosophy and then do an appropriate job of following that.

Mr. SMITH. I think that is exactly right. I mean, the solution is vigilance, in terms of identifying the members and the groups, because the communication networks, they are always going to find ingenious ways to communicate.

Mr. MEEHAN. Right.

Mr. SMITH. So to try to stop that might be futile. But vigilance as to those individuals who are participating in these groups.

Mr. MEEHAN. Professor Useem, you made a comment that the profiles of terrorists and criminals are different. How?

Mr. USEEM. Difference in education, difference in poverty. The terrorists tend to be from better-educated backgrounds. Prison-offenders tend to have very low education.

The relevance of that is whether or not they act in their self-interest. To become a terrorist, one has to have broader goals and that comes with education.

Mr. MEEHAN. Well, there are a lot of guys that are strapping bombs on their backs all around the world and walking into places because they would come under the influence of somebody who was charismatic or otherwise. Do you think that those people are well-educated?

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman is expired.

The professor can answer the question.

Mr. MEEHAN. You do?

Mr. USEEM. Yes. There is a very strong evidence that that is the case.

Mr. MEEHAN. Well-educated people are the ones that are carrying bombs into buildings around the world.

Mr. USEEM. Terrorists tend to be well-educated. That is correct.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Davis, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank the witnesses for appearing and being here with us.

Dr. Useem, I am not proud of it, but I have one of the largest single-site incarceration places in America, something called Cook County Jail, where more than 10,000 people are often confined

there. Of course, 67 percent of those are African-Americans, who are there, and they pretty much mirror the State prison system, which is much larger.

You know, it is something we would like to shake a little bit, if we could, in Illinois, but it is tough. A recent study suggested that the largest number of individuals who convert to Islam are African-Americans.

Are you familiar with this study or this kind of information, and whether or not you think those individuals are doing so for personal development or for terrorism?

Mr. USEEM. Yes. No, I am not familiar with that particular study.

Mr. DAVIS. Do you have an opinion relative to the conversion itself and—

Mr. USEEM. Well, the conversion to Islam tends to be among African-Americans. That is the case. But in terms of terrorists themselves, Jose Padilla, the dirty bomber carrier, potentially, was not African-American. So it is not exclusive.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Dunleavy, Mr. Smith, Mr. Downing, let me ask you, how do you suggest that we monitor radicalization while simultaneously respecting the faith of Islam?

I am also concerned a great deal about what we do for individuals in terms of helping them reintegrate back into normal life. So what kind of support activity would you suggest for these individuals as they leave?

Chief DOWNING. I think the same way that we have institutionalized the idea of reporting suspicious activity across the United States through indicators and warnings, we have also used that process to educate people, where we used to get many reports of what would be called Muslims with cameras which have committed no crime. There was no indicator of a terrorist nexus. But because people were afraid and uneducated, they would report this.

So, in the same sense, to bring this into the prison system, so that they know that there is a distinction between somebody who is practicing a faith and somebody who is practicing a violent or a hijacked faith or a cut-and-paste version of another faith.

There are indicators and warnings that need to be ingrained in the prison system so that we don't profile people, but we profile behavior. That is a big distinction.

As far as the release and the reintegration into society, that is just huge. In Los Angeles, we are involved in a parolee release program for integration and rehabilitation and job training, and that is a big part of our whole prevention strategy.

We are faced with early release now because of the economy and the shortfalls. So we are expecting to see 6,000 parolees enter the population, most of which is going to be in Los Angeles. So it is a big concern to us.

Mr. SMITH. I couldn't agree more with Chief Downing.

The way to do it properly so that those individuals who were legitimately practicing their faith, whether it is Islam or another faith—they have to be protected and they have to be given the right to do that.

I mean, I spent my professional career upholding the Constitution. I know the Congresswoman from Texas began her statement

talking about that. I mean, that is something that I hold very dear, obviously, as a career prosecutor.

The consideration has to be education in the correctional institutions of the personnel there so that they can be given behavioral indicators, not who people are, but what they do and how they act, so that they may be able to separate any sort of radical, hijacked, as Chief Downing said, attempt of Islam versus legitimate and true faith.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Dunleavy.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I think, in a correctional facility, that religion is a very positive aspect. It is sort of a calming influence. It also helps the individual to change his life, to have a higher purpose.

In the early Attica riot and also in the Sing Sing riot, Muslim inmates were credited with having prevented additional deaths or injuries to staff. So Islam in prison can have a positive effect. We have to recognize the foreign influences of this ideology, which is different, and the way that that works.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman is expired.

Before I recognize the next Member, I would like to acknowledge in the audience the father of one of our staff members, James Meek. Mr. Meek, I want to tell you your son is doing a good job. After many years as a reporter, he is finally earning an honest living.

[Laughter.]

Chairman KING. I recognize the gentleman from Virginia for 5 minutes.

Mr. RIGELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank all of our panel members for being here today. I first want to comment, I was just a bit surprised and frankly a bit disappointed as well when some Members of our committee are really questioning why we are having this, and it seemed to me that we almost diverged into a discussion about prisons generally. I don't believe that is the focus of our committee.

Our committee is Homeland Security. I think it is entirely appropriate that we are today. I will go where the risk is. I believe other Members of the committee will as well.

So if we need to look at other areas, other groups, I am happy to do that. But I believe that radical Islamists present a real threat. It is appropriate that we examine that today.

Now, I would like to direct my first question to Mr. Downing. Sir, on May 19, the committee staff visited the supermax prison where those al-Qaeda members that have been in civilian prisons are kept and confined.

The staff there observed this, that, at the insistence of the attorney generals of the Department of Justice, that some al-Qaeda prisoners are allowed to have unmonitored conversations with defense attorneys, and that despite repeated requests for available technology that the Bureau of Prisons and FBI have requested, or at least would be available to them, that that technology is not there.

They are unable to monitor conversations between al-Qaeda prisoners during their recreation times.

So, Mr. Downing, do those policies which are not FBI policies—they are not Bureau of Prisons policies, but coming from the Department of Justice. Did they degrade our safety here as Americans, and also for the personnel who work within the prisons?

Chief DOWNING. Well, in terms of this threat, intelligence is absolutely key. We need to create an environment that is hostile to recruitment, to developing this ideology and also to executing plots or planning plots. So I think it does diminish our ability to further understand the planning.

Mr. RIGELL. Thank you.

The second question I would like to direct to Mr. Dunleavy—and thank you again for being here. I want to revisit the letter that was sent to the Chairman recently. Just in part, it states this, “I am a Muslim and I killed, because of Amerika’s”—that is “Amerika’s,” the word spelled A-M-E-R-I-K-A-apostrophe-S—“Amerika’s war on Islam. I am an enemy of the United States.”

So what threshold of speech must be met when a person is a self-declared enemy of the United States, a self-declared person who influences others as an imam? What threshold has to be met before we can isolate that person and keep him or her from influencing others?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think that that statement in itself is the threshold. If you have an individual who is going to identify himself as an enemy of the United States and state that he is at war, then you have to recognize that. You have to know your enemy if you are going to effectively fight him.

Mr. RIGELL. Well, for the record, I am in full agreement. So I trust that this is happening within our prison system that this gentleman—and I was delighted to learn that letter had been sent to the FBI. I hope that he is isolated and there is a serious consequence for the action that he has taken in the letter that he sent and what he stated.

Any person who is to declare themselves to be an enemy of the United States needs to be isolated, certainly within the prison system and maybe further actions.

But I thank all of you for being here today. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The gentle lady from California, Ms. Richardson, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I would like to request that you would accept into the record by unanimous consent a summary of the letters that you submitted into the record, a summary synopsis of the letters that you submitted into the record. Will you accept?

Chairman KING. Yes. Without objection, yes.

[The information follows:]

#### SUMMARY OF INMATE LETTERS SUPPORTING THE MUSLIM RADICALIZATION HEARINGS

- There are 16 letters from 14 individuals.
- Two individuals are convicted right-wing terrorists.
- Two others have threatened to commit acts of terrorism.
- Three individuals are convicted murders, one for killing two police officers on separate occasions and another for killing three people.

Letter No.	Inmate Name	Summary of Letter	Crime Committed	Addl Info.
1 .....	Marcos F. Santiago.	At one point in my life I would have been persuaded by Muslim extremists.	Committed 3 armed hotel robberies a carjacking with a firearm.	"I'm a former extremist!"; he also considered carrying out a 9/11—or Oklahoma City-type attack and tried to convince others to do the same.
2 .....	Ronald Turney Williams.	Praise for Chairman King; requests data on "Islamic attacks".	Murdered a police officer, escaped from prison, and then murdered another police officer; was on the FBI's "10 Most Wanted" list.	
3 .....	Kendrick Hester	Concerned by "private dialogue" of Muslim inmates; has alerted FBI to the "trend".	Bank fraud and ID theft .....	Asking for assistance from Chairman King so that he can "redeem" himself.
4 .....	Jerry Johnson .....	Johnson is sure that the committee's hearings on radicalization are well intentioned.	Two counts of burglary.	
5, 6 ..	Gary W. Bornman (2 letters).	Inmates are radicalizing each other and then being transferred across the country, creating a "Recipe for disaster"; foreign-born terrorists should be separated from the rest of the prison population.	Habitual offender who began committing crimes at 9; in 1999, he wrote to the <i>LA Times</i> , saying, "In little more than 14 months, in all probability I'll commit murder, perhaps even mass murder. That's when I'm due to be released from Federal prison where I'm serving a 7-year sentence for bank robbery".	
7 .....	Andrew S. Tenney.	Radicalization of the prison population has been a problem for a long time; religious conflict is rooted in religious traditions and is inevitable.	Murder, attempted robbery, kidnapping, assault.	
8 .....	Rodney Curtis Hamrick.	Muslim radicalization is a threat to National security; non-Arab Muslim inmates have sought his advice on building IEDs.	While in prison for mailing a bomb to a U.S. Attorney, he attempted to send another improvised explosive device and a powdery substance labeled "anthrax" through the mail.	

9 .....	Robert J. Murrell, Jr.	Has seen radical Muslims in every prison he's been to; has heard Sunni Muslims say that they will bomb the United States even if it pulls out of the Middle East.	Unknown .....	No longer in prison.
10 .....	Robert Perts .....	After 9/11, Muslims in prison were treated like heroes.	Rape.	
11 .....	Phillip Shea .....	Rambling complaint about anti-Americanism in prisons.	Three counts of first-degree murder.	
12, 13	Victor W. Cooper (2 letters).	The prison population provides a pool of underused talent for Muslim extremists.	Child molestation leading to a 60-year prison sentence; converted to orthodox Judaism in prison.	
14 .....	Verne Jay Merrell	Prisons are fertile recruiting grounds for radical Muslims; most inmates are introduced to radical Islam by Louis Farrakhan.	Bombed an abortion clinic as part of a Christian militant group, robbed a bank.	
15 .....	Raymond L. Wales.	A former imam, Wales contends that it is impossible to be American and Muslim, and that anti-Americanism in prison is widespread.	Many, many counts of sexual assault against a minor committed before 1967.	
16 .....	Victor Altheus De Ponceau.	Rambling and largely incoherent .....	Conspiracy.	

Ms. RICHARDSON. All right, what I want to highlight, of the summary of the letters that were submitted, there were 16 letters from 14 individuals submitted. Two of those individuals are convicted of right-wing terrorist activity. Two others have threatened to commit acts of terrorism, and three of the individuals are convicted of murder, one for killing two police officers on separate occasions and another for killing three people.

One was on the FBI's 10 Most Wanted list. One was stated in writing to the *L.A. Times* saying, "In a little more than 14 months, in all I will probably commit murder, perhaps mass murder."

Another one stated, while in prison for mailing a bomb to a U.S. attorney, he attempted to send another improvised explosive device and a powdery substance labeled anthrax.

So what I want to say for the record for us to consider letters from these individuals, I think, is probably questionable in any court of law would be considered.

The second thing, Mr. Dunleavy, according to Webster's dictionary, the definition of radicalization is "the process in which an individual changes from passiveness or activism to become more revolutionary, militant, or extremist."

Would you agree with that Webster's dictionary explanation?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I guess, if Webster has it in his dictionary, it must be correct.

Ms. RICHARDSON. That is right, sir.

So in light of that, I would like to ask you a question about New York. Do you have Asian gangs in New York?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I am sorry, what?

Ms. RICHARDSON. Do you Asian gangs in New York?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I am sorry. I am still—

Ms. RICHARDSON. Do you have Asian gangs in New York?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Do I have agents in New York?

I am not in New York anymore. I am not employed by the department anymore.

Ms. RICHARDSON. When you were, would you say that there are Asian gangs in New York?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Yes, I would say there is.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Would you say there were Mexican gangs in New York?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Probably.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Would you say there are African-American gangs in New York?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Probably.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Would you say there are white supremacist groups in New York?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Absolutely.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Okay. So in light of that, I think the question would really be would you say that those groups kill people? Individuals in those groups that kill people? Yes or no? I only have 2 minutes.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Sure.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Okay. Would you have to say that individuals in those groups are radicalized, in the definition that I just read from Webster's dictionary, that those groups would be in the proc-



ess of individuals changing or had changed from passiveness or activism to become more revolutionary, militant, or extremist?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I think it is a generalization. I mean——

Ms. RICHARDSON. I asked you a question, sir. Would you——

Mr. DUNLEAVY. That was my answer.

Ms. RICHARDSON [continuing]. That some of these groups that we alluded to that exist in prisons have also been radicalized? That is my question.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Again, some of the groups you didn't——

Ms. RICHARDSON. Is your answer yes?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I just said my answer was that it is a generalization.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Okay, I am going to repeat it. My question, sir, because you are here testifying on the record, and you have claimed some sort of knowledge and expertise. So my question is, based in the area that you worked in, would you agree that members of Asian gangs, black gangs, Mexican gangs, and white supremacists have also been radicalized, according to the definition that I read in the Webster's dictionary?

The definition of "radicalized"—I will repeat it again—are individuals who may at one time have been passive or activist who has now become more revolutionary, militant, or extremist in their actions and their ideas. Would you agree to that?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Yes, I would say so.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Okay, thank you, sir.

So then that brings me to the question of my point of what I would like to say about this committee hearing. In California alone, there were 812 gang-related homicides in California in 2007. So I am trying to get the National number as we speak, but I don't have that.

So I would like to say this in light of some of the comments that have been made. I do not disagree that radicalization occurs, according to the definition that I read.

I don't disagree that, as Mr. Dunleavy said, that radicalization, in fact, occurs in prison with various groups. What I disagree with, and I would say again with all due respect to the Chairman, is the scope of this committee only focusing on one particular group.

I actually believe that the focus of one particular group on the basis of race or religion can be deemed as racist and as discriminatory. I would ask for the record in the future that we as a committee—I agree that we need to look at the prisons. I wholeheartedly agree we need to examine all terrorist attacks and threats.

You will have my 100 percent support. But the continued discriminatory, what I believe, of one particular group on the basis of race or religion is flawed and should not be done in the House of Representatives.

I yield back.

Chairman KING. Since the charge is leveled to me, I will take the prerogative of answering.

I disagree 100 percent with the gentle lady. She is entirely wrong.

The fact is this committee was set up to combat terrorism. It was set up after September 11. As the gentleman, Mr. Smith, has testi-

fied there are already procedures in place which followed gangs when they leave prison.

We have the protocols in place for that. Unfortunately, because, in too many instances of political correctness, we do not have protocols in place to follow those who were trained in Jihad in the prisons.

That is why this is unique. I would say to the gentle lady, your party had control of this committee for 4 years. Not one hearing at all, not anything at all involving prisons, on skinheads, on Nazis, on Aryan Nation, white supremacists, at all.

Suddenly, this issue emerges when we start talking about Muslim radicalization. That is the purpose of this committee. We have a Judiciary Committee to deal with the all other issues in the prisons.

I agree, gangs are very important; Aryan Nation's important; neo-Nazis are important. The purpose of this committee is to combat Islamic terrorism because that is the terrorist threat to this country. If we find out that neo-Nazis ally with a foreign power and they are coming to this country, we will investigate it. If we find out that Aryan Nations allied—

Ms. RICHARDSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Chairman KING. No. It is my time.

If we find out that Aryan Nation is allied with the foreign power, we will address it. The fact is we are not going to spread ourselves out, investigate everything, which means investigating nothing. We are going to focus on a target which threatens the security of this Nation. That is why we are doing it without in any way minimizing the other threats. We have committees for that.

Our committee is set up to combat terrorism. That is what we are going to do. With that I yield—

Ms. RICHARDSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Chairman KING. I will not. I will now recognize—

Ms. RICHARDSON [continuing]. White supremacist. Check out the history.

Chairman KING. The fact is, if it was so important, you had 4 years on this committee. Not once was a hearing held into any of those issues.

I recognize the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Bilirakis, for 5 minutes.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for holding this hearing, a very important hearing.

A question for the panel; we have been presented with testimony of radicalization occurring in Los Angeles, Illinois, and New York, the prison systems, among others. The dirty bomber, Jose Padilla, was radicalized, I believe you refer to, and then associated with the radical mosque in my home State of Florida.

Does radicalization associated with prisons seem to be more prominent in particular States, regions, or hot spots? Then also to what extent do facilitators of prison radicalization move among and throughout the various prison systems and areas? What can be done to curb geographic spread of prison radicalization?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I don't think it is contagious to certain cities or certain States. I think it moves Nation-wide. Radicalization, particularly Islamic radical ideology moves throughout. It can work in

a county jail. It can work in the State jail. It can work in the Federal prison.

I think what has to be done is, again, to recognize it as a problem. We call it a problem not because there is 5,000 individuals being converted every 5 minutes or something like that.

It is very selective. It is a process. We have to recognize the process. We have to be able to interrupt the process. We have to be able to have some sort of standards, Nation-wide, in the vetting of clergy.

Mr. SMITH. I would say that the way I look at the issue of prison radicalization that we are talking about here today, it is part of an overall situation that we have been experiencing in this country of homegrown radicalization and domestic Jihadists.

I mean, this is an issue that we once thought was never going to come to our shores, that we were going to have a problem with here, that that was overseas in Great Britain or in Spain or some countries in Europe or overseas.

So that was the thinking then, even around 2005 when we had the JIS case. Certainly, since that time, we have seen that there is a problem of homegrown radicalization and domestic Jihadism in this country. It is not only within the prison walls. It is certainly on the outside and in the communities.

Just as you can have a homegrown Jihadist in any city or any location or State in this country, the same is certainly true in any penal institution, State or Federal, throughout the United States. They are not mutually exclusive. They are part of the same overall evolving threat, in my opinion.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Would you like to respond, sir?

Chief DOWNING. I think you saw in 2009, we had a huge ramp-up in homegrown terrorists. We had 85 individuals involving 13 plots. That signaled the trend that we had. I think in the prison system, we are beginning to establish collection mechanisms for this phenomena. But they are not widespread yet.

I think when we do put those systems in place, we are going to see what we have seen in the outside inside prisons. It is still low-volume. But the issue is high-consequence, very high-consequence and high-intensity for America if we don't address this problem. I think we are on the front end of this problem right now.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Thank you. Anyone else?

Mr. USEEM. Right. I would agree with Mr. Downing. My bottom line is that prisons are fertile grounds for radicalization. You think that in the case of Kevin James, what is not clear is if Kevin James had been outside of prison, whether or not he would have had the same orientation and have been much more capable of acting on it. I believe that is likely to be the case.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to address that point, having prosecuted the case. The issue that we had with Kevin James was that he orchestrated his Jihad plot to target Jewish persons in Southern California and United States military personnel. He quarterbacked the plot. He created the plot from the prison.

So the reality of the danger wasn't whether he was inside or outside the prison. The key take-away from the case is that from prison, he was able to set up and set out the operational cell of would-be Jihadists in the streets of Southern California.

So, there can be no question in my mind as to his commitment to wage that Jihad based on the evidence in the case. Thank you.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I would like to go further on that. With respect to the organization and the ability to operate, Marc Sageman wrote a book, "Leaderless Jihad," talking about the future 21st Century Jihadist, that it lacks leadership or it lacks organizational structure for operations.

When you plug it into a prison that has an ability to communicate, an ability to send messages, an ability to operate beyond the prison walls, it is like a USB port. The committed Jihadist just has to plug his flash drive into it and he can operate.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I don't have any time left, but thank you for holding this important and necessary hearing. I appreciate it.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentleman from Florida.

Before I recognize Ms. Clarke, as I previously mentioned, bipartisan committee staff conducted a site visit to the ADX maximum security facility in Florence, Colorado.

During the visit, the chaplain of the facility provided the staff, the bipartisan staff, a 6-page list cataloguing all the Nation of Islam videos housed in the library of the ADX facility. It includes titles of 305 videos, the vast majority of which feature Louis Farrakhan.

According to the ADX prison officials, often these videos are shown to inmates as part of the institution's Islamic prayer service. I am asking unanimous consent the document be included in the record.

However, because the document is designated as law enforcement-sensitive, I would ask that it be included in an annex to the hearing record that reflects this sensitivity.

Without objection, so ordered.

With that, I recognize my friend from New York, from Brooklyn, which has come up in this debate. I went to high school and college in Brooklyn, and spent many of my younger years, probably long before Ms. Clarke was around, I was roaming the streets of Brooklyn.

I recognize the gentle lady for 5 minutes.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you to our panelists for bringing your expertise to bear on this very important topic.

I share some of the sentiments that you have heard from my colleagues on this side of the aisle and I will share with you where I am having a little bit of difficulty. It has to do with the definition of terrorism. I understand the specific terrorism that we are talking about with regards to radical Islam, and the purview of this committee, which is homeland security overall.

My concern is that we don't minimize the terrorism that many communities face due to gangs in this Nation. In some of the response that I have heard, it kind of made it seem as though garden variety gang activity does not translate into terrorism.

I would like us to not lose sight of that. While I understand the purview of this hearing, for us to minimize what has happened—I mean, why have a war on drugs, which is the purview of Home-

land Security, if we don't see these criminal enterprises as undermining our nation.

So, I would like to assert that because I think that there is some convergence in the prison culture that breeds the type of challenges that we see in our civil society, whether it is the radicalization of an individual through a religious means or through a violent organization family crime means.

I would like us not to lose sight of that, because I think it is going to be important that we address it comprehensively in our pursuit of thwarting any type of radicalization that comes from those individuals who are practicing Prislam, as you have stated.

My question to you would be: What percentage of individuals have you been able to identify at this stage? I don't know if there is any National movement to identify individuals who are likely, given the profile of activities, that would be inclined to get involved in some sort of international plot.

Mr. Dunleavy.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I don't think you can put a number on it. I would say it is a very select, small group. Again, we mentioned the Senate report where it said there were as many as 36 ex-inmates in Yemen in training.

How many ex-inmates are there in society? There is probably hundreds of thousands.

So, there are only 36. We are looking at a filtering process that takes it down. But the committed Jihadist only one needs one to strap on and to blow up and to create the most damage. So, numbers is kind of a misnomer in trying to understand the situation.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Let me say then that, if it only takes one, would we find some parallels then to massive gang recruitment and the taking of life over time in various communities?

The numbers of individuals, families, communities that have been disrupted; how do we balance out, I guess, our mentality around the difference between someone who can do one single solitary act and wipe out 3,000 people, say in New York, or that ongoing killing that is taking place by individuals who have been formerly incarcerated that continue to recruit in communities around the Nation?

Chief DOWNING. There is no question that gangs pose a serious danger to communities; however, there is a big distinction.

I come from Los Angeles. It is known as the gang capital of the United States, where we had 60 to 70 percent of the homicides were gang-related. There is no doubt that it occurs.

The distinction and the difference is, when you hear people refer to gangs as urban terrorists, it is not terrorists in the sense that we know terrorists, in that their intent is not to target innocent civilians or wage war on our country.

Innocent civilians occasionally get hit by gunfire.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Occasionally?

Chief DOWNING. But that is not the target. That is not their intent. It is usually about territorial imperative. It is about controlling narcotics. It is about maintaining their gang status in their communities and neighborhoods.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. I would beg to differ. Let me just close. Because if we see this process as an isolated community issue, then

we lose the point that these are Americans, right? This is an Americans threat.

I think that, you know, we have got to reorient ourselves if we are going to, in fact, get a handle of this type of activity in our Nation.

The types of dollars that we are spending fighting the war on crime, if we continue to see this as an isolated individual who ends up with collateral damage in a community, then we never really get to dealing with it adequately.

Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to ask Mr. Rigell, I believe is his name, or Rigell—ask our panelist whether the prison yard of the Supermax prison in Colorado was monitored. I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman, if you would join us in a letter to really get to the bottom of whether, in fact, the response we received with that is as accurate as it should have been.

Chairman KING. Show me the letter and I would certainly consider signing it, absolutely.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, gentlemen.

Chairman KING. The gentle lady's time has expired. I am sure that Members on this side of the aisle are as concerned as anyone about gangs.

Certainly Mr. Lungren has spent a career investigating and prosecuting gangs.

With that, I recognize the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, one of our leading Members of the freshman class, Mr. Duncan.

Mr. DUNCAN. Thank you Mr. Chairman. Thank you for having this hearing inviting such distinguished panelists.

I want to take an opportunity to thank the administration for working with you on this issue. They recognize the radicalization process.

According to the website, a news story today, that the Obama administration has been working with you to address this issue, and notes that Secretary Napolitano is setting up a task force to look in the radicalization in the prisons. So, it is a real issue.

It is amazing that we can talk about the gang activity in prisons, but it seems to be off-limits to talk about radicalization within the prisons when it comes to the Muslim community.

I am reminded as I look around this committee room, and I invite all the guests here today to look at the pictures on the walls. Remember that we are fighting, as a Nation, an ideology that really seeks to overthrow us as a Nation, that attacked the freedoms that we have here in this country.

So, with that, I will get in to my line of questioning here. The 9/11 Commission report recommended that the U.S. Government efforts to communicate and defend American ideals in the Islamic world be as strong as they were in combating closed societies during the Cold War.

Ronald Reagan once said that the ultimate determinant in this struggle now going on for the world "will not be bombs and rockets, but a test of wills and ideas, a trial of spiritual resolve, the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish and the ideals to which we are dedicated."

I am concerned about the distribution of radical materials within the prisons and the mosques. If we continue to allow the Jihadist literature to propagandize the hearts and minds of American people in the mosques and in the prisons, with their extremist ideology, we will not succeed in today's current test, as Reagan said, "wills and ideals".

My question really revolves around that distribution of the material. I can go on and talk about the Middle East forum which did a poll that looked at the Jihadist-based literature, the presence of violent-type literature within those prisons and in the mosques.

But that would take a little while to go into all the percentages. But it is very evident. I would be glad to provide that to the panelists.

So my question is, I guess, is to Mr. Smith: Can you explain the challenges that correction officials face from extremist literature being introduced in the prison environment? Just a follow-up for that, are all these materials protected by the First Amendment, if you could explain that?

Mr. SMITH. Well, this is America. We have a first amendment. We have a freedom of speech and a freedom of religion.

So, you have two different issues. You are dealing with the outside and then you are dealing with the prisons. Obviously prisons, because of security reasons, are going to have much more restricted environment.

I will leave it to prison officials or those with the experience inside the corrections department to talk about those challenges.

I look at it from an investigative standpoint. If an individual in a correctional institution possesses these types of radical material, it is actually, in a way, an investigative benefit, because that person is then self-identifying as someone that bears further inspection, and someone that can be monitored by the correctional staff.

I mean, the reality is just possessing a CD with Anwar Awlaki sermons on them is not a crime. So, while it can be monitored and restricted because of the prison environment, we have to look at it in an overall situation as a potentially behavioral indicator that we may have someone that is on that path to radicalization and that may present a security threat and that may bear further inspection and further monitoring.

Mr. DUNCAN. Do you, do you not agree that the presence of that material, and along with Louis Farrakhan's sermons entitled, "Which One Will You Choose, the Flag of Islam or the Flag of America?"—would you not agree that they don't lead down the path of some of those radicalization behavior?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I am not going to make that broad a statement. I am a prosecutor. So I take a look at evidence and facts.

So I am not going to give a broad policy opinion as to what that can or cannot signify. I do think, with respect to radical, violent radical Jihadist literature, while it is not a crime, in and of itself, to possess, it can be a behavior indicator. That is something that we need to inspect further. I have to leave my answer at that.

Mr. DUNCAN. In the remaining time, any of the other panelists like to comment on that?

Chief DOWNING. I would just offer that, on the other side of the coin, we should create opportunities for the pure, good part of this,

to be in the religion, such as the NGOs. There is an NGO by the name of Ani Zonneveld who does the Muslims for Progressive Values.

This is what they say, "Values are guided by 10 principles of Islam, rooted in Islam, including social equality, separation of religion and state, freedom of speech, women's rights, gay rights, and critical analysis and interpretation."

She and her organization have been trying to get into the prison system to give this literature as written by Islamic academic scholars. So I think there can be more efforts on this front as well.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. If I could say something about the literature, you can look in New York State and you can see literature sent from a company by the name of Halalco Books. Halalco Books is located in Falls Church, Virginia. It is connected to the mosque where al-Awlaki attended. Also they have been selling his literature.

It makes its way to prisons. You can look and see literature mailed directly from Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, into inmates in New York State. You can see literature sent from Tehran, in Iran, sent directly to inmates in New York State.

The problem is there is a media review committee that is supposed to look over the literature. Well, one of the person that sits on the media review committee is the chaplain. So again, we get back, if the chaplain that is not properly vetted, who is watching this? Who is looking at this literature?

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Richmond, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RICHMOND. Thank you Mr. Chairman. I started. It is a simple question but, we talked about our prison systems. In Louisiana, I had the privilege to be chair of judiciary, which we had jurisdiction over our prisons.

Would you say that the overwhelming population of our prisons, the fact that they are overcrowded and all those things, is a hindrance to effective enforcement and monitoring of inmates, and really allows for things to go unnoticed?

We talked about conducting and organizing a terrorist front from prison. But we also have reaching out and intimidating witnesses, killing witnesses. So do you think that the overcrowded population in prisons, therefore, breeds that type of activity, because we don't have the resources to monitor effectively?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I think that if you talk to prison administrators, their No. 1 goal is to manage the system, to manage the system, reduce assault on staff, reduce the assault on inmate to inmate, reduce escapes and theft. So that is their first priority.

They are not looking at the individual who could be a good inmate but is also a Jihadist. He is well-behaved. He doesn't cause a problem. So why would you look at that?

You are looking for the assault. You are looking for the drug dealer. You are looking for somebody who is doing that.

Mr. RICHMOND. Right. I guess the question is: Are we spreading our resources too thin when we have overcrowding in our prison systems, to effectively monitor the things that we are talking about today?



Mr. USEEM. We may have too many inmates in prison. There has been a tremendous buildup in the prison population over the last 25 years.

There has also been a sharp increase in crime. That is apparently attributable to that buildup. But we may be at that point where reductions in inmate population would not increase the crime rate. Prisons become more manageable at that point.

But, you know, I think the key thing, the thing driving all of this is good leadership and good management within the correctional agencies. That has improved tremendously in the last 20 years.

Mr. RICHMOND. The next question, I think it was Mr. Dunleavy who mentioned—or maybe it might have been Mr. Smith, who talked about the issue we are dealing with today is exponentially greater. I guess that my numbers show that we had 16,000 murders in the United States in 2008, 15,000 in 2009.

So as we talk about the number of murders—and Congresswoman Clarke talked about it. You know, I just hope that we are not being desensitized to the victims of murder in the United States as opposed to who they are because now you see in newspapers and print media all across the country, to make us feel better about it, we always say he was the intended target. He may not have lived the right life.

What was alluded to earlier was the fact that when we talk about the crime rate, we talk about terrorism, depending on the definition that you use, that is one of my concerns.

Because where I am and in most urban cities, our weapons of mass destruction is the AK-47, M-716, Uzi, Tec-9, and all of those assault weapons that are able to harm a lot of people at one time, which includes innocent victims.

So I would just want to stress that we don't let the victims and their perceived lifestyle or actual lifestyle desensitize us to the fact that 15,000 people were murdered in the country last year.

But I thank you all for what you are doing. I think what you are doing is incredibly important. I think that this is an important issue.

I think radicalization and what we are doing in our prison system should be a concern. It is a homeland security concern when you talk about what happens when they get out.

Let us take Louisiana. We release 15,000 people from prison every year. Fifty percent go back. That is 7,500 crimes we know that will be committed. So, to the extent that we can't do anything on the front end to prevent those 7,500 crimes that we know are going to happen, then I think that that is something we can also look to work with our prison systems to make sure that we are just as effective.

So no matter what the title of the hearing is, it doesn't concern me. What concerns me is the result that comes out of it. That is what is important. Even opening myself up to a lecture from my Chairman on what the Democrats did or didn't do in the last 4 years, I think that the message that was given last election is let us look forward. Let us continue to work.

So thank you all for what you do. Hopefully, we can broaden the conversation to make sure that people getting out, we reduce the recidivism rate, and all of those things, to make sure people coming

out of prison, no matter who they are, what religion they are, what race they are, or anything else, are not a threat to hardworking American citizens.

So thank you.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentleman. His time has expired.

Now moving forward, we go to the gentleman from Alabama, the distinguished subcommittee Chairman, Mr. Rogers.

Mr. ROGERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I thank all of you for your testimony. It has been very helpful. It has been a very productive hearing.

Mr. Dunleavy, to your knowledge, do extremist groups and foreign governments sponsor the travel of prison imams and released prisoners to countries such as Saudi Arabia and Yemen?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. I do know that foreign governments have provided funds for New York State chaplains, Islamic chaplains, to travel to Saudi Arabia for Hajj. How that money specifically made its way to the public servant, I believe it went through an Islamic organization within the United States. I don't think it was a check directly from the Saudi bank right to imam so and so.

With respect to the inmates who traveled overseas, that is a little bit more elusive. I know of an individual who went from New York State to an Islamic center in Florida and then from there, as soon as his parole supervision was released, he jumped off to three different flights to Egypt and to Saudi Arabia and to Yemen. Where the funds came for that is cloudy.

Mr. ROGERS. This would be for Mr. Dunleavy, as well as Mr. Smith or any others. Is it true that members of at least three domestic terrorist recruit plots, the Lackawanna Six, Portland Seven, and the Virginia "Paintball" plots, all had contacts with prisoners in New York prison system?

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Yes, it is. In the Lackawanna case, there were individuals directly tied to those Lackawanna Six who were also visiting inmates and taking phone calls from inmates in New York State.

With respect to the Virginia case and with respect to the Oregon case, names of inmates and Islamic clergy, I believe, were found on hard drives by those individuals.

Mr. ROGERS. Great. I would like to ask each one of you to briefly answer this. What would you individually like to see become the work product that results from this hearing?

We will start with you, professor.

Mr. USEEM. Well, I think the first thing is the mission of the hearing is something that I agree with—

Mr. ROGERS. Well, but other than raising awareness, obviously—

Mr. USEEM. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS [continuing]. The Chairman is doing a good job with that, with this. But I would think that we all are looking for some statutory changes and behavioral changes.

Mr. USEEM. No, I think one thing is, more than just awareness, we need specific knowledge on practices. I think we have had conversation of—you have had conversation about this, but we know anecdotes. We know isolated incidents.

What we don't have is a general overview. We don't have sufficient information on practices. I think it would be very good if the committee would move in that direction.

Mr. ROGERS. Like some sort of a study?

Mr. USEEM. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS. Objective. Mr. Downing.

Chief DOWNING. Yes, I agree. I think an assessment of what is in place at this time with the regulations and policies and support, that assessment would be helpful. Then from there, create a blueprint and a roadmap of the way ahead.

Accredited, qualified, vetted spiritual advisers, a process to do that, on where it is about contemporary America not about the Middle East. They are creating universities across the Nation to train American imams in the context of what it is to have American-Muslim identity. That is important.

The material that comes in to the institution is critically important, with an eye toward prevention of violent radicalization. Then better monitoring of meetings, to ensure they are meetings and not a ruse for some other type of activity.

Mr. ROGERS. Excellent.

Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I would echo the sentiments of both these gentlemen. I mean, I think what needs to be done is from the State correctional institutions in the 50 States of the United States of America, an assessment of what type of investigative and intelligence sharing apparatus that exist among the institutions in each of those States on this issue needs to be assessed. I mean, that is ground zero.

Once that assessment is done, a panel of people that have the experience and the know-how to be able to produce a document that might give some best practices that should be followed by the institution, so that we can monitor the threat and we can prevent any particular violent attacks on the outside of these prison walls.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Dunleavy, you are batting clean up.

Mr. DUNLEAVY. Well, I think the first thing you have to do is you have to recognize that it is a viable threat. I think, again, going with my colleagues, that the methodology and the collection of data have to be standardized so that we can look across the board, so that the way New York is recording its conversion or the way New York is recording its visitors or its literature is the same as California, Florida, Illinois.

There has to be standardization in data collection.

Mr. ROGERS. Excellent.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate it.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Let me thank all the witnesses. I think it has been a terrific hearing. All of you, all four of you, I thought gave extremely valuable testimony.

I think Mr. Rogers' question at the end sort of sets the tone. We have to go from here. We have to, I think, assemble information, documentation, so we can get some positive results from the hearing, certainly as far as setting some sort of standardization.

So I want to thank you for your testimony. The Members of the committee may have some additional questions. We will ask you to respond to those in writing, if you will.

The hearing record will be held open for 10 days. Without objection, the committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

**AL-SHABAAB: RECRUITMENT AND  
RADICALIZATION WITHIN THE MUSLIM  
AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND THE THREAT  
TO THE HOMELAND**

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**Wednesday, July 27, 2011**

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:06 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Peter T. King [Chairman of the committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives King, Lungren, Rogers, McCaul, Bilirakis, Broun, Miller, Walberg, Cravaack, Meehan, Quayle, Long, Duncan, Marino, Thompson, Sanchez, Jackson Lee, Cuellar, Clarke of New York, Richardson, Davis, Richmond, Clarke of Michigan, and Hochul.

Also present: Representative Green.

Chairman KING. The Committee on Homeland Security will come to order.

The committee is meeting today to hear testimony on the efforts of al-Shabaab to recruit and radicalize the Muslim American community.

The Chairman wishes to remind our guests today that demonstrations from the audience, including the use of signs, placards, and t-shirts, as well as verbal outbursts are violations of the Rules of the House.

The Chairman wishes to thank our guests for their cooperation in maintaining order and proper decorum.

Let me also before I begin my opening statement thank the Ranking Member for being willing to accommodate the change in the timing of the hearing this morning. It was originally scheduled for 9:30. Because of the Republican conference going on regarding the debt ceiling, we pushed it back to 10:00 o'clock and the Ranking Member was kind enough to accept that change without requiring us to jump through any hoops or using any procedural moves.

So Bennie, I thank you once again for your cooperation.

Good morning. Today we hold the third in a series of hearings on radicalization in the Muslim American community. Our focus is the result of a lengthy investigation the committee has conducted into the threat the U.S. homeland faces from al-Shabaab, the Somalia affiliate of Osama bin-Laden's al-Qaeda and Anwar al-Awlaki's al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, AQAP. The committee

has been briefed by intelligence agencies, and we have interviewed dozens of experts on al-Shabaab.

I want to welcome our distinguished panel of witnesses, all four witnesses. They have some of the most extensive insights into the problems uncovered by our committee's investigation, and we are grateful they are sharing their knowledge with us today.

You will hear how al-Shabaab, who bin-Laden called, "one of the most important armies of Islam," is engaged in an on-going successful effort to recruit and radicalize dozens of Muslim American jihadis who pose a direct threat to the United States.

Some argue that al-Shabaab is only a Somali problem and the group will never strike outside the Horn of Africa region. That kind of thinking is a glaring example of what the 9/11 commission called a failure of imagination. With al-Shabaab's large cadre of American Jihadis and unquestionable ties to al-Qaeda, particularly its alliance with AQAP, we must face the reality that al-Shabaab is a growing threat to our homeland.

Our investigation into this threat has led to some alarming findings, notably that al-Shabaab has successfully recruited and radicalized more than 40 Muslim Americans and 20 Canadians who joined the terror group inside Somalia. Of those, at least 15 Americans and 3 Canadians are believed to have been killed fighting with al-Shabaab. Not al-Qaeda nor any of its affiliates have come close to drawing so many Muslim Americans and Westerners to jihad.

Three Muslim Americans became suicide bombers, such as Shuja Ahmed from Minneapolis, the first confirmed American suicide bomber in our history. There are also radicalized converts like al-Shabaab Commander Omar Hammami, who was raised a Baptist in Alabama, and who has repeatedly threatened the U.S. homeland.

Three American al-Shabaab fighters have been arrested after returning home, and one was collared in the Netherlands. Other radicalized Muslims have been arrested in the United States and Canada before they reached Somalia, which is now much easier to go to for jihad, than Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, or Yemen,

But as many as two dozen Muslim Americans of al-Shabaab, who in many cases were trained by al-Qaeda leaders, remain unaccounted for. The committee has found that al-Shabaab-related Federal prosecutions for funding, recruiting, and attempting to join al-Shabaab are the largest number and most significant upward trend in homegrown terror cases filed by the Justice Department over the past 2 years.

At least 38 cases have been unsealed since 2009 in Minnesota, Ohio, California, New Jersey, New York, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Virginia, and Texas. Al-Shabaab is recruiting inside American mosques in Somali communities like Minneapolis and San Diego, according to the Justice Department.

This month an al-Shabaab recruiter pleaded guilty to recruiting a large group of Muslims in Minneapolis at mosques, and without any known protests by mosque leaders. A top al-Shabaab leader in Somalia supervised this recruiting.

One Minnesotan recruited was suicide bomber Shirwa Ahmed, whose 2008 attack in northern Somalia sent a shockwave of alarm

through U.S. Homeland Security agencies because of its implications.

Another would-be bomber from Minneapolis was shot and killed in Mogadishu by peacekeeping troops on May 30, moments before detonating his suicide vest. When one cleric spoke out against al-Shabaab inside the Minneapolis mosque, where many of the missing young Somali American men had once worshipped, he was physically assaulted, according to police.

Now for those who are still skeptical that there are jihadi sympathizers inside their community, it is worth mentioning that the committee learned of this mosque assault when an audiotape of the incident was posted on an overseas jihadi internet forums before the authorities in Minneapolis even knew about the incident.

There is an enormous amount of travel by Somali Americans between U.S. cities and East Africa, and most of this travel is legitimate. Yet senior U.S. counter-terror officials have told the committee they are very concerned about individuals they have not identified who have fallen in with al-Shabaab during trips to Somalia, who then would return to the United States undetected.

They fear an al-Shabaab fighter operating under law enforcement's radar, someone like Zazi—the attempted subway bomber in New York, Shahzad—the attempted Times Square bomber in New York, and Abdulmutallab—the Christmas day bomber, may attempt to attack here.

It is deeply troubling that from the very beginning Muslim Americans in Somalia were trained by top al-Qaeda operatives, including several who were tied to Yemen's al-Qaeda AQAP, which is now generally considered our biggest homeland threat.

Al-Shabaab operative Ahmed Warsame was charged this month for doing weapons deals and explosive trainings with AQAP in Yemen and quotes to provide AQAP with materiel support, including personnel, linked between AQAP and al-Shabaab.

Al-Shabaab has long harbored top al-Qaeda leaders, such as the mastermind of the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in East Africa, who was gunned down last month in Somalia after a 13-year manhunt. Al-Shabaab has paraded in Somalia in support of AQAP, and sent fighters to battle the weakened Yemeni government this year, as well as flying the battle flag of al-Qaeda in Iraq.

Finally, an al-Shabaab bombing in neighboring Uganda 1 year ago targeting Westerners, killed 74 people including one American. James Clapper, President Obama's director of national intelligence, said, "vigilant that al-Shabaab may expand its focus from fighting to control Somalia to plotting to attack the U.S. homelands."

That convinced me of the necessity to launch a careful examination of that threat. Dozens of experts the committee staff interviewed agree this threat is real, and that al-Shabaab's leaders' public calls for attacks against America, including in retaliation for killing bin-Laden, must be taken seriously.

Just yesterday Matthew Olsen, the President's nominee to take over the National Counterterrorism Center, focused on al-Shabaab and said what a major threat they are to the world and to our country. With a large group of Muslim Americans willing to die as martyrs, and a strong operational partnership with al-Qaeda lead-

ers in Pakistan and Yemen, al-Shabaab now has more capability than ever to strike the U.S. homelands.

We look forward to a hearing about the rising al-Shabaab threats from our exceptional witnesses, as well as the Minority's distinguished witness.

Finally, let me note that certain elements of the politically correct media, most egregiously, the vacuous ideologues at the *New York Times*, are shamelessly attempting to exploit the horrific tragedy in Norway last Friday to cause me to re-focus these hearings away from Muslim American radicalization.

If they even had a semblance of intellectual honesty, the *Times* and the others would know and admit that there is no equivalency in the threat to our homelands from a deranged gunman, and the international terror apparatus of al-Qaeda and its affiliates, such as al-Shabaab, who are recruiting people in this country and have murdered thousands of Americans in the jihad attacks.

Let me make this clear to the *New York Times* and their acolytes in the politically correct moral equivalency media. I will not back down from holding these hearings. I will continue to hold these hearings so long as I am the Chairman of this committee. Apart from all the strategic and moral reasons why these hearings are vital to our security, they are also liberating and empowering to the many Muslim Americans who have been intimidated by the leaders in their own communities, and are now willing and able to come forward.

I also owe it to all the friends, neighbors, and constituents I lost on September 11. I will not back down.

Now I yield to the distinguished Ranking Member from Mississippi, Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I welcome our panel of witnesses to today's hearing.

Today the committee will hold a third hearing in a series of terrorism and American Muslim community. In previous hearings we have heard testimony about young Americans of Somali descent who left this country to join al-Shabaab, a Somali group that has been designated a foreign terrorist organization by the Department of State.

Our discussion of al-Shabaab in America must begin with the facts. Reliable evidence indicate a small but concerning number of young men have left America to join this group. This activity seemed to occur primarily between 2007 and 2009. Al-Shabaab has fewer than 3,000 members. Al-Shabaab has never attacked the United States or U.S. interests abroad.

There are other facts we must not ignore. Somalia is currently in the grips of the worst humanitarian crisis in a generation. Against Somalia's backdrop of human suffering caused by a natural disaster is the political instability caused by human folly. Somalia has not had a stable government since 1991. It has long been ruled by a family of groups and clans, unfortunately, al-Shabaab is one ingredient in this toxic and tragic mix.

While I acknowledge that the intelligence community sees the need to monitor al-Shabaab activities, I also know that vigilance must be in direct proportion to the probability and likelihood of the



threat. Al-Shabaab does not appear to present any danger to this homeland.

At the same time, we must wonder whether Americans who have joined al-Shabaab would return to this country and commit acts of terrorism. I think that is a fair question that deserves a factual answer. A few people have been convicted in the United States for providing support and assistance to al-Shabaab.

Many of the young men who were recruited by al-Shabaab have been indicted. Most remain fugitives in Somalia. Some have been killed. But what of the others? When they return from Somalia, what will await them here? As Members of this committee know, we cannot discuss methods in an open forum, but it is fair to say that most of these people will be identified and apprehended long before they touch down on American soil.

We must also wonder how we can stop young Somali Americans from joining al-Shabaab. The Democratic witness will give a boots-on-the-ground perspective on how we can promote inclusion of the new immigrant communities, decrease alienation, and undermine radicalization. The threat of al-Shabaab radicalizing young Americans is a problem we can constructively address.

Mr. Chairman, today marks the third time that this committee has taken up our latest links between terrorism and the American Muslim community. Before these hearings began I requested their focus be broadened to include a look at the real and present threat of domestic violent extremism. Those requests have been rebuffed.

At our first hearing on this subject uprisings had begun throughout North Africa and the Middle East. At that time, I cautioned to remember how our words would reverberate beyond this room. It bears repeating today.

Last week in Norway, a domestic terrorist fueled by anti-Islamic ideology waged a multi-phased attack that included bombing Federal buildings, and shooting children at point-blank range at a summer camp for future national leaders. This lone wolf extremist killed nearly 80 people in his anti-Islamic fervor. It is too early to say what the people of Norway will take from this horrific national tragedy. But for me, this incident makes plain that the madness of terrorism cannot be neatly confined to any one religion, one people, or one nation.

Let me repeat what I said before we began. This committee needs to examine the threat from lone wolves in our midst.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

Chairman KING. I thank the Ranking Member. I would just remind the Ranking Member that you were Chairman of this committee for 4 years and you had the opportunity to hold any of those hearings if you thought there was such a distinct threat to the United States.

I have said that whenever we can get intelligence that there is an organized threat against our country which cannot be met by the FBI or other law enforcement agencies, we would conduct a hearing. But I don't think the acts by a lone deranged gunman who hates Muslims and kills Christians in Norway is any reflection on this committee, or has anything to do with the hearings we are conducting here today or in the future. But I will certainly keep an open mind.

Now, Mr. Chairman, our good friend Mr. Green is here. Before we ask unanimous consent to allow him to sit on the dais—and we are going to allow him to sit. He has purpose for the questions of the hearing. I would ask my friend Mr. Green and our Ranking Member Thompson whether there is any effort to assign Mr. Green to the committee on a permanent basis?

This will be the ninth time during the Congress that unanimous consent has been requested. I will note there is still a vacancy on the Minority side, and while we love his interloping visits to the committee, is there any Member—any thoughts—on the issue whether he is going to be a permanent resident, or he is going to have a green card, or what his—yes, what his purpose is as a member of this committee?

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, he is an interested Member of Congress who, as you know, served dutifully as a Member of this committee in the Majority. Given the difference in the numbers, he had to leave. But nonetheless, his appearance before the committee clearly reflects his interest in the subject.

Chairman KING. Okay. I think I would just advise the Ranking Member that, you know, there is a vacancy on your side, and I can't think of anyone more qualified or more distinguished to fill that vacancy than Mr. Green. So if my recommendation means anything, I would recommend him.

Without a doubt, I ask unanimous consent to allow Mr. Green to sit on the dais today.

Without objection, so ordered.

Also, I would ask unanimous consent, I believe we made this available to you, a letter that the committee received from the Antidefamation League. I would like to have that also inserted into the record.

Without objection, so ordered.

[The information follows:]

LETTER FROM THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY  
CHAIRMAN PETER T. KING

JULY 25, 2011.

*House Committee on Homeland Security, United States House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC 20515.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: In advance of the July 27 House Committee on Homeland Security hearings on “Al-Shabaab: Recruitment and Radicalization within the Muslim American Community and the Threat to the Homeland,” we write to provide the committee with the Anti-Defamation League’s views on this issue. As you know, the League has been investigating, tracking, and reporting on a very wide range of international and domestic extremist and terrorist threats to the safety and security of Americans for decades.

As this committee and the Congress continue to examine the nature of the current threat to our nation, the Anti-Defamation League hopes to play an on-going, helpful, and constructive role by continuing to offer its expertise in documenting that domestic and international terror threats from across the ideological spectrum. ADL has documented on-going, dangerous, criminal activities of a variety of extremist and anti-government groups that also merit the committee’s attention.

Finally, we believe these hearings—and any that come after them—should acknowledge and highlight the extraordinary, successful efforts of Federal, State, and local law enforcement officials to prevent and deter terrorism on our shores since September 11, 2001. But police and counterterrorism officials do not work in a vacuum; they cannot do their job without community relationships, trust, community cooperation, and a shared sense of responsibility for public safety. Congress should do all in its power to promote trust, reject unfair stereotyping, and encourage stronger

relationships to counter attempts by international terrorist organizations to recruit disaffected or alienated Americans.

Sincerely,

ROBERT G. SUGERMAN,  
*National Chair.*

ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN,  
*National Director.*

Chairman KING. Again, Ranking Member Thompson, thank you for your opening statement. Other Members of the committee are reminded that opening statements may be submitted for the record. [The statements of Hon. Richardson and Hon. Ellison follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HONORABLE LAURA RICHARDSON

JULY 26, 2011

Today Chairman King is convening a hearing today focused on possible al-Shabaab-inspired recruitment and radicalization efforts taking place within the Muslim American Community. While I believe the threat of radicalization in any form needs to be appropriately addressed in order to ensure the security of this Nation, I strongly believe the scope of these hearings should be broadened to include other forms of radicalization.

While I continue to believe that the scope of these hearings needs to be broadened, I do realize that the threat that al-Shabaab poses to the Somali American community is troubling and must be addressed. Decades of political instability, food insecurity, violence, and poverty in Somalia have provided fertile ground for chaos. This has contributed to an environment in which terrorist organizations such as al-Shabaab have been allowed to flourish and gain power. Their control over the region was first realized in 2006 and 2007, when they recruited and radicalized approximately 30 to 40 young Somali Americans who traveled to Somalia to join al-Shabaab's efforts to overthrow Somalia's Transitional Federal Government.

Unlike al-Qaeda, it has not been reported to this committee that al-Shabaab has engaged in a direct attack on our homeland. Additionally, the scope of the hearing fails to take into account the message we are sending to the international community when we couch the terms of the hearing as only focused on "Muslim Radicalization." The risk that our committee's actions could stoke anti-Muslim attitudes throughout the world is very real. Within the international community, these sentiments were most recently exemplified in the recent terrorist attacks that occurred in Norway.

The terrorist attacks that occurred on Friday, July 22 were the most devastating and lethal attacks to occur in the country of Norway since World War II. The bombing and subsequent shootings resulted in at least 76 deaths with dozens more injured. While the investigation is still on-going, officials have learned that the suspect, Anders Behring Breivik, could have been inspired by a manifesto he posted on the internet which contained militant, anti-Islamic, and anti-immigration views that argued for the violent annihilation of Islam and multiculturalism from Europe.

This committee must be careful in the documents, hearings, and messages we are sending to the international community. Thus, it is essential that this committee look at the broader picture when assessing future homeland security threats.

Part of looking at the broader picture includes looking at what we are currently doing to combat homeland security threats. According to Mr. Smith's testimony, the St. Paul Police department heavily rely on the Bureau of Justice assistance grant designated AIMCOP—the African Immigrant Muslim Community Outreach Program. This grant allows his department to capitalize on existing efforts to interact with the local Somali American community and work with the community to prevent further radicalization. This strategy, which was also successfully implemented by Sheriff Baca in my district and throughout Los Angeles County, is a proven strategy that works and one this committee should adhere to.

I concur that the Homeland Security Committee should discuss:

- (a) the potential threat to the Homeland posed by the Somali terrorist organization al-Shabaab, and
- (b) the alleged recruitment of American citizens (not limited by race or religion) by al-Shabaab.

However, to date, the majority of this committee has not secured a single Federal official or other objective recognized authority to legitimize a discussion on the al-

leged limited scope and insinuations that only activity of Muslim Americans should be investigated or warrant discussion.

I would like to reiterate that the threats and activities of al-Shabaab are real and should be investigated by this committee. However, the continued limited scope is insufficient and discriminatory and thus unacceptable.

Thank you and I yield back my time.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF HONORABLE KEITH ELLISON

JULY 27, 2011

Chairman King, thank you for allowing me to submit this statement to the Congressional Record. I also thank Ranking Member Thompson.

At a prior hearing of this committee on radicalization on March 10, 2011, I made three points in my testimony. First, violent radicalization and domestic terrorism are very serious issues that must be understood and addressed by Congress. Second, any analysis of violent radicalization that is based upon stereotypes and generalizations regarding a particular ethnic group is, by definition, a flawed approach to this important issue. Committee hearings that target a particular religious minority are counterproductive because they undermine trust between the Government and the affected community. My prior testimony noted that we—policy makers and law enforcement officials—need increased understanding and engagement with Muslim Americans at all levels of government.

Violent radicalization and domestic terrorism are serious issues of National security. I voted for *The Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act of 2007* and am working on a revised version of this bill. Last summer I gave a lecture at the Center for American Progress titled “Strengthening America’s Security: Identifying Preventing and Responding to Domestic Terrorism.” My Congressional office has worked extensively with law enforcement officials to thwart al-Shabaab’s recruiting efforts in the Twin Cities. Saint Paul Police Chief Tom Smith is an ally in this effort and I thank him for his well-informed testimony.

Mr. Chairman, your statement announcing this hearing indicated that there “has not been sufficient cooperation from mosque leaders.” Respectfully, I submit that this view is not fully informed. My personal involvement in this issue in my home city and the experience of law enforcement lead me to a different conclusion. According to a U.S. Department of Homeland Security official who works with Somali communities on a daily basis, “Relations between law enforcement agencies and the Somali communities throughout the country have never been better.” That is certainly true in my Congressional district. Minneapolis Mayor R.T. Rybak recently told me that he was able to solve several high-profile crimes only because Somali community members voluntarily came forward in a spirit of cooperation to share information with the police.

This year Somali American youth in the Twin Cities participated in two large summits to build bridges with the Department of Homeland Security; the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Transportation Security Administration; Immigration and Customs Enforcement; Customs and Border Protection; the Minneapolis Police Department; the St. Paul Police Department and the U.S. Attorney for Minnesota B. Todd Jones. Moreover, U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder visited the Twin Cities in May to attend meetings with Somali youth regarding the strength of their partnerships with law enforcement. These meetings have been very productive and should serve as a model for other cities throughout the country.

Similar meetings with law enforcement occur in my community regularly. There are roundtable discussions, workshops, awareness weeks, field trips, police mentor programs, and even sambusa cook-offs. The Minneapolis model is based on partnership and collaboration, not suspicion and fear. Minneapolis is looked to as an international model for cultural integration and mitigation of radicalization. In fact, the Norwegian Ambassador to the United States visited Minneapolis last year to learn about our approach.

Law enforcement officials in my district have told me that the Somali community is cooperative because everyone shares the same interests—everyone wants a safe and secure environment where their children can succeed. We all want al-Shabaab to stop preying on our Somali friends and neighbors. Somali mothers and fathers do not want their children to join al-Shabaab. They overcame great hardships and deprivation to bring their families to America for a better life. Somali parents, like all parents, want to keep their children safe from those who would put them at risk.

I ask you to use this committee to review our experience in the Twin Cities of Minnesota, and not to stereotype a community. Such an approach is counter-

productive. Somali youth in my district have told me that media and political figures who stigmatize their community are a major barrier to building trust with law enforcement.

The tragic, horrific terrorist attacks in Norway this past weekend provide a stark reminder that violent extremists dwell in all communities. Homeland security policy and hearings should investigate threats from all communities. Policy makers may overlook serious security risks because of a narrow focus on persons or groups from a particular ethnic background or religious group. A recent *New York Times* article made this point last week. It read: "The bombing and shootings in Oslo also have served as a wake-up call for security services in Europe and the United States that in recent years have become so focused on Islamic terrorists that they may have underestimated the threat of domestic radicals, including those upset by what they see as the influence of Islam."

Despite this "wake-up call" and the warning from the author of a 2009 Department of Homeland Security report on right-wing extremism that the Norway attack "could easily happen here," you as Chairman have said that the Homeland Security Committee would not examine non-Muslim threats to the homeland.

In the interest of U.S. National security, I urge the committee to broaden the scope of these hearings to include all threats to the homeland. The 2009 Department of Homeland Security report warned of an increase in right-wing extremism. Despite attacks on mosques, Planned Parenthood centers, an IRS building in Texas and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, the committee has not yet held a hearing on right-wing extremism. How can the committee fulfill its duties to protect the homeland when it does not investigate all types of domestic threats?

As we were reminded on July 22, 2011, the threat of right-wing terrorism is real. Norwegian extremist Anders Behring Breivik said that the "threat" of Islam and multiculturalism motivated him to kill 76 people and injure many more. He said that Muslim leaders could "dismantle our border controls, completely flood our countries with Muslims and implement Shariah law in Europe within 48 hours." Where did Breivik get such irrational, nonsensical ideas? In his 1,500-page "manifesto," which is available on-line, Breivik quoted numerous anti-Muslim activists Robert Spencer, Hugh Fitzgerald, Daniel Pipes, and Pamela Geller. Their campaign of Islamophobia began on the fringe of the radical right but has now seeped into American political discourse, as is evident in the campaign rhetoric of well-known candidates for public office.

Sadly, we are not immune to what happened in Norway. The tragedy there should serve as an alarming reminder that irresponsible and inflammatory anti-Muslim hate speech "is not cost free," to quote former CIA officer Marc Sagerman. Indeed, hate speech directed at any group based upon gender, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnic background carries risks.

As policy makers, we should acknowledge that domestic terrorism can originate from different communities, and should be investigated as such. As leaders, we need to address these issues in a thoughtful and responsible way, and avoid stereotypes. Instead of ignorance and fear, we need greater understanding and community engagement.

Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, thank you again for allowing me to share this message with the committee.

Chairman KING. We have a distinguished panel for our vital hearing today and I welcome our witnesses. I would remind the witnesses that their full testimony will be submitted for the record, and I ask you to attempt to summarize your statements in 5 minutes.

Our first witness, Ahmed Hussen, is a member of the Canadian government's crosscultural roundtable on security, and has distinguished himself as one of North America's most prominent and respected Somali and East Africa security and government analysts.

Mr. Hussen is the national president of the Canadian Somali Congress. He is a graduate of York University and the University of Ottawa Law School. He is involved in numerous civic activities, including helping to set up a Canadian Somali Jewish mentoring project. He has also assisted the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. We are privileged to have him here today as a witness.

Mr. Hussen, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

**STATEMENT OF AHMED HUSSEN, NATIONAL PRESIDENT,  
CANADIAN SOMALI CONGRESS**

Mr. HUSSEN. Thank you, Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, and distinguished Members of this committee.

I want to begin by talking a little bit about the Canadian Somali community. It is a 200,000-strong community spread out mostly all across Canada. They have strong links, mostly positive, with the American Somali community. However, they are also—there is also an underbelly of negative links as well.

I am a Canadian Muslim who is proud of his faith and heritage, and I truly believe that the Canadian and American values of liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, and respect for minorities do complement and work neatly with the tenets of my faith.

It is a fact lost on many Muslims, including Canadian Somalis, that it is countries like the United States and Canada that guarantee human rights and religious freedoms, that we can actually practice our faith in these sorts of environment. The civil rights of our community members must be protected, but obviously it is also equally important to disseminate these integration-friendly messages in order to contribute to a process where our communities emphasize the defense and attachment to the countries of Canada and the United States.

The statistics associated with the Canadian Somali community are quite shocking. We have six times the median family income that the mainstream has, and three times lower than what other visible minorities have in Canada. Due to this poverty, dislocation and a history of coming out of a brutal civil war, we have a lot of young males in our community who drop out of school and become vulnerable.

They become easily vulnerable to people who feed them anti-Western ideologies. They also become vulnerable to a narrative that basically makes them hate the very countries that have sustained them, the very countries that—whose—the very countries that welcomed their parents and provide refuge to their parents.

We have tried in the Canadian Somali Congress to overcome that narrative by making sure that we give our youth access to jobs and professions, and integrate them into the larger mainstream community. With opportunity there is less door for radicals to come in and create vulnerability.

In early 2001, Canadian national security officials confirmed the disappearances of thousands—oh, sorry, of dozens—of young Canadian Somali males who had traveled to Somalia to fight with al-Shabaab, a terrorist group that at that point officially had become allied with al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

Three of our young people in Canada have died in Somalia fighting for this group. Lately, the recruiters have turned their attention to the recruitment of young women. Whether this is a new way to stay one step away from the law is something to be determined.

These figures obviously point to the fact that the scale of Canada's problem with radicalization in our community is comparable in numbers with what you are dealing with in America. Also, the links between the recruiters, the radicalized message, the fundraising; there are a lot of connections between the United States and Canada.

It is very disturbing to us as Canadian citizens to see the children of those who fled the civil war in Somalia to return to a country that they barely know and contribute further to its misery. The radicalization and recruitment of American Somalis into a life of international terrorism in 2006 to 2009 mirrors the pattern of the radicalization or recruitment of Canadian Somalis from 2009 to the present time.

Although the internet is the main tool for the transmission of messaging that leads to radicalization, you still need people who will chaperone these young people to East Africa, as well as provide logistics and other supports. There is obviously a clear connection between the Minneapolis American Somali community and the total Somali community in Canada.

Most of it is positive. There is trade, there is social connections, and so on. But there is an element that needs to be looked at. There has not been an attempt by our government to—our government have taken this issue and looked at it as a law enforcement issue, which is important. But there has not been a parallel attempt to counter the toxic anti-Western narrative that creates a culture of victimhood in the minds of members of my community.

It is only members of the Canadian Somali community and members of the larger Canadian Muslim community that can credibly confront and eradicate this narrative from our community's midst. Equally important, the leaders of this effort in the community are those that emphasize integration and the adherence to, and respect for, Canadian and American values, and not those that promote separation, extremism, and victimology.

The role that we believe the Canadian and American governments should play is to promote—is to support and encourage the leaders who are encouraging integration and commitment to the rule of law and to the constitutions of Canada and the United States. To shun and denounce those who are promoting extremism within our midst.

I would like to close by saying that these hearings are extremely important to us. They empower us, and they remove the stigma in our community that prevents us from talking about these issues that are really important to our community. These hearings are very empowering.

Finally, al-Shabaab, radicals, the messaging—the anti-Western messaging—is not compatible with Islam and is not in the best interests of my community.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The statement of Mr. Hussen follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF AHMED HUSSEN

JULY 27, 2011

I want to take this opportunity to thank Chairman King and the distinguished Members of this committee for inviting me to provide testimony to this committee.

My name is Ahmed Hussen and I am the national president of the Canadian Somali Congress. It is a national advocacy organization that advocates on issues of importance to the 200,000 strong Canadian Somali community. The Canadian Somali Congress works to foster a Canada where Canadian Somalis, as part of the fabric of that country, live in and contribute fully into Canadian Society with the eventual goal of full integration. I am a Canadian Muslim who is proud of his faith and heritage. I believe that the Canadian and American values of democracy, liberty, rule

of law, human rights, and respect for minorities do not contradict the tenets of my faith. It is a fact lost on many that Muslims, including Canadian Somalis, can best practice their faith in societies such as Canada and the United States that guarantee the rights of individuals including freedom of worship. The civil rights of our community members must obviously be protected but it is equally important to disseminate these integration-friendly messages in order to contribute to a process where our community emphasizes the defense and attachment to the countries of Canada and the United States.

I come from a community that is a relatively new community to Canada. After fleeing a civil war that gripped Somalia in the late 1990s, the Canadian Somali community is now undergoing the growing pains of integration into the larger Canadian mainstream society. The statistics associated with this community bear this out. The median family income of the Canadian Somali community is six times less than the median family income of mainstream Canadians and three times less than other visible minorities. Sixty-eight percent of this community is between 1 to 14 years of age and 84% are 30 years of age or younger. In major cities such as Toronto and Ottawa, the unemployment rate of Canadian Somalis is close to 40%, much lower than the Canadian unemployment rate of around 7%. Due to poverty, dislocation, and family separation as a result of the journey of escape from Somalia's civil war, many young males in our community have dropped out high school. The segment of the youth who are industrious, law-abiding, and succeed in school easily graduate but have tremendous difficulties accessing jobs and professions. This is due to the fact that there is a shortage of professionals in our community who can mentor these young people and ease their way into their chosen jobs and professions. The best example that I can use to illustrate this point is to relate the story of Abdinisir, a young Canadian Somali who played by the rules, stayed out of trouble, and graduated with a degree in accounting. I ran into him in 2007 and asked him if he had found a job as an accountant. He replied that he has a menial job working in a coffee shop because he couldn't find a Somali accountant anywhere who could mentor him. This is despite the fact that he could work under any accountant but his horizons were limited with the notion that he could only work under a Somali man. After this encounter, I realized that thousands of young Canadian Somalis were graduating from colleges and universities but ending up being unemployed or working at menial jobs. The response of the majority of these young people is to persevere and keep working hard to improve their socio-economic status. A minority of them become alienated and fall victim to a narrative that turns them against Canada and the United States, the very countries that have sustained them and also gave refuge to their parents as they fled the brutal civil war in Somalia. This dangerous and constant anti-Western narrative is fed to them by radicals in our community who do not hesitate to use these vulnerable youth as gun fodder in their desire to establish a base for the al-Qaeda terrorist group in Somalia. We have made many efforts to counter this development. One initiative that we took was to partner with the Canadian Jewish Congress to launch the Canadian Somali Jewish Mentorship Project. This national project aims to place hundreds of young Canadian Somalis in jobs and professions that match their educational experience and help to steer them away from alienation and extremism. This is the first national project in Canada between the Jewish community and a large Muslim community.

Early in 2011, Canadian national security officials confirmed the disappearances of dozens of young Canadian Somali males who had travelled to Somalia to fight for the al-Shabaab, a terrorist group that is officially allied with al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. Three of these individuals have died in Somalia fighting for this group. Lately, the recruiters have turned their attention to the facilitation of young Canadian Somali women into joining al-Shabaab. Whether this is an attempt to stay one step ahead of law enforcement scrutiny is not clear. These figures point to the fact that the scale of Canada's problem with al-Shabaab radicalization and recruitment is comparable to that experienced by the United States and countries in Europe, which also have sizable populations of ethnic Somalis. Al-Shabaab, which means The Youth in Arabic, has been using a mix of terrorism and insurgency to impose Taliban-like rule of terror in Somalia, which has been without an effective government for more than 2 decades. The group's tactics—suicide bombings, roadside bombs, political assassinations and a pledge of allegiance to al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden—have landed the group on international terrorist lists, including Canada's. Using an internet propaganda campaign, al-Shabaab has attracted hundreds of foreigners, among them Canadians, who have flocked to Somalia to join what they claim is a global jihad against the West. It is very disturbing to us as Canadian citizens to see the children of those who fled the civil war in Somalia return to a country they barely know and contribute to its misery. There is an additional concern that these individuals would come back to threaten



and harm Canada, the very country that has given us peace, security, and opportunity. Those who are recruited to make the journey to Somalia in order to fight for the al-Shabaab are transformed by the experience and often turn into recruiters themselves. The radicalization and recruitment of American Somalis into a life of international jihad in 2006 to 2009 mirrors the pattern that was to emerge in Canada from 2009 to the present time. Although the internet is the main tool for the transmission of messaging that leads to radicalization, you still need facilitators who pay and arrange for the transportation of these recruits half way across the world. It is in this area that Canadian media reports have shown a clear connection between the radicals operating in the Minneapolis American Somali community and those radicals living in Canada that are responsible for the radicalization and recruitment of Canadian Somalis. The strategy of Canadian officials as they confront this phenomenon in my community has been to view this serious matter only through the prism of law enforcement. This is due to the fact that the vast majority of our efforts have been dedicated to the prevention of a major terrorist attack. There has not been a parallel attempt to counter the toxic anti-Western narrative that creates a culture of victimhood in the minds of members of our community. It is only members of the Canadian Somali community and members of the larger Canadian Muslim community that can credibly confront and eradicate this narrative from our community's midst. Equally important, the leaders of this effort in the community are those that emphasize integration and the adherence to and respect for American and Canadian values and not those that promote separation, extremism, and victimology. The role of the Canadian and American governments should be to encourage and strengthen the former while shunning and denouncing the latter.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Hussien.

Our next witness, Anders Folk, is a former assistant United States attorney for the District of Minnesota. He was a prosecutor on more than a dozen high-profile al-Shabaab terrorism cases originating in the Minneapolis area. He represented his office on the Minneapolis Joint Terrorism Task Force. For prior to his work as a Federal prosecutor, Mr. Folk served honorably in the United States Marine Corps.

We welcome his testimony here today. We also acknowledge the presence of his wife here in the audience today. Again, it was a pleasure meeting with her and with you this morning, and I look forward to your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF W. ANDERS FOLK, FORMER ASSISTANT  
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY, DISTRICT OF MINNESOTA**

Mr. FOLK. Good morning, Chairman King. Thank you.

Ranking Member Thompson and members of the community, thank you for this opportunity to testify this morning regarding al-Shabaab. As a former Federal prosecutor involved in National security cases, and as a Marine, I am well aware of the extraordinary threat posed to the United States' National security by terrorists and terrorist organization.

As a Federal prosecutor, I was responsible for the prosecution of members of al-Qaeda as well as al-Shabaab, as well as domestic terrorists, such as anarchists and other anti-Government groups that advocated violence against U.S. citizens of all stripes.

These experiences have taught me that extremist views that fuel terrorists, whether homegrown or foreign, al-Shabaab, al-Qaeda, or otherwise, are capable of extraordinary acts of violence. They require the unwavering attention of law enforcement.

Outside of my work as an attorney, I also serve as the board— as the chair of the board of a non-profit organization that educates new immigrants to the United States. Students at this organization come from nations that I am familiar with and that we all are fa-

miliar with as breeding grounds for terrorists and terrorist activities.

These students that I have had the privilege of watching better themselves through their education so that they may become contributing members of society, remind me that the necessity for swift, precise, and effective counter-terrorist actions through our military, our intelligence community, and our law enforcement community, both within the United States and abroad, must never be replaced by an attitude of guilt by association, or a belief that one's origins or religious views make that person a likely or presumptive terrorist.

In light of that, it is appropriate, indeed, it is important, that this community spend time learning about and educating the public about the threat posed to the United States by al-Shabaab. Al-Shabaab was designated a foreign terrorist organization by the Department of State in February 2008. Its activities have included, but are not limited to, suicide bombings in Somalia, suicide bombing in Uganda, killing hundreds of innocent people, the senseless and extreme acts of violence that we have seen them perpetrate, to include stoning innocent people in Somalia—teenage girls—cutting hands and feet of thieves in Somalia, and as we are all now well aware, the active recruitment of U.S. citizens, especially from my home of Minnesota, to join its ranks and engage in its terrorist activities.

Al-Shabaab has worked tirelessly to raise and rise from the chaos of Somalia to become a terrorist group with an international profile. That rise has been marked by the recruitment of numerous young men from Minnesota. These young men in the beginning of their lives as adults, whose future as Americans was yet to be determined, was stolen from them by the rhetoric of al-Shabaab.

Al-Shabaab has established and shown clear and unequivocal ties not only to an Islamic fundamentalist rhetoric, but also to other terrorist organizations with which we are intimately familiar in this country, to include al-Qaeda.

Al-Shabaab's recruiting videos on the internet prominently feature Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, and in addition, illustrate members of East African al-Qaeda, such as Salah Nabhan, at al-Shabaab training camps alongside U.S. recruits.

Mr. Chairman, the dangerousness and the effectiveness of al-Shabaab's rhetoric is clear from Minnesota's experience with this organization. If you turn your attention to a 7-day period in 2008 you will know everything you need to know about the effectiveness and the effect on the United States of this organization.

On October 29, 2008, Shirwa Ahmed became the first U.S. suicide bomber, blowing himself up, killing innocent civilians, and wrecking further havoc on Somalia. Within 1 week of that in the beginning of November 2008, an additional group of young men left Minnesota for Somalia to join al-Shabaab.

That contrast of extraordinary violence followed by additional recruitment tells this committee and the American people everything it needs to know about the danger of the threat and the absolute effectiveness of the rhetoric being used to recruit young men.

To fight al-Shabaab and its supporters, the United States must engage in a multifaceted approach that utilizes all the United

States' abilities. This includes the military, the intelligence community, and the law enforcement community within the United States.

However, in addition to focusing our military, intelligence, and law enforcement efforts upon countering the al-Shabaab message, preventing terrorist attacks, and disrupting the organization, we must also ensure that the Somali community understands that the United States Government interest in that community is not limited to putting names on indictments.

Thank you for your time this morning. I appreciate it.  
[The statement of Mr. Folk follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF W. ANDERS FOLK

JULY 27, 2011

I served as an Assistant U.S. Attorney ("AUSA") for the District of Minnesota from October 2005 through December 2011. Prior to my work as an AUSA, I was a judge advocate in the Marine Corps, prosecuting and defending Marines and Sailors charged with criminal offenses under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. I am also a Minnesota native, who attended the University of Minnesota as an undergraduate and law student. Among other duties as an AUSA, I served as the Anti-Terrorism Advisory Council prosecutor for the District of Minnesota ("ATAC"). In that capacity, I was responsible for working with the Federal Bureau of Investigation's ("FBI") Joint Terrorism Task Force ("JTTF") in Minnesota to investigate individuals who were involved with terrorist groups or terrorist-related activity. In some circumstances, this led to criminal charges directly related to terrorism (e.g., providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization), and other times, charges with no direct relation to terrorism (e.g., immigration-related marriage fraud).

During the course of my duties as ATAC, I worked collaboratively with the FBI and numerous other Federal agencies involved in National security to investigate al-Shabaab's activities in the District of Minnesota. This assignment ultimately led to work across the United States and the world. To date, the U.S. Attorney's Office in Minnesota and the FBI's JTTF in Minnesota have unsealed indictments against 20 individuals—19 of whom were Minnesota residents—involved either directly with al-Shabaab or who supported others connected to al-Shabaab.

In addition to my work targeting individuals in Minnesota who were supporting al-Shabaab, I was also involved in and aware of, though less so, investigations into individuals providing material support to al-Shabaab in other Federal districts within the United States.

By way of background to the investigation of al-Shabaab, between September 2007 and October 2009, over 20 mostly ethnic Somali men left the Minneapolis, Minnesota area and traveled to Somalia, where they trained with al-Shabaab. Many of them ultimately fought with al-Shabaab against Ethiopian forces, African Union troops, and the internationally-supported Transitional Federal Government (TFG). Since their departure from Minnesota, these men have been involved in all aspects of al-Shabaab's terrorist activities, including military training, combat, suicide bombings, and recruitment.

The unique and extraordinary threats to National security that foreign terrorist organizations present to the United States are abundantly clear. Al-Shabaab's successful recruitment of U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents and the existence of a base of ideological and actual support for al-Shabaab in the United States raise a number of issues that require study in order to ensure that the United States maintains its safety in the face of the threat posed by the group. The lessons learned in Minnesota and across the United States from investigating and prosecuting members of al-Shabaab provide an opportunity for such study.

GENERAL CONCERNS RAISED BY AL-SHABAAB'S RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, AND OPERATIONAL DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. CITIZENS AND RESIDENTS IN COMBAT

The departure of men from Minnesota to fight in Somalia on behalf of a designated foreign terrorist group raises numerous concerns for Federal and State law enforcement, the National security agencies and U.S. military, and for any community which experiences recruiting, fundraising or advocacy on behalf of designated foreign terrorist groups. First, the idea that it is possible that men (or women) may leave the United States, receive military training, combat experience, and religious

indoctrination justifying violence against innocent people, and then return to the United States to either put those experiences to use or to recruit others to do the same, poses a significant threat. Second, the strong social and family networks that individuals leaving the United States maintain when they travel to foreign countries to join foreign terrorist organizations enhances the reach-back capability of those organizations to conduct recruiting and fund-raising in the United States, thus enhancing the organization's ability to continue to function. Third, the recruiting of U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents allows foreign terrorist organizations access to identification and travel documents that permit travel and access to and within the United States. Fourth, recruiting U.S. persons provides international terrorist organizations with inside knowledge about the United States that makes it easier to operate within the United States and to teach others to do the same.

There are a number of distinct challenges to protecting U.S. communities from foreign terrorist activities. First, the organizations are international, thus, often their members and resources are located outside the reach of a domestic law enforcement agency. Second, the organizations are often motivated by ideology—political, religious, or otherwise. As a result, the forces driving the groups' desire for violence or other operational activities often cannot be controlled by law enforcement in a meaningful way. Third, because the groups are international, their modus operandi may not be easily discernable to domestic law enforcement agencies. Fourth, their members often will not be known to law enforcement agents.

#### BACKGROUND ON AL-SHABAAB AND AL-QAEDA RECRUITMENT EFFORTS

Al-Shabaab's efforts to recruit foreign fighters are no secret. Its former leader, Aden Hashi Ayrow, called for foreign fighters to join al-Shabaab in a "holy war" against the Ethiopian and African Union forces in Somalia. This call was echoed by al-Qaeda leadership, including Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri. Since Minnesotans began leaving the United States for Somalia, al-Shabaab has made significant and repeated efforts to advertise its cause, to recruit individuals from outside Somalia to join its organization, and to raise money in support of its operations in Somalia. Such efforts are disclosed in press releases, videos released on the internet, and documents contained in publicly available court proceedings. Additionally, these efforts include the glorification of jihad, espousal of rhetoric critical of the United States, and justifying violence. Illustrative of such conduct by al-Shabaab's are the widely distributed and viewed videos on the internet, one of which features an individual who left Minnesota and traveled to Somalia to fight for al-Shabaab and to recruit other men to travel to Somalia.

The Minnesotans ultimately charged as part of the investigation into al-Shabaab generally fell into two groups: Individuals who have traveled to Somalia to fight, and individuals who have provided support from the United States to al-Shabaab members in Somalia or to individuals in the United States preparing to travel to Somalia to join al-Shabaab. Among the men who traveled to fight in Somalia, the individuals can be further categorized based upon the year of their departure for Somalia: The classes of 2007, 2008, and 2009.

Separate from these travelers is the additional category of individuals who were investigated and charged for supporting the travelers who joined al-Shabaab or who independently supported al-Shabaab financially. This category includes an individual charged and convicted of committing perjury before a grand jury as a result of false statements related to his knowledge of individuals planning to leave the United States for Somalia; an individual charged and convicted of obstruction of justice regarding his knowledge of individuals traveling from Minnesota to California, ultimately to leave the United States and join al-Shabaab; and individuals raising money from supporters in the United States and sending that money to al-Shabaab in Somalia via the hawala money transfer system.

#### 2007

The class of 2007 fighters left Minnesota in December 2007, traveling from Minneapolis, Minnesota to Somalia via the Netherlands and Dubai, United Arab Emirates. At the time these men left Minnesota, al-Shabaab was not yet designated a foreign terrorist organization by the U.S. Department of State. Upon their departure from Minnesota, members of the class of 2007 stayed at an al-Shabaab-operated safe house outside of Mogadishu, Somalia, attended an al-Shabaab training camp, and in some cases, participated in combat actions on behalf of al-Shabaab. Of the men who left Minnesota in 2007, three ultimately returned to Minnesota. These three men were Salah Osman Ahmed, Kamal Said Hassan and Abdifatah Yusuf Isse. Isse and Ahmed both pleaded guilty to violating 18 U.S.C. § 2339A, for providing material support to terrorists. Hassan pleaded guilty to violating 18 U.S.C. §§ 2339A,

2339B and 1001, for providing material support to terrorists, providing material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization, and making false statements in an offense involving international terrorism.

Other individuals who traveled to Somalia as part of the class of 2007, but who have not returned to the United States, include Khalid Abshir and Ahmed Ali Omar. These men have been charged with a number of Federal criminal offenses related to providing material support to al-Shabaab but remain at large.

In addition to the individuals who returned to the United States and were charged with criminal offenses, the class of 2007 included Shirwa Ahmed. On October 29, 2008, Ahmed took part in one of five simultaneous suicide attacks on targets in northern Somalia that appeared to have been coordinated. These attacks resulted in a significant number of deaths, including his own, and represented al-Shabaab's ability and willingness to use suicide bombers to carry out attacks.

Finally, the class of 2007 included two individuals who remained in Minnesota but were involved in criminal activity supporting the travel of men to fight in Somalia. Adarus Ali was charged with and pled guilty to committing perjury in violation of 18 U.S.C. §1623, based on false statements he made to a grand jury that was investigating the travel of Minnesotans to Somalia to fight. Omer Abdi Mohamed was charged with and pled guilty to providing material support to terrorists in violation of 18 U.S.C. §2339A, based on his role in the conspiracy to assist the class of 2007 to travel to Somalia.

## 2008

In January 2008, Mahamud Said Omar was the first of the class of 2008 to travel to Somalia from Minnesota. While in Somalia he stayed at an al-Shabaab safe house with other Minnesotans. While at the safe house, he provided money to purchase AK-47 assault rifles and to operate the safe house. Mahamud Said Omar returned to Minnesota in April 2008, during which time he remained in contact with members of the conspiracy and members of al-Shabaab. Upon his return, he assisted other Minnesotans in their departure from Minnesota to Somalia. Mahamud Said Omar left the United States for a second time later in 2008, and was ultimately arrested in the Netherlands pursuant to charges filed in the District of Minnesota, alleging Mahamud Said Omar's activities in support of al-Shabaab.

In February 2008, Zakaria Maruf traveled from Minnesota to Somalia to join al-Shabaab. Maruf was charged with a variety of terrorism-related offenses following his departure to Somalia. Maruf's later death in Somalia was widely-reported. The reports surrounding Maruf's death included descriptions of Maruf's efforts to recruit additional fighters from Minnesota, in a manner consistent with the recruiting language and themes found in al-Shabaab's videos available on the internet.

In August 2008, Mohammed Abdullahi Hassan and Mustafa Ali Salat left Minnesota for Somalia to join al-Shabaab. Each has been charged with a variety of criminal offenses related to providing material support to al-Shabaab.

In November 2008, Abdisalan Hussein Ali, Abdikadir Ali Abdi and others, left Minnesota for Somalia to join al-Shabaab. This departure took place less than 1 week after Shirwa Ahmed conducted his suicide bombing attack on behalf of al-Shabaab in Somalia. Abdisalan Hussein Ali and Abdikadir Ali Abdi have been charged with a number of criminal offenses related to providing material support to al-Shabaab. They remain at large.

Among the men in the class of 2008, the following have been reported killed in Somalia: Zakaria Maruf, Troy Kastigar, and Burhan Hassan.

## 2009

In October 2009, three additional Somali men left Minnesota and traveled to Somalia to fight. Amongst them was Farah Mohamed Beledi, recently identified publicly by the FBI and his family as being killed in Somalia in an attempt to detonate a suicide bomb. Another man who traveled to Somalia to fight on behalf of al-Shabaab was Cabdullahi Faraax. Faraax was charged not only with terrorism-related offenses, but also with lying to the FBI on multiple occasions about his knowledge of terrorist-related activities in and around Minneapolis, Minnesota.

As part of the class of October 2009 travelers, Abdow M. Abdow was also charged with and pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI regarding his knowledge of others who traveled with him from Minnesota to California.

## FINANCING

The criminal cases against Minnesotans and others throughout the United States financially supporting al-Shabaab highlight the central role that money plays in sustaining terrorist organizations. As illustrated by the cases of Amina Ali and

Hawo Hassan in Minnesota, Nima Ali Yusuf, Basaaly Saeed Moalin, Mohamed Mohamed Mohamud and Issa Doreh in San Diego, California, and Mohamud Abdi Yusuf in St. Louis, Missouri, fundraising has occurred across the United States to support al-Shabaab. As set forth in the charging documents in these cases, al-Shabaab supporters sought financial support from others that they would then pool and send to members of al-Shabaab located abroad. Cutting off the ability for those in the United States to provide financial support to al-Shabaab is crucial to diminish al-Shabaab's ability to carry out terrorist operations.

#### RECRUITING

Al-Shabaab has made no secret of its desire to recruit individuals from abroad to join its cause. Al-Shabaab's efforts to recruit include edited videos posted on the internet. These videos depict al-Shabaab training camps, combat footage involving al-Shabaab, and religious messages in an effort to glamorize and justify their actions. The videos include statements by individuals such as Omar Hammami, a U.S. citizen, encouraging others to join al-Shabaab and justifying the terrorist activities of al-Shabaab. At least one video put out by al-Shabaab includes rap or hip-hop style music and a message that appears clearly to focus on recruits in Western Europe or the United States. Additionally, videos celebrating the death of al-Shabaab fighters and extolling their virtues as "martyrs," to include individuals from Minnesota, have also circulated on the internet.

In addition to the formal attempts to recruit through the internet and media, al-Shabaab has used its recruits to conduct further recruiting. As set forth in charging documents and a variety of interviews of individuals in Minnesota by the media, those men who left Minnesota to fight in Somalia have maintained contact and communication through phone calls, the internet, and e-mail with friends and family in Minnesota. In part, such contact has included the recruiting of others to join al-Shabaab. One of the more disturbing elements of al-Shabaab's recruiting efforts in the United States has been the number of recruits leaving the United States who are teenagers. The fact that al-Shabaab has managed to convince very young men that a better life exists for them in Somalia, despite its abject poverty, lack of a functioning government and violence, is a testament to the persuasiveness and allure of its message.

In addition to recruiting by al-Shabaab as an organization and by individuals on behalf of al-Shabaab, religious figures such as Anwar al-Awlaki have provided potential recruits with ideological underpinnings for individuals to fight in Somalia on behalf of al-Shabaab. As has been publicly reported, al-Awlaki's "Constants on the Path to jihad" has provided recruits and potential recruits with an ideological framework, however distorted and incorrect it may be, to fight on behalf of al-Shabaab in Somalia.

#### THREAT POSED BY AL-SHABAAB

It is impossible to predict with certainty what, if anything, and who, if anyone, will come to the United States after training and indoctrination by al-Shabaab. It is obvious, however, that individuals who are trained, indoctrinated, and deployed in combat by al-Shabaab have learned how to carry out acts of lethal violence. Additionally, it is clear that the ideology espoused by al-Shabaab echoes that of al-Qaeda. This combination of ability and ideology illustrates the threat that is posed by even one al-Shabaab veteran residing in the United States. The ability to prevent or detect such a person from entering the United States or carrying out any terrorist acts in the United States requires continued vigilance of the group's activities in Somalia, but also to ensure that supporters or sympathizers within the United States are targeted for investigation.

#### DETERRENCE OF AL-SHABAAB RECRUITMENT, FUNDRAISING, AND VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

To fight al-Shabaab and its supporters, the United States must engage in a multifaceted approach that utilizes all of the United States' abilities, including military, intelligence, law enforcement, and diplomatic options. Further, this effort must be carried out in Somalia, the Horn of Africa, and the United States.

Consistent with U.S. legal authorities, a focus must remain on Somalia and the Horn of Africa, and importantly include Yemen, to ensure that the U.S. targets al-Shabaab in the same manner as it does other foreign terrorist organizations, such as al-Qaeda, and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. This targeting should focus on the application of military power and intelligence-gathering techniques to make certain that if there are threats or potential threats to the United States in foreign countries, those threats are extinguished in that foreign country and the informa-

tion regarding those threats is provided as quickly as possible to the FBI and other relevant agencies. This will increase the likelihood that any connections to the threat that come from or link to the United States are identified and either eliminated or mitigated.

Second, the FBI must continue to investigate and prosecute those within the homeland who provide, attempt, or conspire to provide, support to al-Shabaab. This investigation and prosecution requires the continued use of all techniques within the FBI's lawful authorities under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act ("FISA"), Title III of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and the Attorney General's guidelines, to target groups and individuals supporting al-Shabaab within the United States. Additionally, as is illustrated by the Minnesotans who have left to fight in Somalia, the FBI's relationships with foreign law enforcement and intelligence agencies are imperative to allow the United States to track suspects and if possible, affect their arrests in foreign countries where appropriate.

Third, military, intelligence, and law enforcement techniques must be complemented through local outreach within the United States to the communities with members who have supported al-Shabaab. For example, the Somali community in Minnesota has experienced first-hand the negative effects that al-Shabaab recruiters have had in their communities. One way to work to gain cooperation and assistance from the Somali community is to provide education regarding how the Department of Justice's investigative processes, the legal system generally, and civil rights operate, as well as ways they can help to strengthen their communities against the message of al-Shabaab recruiters. Younger Somalis have in many cases invested in the United States through their education and employment, as well as through their athletic and social networks. It is important to ensure that they understand the Government's interest in them is not limited to putting their name on an indictment. Additionally, law enforcement will be more effective in its ability to detect and prevent extremist behavior if the Somali community trusts the FBI enough to make contact with the FBI or other law enforcement if the community has concerns.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Folk.

Our next witness has appeared a number of times before our committees and subcommittees in the Congress. Tom Joscelyn is a senior fellow and executive director of the Center for Law and Counterterrorism at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies.

As a result of his extensive research and writings, he has distinguished himself as a leading terrorism expert, focusing on how al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations operate around the world. He is the senior editor of the *Long War Journal*.

We welcome you back, Mr. Joscelyn. You are recognized for 5 minutes.

**STATEMENT OF THOMAS JOSCELYN, SENIOR FELLOW,  
FOUNDATION FOR DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACIES**

Mr. JOSCELYN. Well, thank you very much. I want to thank Congressman King—Chairman King—Ranking Member Thompson and other Members of the committee for having me here today to talk about Shabaab.

My colleagues and I have been following Shabaab since 2006, 2007 fairly closely and there are two principle observations we have come to—I have come to—that I want to share with you today. The first is, to our minds, Shabaab clearly is a threat to U.S. abroad and potentially to homeland. The second is that most of Shabaab's terrorism is actually focused on Muslims, both in Somalia and also the victimization of Muslims I would say internationally.

To the first point, the threat to the U.S. homeland, I would like to point the committee to what happened previously with al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, Shabaab's neighbor in Yemen. Prior to the December 25, 2009 terrorist plot against Flight 253, there were

many people in the intelligence community who did not believe AQAP was a threat to the U.S. homeland.

In fact, the Senate Intelligence Committee report found that prior to that plot, counterterrorism analysts in NCTC, CIA, and NSA were focused on the threat to terrorist attacks in Yemen, but were not focused on the possibility of AQAP attacks against the U.S. homeland.

Unfortunately, that has proven to be a fatal flaw, because what we have witnessed is over and over again AQAP has both sought to inspire and direct attacks against the U.S. homeland. Again, we cannot know if or when Shabaab would do the same, but the potential is there when you add up all the dots.

In that vein, I want to add up some dots real quick on Shabaab's ties to al-Qaeda. In 2008, here is what a prominent leader in Shabaab, Muqhtar Robow, said about his ties to al-Qaeda and the relationship between Shabaab and al-Qaeda. He said, "Al-Qaeda is the mother of the Holy War in Somalia. Most of our leaders were trained in al-Qaeda camps. We get our tactics and guidelines from them. Many have spent time with Osama bin Laden."

That was done in an interview with the *L.A. Times*. The *L.A. Times* went on to say that for the first time Robow had spoken about the possibility of attacking Americans, saying Americans, even journalists and aid workers, were not immune from attack because there was animosity towards the United States.

If you go through my testimony in the written form, I have provided a number of leaders from Shabaab who have served as both dual Shabaab and al-Qaeda leaders, 13 I believe. They have either expressed their open, I would say, endorsement of al-Qaeda's ideology, or they have direct operational links. Several of them, in fact, were responsible for the 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.

Now, those bombings were quite clearly targeted at U.S. interests, U.S. embassies. Now even, again, with most al-Qaeda attacks, they actually killed more Muslims than they did Americans or anybody else.

I would say to my second point, about Shabaab inside Somalia, it is true that Shabaab evolved out of this inter-clan warfare basically, this inter-clan warfare in Somalia. But over time what they have done is they have made this into an ideological battle, and they have sought and targeted their enemies and they have brutalized their enemies throughout Somalia repeatedly.

What they did is they found any Muslims that weren't willing to work with them and they systematically killed them. They desecrate Sufi shrines, Sufi mosques They systematically set about trying to tyrannize any—terrorize—any Muslims, any clan members, tribal leaders, that they could inside Somalia.

When I looked at the 30 suicide bombings that I could count, about 30, most of the victims of those suicide bombings were in fact Muslims. Three of those suicide bombings unfortunately involved recruits from Minneapolis. Many of those recruits were actually trained by a senior al-Qaeda operative that we now know, based on what the DOJ reported last week. That same al-Qaeda operative had previously targeted U.S. interests, including the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.



So it is very easy to connect the dots here between senior al-Qaeda leaders, their animosity for the United States, their desire to kill us, to target American interests, and what is happening with this recruitment of Shabaab recruits in the West.

I would say finally, the other point here is that I don't—I do not believe—and I don't think there is any evidence that most Somali Americans support Shabaab, not by a long shot. I think that they have been victimized by Shabaab as well, in a lot of ways.

I think that the families that have lost sons to Shabaab—I have read numerous press reports where Somali American families basically started withholding passports from their sons to make sure they couldn't travel abroad. That, you know, the travel agency that had originally sent some of these recruits abroad actually stopped and tried to make sure that they could stop doing this.

I think there has been a lot of pushback throughout the Somali American community, and I think also from the Somali Canadian community. So, the bottom line from my perspective is Shabaab is not only a threat to the United States, its interests both abroad and in the homeland, but also the Muslims around the globe.

[The statement of Mr. Joscelyn follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THOMAS JOSCELYN

JULY 27, 2011

Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson and other Members of the committee, I want to thank you for inviting me to speak today about al-Shabaab and the threat it poses to the U.S. Homeland and American interests. I would also like to thank my colleague at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and *The Long War Journal*, Bill Roggio, who helped me prepare this written testimony.

My testimony will focus primarily on Shabaab's ties to al-Qaeda and the risk of Shabaab attacking America. Shabaab's ability to win new recruits inside the United States and the West is particularly disturbing. The possibility that an American Shabaab recruit may return from Somalia as part of a terrorist operation is obviously a major concern for intelligence and law enforcement professionals.

Before getting to the heart of my testimony, however, I want to make a general point about Shabaab's reach here and its terror inside Somalia. It is obvious that a majority of Somali Americans do not support Shabaab or its agenda. Most Somalis came to this country to start a new life and get away from the poverty and war that has ravaged their nation. At the same time, many of the Somalis who remained in their home country have resisted Shabaab's reign of terror. Indeed, there is great tension between the Sufi version of Islam that is prevalent among Somali clans and Shabaab's perverse ideology. Many Sufi leaders inside Somalia were forced to abandon their peaceful roots to fight Shabaab. In fact, the victims of Shabaab's terror are predominantly Muslims in Somalia who do not adhere to Shabaab's horrible ideology. Shabaab has also undertaken a deliberate program to desecrate and destroy Sufi mosques and shrines.

The resistance to Shabaab's version of Islam inside Somalia can be seen even in al-Qaeda's propaganda. In December 2008, Anwar al Awlaki called on Muslims to financially support Shabaab and prayed for the group's success inside Somalia. While cheering on Shabaab's efforts to implement Sharia law, Awlaki also advised the group to be patient with Muslims who "are suffering from the illnesses of tribalism, ignorance, and a campaign of defamation of sharia." Awlaki added, "Therefore you need to win the hearts and minds of the people and take them back to their fitrah [natural predisposition]."<sup>1</sup>

In other words, Shabaab does not represent the "hearts and minds" of most Somalis, either here in America or abroad. Shabaab has, unfortunately, wooed some young men from America to Somalia. And in a few cases, these recruits have launched suicide attacks. The first known American suicide bomber, Shirwa Ahmed,

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Joscelyn, "Alleged Shabaab operative to stand trial in New York," *The Long War Journal*, July 6, 2011; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/07/alleged\\_al\\_shabaab\\_o.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/07/alleged_al_shabaab_o.php).

blew himself up in Somaliland as part of a Shabaab attack in October 2008. Since then, there have been at least two other reports of Somali Americans who were convinced to become Shabaab suicide bombers.<sup>2</sup>

The willingness of these recruits to die for Shabaab's cause creates an opportunity for the al-Qaeda terror network and a threat to American security. Since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, al-Qaeda has consistently attempted to recruit Muslims living in the West for its operations. In 2002, for example, a convert to Islam named Jose Padilla was arrested in Chicago after returning from Pakistan, where he conspired with senior al-Qaeda leaders to attack targets inside the United States. Al-Qaeda recognized that by relying on recruits from the West it could more easily defeat the elaborate layers of security put in place since late 2001. Padilla's case is hardly unique. Al-Qaeda recruits living in the United Kingdom and elsewhere have been used in attacks in their adopted homelands. Al-Qaeda's July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in London, for example, utilized British citizens of Pakistani descent who traveled to Pakistan for terrorist training.

It is possible that Shabaab's recruits could be used in a similar manner. However, there is great confusion here in the United States as to whether or not Shabaab is really a part of al-Qaeda's international terrorist network. Most press accounts accurately note that Shabaab is "linked" to or "affiliated" with al-Qaeda. My view is that the link is much stronger than some counterterrorism analysts realize. And this link goes far beyond the two organizations' identical ideological roots.

Indeed, my worry is that some counterterrorism analysts may be falling into the same trap analysts fell into previously with respect to another al-Qaeda affiliate, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). Although AQAP was well known to CT and intelligence officials prior to the failed Christmas day 2009 attack on Flight 253, they did not consider AQAP a major threat to the United States. In its report on the intelligence failures that allowed Umar Farouq Abdulmutallab on-board Flight 253, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence found (emphasis added): "Prior to the 12/25 plot, counterterrorism analysts at NCTC, CIA, and NSA were focused on the threat of terrorist attacks in Yemen, but were not focused on the possibility of AQAP attacks against the U.S. homeland."

This was a potentially devastating analytical error. As we've witnessed on multiple occasions now, AQAP has the intent and the capability to strike the United States. This should not have come as a surprise. Since the 1990s, al-Qaeda's strategy for inciting global conflict has relied on so-called "local" jihadist groups that can be folded into its international jihad. Jihadist groups from Southeast Asia to northern Africa have started out as local endeavors and eventually adopted al-Qaeda's desire to strike the United States.

With that focus in mind, I will now turn to a three-part overview of the relationship between Shabaab and al-Qaeda. In the next section below, I highlight public statements made by senior Shabaab and al-Qaeda leaders. Senior Shabaab terrorists have repeatedly said that their struggle is part of al-Qaeda's international jihad, and senior al-Qaeda terrorists have repeatedly praised the group.

Despite these public declarations, some analysts argue that the organizational ties between the two groups are minimal. My view is that, as clandestine organizations, neither Shabaab nor al-Qaeda publishes an organizational chart. So, we do not know the full scope of their "operational" links. And as Bill Roggio has reported, Ayman al-Zawahiri has even commanded Shabaab to play down these links publicly after previously trumpeting them.

In the second section below, I provide an overview of Shabaab's leadership. Shabaab's most senior leaders, including its founders, have long-standing ties to al-Qaeda. The depth of these personal ties cannot be easily dismissed. In the third and final section below, I evaluate the threat of Shabaab's recruits living in the West through the lens of Shabaab-al-Qaeda relations.

#### SHABAAB & AL-QAEDA'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS

Senior al-Qaeda leaders have long seen Somalia as contested territory in their international campaign against the West and its allies. Al-Qaeda members have claimed that they were instrumental in the 1993 "Black Hawk Down" episode in which 18 American servicemen were killed. While al-Qaeda's claims of responsibility are almost certainly overblown, there is solid evidence that al-Qaeda operatives were on the ground at the time. And al-Qaeda never took its eyes off of Somalia. In 2006, for instance, Osama bin Laden specifically mentioned Somalia as a key war front:

<sup>2</sup>As of June of this year, one of these reports remains unconfirmed.

“We will continue, God willing, to fight you and your allies everywhere, in Iraq and Afghanistan and in Somalia and Sudan until we waste all your money and kill your men and you will return to your country in defeat as we defeated you before in Somalia.”<sup>3</sup>

In August 2008, senior Shabaab leader Mukhtar Robow admitted: “We are negotiating how we can unite into one [with al-Qaeda]. We will take our orders from Sheik Osama bin Laden because we are his students.”<sup>4</sup> Robow continued:

“Al Qaeda is the mother of the holy war in Somalia. Most of our leaders were trained in Al Qaeda camps. We get our tactics and guidelines from them. Many have spent time with Osama bin Laden.”

The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Robow “also spoke for the first time about eventually expanding [Shabaab’s] activities outside Somalia’s borders, saying Americans, even journalists and aid workers, were not immune from attack because of what he called “the aggression of the American government . . . .” Robow explained, “Once we end the holy war in Somalia, we will take it to any government that participated in the fighting against Somalia or gave assistance to those attacking us.”

In September 2008, a senior Shabaab leader who was also an al-Qaeda operative reached out to senior al-Qaeda leaders in a 24-minute video posted on-line.<sup>5</sup> Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan, the dual-hatted Shabaab/al-Qaeda leader, heaped praise on Osama bin Laden:

“My greetings to the courageous commander and my honorable leader: Sheikh Osama bin Laden (may Allah protect him and his followers). I hope from Allah the highest . . . that this salutation reaches you while you are in ease and good health. Allah knows how much we long for your meeting and the delight of your gentle voice . . . My sheikh! The heart offers you thousand greetings combined with my love and humility. My salutation is nostalgia and my love is permanent, filled with the truth of the emotions of the poets.”

Ayman al Zawahiri, who was then al-Qaeda’s No. 2 leader at the time, responded to Shabaab in November 2008. Zawahiri called Shabaab “my brothers, the lions of Islam in Somalia.”<sup>6</sup> Zawahiri continued: “[R]ejoice in victory and conquest and hold tightly to the truth for which you have given your lives, and don’t put down your weapons before the Mujahid state of Islam and Tawheed has been set up in Somalia.”

In February 2009, Ayman al Zawahiri praised Shabaab’s gains in southern and central Somalia. Zawahiri said Shabaab’s victories were “a step on the path of the victory of Islam, the empowerment of Muslims, and the expulsion of the invaders of their land.”<sup>7</sup> Zawahiri continued:

“It is the expansion of the influence of the Mujahideen in Somalia, the spreading of the authority of sharia [Islamic law], and the expulsion of the invaders—the enemies of the Islam and their agents—from broad regions of Somalia, foremost among which are the city of Baidoa. This city used to host the headquarters of the American-affiliated transitional government.”

#### SENIOR SHABAAB LEADERS & AL-QAEDA

Below, I have set forth a list of 13 current and deceased Shabaab leaders and operatives. This list is not intended to be comprehensive, although it does include most of Shabaab’s most senior terrorists, including its emir. The mini-biographies below show Shabaab’s roots in several closely allied terrorist organizations, including al-Qaeda’s East Africa cells, Al-Itihaad al-Islamiya (or AIAI), and the Islamic

<sup>3</sup> Bill Roggio, “Excerpts from the Osama bin Laden Tape,” *The Long War Journal*, June 30, 2006; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2006/06/excerpts\\_from\\_the\\_os.php#ixzz-1T48WFwx8](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2006/06/excerpts_from_the_os.php#ixzz-1T48WFwx8).

<sup>4</sup> Edmund Sanders, “Conditions may be ripe for Al Qaeda to gain in Somalia,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Nick Grace, “Shabaab reaches out to al Qaeda senior leaders, announces death [of] al Sudani,” *The Long War Journal*, September 2, 2008; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/09/shabab\\_reaches\\_out\\_t.php#ixzz1T42XeJB3](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/09/shabab_reaches_out_t.php#ixzz1T42XeJB3).

<sup>6</sup> Nick Grace, “Shabaab Leader Sanctioned as Zawahiri Responds to Group’s Oath of Loyalty,” *The Long War Journal*, November 21, 2008; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/11/shabaab\\_leader\\_sanct.php#ixzz1T45KY51h](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/11/shabaab_leader_sanct.php#ixzz1T45KY51h).

<sup>7</sup> Bill Roggio, “Zawahiri praises Shabaab’s takeover of southern Somalia,” *The Long War Journal*, February 24, 2009; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/02/zawahiri\\_praises\\_sha.php#ixzz1T4CLKB6L](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/02/zawahiri_praises_sha.php#ixzz1T4CLKB6L).

Courts Union (ICU). Both the ICU and AIAI had strong ties to al-Qaeda. Shabaab was originally founded as the “youth” wing of the ICU.

Shabaab leaders are, at minimum, ideologically aligned with al-Qaeda. They have repeatedly praised al-Qaeda and announced that their terrorism is part of the terror network’s global campaign. Several of them were also trained in Afghanistan, most likely in camps affiliated with al-Qaeda. Therefore, even if there were no active operational links between these Shabaab leaders and al-Qaeda, the group’s ideology and historical roots make it a threat to American interests around the globe.

However, there are operational links between Shabaab and the al-Qaeda network headquartered in Pakistan. Several terrorists on the list below were involved in al-Qaeda’s 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. This was al-Qaeda’s most devastating attack prior to September 11, 2001. These same terrorists were also responsible for al-Qaeda’s 2002 attacks in Mombasa, Kenya. They went on to hold senior positions in Shabaab. There are other operational links as well. For example, one of the alleged terrorists on this list is a mid-level Shabaab operative who served as a liaison to another al-Qaeda affiliate, AQAP.

1. *Ahmed Abdi Aw Mohamed (aka “Godane”).*—Godane is the founder and emir (leader) of Shabaab. Godane, like other Shabaab leaders, has been designated a terrorist by the U.S. Godane does not hide his allegiance to al-Qaeda. In early 2010, Godane co-signed a statement saying that his group had “agreed to join the international jihad of al-Qaeda.”<sup>8</sup> Like other Shabaab leaders, Godane “trained and fought in Afghanistan” and has longstanding ties to terrorists in South Asia.<sup>9</sup>

2. *Aden Hashi Ayro.*—Ayro was one of Shabaab’s co-founders and military commander until he was killed in an American airstrike in 2008. Ayro received his terrorist training in Afghanistan and was “long identified” by counterterrorism officials “as one of Al Qaeda’s top operatives in East Africa.”<sup>10</sup> Ayro openly claimed to have turned his militia, the proto-Shabaab, “into the East African franchise for Al Qaeda.”<sup>11</sup> When Ayro was killed, an anonymous U.S. official told *The New York Times*: “For the Horn of Africa, this is pretty significant. He’s certainly considered a leader in Al Qaeda’s effort there. This can be chalked up as a success.”<sup>12</sup> Ayro befriended the leader of his clan, Hassan Dahir Aweys, who reportedly arranged for Ayro “to go to Afghanistan to fight with the Taliban against American forces in 2001.”<sup>13</sup>

Shabaab’s official biography of Ayro, released after his death, said that “he fought under the supervision of Al-Qaeda, and with its logistical support and expertise.”<sup>14</sup>

3. *Fazul Mohammed (aka Harun Fazul).*—In June, Fazul was killed by Somali forces. Fazul’s career demonstrates just how seamlessly a terrorist can work for al-Qaeda, the ICU and Shabaab.<sup>15</sup> At the time of his death, Fazul was both a senior Shabaab military commander and the head of East Africa Al Qaeda (EAAQ). Previously, Fazul was the ICU’s intelligence chief and simultaneously served as a top al-Qaeda operative. And prior to that, Fazul was an al-Qaeda member who reportedly fought in the 1993 Battle of Mogadishu. In November 2009, Osama bin Laden named Fazul the head of al-Qaeda in East Africa. Godane, the emir of Shabaab, attended the ceremony where Fazul was named to this leadership position. Prior to his demise, Mohammed was wanted by U.S. authorities for his role in al-Qaeda’s 1998 embassy bombings and 2002 attacks in Mombasa, Kenya. According to a Joint Task Force Guantanamo document, Fazul sought out bin Laden’s operational advice in recent years.

4. *Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan.*—Nabhan, Shabaab’s senior military commander, was killed in a U.S. airstrike in September 2009. Prior to his demise, Nabhan was wanted by the U.S. Government for his role in the al-Qaeda’s 1998 embassy bombings, as well as the 2002 attacks in Mombasa, Kenya. In a video recorded in July 2008,

<sup>8</sup>Abdi Sheikh and Abdi Guled, “Somali rebels unite, profess loyalty to al Qaeda,” Reuters, February 1, 2010; <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/02/01/us-somalia-conflict-idUSTRE6102Q720100201>.

<sup>9</sup>Ted Dagne, “Somalia: Current Conditions and Prospects for a Lasting Peace,” Congressional Research Service, June 29, 2011; <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33911.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup>Eric Schmitt and Jeffrey Gettleman, “Qaeda Leader Reported Killed in Somalia,” *The New York Times*, May 2, 2008.

<sup>11</sup>Aidan Hartley, “Tea With a Terrorist,” *The New York Times*, July 25, 2010.

<sup>12</sup>*The New York Times*, May 2, 2008.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, “The Strategic Challenge of Somalia’s Al-Shabaab,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2009, pp. 25–36; [http://www.meforum.org/2486/somalia-al-shabaab-strategic-challenge#\\_ftnref4](http://www.meforum.org/2486/somalia-al-shabaab-strategic-challenge#_ftnref4).

<sup>15</sup>Bill Roggio, “Al Qaeda’s East Africa chief Fazul Mohammed killed in Somalia,” *The Long War Journal*, June 11, 2011; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/06/al\\_qaedas\\_east\\_afric\\_1.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/06/al_qaedas_east_afric_1.php).

Nabhan praised Osama bin Laden as “the courageous commander and my honorable leader.” The same video shows Nabhan training Shabaab recruits.<sup>16</sup>

5. *Mukhtar Robow (aka Abu Mansur)*.—Robow’s is Shabaab’s spokesman. Like other Shabaab leaders, Robow received his terrorist training in Afghanistan.<sup>17</sup> Robow also does not hide his allegiance to al-Qaeda. As cited above, Robow has openly declared: “Al Qaeda is the mother of the holy war in Somalia. Most of our leaders were trained in Al Qaeda camps. We get our tactics and guidelines from them. Many have spent time with Osama bin Laden.” Robow also encouraged Shabaab’s terrorists to commit the July 11, 2008 terrorist attacks in Kampala, Uganda, killing nearly 80 people.<sup>18</sup> Those bombings closely mirrored al-Qaeda’s modus operandi.

6. *Abu Talha al Sudani*.—Sudani, who was killed in 2007, “was al Qaeda’s ideological and strategic leader in East Africa.”<sup>19</sup> Sudani was wanted for his role in the 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania as well as al-Qaeda’s 2002 attacks in Kenya. Sudani was reportedly “close” to the aforementioned Ayro.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Nabhan announced Sudani’s death in an on-line video that also discussed the strike that killed Ayro.<sup>21</sup>

7. *Issa Osman Issa*—Issa is as a dual-hatted Shabaab and al-Qaeda terrorist. Issa was one of three Shabaab leaders sanctioned by the U.S. Treasury Department in November 2008.<sup>22</sup> The other two Shabaab leaders were Godane and Robow. Issa reportedly took part in al-Qaeda’s 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, as well as the 2002 attacks in Mombasa, Kenya. Leaked Joint Task Force Guantanamo documents reference intelligence reports tying Issa to both al-Qaeda and Shabaab. In one such memo, Issa is described as “a mobile commander for al Shabaab forces.”<sup>23</sup>

8. *Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys*.—Sheikh Aweys was co-leader of the Islamic Courts Union. In early 2009, he founded Hizbul Islam, a coalition of four Somali Islamic groups. Although the two organizations cooperated in attacks against their common enemies, Hizbul Islam became a rival of Shabaab after the two unsuccessfully attempted to merge forces. The two clashed in southern Somalia, including in Kismayo. Hizbul Islam was weakened by infighting and Sheikh Aweys eventually merged the group with Shabaab. Aweys is now a Shabaab commander.

Aweys is a longtime ally of al-Qaeda and was trained in al-Qaeda’s pre-9/11 Afghan camps.<sup>24</sup> He was reportedly involved in the 1993 Battle of Mogadishu, more commonly known as the “Black Hawk Down” episode in which 18 American servicemen were killed. In November 2001, the U.S. State Department added him to its list of Specially Designated Terrorists. Aweys has long advocated suicide attacks, including the use of children as suicide bombers.

According to a leaked Joint Task Force Guantanamo file, Sheikh Aweys “sponsored” Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan in Mogadishu after Nabhan fled there following al-Qaeda’s November 28, 2002 terrorist attacks in Kenya.

9. *Sheikh Hassan Turki*.—Sheikh Turki was a leader in the AIAI and then the Islamic Courts Union before forming his own organization, the Ras Kamboni Brigade. Sheikh Turki originally merged the Ras Kamboni Brigade into Sheikh Aweys. Hizbul Islam, but later broke from Aweys’ group to join Shabaab in early 2010.<sup>25</sup> Shabaab’s spiritual leader, Ahmed Abdi Godane, and Sheikh Turki released a joint statement announcing the merger. The statement read: “We have agreed to join the international jihad of al Qaeda . . . We have also agreed to unite al Shabaab and Kamboni mujahideen to liberate the Eastern and Horn of Africa community who are

<sup>16</sup> *The Long War Journal*, September 2, 2008.

<sup>17</sup> *The New York Times*, July 25, 2010.

<sup>18</sup> *The New York Times*, July 25, 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Bill Roggio, “Senior al Qaeda operative killed in Somalia,” *The Long War Journal*, September 1, 2008; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/09/senior\\_al\\_qaeda\\_oper\\_1.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/09/senior_al_qaeda_oper_1.php).

<sup>20</sup> Obituary for Aden Hashi Ayro, *The Sunday Times (UK)*, May 21, 2008; <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/obituaries/article3978645.ece>.

<sup>21</sup> *The Long War Journal*, September 1, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> Nick Grace, “Shabaab Leader Sanctioned as Zawahiri Responds to Group’s Oath of Loyalty,” *The Long War Journal*, November 21, 2008; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/11/shabaab\\_leader\\_sanct.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/11/shabaab_leader_sanct.php).

<sup>23</sup> JTF-GTMO Memo, “Subject: DAB Assessment of Guantanamo Detainee, ISN DJ9S0-0100127DP (S),” August 6, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> Bill Roggio, “Somalia’s Aweys calls for more suicide attacks,” *The Long War Journal*, September 20, 2009; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/09/somalias\\_aweys\\_calls.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/09/somalias_aweys_calls.php).

<sup>25</sup> Bill Roggio, “Shabaab absorbs southern Islamist group, splits Hizbul Islam,” *The Long War Journal*, February 1, 2010; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/02/shabaab\\_absorbs\\_sout.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/02/shabaab_absorbs_sout.php).

under the feet of minority Christians.”<sup>26</sup> Sheikh Turki operates terrorist training camps in southern Somalia and has trained suicide bombers close to the Kenyan border.<sup>27</sup>

10. *Bashir Mohamed Mahamoud*.—According to the United Nations, Mahamoud is a Shabaab “military commander” and “one of approximately ten members on al Shabaab’s leadership council as of late 2008.”<sup>28</sup> The United Nations notes that Mahamoud and “an associate were in charge of the 10 June 2009 mortar attack against the Somali Transitional Federal Government in Mogadishu.”

A leaked Joint Task Force Guantanamo (JTF–GTMO) file notes that a current detainee, Abdul Malik Bajabu, has admitted to having “a close relationship” with Mahamoud.<sup>29</sup> The same file describes Mahamoud as an “EAAQ member.” Mahamoud “planned to assassinate the Somali Prime Minister and conduct unspecified suicide attacks.”

11. *Abdul Malik Bajabu*.—Bajabu is currently held at Guantanamo and a JTF–GTMO threat assessment summarizing the intelligence on his activities alleges that he was a member of East Africa Al Qaeda (EAAQ) and the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), and also “has ties to the al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI).”<sup>30</sup> Bajabu has allegedly “admitted that he participated in the planning and execution” of the November 28, 2002 attacks on the Kikambala Paradise Hotel and an Israeli airliner in Kenya.

The details of Bajabu’s career alleged in the threat assessment show a high degree of coordination between al-Qaeda members and Shabaab leaders. The file cites intelligence reports that say Bajabu operated out of Mogadishu and conspired with Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan, Fazul Mohammed, Issa Osman Issa, and Bashir Mohamed Mahamoud, as well as other terrorists working for al-Qaeda, Shabaab, and the ICU.

The JTF–GTMO threat assessment also alleges that a member of a group called the “London Boys” was a “close associate” of Bajabu’s. The “London Boys” allegedly received terrorist training under Fazul Mohammed and may have been recruited by al-Qaeda to be “sleeper agents” for future attacks.<sup>31</sup>

12. *Ibrahim al Afghani*.—Al Afghani is rumored to have been killed in a Predator strike in late June.<sup>32</sup> (As of this writing, this report has not been confirmed.) Afghani previously served as Shabaab’s regional governor of the Kismayo administration. The Somalia Monitoring Group, in a March 2010 report, said Afghani is one of the group’s top leaders. Afghani was listed after Ahmed Abdi Aw Mohamed (aka Godane), Shabaab’s emir.

Afghani received his *nom de guerre* because he waged jihad in Afghanistan for years. A leaked Joint Task Force Guantanamo (JTF–GTMO) threat assessment, dated Aug. 6, 2007, describes Afghani as “an al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI) military commander known for his religious knowledge as well as loyalty and support for al Qaeda and the Taliban and for his continuing links to Afghanistan.” The file continues: “[Afghani] was one of the first founders of al Qaeda affiliated AIAI cells and one of the instigators of terrorist attacks in Somaliland.”

13. *Ahmed Abdulkadir Warsame*.—Earlier this month, the Department of Justice indicted Ahmed Abdulkadir Warsame “on charges of providing material support to al Shabaab and al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).”<sup>33</sup> The DOJ alleges that Warsame “received explosives and other military-type training from AQAP,” “worked to broker a weapons deal with AQAP on behalf of al Shabaab,” and provided explosives training.

Warsame’s alleged role as an intermediary between AQAP and Shabaab is hardly surprising. Multiple recent reports have pointed to collusion between these two branches of the jihadist terror network.<sup>34</sup> For instance, the *Washington Post* re-

<sup>26</sup> *Reuters*, February 1, 2010.

<sup>27</sup> *The Long War Journal*, February 1, 2010.

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/sc9904.doc.htm>.

<sup>29</sup> JTF–GTMO Memo, “Subject: Combatant Status Review Tribunal Input and Recommendation for Continued Detention Under DoD Control (CD) for Guantanamo Detainee, ISN US9KE-010025DP (S)” (Abdul Malik Bajabu), May 22, 2007.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> “London ‘sleeper cell’ told to carry out wave of terror attacks by Bin Laden before his death,” *The Daily Mail (UK)*, May 15, 2011; <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1387332/Osama-Bin-Laden-dead-London-sleeper-cell-told-carry-attacks-death.html>.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Joscelyn and Bill Roggio, “Senior Shabaab commander rumored to have been killed in recent Predator strike,” *The Long War Journal*, July 9, 2011; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/07/senior\\_shabaab\\_comma\\_1.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/07/senior_shabaab_comma_1.php).

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.justice.gov/cjs/docs/news-07052011.html>.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Joscelyn, “Alleged Shabaab operative to stand trial in New York,” *The Long War Journal*, July 6, 2011; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/07/alleged\\_al\\_shabaab\\_o.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/07/alleged_al_shabaab_o.php).

ported in late June that two Shabaab leaders targeted in an U.S. missile strike had “direct ties” to AQAP cleric Anwar al Awlaki.<sup>35</sup>

#### SHABAAB’S RECRUITS AND AL-QAEDA

There is extensive evidence that Shabaab’s recruiting in the West is not limited to “nationalistic” aims. While some recruits probably do travel to Somalia to take part in a “local” (civil) war, there is always the potential for these same recruits to become indoctrinated in Shabaab’s al-Qaeda-inspired ideology once they arrive there. Indeed, this has been al-Qaeda’s strategy, to fold “local” conflicts into an international jihad. Moreover, some Shabaab recruits are clearly radicalized before they even depart American soil.

Consider the case of Mohamoud Hassan, a Minneapolis man who was inspired to join Shabaab in Somalia. Hassan initially supported the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia—the event that some argue was the real driver of radicalization. But over time, Hassan began to change his views. The *New York Times* has reported that Hassan listened to al-Qaeda cleric Anwar al Awlaki’s lectures, which are filled with jihadist ideology. Hassan was also reportedly “incensed” by the U.S. air strike that killed Shabaab leader Aden Hashi Ayro, who is profiled above. It is especially curious that Hassan would lament Ayro’s death because Ayro’s ties to al-Qaeda and extremist ideological beliefs were widely known. A friend of Hassan’s made an astute observation in an interview with the *New York Times*. “They saw it as their duty to go and fight,” the friend said. “If it was just nationalism, they could give money. But religion convinced them to sacrifice their whole life.”<sup>36</sup>

The willingness of some Shabaab recruits to commit suicide attacks, as Shirwa Ahmed did in October 2008, is another important indication that nationalism is not the sole driver of Shabaab’s recruiting. The embrace of martyrdom is a central pillar of al-Qaeda’s ideology that was considered un-Islamic by many Muslim scholars until the last half of the 20th Century. Shabaab itself has carried out more than 2 dozen suicide attacks inside Somalia. While these suicide attacks have killed some foreigners, the main victims of Shabaab’s suicide terrorism have been Somalis.<sup>37</sup>

Shabaab’s suicide attacks have begun to spill over into the surrounding countries—an unmistakable sign of al-Qaeda’s influence. The Shabaab cell that carried out the July 2010 attacks in Kampala, Uganda was named the Saleh Ali Nabhan Brigade. Nabhan, mentioned above, was a terrorist who served both Shabaab and al-Qaeda.

Finally, Shabaab’s recruits in the West have received training from senior al-Qaeda operatives who are also members of Shabaab. Earlier this month, the Department of Justice agreed to a plea deal with a Minneapolis man named Omar Abdi Mohamed. According to a DOJ press release, Mohamed admitted that he helped Shabaab recruit Somali Americans. The DOJ explains: “Upon arriving in Somalia, the men resided in al-Shabaab safe-houses in Southern Somalia until constructing an al-Shabaab training camp, where they were trained. Senior members of al-Shabaab and a senior member of al-Qaeda in East Africa conducted the training.”<sup>38</sup>

That is, Shabaab’s Minneapolis recruits were delivered to a senior al-Qaeda member for training.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Joscelyn.

Our next witness is the chief of the Saint Paul police department. He has been the chief since 2010. Thomas Smith began his career with the City of Saint Paul as a police officer in 1989, became SWAT team commander and assistant police chief. He is a graduate of the FBI Academy and serves on the FBI Civil Rights Advisory Council.

We very much thank you for being here today sharing your insights with us. We look forward to your testimony.

Chief Smith, you are now recognized for 5 minutes.

<sup>35</sup> Greg Jaffe and Karen DeYoung, “U.S. drone targets two leaders of Somali group allied with al-Qaeda, official says,” *The Washington Post*, June 29, 2011; [http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/national-security/us-drones-target-two-leaders-of-somali-group-allied-with-al-qaeda/2011/06/29/AGJFzrH\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/national-security/us-drones-target-two-leaders-of-somali-group-allied-with-al-qaeda/2011/06/29/AGJFzrH_story.html).

<sup>36</sup> Andrea Elliott, “A Call to Jihad, Answered in America,” *The New York Times*, July 12, 2009.

<sup>37</sup> Bill Roggio, “Shabaab suicide bomber kills Somali interior minister,” *The Long War Journal*, June 10, 2011; [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/06/shabaab\\_suicide\\_bomb\\_1.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/06/shabaab_suicide_bomb_1.php).

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.justice.gov/usao/mn/press/jul016.pdf>.

**STATEMENT OF THOMAS E. SMITH, CHIEF OF POLICE, SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA**

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Chairman King, Ranking Member Thompson, and distinguished Members of the committee, I thank you for the opportunity to testify on this important topic.

I will speak today about current efforts underway in Saint Paul, Minnesota to counter attempts by al-Shabaab to recruit and radicalize some of the young members of our community. I will highlight the Saint Paul Police Department's efforts to combat this disturbing trend, and will speak specifically to our cooperative outreach efforts, including a program we call AIMCOP—African Immigrant Muslim Community Outreach Program, which is funded in large part through a Federal Bureau of Justice assistance grant.

This conversation is especially important for Saint Paul, as we have a significant Somali American population. This community is engaged and has a keen interest and complex understanding of local, National, and world events. I found the majority of these men and women call Twin Cities home and are proud Americans. Some among the community, though, have targets—have become targets—for radicalization.

It is well published that between 2007 and 2009, al-Shabaab successfully lured approximately 20 young Muslim men, many of whom are Somali American, from the Minneapolis-Saint Paul area to fight overseas in a terrorist war. This phenomenon was new, and represented a challenge that the Saint Paul Police Department had not confronted in the past.

The idea though that young adults could be enticed into something this destructive was not. This news was both troubling and disturbing, and although the trend had political and security implications that extended far beyond Saint Paul, our department made a commitment to counter this threat.

We have long worked to combat threats to our youth that have become all too familiar. Alcohol abuse, drug abuse, and gang violence. As we have committed to combating those threats, the Saint Paul Police Department committed to battling a new one, the potential radicalization of our Somali American youth.

We believed that we could play a role in stopping this threat, and that our work coupled with positive messages conveyed to our youth through strong families, legitimate social organizations, and constructive religious messages, could be just as powerful as the destructive messages delivered by al-Shabaab.

In 2004, the Saint Paul Police Department began to engage in serious outreach work with our Somali American residents. Though we did not know it at the time, this initial work would prove to be the foundation for more urgent work with broader implications.

This evolved into AIMCOP, the African Immigrant Muslim Community Outreach Program. In 2009, the Saint Paul Police Department applied for a Bureau of Justice assistance grant to AIMCOP. The grant sought to capitalize on existing department outreach efforts with the local Somali American community, and cited a specific need, the need to prevent further radicalization of our youth by al-Shabaab.



It further cited specific strategies to combat this trend, targeted an on-going outreach with our Somali American community, and coordinated work with our partners, such as the FBI Minneapolis Field Office, the United States Attorney's Office for the District of Minnesota, the Ramsey County Sheriff's Office, and several service providers, including the local YWCA, the Saint Paul Intervention Project, and the Muslim American Society. We were awarded the grant in 2009 and AIMCOP was launched.

Today, both the scale and scope of AIMCOP and its related programs have seen significant growth. Our department still regularly meets with the Somali Advisory Council, a council, by the way, that I helped to establish along with other members from the Saint Paul Police Department, our mayor, Christopher Coleman, back in 2006. An advisory council that can talk to the chief of police and others within our department, along with local government, to talk about concerns within their community.

We also have 45 officers of all ranks that are now intimately involved in our programs. These officers asked to be a part of this formal outreach work. After their acceptance into our program, the officers receive training specific to the work, to the mission, and to the philosophy behind it. Officers developed and now lead, coordinate, and directly participate in an array of activities with our Somali American youth.

These include after-school study programs, open gyms, arts and crafts programs, and even camping trips. Our police athletic league, known as PAL, has over 300 Somali American youth participants who compete in soccer, flag football, softball, and volleyball games that are organized, coached, and refereed by Saint Paul police officers.

We strongly believe that by creating these safe, diverse, and on-going opportunities for Somali American youth and the police to interact, that trust, cooperation, friendship, and mentorship will increase, and opportunities for al-Shabaab to recruit and radicalize our youth will decrease.

We have faced some challenges while moving forward with our outreach work. Among those was the fact that Somali American women and girls were noticeably underrepresented in many of our initial programs. We now directly target Somali American females and mothers with many of our outreach efforts, including a number of programs that are led exclusively by women police officers.

AIMCOP has enjoyed an increase in female participation and has benefited greatly from this expanded involvement and dialogue. We have also expanded our understanding of our Somali American residents' background and religion, through specific training to our officers.

In this, we have come to a better understanding that to effectively prevent and combat the threat of radicalization, we need to think beyond our traditional law enforcement notions and strategies. I have no doubt that AIMCOP and its related programs have helped us counter the threat posed by al-Shabaab.

We have built strong relationships with a community once isolated, and we now work together to address challenges and solve problems. Somali American youth that may be tempted by an ideology of radicalization can now look to an expanded network of

trust, including police officers, mentors to provide support, resources, and guidance to steer them in a positive direction.

We find new examples every day where Somali American youth confide in their police officer mentors about their family, their school, and their own personal problems and issues. They also speak candidly about their own concerns for friends or family who may be on a troubled path or may be among those missing, suspected to have gone overseas to fight.

This outreach work has also played a significant role in some very important criminal investigations. In 2009, while participating in the mentor program at a local high school, I was approached by a co-worker and the mother of a 14-year-old Somali American youth. The mother was concerned her child was becoming recruited and radicalized. This information was turned over to our FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force and resulted in a significant investigation.

Also in 2009, the Saint Paul Police Department, through established personal relationships, was informed by Somali American parents that girls in their community were being sexually trafficked, not only in Saint Paul and Minneapolis, but also in Tennessee and other States.

This bit of information, passed on in large part because of an existing climate of cooperation and trust, was the genesis for a significant and large-scale investigation that ultimately resulted in 30 Federal indictments in Minnesota and Tennessee. At least one of those indictments was turned over to the FBI, because of other concerns.

I don't know if you read what happened to those young Somali girls, but I did. Horrific, horrific what happened to those young girls. We were able to get them resources, get them back with their families. This was a significant investigation that would have never happened, or furthered the investigation without a community of trust.

The United States Attorney's Office for the Middle District of Tennessee continues to work on this case today. The majority of those indicted are from the Twin Cities, and all were involved in Somali gangs. Beyond the indictments, this investigation led to the safe return, as I noted, of many Somali American girls to their families, the youngest of which was only 14 years of age. Somali elders were briefed repeatedly during the course of this investigation, and were asked to provide information in the future should this activity begin again.

Through these and countless other examples, I sit before you today and confidently attest not only to the success of AIMCOP and its related programs, but also to the great future potential that this type of work holds. AIMCOP has captured attention from international agencies working on similar radicalization issues. The British embassy has both invited members, including myself, from the Saint Paul Police Department to the United Kingdom, and conducted site visits in our city as well.

Recently, we were visited by the United States ambassador to Denmark, Laurie Fulton, who spoke about on-going efforts and similarities between the Twin Cities and Denmark. Discussions continue in attempts to identify methods to benefit both the Saint Paul and Danish models to improve outcomes are underway.

Our department continues to evolve this program to address the specific needs of our Somali American residents, and to counter the unique threat posed by al-Shabaab. I foresee a future where even more sophisticated programming, bolstered by enhanced partnerships with additional agencies and organization will continue to build upon the trust we have gained with Saint Paul's Somali American residents. The continuation of our work is an imperative part of a larger effort to counter terrorism and reduce crime.

As I conclude, I want to share a few thoughts. I am asked—or I am sometimes asked—if our community can actually benefit from the Somali Advisory Council, or the Police Athletic leagues. These efforts do look different than our traditional notions of police work.

To answer those questions, I ask that they imagine for a moment that the police officer called to a housing complex to deal with a youth problem happens also to be the same young people's football coach or math tutor or the leader of last weekend's camping trip. I ask them to further imagine that among those same youth are the sons or daughters of the elders who regularly visit my office, or I visit their places where they reside. You don't have to imagine those connections, because in Saint Paul they really exist.

These connections run throughout AIMCOP, and they represent the very foundation of our outreach work. In my experience, these connections pay great dividends. As chief of police I expect my officers to perform their duties in the line with three core principles. No. 1, keep the peace. In this we don't police to the community, we commit to policing with it as we implement—

Chairman KING. Chief Smith, if I could ask you to try to wrap it up in the next 10 seconds?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Promote public safety. To do so, we commit to the development of strong partnerships with all of our communities we serve. Enforce the law. I have come to firmly believe, however, that when we do the first two things well, we actually have to do less of the third.

All of these involve our AIMCOP program, and I can tell you that our initial work with our Saint Paul elders in 2004 all the way to 2006 really helped us establish this community of trust that we have with the residents in the Saint Paul community.

Thank you.

[The statement of Chief Smith follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THOMAS E. SMITH

JULY 27, 2011

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This conversation is especially important for Saint Paul, as we have a significant Somali American population. This community is engaged, and has a keen interest and complex understanding of local, National, and world events. I have found the

majority of these men and women call the Twin Cities home and are proud Americans. Some among the community though, have become targets for radicalization.

It is well published that between 2007 and 2009, al-Shabaab successfully lured approximately 20 young Muslim men, many of whom are Somali American, from the Minneapolis/Saint Paul area to fight overseas in a terrorist war. This phenomenon was new, and represented a challenge that the Saint Paul Police Department had not confronted in the past. The idea though, that young adults could be enticed into something this destructive was not. This news was both troubling and disturbing, and although the trend had political and security implications that extended far beyond Saint Paul, our department made a commitment to counter this threat.

We have long worked to combat threats to our youth that have become all too familiar: Alcohol use, drug abuse, and gang violence. As we have committed to combating those threats, the Saint Paul Police Department committed to battling a new one: The potential radicalization of our Somali American youth. We believed that we could play a role in stopping this threat, and that our work, coupled with positive messages conveyed to our youth through strong families, legitimate social organizations and constructive religious messages could be just as powerful as the destructive messages delivered by al-Shabaab.

In 2004, the Saint Paul Police Department began to engage in serious outreach work with our Somali American residents. Though we did not know it at the time, this initial work would prove to be the foundation for more urgent work with broader implications. This evolved into AIMCOP, the African Immigrant Muslim Community Outreach Program.

In 2009, the Saint Paul Police Department applied for a Bureau of Justice Assistance grant to fund AIMCOP. The grant sought to capitalize on existing department outreach efforts with the local Somali American community, and cited a specific need—the need to prevent further radicalization of our youth by al-Shabaab.

It further cited specific strategies to combat this trend—targeted and on-going outreach with our Somali American community, and coordinated work with partners such as the FBI Minneapolis Field Office, the U.S. Attorney's Office for the District of Minnesota, the Ramsey County Sheriff's Office and several service providers including the local YWCA, the Saint Paul Intervention Project, and the Muslim American Society. We were awarded the grant in 2009 and AIMCOP was launched.

Today both the scale and scope of AIMCOP and its related programs have seen significant growth. Our department still regularly meets with the Somali Advisory Council, and some 45 officers of all ranks are now intimately involved in our programs. These officers asked to be a part of this formal outreach work. After their acceptance into our program the officers received training specific to the work, to the mission, and to the philosophy behind it. Officers developed and now lead, coordinate, and directly participate in an array of activities with our Somali American youth. These include after-school study programs, open gyms, arts and crafts programs, and even camping trips.

Our Police Athletic League has over 300 Somali American youth participants who compete in soccer, flag football, softball, and volleyball games that are organized, coached, and refereed by Saint Paul Police Officers. We strongly believe that by creating these safe, diverse, and on-going opportunities for Somali American youth and the police to interact, that trust, cooperation, friendship, and mentorship will increase, and opportunities for al-Shabaab to recruit and radicalize our youth will decrease.

We have faced some challenges while moving forward with our outreach work. Among those was the fact that Somali American women and girls were noticeably underrepresented in many of our initial programs. We now directly target Somali American females with many of our outreach efforts, including a number of programs that are led exclusively by women police officers. AIMCOP has enjoyed an increase in female participation and has benefited greatly from this expanded involvement and dialogue. We have also expanded our own understanding of our Somali American residents' background and religion through specific training to our officers. In this, we have come to a better understanding that to effectively prevent and combat the threat of radicalization we need to think beyond our traditional law enforcement notions and strategies.

I have no doubt that AIMCOP and its related programs have helped us counter the threat posed by al-Shabaab. We have built strong relationships with a community once isolated, and we now work together to address challenges and solve problems. Somali American youth that may be tempted by an ideology of radicalization can now look to an expanded network of trust, including police officer mentors to provide support, resources, and guidance to steer them in a positive direction. We find new examples every day where Somali American youth confide in their police officer mentors about their family, their school, and their own personal problems

and issues. They also speak candidly about their own concerns for friends or family who may be on a troubled path or who may even be among those missing, suspected to have gone overseas to fight. This outreach work has also played a significant role in some very important criminal investigations. In 2009, while participating in a mentor program at a local high school, I was approached by the mother of a 14-year-old Somali American youth. The mother was concerned her child was becoming recruited and radicalized. This information was turned over to our FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force and resulted in a significant investigation.

Also in 2009, the Saint Paul Police Department, through established personal relationships, was informed by Somali American parents that girls in their community were being sexually trafficked not only in Saint Paul and Minneapolis, but also in Tennessee and other States. This bit of information, passed on in large part because of an existing climate of cooperation and trust, was the genesis for a significant and large-scale investigation that ultimately resulted in 30 Federal indictments in Minnesota and Tennessee. At least one of those indicted was turned over to the FBI because of other concerns. United States Attorney's Office for the Middle District of Tennessee continues to work on this case. The majority of those indicted are from the Twin Cities and all were involved in Somali gangs. Beyond the indictments, this investigation led to the safe return of many Somali American girls to their families, the youngest of which was only 14 years of age. Somali Elders were briefed repeatedly during the course of this investigation and were asked to provide information in the future should this activity begin again.

Through these and countless other examples, I sit before you today and confidently attest not only to the successes of AIMCOP and its related programs, but also to the great future potential that this type of work holds. AIMCOP has captured attention from international agencies working on similar radicalization issues. The British Embassy has both invited members from the Saint Paul Police Department to the United Kingdom and conducted site visits in our own city. Recently, we were visited by United States Ambassador to Denmark Laurie Fulton who spoke about on-going efforts and similarities between the Twin Cities and Denmark. Discussions continue and attempts to identify methods to benefit both the Saint Paul and Danish models to improve outcomes are underway.

Our department continues to evolve its programs to address the specific needs of our Somali American residents, and to counter the unique threat posed by al-Shabaab. I foresee a future where even more sophisticated programming bolstered by enhanced partnerships with additional agencies and organizations will continue to build upon the trust we have gained with Saint Paul's Somali American residents. The continuation of our work is an imperative part of a larger effort to counter terrorism and reduce crime.

As I conclude, I want to share a few thoughts. I am sometimes asked if I believe that our community can actually benefit from the Somali Advisory Council or the Police Athletic Leagues. These efforts do look far different than our traditional notions of police work. To answer those questions I ask that they imagine, for a moment, that the police officer called to a housing complex to deal with a youth problem happens also to be those same young peoples' football coach—or math tutor—or the leader of last weekend's camping trip. And I ask them to further imagine that among those same youth are the sons or daughters of the Elders who regularly visit my office as part of the Somali Advisory Council. You don't have to imagine those connections because in Saint Paul they actually exist. These connections run throughout AIMCOP and they represent the very foundation of our outreach work. And in my experience, these connections pay dividends.

As Chief of Police, I expect my officers to perform their duties in line with three core principles.

1. Keep the peace. In this, we don't police to the community, we commit to policing with it, as we implement creative new strategies and initiatives.
2. Promote public safety. To do so, we commit to the development of strong partnerships with ALL of the communities we serve.
3. Enforce the law. I have come to firmly believe, however, that when we do the first two things well, we actually have to do less of the third.

As I examine AIMCOP and its related programs against these principles, I am further convinced that the program fits squarely within our overall mission to keep our community safe. I believe that through AIMCOP and programs like it, we will have fewer crimes to investigate, fewer threats to our communities to address, and fewer young people leaving our neighborhoods to fight and die in foreign lands. The Saint Paul Police Department looks forward to our continued outreach work and for the opportunity to play a role in combating the threat posed by al-Shabaab.

I thank the Members of this committee for the opportunity to address you today.

Chairman KING. Chief Smith, thank you for your testimony and your service.

I will begin the round of questions.

Mr. HusSEN, let me begin with you, please. As you probably know, these hearings have been attacked as anti-Muslim bigoted, biased, racist—pick your terminology—that is come at us from all directions.

You said in your testimony these hearings have actually empowered your community

Mr. HUSSEN. Yes.

Chairman KING. If you could expand on that? In the course of doing that, you also said that you believe the narrative has to be changed that goes to the Somali American community to show that they should not be anti-Western. That in effect, they should work with the governments of Canada and the United States.

I would ask you, first of all, to the extent these hearings have helped out, but even more importantly, do you find that the leadership in your community agrees with you? Has it changed? Has it gone for the better? If you could just basically tell us what the level of leadership is and how they react to what you are saying about the narrative of being pro-Western?

Mr. HUSSEN. The question is an important one. Initially there was some reluctance, because they thought there was a dichotomy between Islamic values and democratic values. The more we explained that there is no distinction between the two, because our religion is not incompatible with American or Canadian values. Our religion is compatible. True Islam is compatible with the respect for human rights and democracy and rule of law and respect for minorities.

When you explain it that way, when you come at it—when you come at the values that Canada and the United States have from the perspective of Islamic values, then it is easier for the community members and leaders to accept. Over the years there has been really great movement towards that acceptance of that message. However—yes, sir?

Chairman KING. If I could ask you, what is your relationship with CAIR in Canada?

Mr. HUSSEN. We don't have a relationship with CAIR in Canada, because CAIR has—CAIR comes at it from a different perspective.

Chairman KING. Does CAIR share your narrative?

Mr. HUSSEN. No, they don't.

Chairman KING. Okay.

If I could ask Mr. Folk, how would you rate the severity of a possible attack on our homeland because of the linkup between al-Shabaab and AQAP?

Mr. FOLK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think that is an excellent question.

I think the focus of the potential that al-Shabaab carries is best viewed through the lens of what al-Qaeda has accomplished in the past, and what, if any, similarities there are between the ideology of al-Qaeda and al-Shabaab.

I think if we compare them side-by-side, you would find the same message being set forth by al-Shabaab as we have heard previously from al-Qaeda, which is against the United States, which is justi-

fyng violent acts against innocents. I think to the extent that al-Shabaab has in many ways adopted an al-Qaeda training module, and echoes the same ideology, I think the potential that they carry is similar to what we have seen from al-Qaeda.

Chairman KING. We have heard various estimates of three dozen, four dozen, 40 in the United States, 20 in Canada, maybe more, who have gone over. If we know who has gone over, what is the threat about them coming back?

Mr. FOLK. Any time an individual travels to a country that essentially lacks any functioning government such as Somalia, our ability to track that individual is going to be severely degraded. Certainly a country such as Somalia, which has a transitional federal government that is responsible for a number of blocks in Mogadishu, but has not authority beyond that, is a nation in which essentially you have a black box. That is, once somebody goes in, we may or may not have any ability to track them, looking forward.

As a result, while I would like to believe we are able to track anybody coming out of Somalia back to the United States that we believe has been engaged in extremist behavior, I think the reality is, as we saw last December, that even in the best-case scenario, when somebody's own family member may report them to be a potential threat to the United States, we sometimes miss them. So, I think that the potential is incredibly scary in that regard.

Chairman KING. Mr. Joscelyn, do you care to comment on the potential threat with al-Shabaab linking with AQAP?

Mr. JOSCELYN. Well, AQAP and generally the AQ presence within al-Shabaab itself I would say is a threat. In other words, there are two ways to look at it. It is whether or not they are receiving outside direction, which there is some evidence I would point you to in an *Associated Press* article, for example, from May that was talking about the evidence that has been reviewed from Osama bin Laden's compound in which counterterrorism officials said that it appeared that bin Laden was giving, "strategic direction to al-Qaeda's affiliates in Yemen and Somalia."

I think that the—it is clear that the strategic direction involved hitting targets outside of Somalia and trying to go after U.S. interests. But even without that strategic direction, there are senior al-Qaeda members who are the members—who have been staffed at the most senior levels of al-Shabaab. They themselves have previously been involved in hitting U.S. interests.

You know, I counted at least 4 on my list of 13 in my testimony that previously hit the U.S. embassies in 1998. That is all the way back in 1998, you know, they were showing that they could go after American interests. So I would look at it from that two-fold perspective.

Chairman KING. Thank you, Mr. Joscelyn.

The Ranking Member is recognized.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chief Smith, in your 20 years as a professional law enforcement officer, and now the chief of police of Saint Paul, do you see community engagement with the immigrant community as an integral part in assessing any potential threat to your city or this country from a terrorism standpoint?

Mr. SMITH. Ranking Member Thompson, committee Members, of course as the chief of police, No. 1, I understand the importance of working with all of our immigrants' communities in Saint Paul.

To give you a little fabric for the committee here, you know, we have the largest Hmong population of any city, the second-most populous of any State. They have been part of our city for over 30 years. We have worked very closely with that community. We have the largest Karen population of any city in the United States. They are our newest immigrant group. They are from Burma. We are working very closely with them, along with our Somali population, and we have been since 2004.

The culture of trust that you spoke about and developing relationships has shown many positive—and examples where people have come forward to entrust us with information that we can share with our Federal partners to make sure, No. 1, that our cities are safe, and that our country's safe as well.

So yes, we work with all our diverse immigrant communities. I hope I have answered your question correctly, but it is important to have those communities of trust in place. Local law enforcement, as you noted earlier, sir, are boots on the ground. We are the first line of defense, and we have to work with the communities that we serve.

Thank you.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

One of the things that Congress has historically done is invested resources with local law enforcement agencies, so that they can expand the whole notion of community engagement. Have those funds Congress made available to our police department been helpful in your carrying out of those duties and responsibilities?

Mr. SMITH. Ranking Member Thompson, committee Members, yes, absolutely. The example that our gave with our AIMCOP grant, highlights that. Our efforts, especially, again, to stop young men and young women today from becoming radicalized through partnerships and having extra funds to do things that we wouldn't be able to do on a day-to-day basis. It doesn't mean that didn't start our outreach work. As I noted, we started in 2004. But those funds are critical for the programs that we are working currently in our city, and have helped us expand our efforts with many positive results.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

Mr. HUSSEN, are you aware of any community engagement programs that the Canadian government is involved in?

Mr. HUSSEN. Yes, the Canadian government has been very proactive in terms of community outreach. That has really led to better detection and arrest of individuals that were planning to go to Somalia to fight for al-Shabaab. In fact, some of the latest cases that resulted in successful detection and arrest came from community sources.

However, what the——

Mr. THOMPSON. Now, just——

Mr. HUSSEN. Sorry?

Mr. THOMPSON. So Canadian government officials——

Mr. HUSSEN. Yes?



Mr. THOMPSON [continuing]. Provide the money for community engagement programs?

Mr. HUSSEN. Correct.

Mr. THOMPSON. Your testimony is that they worked?

Mr. HUSSEN. Well, my testimony is that they are not looking at the second part of the equation, which is providing outreach that tackles the narrative to that leads to radicalization. So they are only looking at detection and arrest, which is inadequate as far as I am concerned.

Mr. THOMPSON. So are you saying the Canadian government is failing in their—

Mr. HUSSEN. No, I am saying they are partially successful, but the narrative needs to be tackled head-on, and to do that you need to empower those in the community that are willing to offer an alternative and actually reinforce the values that Canadian and American societies are based on, and we are not seeing that in Canada. That is why this hearing is very important.

Mr. THOMPSON. So your testimony is that the Canadian government is not doing what you think they should be doing on this issue?

Mr. HUSSEN. Well, they are doing—they are partially doing the right thing in terms of detection and arrest, but they are not empowering the community with respect to the narrative that leads to radicalization.

Mr. THOMPSON. So are you critical of your government?

Mr. HUSSEN. Well, I mean, I am constructively critical of my government.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

Chairman KING. The gentleman from California, the former attorney general of California, Mr. Lungren, is recognized.

Mr. LUNGREN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank the Ranking Member for indicating how important the issue of lone wolf is. Some of us have worked for years on Judiciary committee to both put into the Patriot Act, and to extend the application of the Patriot Act to lone wolves.

Of course, we had a big debate on that this year. Some criticized by saying we didn't have a lone-wolf situation here in the United States. So I appreciate the Ranking Member pointing out how important that issue is to us.

Mr. Hussen and Chief Smith, I would like to direct a question to both of you. That is, when I was privileged to serve as attorney general of California, we had task forces on youth violence and on gangs. Of the things that at least I concluded from the work that we did on that was that different gangs, different youth problems, require different approaches.

We found with the traditional gangs, oftentimes it was the absence of a father figure, a male figure, in the lives of the young men. The gangs provided that alternative setting. With Southeast Asian gangs, recent immigrants, it wasn't the lack of a father figure in the family, it was a lack of communication. That oftentimes in newly arrived immigrants, the parents couldn't speak English and the students found a cultural disconnect with their parents that they used as an opportunity to sort of avoid the parental influence. The gang sort of arose as they came together.

What I would like to know with respect to the Somalia community, do you find any particular distinct characteristic that al-Shabaab or others who seek to radicalize them utilize as their entry into that youth experience and that youth mentality? Is there something that you find that is different than dealing with other types of gang settings? Even though I think this is obviously different than regular type gang settings. But I just wonder from your own experience, Mr. Hussen and Chief Smith, what you found?

Mr. HUSSEN. Well, what I have found is the entry point becomes lack of integration. So the radicals will say, "Well you know, you went to university, you have played by the rules, you have stayed out of trouble. But look, they won't even give you a job. You won't even get an interview. So you will never get accepted in Canada."

So the entry point becomes that economic and socio-economic marginalization, according to the radicals. So they will say, you know, this is yet more proof that you can play by the rules all you want, but you will never get acceptance in these societies.

Mr. LUNGREN. Chief Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you for that question, sir. I agree with you 100 percent. In Saint Paul, with our intervention and prevention techniques, with different groups you have to do different things to address the actual issue.

This is a big question, because when you talk about Somali youth or young men, I think that this committee is well aware that you have seen examples of individuals recruited by al-Shabaab that have been highly educated, and some that have been very disenfranchised.

So I can't give you a specific answer to that question. It would only be conjecture and opinion, because we have—the one thing that I will say in Saint Paul, and the reason that we do the outreach work that we do is you have to talk about these issues. You have to meet with these young people and you have to talk about what they are feeling. You would be amazed what they tell us. You would be amazed how open they are about this issue. That is the best way for me to answer that question. I apologize.

Mr. LUNGREN. No, no. Fine. One of the things I would ask, is there any doubt in your mind that Somali youth are targets of radicalization by some, including al-Shabaab?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I can't tell you that they are not. Obviously, that there are some Somali youth that are targets for radicalization, as there are young men and women that are recruited into gang activity. So is it a specific piece right in my city? No, it is not. And we treat our city and its specifics are all unique, and I have different strategies for both ones. I hope that answers your question, sir.

Mr. LUNGREN. Mr. Folk, some might say we are exaggerating the threat here. That even though we have talked about the numbers of Americans or Canadian young people who have joined al-Shabaab or been "spirited out of the country" and dealt in these terrorist actions. It is relatively few, and therefore we are hyping it, or we are over—the word exaggerate. What would you say to that?

Mr. FOLK. Thank you, Congressman. I think my answer would be two-fold. One is if you look at the numbers, in terms of the num-

bers of indictments, the numbers of investigations, and the numbers of individuals who have charged and pled guilty to criminal offenses you are involving directly the provision of materiel support to a foreign terrorist organization, or crimes that were affiliated with materiel support to a foreign terrorist organization, those numbers of indictments I believe exceed a comparable number of indictments in terms of support to other terrorist organizations. Al-Shabaab has busily recruited men from the United States, and the high number of indictments we are seeing reflect a real threat.

Second, I don't believe it is appropriate to say that simply because there is a certain number of indictments, or a certain number of people who have left the United States, that that number indicates a small or a large threat. The reality, Congressman, is that only a very small number of Somalis that have left the United—or that have joined al-Shabaab—only a small number of Somalis have joined al-Shabaab as compared to the total number. But the reality is even that small number as compared to the large population is too many.

Chairman KING. The gentlelady from California, Ms. Sanchez, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, gentlemen, for being before our committee today.

You know, after the Chairman had his first hearing in this series of investigating Muslims, a Minnesota U.S. Attorney, B. Todd Jones said, "I hope that this does not have an adverse impact on the good things happening here in Minnesota with our Somali community."

Do you think, Chief, that the Chairman's assertion that there has not been sufficient cooperation from mosque leaders helps you when you are trying to reach out in Minnesota to the Somali community?

Mr. SMITH. I don't feel that that has been a problem for us, specifically in Saint Paul. Let me give you one example, if I may, ma'am.

In Saint Paul back in June of this year we had a Somali youth summit. We invited people from throughout the Twin City area to come to this summit, learn about different topics. We had speakers from Washington, DC here, Department of Homeland Security, our FBI, SAC, U.S. B. Todd Jones that you just mentioned, and Imams who brought people from their mosques to come to this youth summit.

This is the second we have held. We had one in January, one in June. You would be surprised how many young people come, how many Imams come. We are very engaged, so I don't see a problem with that specifically in Saint Paul. Again, there are differences between our two cities, even though we are one footstep away on a highway and a street.

Ms. SANCHEZ. It is my understanding that your police officers even have bought soccer shirts and have worked with the youth in the community, the Somali youth in particular, to ensure that you have a better relationship with that community; is that not correct?

Mr. SMITH. That is absolutely correct, ma'am.

Ms. SANCHEZ. You know, there are a lot of cuts going on here in Washington, DC. Some of them deserved, and I think some of

them, you know, sort of cutting off today for what is important for tomorrow. We, just this past year, had to vote on the COPS program, for example, where those community policing grants that we give to our local law enforcement—at least in my area. I represent Santa Ana, California, for example, have to have a very large police force.

We were able to keep 13 police officers on the beat in the community-oriented situation. Unfortunately, the last time we had a vote on COPS it barely passed here in the House of Representatives. I think there is a movement to cut everything. So I would like to get your indication, have you used community policing in order to reach out to that community in order to know what is going on, or specifically are you using some other method? That would be my first question.

My second one is: Have others, police and law enforcement around the Nation, contacted you for best practices of how to deal with what seems to be a community that in fact you want to make sure stays true to their American values?

Mr. SMITH. Well, let me answer your last question first. Yes, we have had many chiefs of police that have contacted either myself or my staff to talk about the work that we are doing in Saint Paul, specifically with our Somali community.

To get on to your next question about the COPS program. COPS is critical to any local chief of police. I am just going to say it like it is. It helps us to hire officers in very fiscally constraintive times with our State and local governments. It allows us to do programs such as AIMCOP, and I think that is why we are here today, or that is why I am here to testify about that program. How important it is. We started to work with community policing, as I told you, in 2004 and we have a group of elders that can address not only our mayor, but chiefs of police and others.

That is where we came to with AIMCOP. We saw a problem, we knew there were problems. The one primary thing that our Somali elders have agreed upon, past all clan issues, that is the work that we have really tried to do in Saint Paul, is their youth, is their young people. They want them to be successful. They want them to be productive members of society. So I hope that answers your question, ma'am.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Our Chairman has also made or alluded to some problems with the CAIR organization. I note that with respect to the Somali men in Minneapolis, that in a press conference that community said that they had been told of their Constitutional rights and the need to get attorneys. That has been frowned upon by some on this committee. Do you think that is consistent with other arrests or other questioning or anything that somebody might want to talk to their lawyer before they sit down with law enforcement or FBI to talk about something. In particular, even if they are not one of the suspects in something?

Mr. SMITH. So just to clear, ma'am. The question is: Should a Somali or any other individual have the opportunity to right to counsel?

Ms. SANCHEZ. For a lawyer and to understand their Constitutional rights here in America.

Mr. SMITH. Depending on the situation, absolutely. I think those are the pillars of American society.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you, Chief. I appreciate your testimony.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. Recognize the gentleman from Minnesota for 5 minutes. I would ask him to yield to me for 10 seconds, if he would.

Mr. CRAVAAK. I do yield, sir.

Chairman KING. I would just like to make three quick points. One, the recent case, the indictment and the plea of guilty in Minnesota. The individual, Mr. Mohammed, he was charged with recruiting in the mosques in Minneapolis. That is No. 1.

No. 2, as far as CAIR in Canada, Mr. Hussen has already acknowledged that they do not share his narrative that they should be cooperating and they should be sharing Western values. Also, he pointed out specifically that these hearings have empowered people in the Muslim to come forward.

With that, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. CRAVAAK. I reclaim my time. Thank you, sir.

Chief Smith, thank you very much for AIMCOP. You guys are doing an exceptional job down there. I am very proud to be—have that as a Minnesota initiative. So thank you very much.

As a fellow Minnesotan, I appreciate all the work or the efforts that you are doing in your department, not only protecting all of us, but also specializing in protecting the Muslim youth of our great city. So thank you for that as well.

One of the things I want to ask you is has the Saint Paul Police Department run into opposition from AIMCOP program from any agencies that you know of?

Mr. SMITH. None whatsoever, sir.

Mr. CRAVAAK. That is excellent. It is good to hear. So, no one has ever tried to halt you going into mosques or anything of that nature?

Mr. SMITH. No.

Mr. CRAVAAK. Excellent. Okay. That is great to hear and that is good for us to know that these programs are working and that are moving forward and protecting our Muslim youth.

Has there been—you claimed quite in your testimony there has been a lot of good feedback from AIMCOP. Have you gauged any effectiveness, any—has there been any benchmarks that you have had from where you were a couple of years ago to where you are today?

Mr. SMITH. Sure, Chairman, yes, there are benchmarks. I won't get into all the specifics. I will give you a more general facts here. But such as how many Somali youth that we have signed up, we had target benchmark numbers. We far exceeded our efforts. One of the key components that we work with, and I have my assistant chief here with me today, is the outreach work with Somali young women and mothers. I can't tell this committee how important that type of work is. It is amazing what in small groups, individuals will talk about with us.

But that starts with that trust level. So we have benchmarks there. We can tell you how many people that are part of this program. We deal with a whole gamut. Again, I won't get into all the specifics, whether its domestic violence, learning cultural norms for

local law enforcement here. But that trust may be the piece of the puzzle that gives us information later to stop something bad from happening, or stop some young man or some young woman from becoming radicalized.

Mr. CRAVAAK. You said something I appreciated after getting into your testimony. I just kind of—I am a retired navy captain. I have been around several different countries. Ninety-five percent of us, all they want to do is a safe place to put their head at night, and a nice community to live in to raise your children. So I agree with you on that.

Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. CRAVAAK. Mr. Folk, in your written testimony you stated that the cutting of the ability of individuals in the United States to provide financial support for al-Shabaab is crucial to diminish al-Shabaab's ability to carry out the terrorist operations. You have also referred to individuals in the United States that have h-a-w-a-l-a—Hwala—Hiwala—

Mr. FOLK. Hawala.

Mr. CRAVAAK [continuing]. Hawala. Money transfer system to al-Shabaab activities. Can you talk a little bit more about this and the specific focus on Minnesota-based funding for al-Shabaab?

Mr. FOLK. Thank you, Congressman, I can.

I think the clearest example of Minnesota-based funding for al-Shabaab comes in the indictment that was returned within the last year out of Minneapolis regarding two women from Rochester, Minnesota who were charged with providing materiel support to al-Shabaab. As the indictment sets forth, the method by which they provided that materiel support was through money transfers, ultimately through Hawalas to Somalia.

I think it is important to note that Hawala are a completely legitimate method to transfer money to a country that has no other infrastructure available to it. But that case reveals is that without taking care to note who is sending money, and without ensuring that there are some abilities out there to track that money, we may be missing opportunities to prevent terrorist organizations from receiving the money that they depend on to carry out operations.

Mr. CRAVAAK. Okay, thank you very much.

In the recent Mohammed case, he and other co-conspirators sought to radicalize and recruit Somali youth in mosques. Many of us have read and heard about the Minneapolis-based Islamic center in connection with the radicalization or recruitment of Minnesota youth. Are there any other mosques that you know of that are actively recruiting at this time in the Minneapolis area?

Mr. FOLK. No. I think to be clear, the individuals that were responsible for recruiting members of al-Shabaab from the Minnesota community I believe were doing so as individuals and represented not necessarily any particular mosque as an entity, but represented al-Shabaab and the ideology of that organization.

Mr. CRAVAAK. That is good to know.

Thank you very much, I appreciate it.

I yield back, sir.

Chairman KING. Thank the gentleman.

The gentlelady from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

I have no quarrel with this committee getting information, and making sure that that information is utilized in the right way.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit into the record a letter that I believe has been given to your office. That is a request to ask for this committee to hold a hearing. I know that you have been at the forefront of asking for an investigation, but a hearing on the Rupert Murdoch-alleged hacking into the phones of 9/11 victims.

So, I ask unanimous consent to put this into the record, and I am officially asking the committee to hold a hearing on that.

Chairman KING. I don't know if we have the letter, but I will certainly accept it into the record.

[The information follows:]

LETTER FROM HONORABLE SHEILA JACKSON LEE

JULY 27, 2011.

The Honorable PETER T. KING,  
*Chairman, Committee on Homeland Security, H2-176 Ford House Office Building,  
Washington, DC 20515.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN KING: I respectfully write to you to request a Full Committee Hearing to determine if victims of the September 11, 2011 terrorist attacks were targeted by News Corp after allegations have arisen regarding domestic phone-hacking and bribery allegations at News of the World, a subsidiary of News Corp.

There are serious allegations that News Corp., may have violated both Federal wiretapping statutes and the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. Given the acknowledged conduct of News Corp., the company's demonstrated pattern of hacking both in the United Kingdom and the United States, warrants a full examination. Determining the facts and the impact on the National security of Americans is a vital mission of this committee.

Thank you in advance for your response. If you have any questions regarding this request, please do not hesitate to contact me directly.

Very truly yours,

SHEILA JACKSON LEE,  
*Member of Congress.*

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would add to that that I would like to have a hearing on right-wing extremists, ideologues, who advocate violence and advocate, in essence, the terrorizing of certain groups. Let me add into the record, if I could quickly, a FBI—it looks like an FBI statement here. “Members and associates of white supremacist group charged with making grenades and selling guns.”

I ask unanimous consent to put this into the record.

Chairman KING. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

FBI—NEW HAVEN ARTICLE SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY HONORABLE SHEILA JACKSON LEE

MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUP CHARGED WITH MAKING GRENADES, SELLING GUNS

*U.S. Attorney's Office, March 22, 2010.*

Nora R. Dannehy, United States Attorney for the District of Connecticut, and Kimberly K. Mertz, Special Agent in Charge of the New Haven Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, today announced that a Federal grand jury in New Haven has returned a seven-count indictment charging five individuals with conspiracy and firearms offenses stemming from an alleged attempt to sell firearms and explosive grenades to a white supremacist group located outside of Connecticut.

Charged in the indictment are KENNETH ZRALLACK, 29, of Ansonia, the leader of the Connecticut White Wolves, a self-described white supremacist group now known as Battalion 14; ALEXANDER DeFELICE, 32, of Milford, and WILLIAM R. BOLTON, 31, of Stratford, both members of the Connecticut White Wolves/Battalion 14; EDWIN T. WESTMORELAND, 27 of Stratford, who is alleged to have participated in some of the activities of the Connecticut White Wolves/Battalion 14; and DAVID SUTTON, 46, of Milford, an associate of DeFELICE.

The indictment identifies an individual ("WITNESS A"), who participated in meetings and activities of the Connecticut White Wolves/Battalion 14, and who identified himself as a convicted felon and as a member of an out-of-State white supremacist group that had an interest in obtaining firearms.

The first count of the indictment charges DeFELICE and BOLTON with conspiracy to rob an individual of firearms. The indictment alleges that DeFELICE knew that this individual manufactured firearms at his Naugatuck Valley residence from parts he had obtained by ordering them over the internet, and that he maintained a large firearms inventory worth several hundred thousand dollars at his residence. It is alleged that DeFELICE and BOLTON devised a plan to break and enter the individual's residence and rob him of his inventory, and that DeFELICE described the burglary and robbery plan to WITNESS A, asked WITNESS A to serve as a lookout and provided him with instructions how to perform the role. On approximately January 31, 2009, DeFELICE and BOLTON enlisted WITNESS A to drive them past the Naugatuck Valley residence as part of the planning for the robbery. The indictment does not allege that the planned robbery occurred.

A subsequent count in the indictment charges ZRALLACK, DeFELICE, WESTMORELAND, and SUTTON with conspiring to transfer rifles and shotguns to WITNESS A, and to make and transfer explosive grenades to WITNESS A. The indictment alleges that, on multiple occasions between November 2009 through January 2010, WITNESS A advised ZRALLACK that WITNESS A had purchased, and had plans to purchase, from DeFELICE various items including bulletproof vests, firearms, and explosive grenades. ZRALLACK and WITNESS A agreed that part of the proceeds of these transactions should be conveyed to ZRALLACK.

As part of this conspiracy, the indictment alleges that, on November 11, 2009, DeFELICE and WESTMORELAND sold a .22 caliber rifle and a 12-gauge shotgun to WITNESS A.

The indictment further alleges that, in late December 2009, DeFELICE, SUTTON, and WITNESS A shopped at an auto parts store in Milford for tools needed to make explosive grenades. The indictment alleges that, on January 23, 2010, DeFELICE, WESTMORELAND and WITNESS A met at DeFELICE's Milford residence where DeFELICE and WESTMORELAND extracted and gathered up explosive powder from a large number of live shotgun shells for the purpose of assembling the explosive grenades. DeFELICE and WESTMORELAND then accepted cash payment from WITNESS A for the three, almost-completed explosive grenades. DeFELICE telephoned ZRALLACK to report that he would have cash ready for delivery to ZRALLACK, ending the phone call with the words "88," which is code for "HH," or "Heil Hitler." DeFELICE then finished making the three explosive grenades, ordered WITNESS A to wipe all fingerprints off of them, and packed the grenades in a cardboard box marked with a hand-printed Swastika. DeFELICE then gave to WITNESS A the boxed explosive grenades and an envelope containing cash for ZRALLACK.

"The charges in this indictment allege that a group of individuals were involved in the manufacture and transfer of grenades to an out-of-state white supremacist group, the illegal sale of firearms to a convicted felon, and the planning of a gun theft," stated U.S. Attorney Dannehy. "I want to thank the members of the JTTF for their diligent investigative work that has preceded these arrests."

The indictment charges DeFELICE, BOLTON, and WESTMORELAND with additional counts related to the illegal transfer of firearms and/or explosive grenades.

"This 18-month investigation demonstrates the FBI's commitment to combat white supremacist groups and their alleged illegal activities," stated FBI Special Agent in Charge Mertz. "This Joint Terrorism Task Force investigation was a collective effort between the FBI, Connecticut State Police, Federal Air Marshals Service, United States Secret Service, United States Marshals Service, and the local police departments of Milford, Ansonia, New Haven, and Stratford."

The indictment was returned under seal on March 18. ZRALLACK, WESTMORELAND, and SUTTON were arrested by members of the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force on Saturday morning, March 20. They appeared today before United States Magistrate Judge Holly B. Fitzsimmons in Bridgeport, entered pleas of not guilty to the charges, and are detained pending a detention hearing that is scheduled for Thursday, March 25.



BOLTON, who has been serving in the United States Army in Virginia, was arrested on March 20 by the U.S. Army, Criminal Investigation Command. He will be transferred to Connecticut to be arraigned on the charges. DeFELICE has been detained in Federal custody since January 28 when he was arrested on related firearms charges.

If convicted on all counts in the indictment, DeFELICE faces a maximum term of imprisonment of 70 years, BOLTON and WESTMORELAND each faces a maximum term of imprisonment of 30 years, and ZRALLACK and SUTTON each faces a maximum term of imprisonment of 5 years.

U.S. Attorney Dannehy stressed that an indictment is only a charge and is not evidence of guilt. Each defendant is entitled to a fair trial at which it is the Government's burden to prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

Acting U.S. Attorney Dannehy commended the joint investigation of this matter, which is being conducted by the Joint Terrorism Task Force, notably the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Connecticut State Police, the U.S. Secret Service, and the Federal Air Marshal Service, with the assistance of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives, the U.S. Marshals Service; the U.S. Army, Criminal Investigation Command, and the Milford, Ansonia, Stratford, and New Haven Police Departments.

This case is being prosecuted by Assistant United States Attorney Henry K. Kopel.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Another supremacist, a hit list, FBI agent says members of the Illinois white supremacist group planned to assassinate a lawyer who has battled hate groups.

I ask unanimous consent to put this in the record.

Chairman KING. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY HONORABLE SHEILA  
JACKSON LEE

#### SUPREMACISTS HAD HIT LIST, F.B.I. AGENT SAYS

*Published: March 07, 1998*

Members of an Illinois white supremacist group planned to assassinate a lawyer who has battled hate groups, bomb the lawyer's Southern Poverty Law Center and public buildings, kill a judge, rob banks and poison water supplies, an F.B.I. agent testified today at a Federal court hearing.

The agent, Jason Thompson, said one of three men arrested last week in the plot had carried a gun to a speech that the lawyer, Morris Dees, delivered recently at Southern Illinois University in Edwardsville, Ill., but was deterred by metal detectors.

Based on that testimony and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's seizure of weapons, including a rocket, a machine gun, and a pipe bomb, Magistrate Judge Clifford J. Proud ordered the three men held without bond until their trial, which is scheduled to begin on April 27.

The men were arrested after the F.B.I. raided two houses in southern Illinois on Feb. 23. They were identified as Dennis Michael McGiffen, 35, of Wood River; Wallace Scott Weicherding, 64, of Salem; and Ralph P. Bock, 27, of Brighton.

Mr. Weicherding was dismissed from his job as an Illinois prison guard at the Graham Correction Center in Hillsboro, Ill., in 1993 for handing out Ku Klux Klan literature to other employees.

The three are accused of conspiring to possess unregistered weapons, which carries a maximum penalty of 5 years in prison and a \$250,000 fine. An assistant United States Attorney, Norman Smith, said more charges might be filed later.

All three pleaded not guilty.

Douglas Forsythe, a lawyer for Mr. McGiffen, said the Government was "relying on a lot of big talk" secretly tape-recorded by an informer for the F.B.I. and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.

"They've got the tapes, they've got no acts," Mr. Forsythe said.

A fourth suspect, Glenn LeVelle Lowharp of Rockford, is in custody, but he did not appear in court today.

Mr. Thompson testified that an informer in Denver alerted the F.B.I. about the men last May as they formed their group, which they named the New Order. It was fashioned after a Washington State group from the 1980's called the Order, which

robbed banks and armored cars to finance white supremacist and anti-Government activities.

Mr. Thompson testified that Mr. McGiffen had laid out a "hit list" that included Mr. Dees; the Southern Poverty Law Center, an anti-Klan group in Montgomery, Ala.; the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles; the Anti-Defamation League, and a Federal judge whose name was not disclosed.

The agent testified that the group had planned to bomb courthouses and other public buildings and poison water supplies of major cities with cyanide to create diversions during bank and armored-car robberies.

Mr. McGiffen told others that any witnesses to the crimes would have to be killed, Mr. Thompson testified.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. And I have a, I think close to 38 pages, 39 pages, excuse me, of the list of active U.S. hate groups as of 2000. I would like to put this into the record.

[The information follows:]

UNITED STATES ACTION LIST SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY HONORABLE SHEILA JACKSON LEE

LIST OF ACTIVE U.S. HATE GROUPS AS OF 2000

(Alphabetical List of Groups by USA State)

(Research from Southern Law Poverty Center Intelligence Report)

U.S. Hate Groups have beliefs or practices that attack or denigrate an entire class of people, typically for their beliefs or immutable characteristics.

This list of 602 active hate groups is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate groups' publications, citizens' reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2000, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature, or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual web publishers who like to portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group's chapters.

Groups are categorized as Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Black Separatist, Other and Neo-Confederate. Because Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Black Separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. The Other category includes groups and publishing houses endorsing a hodgepodge of hate doctrines.

**ALABAMA (39)**

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Anniston</i>	National Association for the Advancement of White People— <i>Hartselle</i>
League of the South— <i>Atalla</i>	Council of Conservative Citizens— <i>Huntsville</i>
League of the South— <i>Auburn</i>	Southern Cross Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Ider</i>
Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Birmingham</i>	Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Jasper</i>
Council of Conservative Citizens— <i>Birmingham</i>	Council of Conservative Citizens— <i>Jasper</i>
League of the South— <i>Birmingham</i>	America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Midland City</i>
Nation of Islam— <i>Birmingham</i>	Council of Conservative Citizens— <i>Mobile</i>
National Organization for European American Rights— <i>Childersburg</i>	League of the South— <i>Montgomery</i>
Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Clanton</i>	Nation of Islam— <i>Montgomery</i>
League of the South— <i>Emelle</i>	Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Moody</i>
America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Eva</i>	Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Pelham</i>
American Nazi Party— <i>Foley</i>	Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Robertsdale</i>
Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Gadsden</i>	Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Satsuma</i>
America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan— <i>Hartselle</i>	Underground Skinhead Action— <i>Satsuma</i>

- League of the South—*Selma*  
Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Springville*  
Sonnenkinder Kindred—*Springville*  
League of the South—*Spruce Pine*  
Southern Cross Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Sylvania*  
League of the South—*Tuscaloosa (2)*  
Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Valley*  
Southern Cross Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Valley Head*  
Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Wilton*  
League of the South—*York*
- ALASKA (1)**  
Women for Aryan Unity—*Eagle River*
- ARIZONA (8)**  
National Organization for European American Rights  
World Church of the Creator—*Florence*  
Hammerskin Nation—*Glendale*  
Hammerskin Nation—*Mesa*  
World Church of the Creator—*Mesa*  
National Alliance—*Phoenix*  
Underground Skinhead Action—*Tucson*  
World Church of the Creator—*Tucson*
- ARKANSAS (18)**  
World Church of the Creator—*Cabot*  
American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Cedarville*  
Christian Research—*Eureka Springs*  
Kingdom Identity Ministries—*Harrison*  
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Harrison*  
American Front—*Harrison*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—*Little Rock*  
Crusade for Christ—*Little Rock*  
National Alliance—*Little Rock*  
Invisible Empire National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Luxora*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Magnolia*  
League of the South—*Mayflower*  
International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Parkin*  
RangerSkin Nation—*Pine Bluff*  
World Church of the Creator—*Pine Bluff*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Plainview*  
South Arkansas Knights—*Smackover*  
National Alliance—*Uniontown*
- CALIFORNIA (29)**  
National Alliance—*Alleghany*  
Underground Skinhead Action—*Arvin*  
World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood of the WCOTC—*Carmichael*  
Underground Skinhead Action—*Ceres*  
Women for Aryan Unity—*Costa Mesa*  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*Escondido*  
White Aryan Resistance—*Fallbrook*  
Hammerskin Nation—*Hemet*  
Underground Skinhead Action—*Long Beach*  
House of David—*Los Angeles*  
Nation of Islam—*Los Angeles*  
World Church of the Creator—*Manhattan Beach*  
Ministry of Christ Church—*Mariposa*  
Jubilee—*Midpines*  
National Socialist Movement—*Monrovia*  
National Organization for European American Rights—*Novato*  
Nation of Islam—*Oakland*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Red Rock Canyon*  
Hammerskin Nation—*Riverside*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—*Sacramento*  
National Alliance—*Sacramento*  
Hammerskin Nation—*San Diego*  
Nation of Islam—*San Francisco*  
National Socialist Movement—*San Francisco*  
League of the South—*San Jose*  
World Church of the Creator—*Seal Beach*  
Voices of Citizens Together—*Sherman Oaks*  
World Church of the Creator—*Sierra Madre*  
World Church of the Creator—*Tehachapi*
- COLORADO (7)**  
American Third Position—*Arvada*  
Underground Skinhead Action—*Battlement Mesa*  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*De Beque*  
Melchizedek Vigilance—*Denver*  
National Alliance—*Denver*  
Scriptures for America Ministries—*LaPorte*  
MSR Productions—*Wheat Ridge*
- CONNECTICUT (3)**  
World Church of the Creator—*Fairfield*  
World Church of the Creator—*Hawleyville*  
World Church of the Creator—*Wallingford*
- DELAWARE (2)**  
International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*New Castle*  
Hammerskin Nation—*Wilmington*
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (3)**  
Nation of Islam—*Washington*  
National Organization for European American Rights—*Washington*  
New Black Panther Party—*Washington*
- FLORIDA (39)**  
League of the South—*Apopka*  
National Alliance—*Boca Raton*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—*Boynton Beach*  
National Association for the Advancement of White People—*Callahan*  
World Church of the Creator—*Chipley*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Crestview*  
League of the South—*Crystal River*  
World Church of the Creator—*Davie*

- World Church of the Creator—*Defuniak Springs*  
 League of the South—*Ebro*  
 Nation of Islam—*Ft. Lauderdale*  
 League of the South—*Hillsborough County*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Jacksonville*  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Jacksonville*  
 NAAWP Florida Chapter Inc.—*Jacksonville*  
 Sigdrifa—*Jacksonville*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*Kissimmee*  
 Nation of Islam—*Miami*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Milton*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Monticello*  
 League of the South—*Naples*  
 League of the South—*Niceville*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Okeechobee*  
 American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Orlando*  
 National Alliance—*Orlando*  
 League of the South—*Palm Beach County*  
 League of the South—*Panama City (2)*  
 German American Nationalist PAC—*Pensacola*  
 Keys to the Kingdom Church—*St. Augustine*  
 League of the South—*St. Lucie County*  
 League of the South—*Southwest Florida*  
 League of the South—*Tallahassee*  
 League of the South—*Tampa*  
 National Alliance—*Tampa*  
 National Association for the Advancement of White People—*Tampa*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Tampa Bay*  
 National Organization for European American Rights—*West Palm Beach*  
 League of the South—*Yulee*
- GEORGIA (30)**  
 League of the South—*Albany*  
 League of the South—*Athens*  
 House of David—*Atlanta*  
 League of the South—*Atlanta*  
 Nation of Islam—*Atlanta*  
 National Alliance—*Atlanta*  
 New Black Panther Party—*Atlanta*  
 League of the South—*Augusta*  
 League of the South—*Brunswick*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Carrollton*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Columbus*  
 National Alliance—*Dahlonega*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Dalton*  
 League of the South—*Fayetteville*  
 North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Ft. Oglethorpe*  
 League of the South—*Hardwick*  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Hiram*  
 League of the South—*LaGrange*  
 League of the South—*Macon*  
 Crusade Against Corruption—*Marietta*  
 Truth At Last—*Marietta*  
 League of the South—*McDonough*
- Council of Conservative Citizens—*Milledgeville*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Norcross*  
 League of the South—*Savannah*  
 League of the South—*Silver Creek*  
 League of the South—*Statesboro*  
 League of the South—*Talbot County*  
 League of the South—*Thomaston*  
 Georgia Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Thomasville*
- HAWAII (1)**  
 National Association for the Advancement of White People—*Honolulu*
- IDAHO (9)**  
 Gospel Ministries—*Boise*  
 National Alliance—*Boise*  
 National Association for the Advancement of White People—*Coeur d'Alene*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*Hayden Lake*  
 Gospel of Christ Kingdom Church—*Hayden Lake*  
 Underground Skinhead Action—*Hayden Lake*  
 America's Promise Ministries—*Sandpoint*  
 11th Hour Remnant Messenger—*Sandpoint*  
 14 Word Press—*St. Maries*
- ILLINOIS (16)**  
 World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood of the WCOTC—*Bourdonnais*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Chicago*  
 Nation of Islam—*Chicago*  
 National Alliance—*Chicago*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Chicago*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Dixon*  
 World Church of the Creator—*East Peoria*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Ina*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Mattoon*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Pontiac*  
 Imperial Klans of America—*Prospects Heights*  
 National Association for the Advancement of White People—*River Grove*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*Salem*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Sheridan*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Wilmette*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Springfield*
- INDIANA (18)**  
 National Socialist Movement—*Alexandria*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Bedford*  
 Liberty Knights—*Boonville*  
 World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood of the WCOTC—*Bristol*

- American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Butler*  
 World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood of the WCOTC—*Butler*  
 U.S. Klans, KKK Inc.—*Coalmont*  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Fort Wayne*  
 World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood of the WCOTC—*Fort Wayne*  
 International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Franklin*  
 American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Goshen*  
 Outlaw Hammerskins—*Helmsburg*  
 Imperial Klans of America—*Indianapolis*  
 National Alliance—*Indianapolis*  
 Outlaw Hammerskins—*Michigan City*  
 National Socialist Movement—*Osceola*  
 National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*South Bend*  
 Outlaw Hammerskins—*South Bend*
- IOWA (2)**  
 World Church of the Creator—*Davenport*  
 Sigdrifa—*Olds*
- KANSAS (4)**  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*Hutchinson*  
 Imperial Klans of America—*Lakin*  
 Westboro Baptist Church—*Topeka*  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Wichita*
- KENTUCKY (8)**  
 Fellowship of God's Covenant People—*Burlington*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Casey Creek*  
 Imperial Klans of America—*Dayton*  
 Imperial Klans of America—*Hillview*  
 League of the South—*Lebanon*  
 Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Lexington*  
 Lord's Work—*Louisville*  
 Imperial Klans of America—*Powderly*
- LOUISIANA (19)**  
 America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Alexandria*  
 Christian Defense League—*Arabi*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Baton Rouge*  
 League of the South—*Baton Rouge*  
 League of the South—*Calcasieu*  
 Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Homer*  
 Confederate Crusaders—*Homer*  
 Kountry Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Jennings*  
 National Organization for European American Rights—*Mandeville*  
 National Association for the Advancement of White People—*Marrero*  
 League of the South—*Monroe*  
 Nation of Islam—*New Orleans*  
 League of the South—*River Ridge*  
 League of the South—*Shreveport*  
 League of the South—*Tangipahoa*  
 League of the South—*Thibodaux*
- American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—*Welsh*  
 National Socialist Movement—*West Monroe*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*West Wego*
- MAINE (1)**  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Portland*
- MARYLAND (8)**  
 League of the South—*Cecil County*  
 Nation of Islam—*Baltimore*  
 National Alliance—*Baltimore*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*Bryans Road*  
 SS Regalia—*Edgewater*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Finksburg*  
 National Alliance—*Hagerstown*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Towson*
- MASSACHUSETTS (6)**  
 Nation of Islam—*Boston*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Boston*  
 House of David—*Brockton*  
 National Alliance—*Cape Cod*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Peabody*  
 House of David—*Roxbury*
- MICHIGAN (14)**  
 National Association for the Advancement of White People—*Bellville*  
 National Association for the Advancement of White People—*Canton*  
 Sigdrifa—*Clouderdale*  
 Nation of Islam—*Detroit*  
 New Black Panther Party—*Detroit*  
 American Nazi Party—*Eastpointe*  
 2YT4U Productions—*Ferndale*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Ionia*  
 Social Contract Press—*Petoskey*  
 National Alliance—*Portage*  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Rochester*  
 By Yahweh's Design—*Stevensville*  
 Underground Skinhead Action—*Traverse City*  
 World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood of the WCOTC—*Westland*
- MINNESOTA (8)**  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Apple Valley*  
 National Alliance—*Minneapolis*  
 National Socialist Movement—*Minneapolis*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*New Brighton*  
 Panzerfaust Records—*Newport*  
 World Church of the Creator—*North Bayport*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance—*St. Paul*  
 National Socialist Movement—*St. Paul*

**MISSISSIPPI (27)**

FreeMississippi—*Aberdeen*  
 Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—  
*Brookhaven*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Calhoun*  
 United White Klans—*Collinsville*  
 FreeMississippi—*Greenville*  
 United White Klans—*Greenwood*  
 FreeMississippi—*Gulfport*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Holly*  
*Springs*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Jackson*  
 Mississippi Royal Confederate Knights—  
*Jackson*  
 Nation of Islam—*Jackson*  
 League of the South—*Laurel*  
 Nationalist Movement—*Learned*  
 FreeMississippi—*Macon*  
 League of the South—*Mendenhall*  
 FreeMississippi—*Mendenhall*  
 National Association for the  
 Advancement of White People—  
*Olive Branch*  
 Southern Mississippi Knights of the Ku  
 Klux Klan—*Petal*  
 Mississippi White Knights of the Ku  
 Klux Klan—*Petal*  
 United White Klans—*Philadelphia*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Pineywoods*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Raymond*  
 White Rights Associaton—*Southhaven*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Vaiden*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Webster*  
 League of the South—*Wiggins*  
 FreeMississippi—*Wiggins*

**MISSOURI (17)**  
 Imperial Klans of America—*Annapolis*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Clarkton*  
 League of the South—*Columbia*  
 Faith Baptist Church and Ministry—  
*Houston*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*Iron*  
*County*  
 National Organization for European  
 American Rights—*Kansas City*  
 Knights of the White Kamellia—*Leslie*  
 Imperial Klans of America—*Mapaville*  
 American Knights of the Ku Klux  
 Klan—*Nixa*  
 Women for Aryan Unity—*O'Fallon*  
 New Order Knights of the Ku Klux  
 Klan—*Overland*  
 Church of Israel—*Schell City*  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Springfield*  
 Council of Conservative Citizens—*St.*  
*Louis*  
 House of David—*St. Louis*  
 Nation of Islam—*St. Louis*  
 National Organization for European  
 American Rights—*St. Louis*

**MONTANA (4)**

Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
 Alliance—*Billings*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Missoula*  
 Church of True Israel—*Noxon*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Superior*

**NEBRASKA (5)**

National Socialist German Workers  
 Party—*Lincoln*  
 National Socialist Movement—*McCook*  
 National Socialist Movement—*Ogalalla*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
 Alliance—*Omaha*  
 Mission to Israel—*Scottsbluff*

**NEVADA (8)**

World Church of the Creator—*Carson*  
*City*  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Las Vegas*  
 Nation of Islam—*Las Vegas*  
 National Alliance—*Las Vegas*  
 National Socialist Movement—*Las Vegas*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
 Alliance—*Reno*  
 National Alliance—*Reno*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
 Alliance—*Wellington*

**NEW HAMSPHIRE (1)**

Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Dublin*

**NEW JERSEY (12)**

World Church of the Creator—*Bridgeton*  
 World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood  
 of the WCOTC—*Hamilton*  
 Hammerskin Nation—*Harrison*  
 National Alliance—*Hewitt*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Island*  
*Heights*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Jersey*  
*City*  
 Nation of Islam—*New Brunswick*  
 Nation of Islam—*Newark*  
 New Black Panther Party—*Newark*  
 Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
 Alliance—*North Bergen*  
 New Black Panther Party—*Trenton*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Trenton*

**NEW MEXICO (3)**

World Church of the Creator—  
*Albuquerque*  
 Christian Crusade for Truth—*Deming*  
 World Church of the Creator—*Rio*  
*Rancho*

**NEW YORK (23)**

World Church of the Creator—*Alden*  
 National Association for the  
 Advancement of White People—  
*Amherst*  
 National Socialist Movement—  
*Binghamton*  
 House of David—*Buffalo*  
 League of the South—*Buffalo*  
 National Socialist Movement—*Ithaca*

- National Association for the  
Advancement of White People—  
*Jackson Heights*  
World Church of the Creator—*Marcy*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—*New York*  
House of David—*New York*  
Nation of Islam—*New York*  
New Black Panther Party—*New York*  
Underground Skinhead Action—*New York*  
World Church of the Creator—*New York*  
American Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Newburgh*  
National Alliance—*Peekskill*  
World Church of the Creator—*Sleepy Hollow*  
League of the South—*Staten Island*  
Sigdrifa—*Staten Island*  
Central New York White Pride—  
*Syracuse*  
National Organization for European  
American Rights—*Walden*  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
Alliance—*Wantagh*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Warwick*
- NORTH CAROLINA (27)**  
National Alliance—*Benson*  
Aryan Christian Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Brown Summit*  
League of the South—*Chapel Hill*  
League of the South (2)—*Charlotte*  
National Alliance—*Charlotte*  
Nation of Islam—*Charlotte*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Clemmons*  
World Church of the Creator—*Cullowhee*  
League of the South—*Durham*  
Nation of Islam—*Durham*  
National Alliance—*Elon College*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—*Forest City*  
League of the South—*Greenville*  
Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Henderson*  
League of the South—*Hertford*  
World Church of the Creator—  
*Huntersville*  
League of the South—*Kingston*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Morganton*  
National Alliance—*Raleigh*  
New Black Panther Party—*Raleigh*  
Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Randleman*  
League of the South—*Salisbury*  
National Alliance—*Siler City*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Walkertown*  
New Beginnings—*Waynesville*  
Church of Yahshua the Christ—  
*Wilmington*
- NORTH DAKOTA (1)**  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
Alliance—*Bismark*
- OHIO (26)**  
World Church of the Creator—*Akron*
- Imperial Klans of America—*Amelia*  
Knights of the White Kamellia—  
*Bellbrook*  
Aryan Knights of the Confederacy Ku  
Klux Klan—*Bellefontaine*  
88 Enterprises—*Canton*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Cincinnati*  
National Alliance—*Cincinnati*  
World Church of the Creator—  
*Cincinnati*  
National Organization for European  
American Rights—*Cleveland*  
National Alliance—*Columbus*  
National Socialist Movement—*Columbus*  
World Church of the Creator—*Columbus*  
Knights of the White Kamellia—*Dayton*  
Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—  
*Dayton*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Elyria*  
National Association of the Advancement  
of White People—*Grove City*  
Heritage Lost Ministries—*Hilliard*  
Knights of the White Kamellia—*Kenton*  
Aryan Nations—*Marion*  
National Alliance—*North Royalton*  
National Alliance—*Parma*  
Knights of the White Kamellia—  
*Rushsylvania*  
National Organization for European  
American Rights—*Stark County*  
National Organization for European  
American Rights—*Willard/Sandusky*  
World Church of the Creator—  
*Youngstown*  
Knights of the White Kamellia—  
*Zanesfield*
- OKLAHOMA (5)**  
United Confederate Knights of the Ku  
Klux Klan  
White Aryan Resistance—*Catoosa*  
American Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Collinsville, Elohim City, Muldrow*  
Artisan Publishers—*Muskogee*
- OREGON (5)**  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance  
Hammerskin Nation—*Clackamas*  
Underground Skinhead Action—  
*Estacada*  
Thule Publications—*Portland*  
National Socialist Vanguard—*The Dalles*
- PENNSYLVANIA (27)**  
World Church of the Creator—*Altona*  
National Socialist Movement—*Bethlehem*  
National Socialist Movement—  
*Brookhaven*  
National Socialist Movement—*Corry*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Dayton*  
International Keystone Knights of the  
Ku Klux Klan—*East Texas*  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
Alliance—*Easton*  
National Alliance—*Fairless Hills*  
Hammerskin Nation—*Hanover*

- International Keystone Knights of the  
Ku Klux Klan—*Johnstown*  
United White Klans—*Nanticoke*  
Nation of Islam—*Philadelphia*  
National Alliance—*Philadelphia*  
National Organization for European  
American Rights—*Philadelphia*  
New Black Panther Party—*Philadelphia*  
Nation of Islam—*Pittsburgh*  
National Alliance—*Pittsburgh*  
American Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Prospect*  
Invisible Empire, Pennsylvania Ku Klux  
Klan—*Punxsutawney*  
International Keystone Knights of the  
Ku Klux Klan—*Reading*  
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan  
(Pennsylvania faction)—*Reading*  
National Alliance—*Reading*  
National Association for the  
Advancement of White People—  
*Thorndale*  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
Alliance—*Ulysses*  
Posse Comitatus—*Ulysses*  
Tri-State Terror—*Villanova*  
World Church of the Creator—  
*Wrightsville*
- RHODE ISLAND (0)**
- SOUTH CAROLINA (12)**  
League of the South—*Columbia*  
New Black Panther Party—*Columbia*  
United White Klans—*Cross Anchor*  
World Church of the Creator—*Edgefield*  
International Association of the Knights  
of the Ku Klux Klan—*Enoree*  
United White Klans—*Gaston*  
United White Klans—*Goose Creek*  
Nation of Islam—*Greenville*  
League of the South—*Pinopolis*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Saluda*  
Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—  
*Spartanburg*  
League of the South—*Sumter*
- SOUTH DAKOTA (1)**  
Aryan Nations—*Rapid City*
- TENNESSEE (14)**  
World Aryan Party—*Athens*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Chattanooga*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Cleveland*  
League of the South—*Franklin*  
National Association for the  
Advancement of White People—*Gibson*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Knoxville*  
American Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Memphis*  
Nation of Islam—*Memphis*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Nashville*  
National Alliance—*Nashville*  
International Keystone Knights of the  
Ku Klux Klan—*Pleasant Hill*
- World Church of the Creator—*Ramer*  
World Church of the Creator—*Somerville*  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
Alliance—*Woodlawn*
- TEXAS (38)**  
Aryan Covenant Church/ACC Services—  
*Anderson*  
League of the South—*Arlington*  
League of the South—*Austin*  
National Alliance—*Austin*  
World Church of the Creator—*Austin*  
World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood  
of the WCOTC—*Austin*  
National Front of North America—*Bryan*  
White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Cleveland*  
League of the South—*Conroe*  
Hammerskin Nation—*Dallas*  
Nation of Islam—*Dallas*  
National Alliance—*Dallas*  
New Black Panther Party—*Dallas*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Dallas/Fort Worth*  
National Alliance—*Fort Worth*  
World Church of the Creator—*Groveton*  
Gospel Broadcasting Association—  
*Houston*  
Nation of Islam—*Houston*  
National Organization for European  
American Rights—*Houston*  
New Black Panther Party—*Houston*  
National Alliance—*Houston*  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
Alliance—*Huffman*  
Women for Aryan Unity—*Huntsville*  
Knights of the White Kamellia—*Jasper*  
National Alliance—*Keller*  
National Socialist Movement—*Lubbock*  
American Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Mauriceville*  
World Church of the Creator—*Midway*  
League of the South—*Northwest Texas*  
League of the South—*Pasadena*  
American Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*San Antonio*  
White Camellia Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Sulphur Springs*  
League of the South—*Tarrant County*  
World Church of the Creator—*Tennessee*  
*Colony*  
League of the South—*Tyler*  
World Church of the Creator—*Vidor*  
League of the South—*Wautauga*  
League of the South—*West Texas*
- UTAH (3)**  
National Alliance—*Salt Lake City*  
World Church of the Creator—*Salt Lake*  
*City*  
World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood  
of the WCOTC—*Salt Lake City*
- VERMONT (0)**
- VIRGINIA (26)**  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National Alliance  
International Keystone Knights of the  
Ku Klux Klan—*Bayse*



- Knights of the White Kamellia—  
*Chesterfield*  
League of the South—*Dayton*  
Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—  
*Delaplane*  
League of the South—*Dublin*  
American Friends of the British National  
Party—*Falls Church*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—*Falls*  
Church  
Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Forest*  
Council of Conservative Citizens—  
*Hanover*  
League of the South—*Hanover*  
League of the South—*Harrisonburg*  
World Church of the Creator—*Jarratt*  
Virginia Publishing Company—  
*Lynchburg*  
American Immigration Control  
Foundation—*Monterey*  
New Black Panther Party—*Norfolk*  
New Century Foundation/American  
Renaissance—*Oakton*  
Nation of Islam—*Richmond*  
National Organization for European  
American Rights—*Richmond*  
White Order of Thule—*Richmond*  
Virginia Christian Israelites—*Round*  
*Hill*  
Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Sandston*  
Underground Skinhead Action—*Virginia*  
*Beach*  
League of the South—*Williamsburg*  
Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan—  
*Winchester*  
American Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Woodridge*
- WASHINGTON (12)**  
White Order of Thule—*Deer Park*  
World Church of the Creator/Sisterhood  
of the WCOTC—*Lynnwood*  
Upper Room Identity Fellowship—  
*McKenna*  
National Organization for European  
Rights—*Olympia*  
New Covenant Bible Church—*Port*  
*Orchard*  
Seattle White Racist Network—*Renton*  
Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Seattle*  
Spokane Skins—*Spokane*  
Underground Skinhead Action—*Spokane*  
Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux  
Klan—*Tacoma*  
Hammerskin Nation—*Vancouver*  
Sigdrifa—*Vancouver*
- WEST VIRGINIA (3)**  
National Alliance—*Hillsboro*  
Resistance Records—*Hillsboro*  
Liberty Bell Publications—*Reedy*
- WISCONSIN (8)**  
Aryan Nations/Aryan National  
Alliance—*Mercer*  
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—  
*Mercer*  
New Order—*Milwaukee*  
World Church of the Creator—  
*Milwaukee*  
World Church of the Creator—*New*  
*Berlin*  
Outlaw Hammerskins—*Pewaukee*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Plover*  
Imperial Klans of America—*Westfield*
- WYOMING (1)**  
National Organization for European  
American Rights—*Cheyenne*

Chairman KING. Without objection.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you very much.

I think it is important for a committee that has the responsibilities of homeland security to be addressing these issues in a fair and accurate manner. Mr. Chairman, I would propose that if we are going to take the information that is been given by these witnesses and use them in a way that we can be constructive, then the next step should be a briefing before this committee by the FBI, the CIA, the JTTF, which deals with State and local terrorism issues, and the NCTC.

My concern with the focus of the hearings that we have had is at the isolation of certain groups. Mr. Hussen, you are coming from Canada. Do you understand my line of reasoning, that we must look broadly at those who may in the target of potential terrorists or terrorist activities, or being radicalized? Do you think that is important?

Mr. HUSSEN. It is important to look at any threat; sure.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. You indicated that your government was doing outreach, but it didn't do the next step. What is that?

Mr. HUSSEN. Tackling head-on the narrative that leads to radicalization.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. You are using the cerebral, academic. What narrative are you talking about?

Mr. HUSSEN. The narrative that says—that the narrative that turns a young person born in Canada to hate the very society that—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. So are you saying find out what draws them to that? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. HUSSEN. No—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. HUSSEN. No, we know what the narrative is, but there needs to be a counter-narrative that emphasizes the importance of freedom of religion, rule of law, human rights—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Great.

Mr. HUSSEN [continuing]. All the values that we have.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Excellent.

So Chief Smith, if we were to provide added funding, it seems that you have outreach to the community. The good news is they have responded. The Hmongs have responded. Hmongs are over mosques and groups of people in neighborhoods. They have responded and the young people have come; is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. That is correct, ma'am.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. So an appropriate narrative for this committee would be to first of all, Chief, if you might—and I don't want to put words in your mouth—is it simply fair that we would look at the broad base of particular terrorist activities that might harm the homeland? Is that a good narrative for us?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I think we want to look at a broad base, but also specific local law enforcement; again, as I talked about before, boots-on-the-ground work.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Well, we thank you for your work.

My question is as a law enforcement officer, as a chief, you would be as concerned about domestic-based terrorism, meaning a native-born American that might be in an extremist—white extremist group—that would be as challenging as possibly another type of group; is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. That is correct, ma'am.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. The record should show that to my knowledge we have not had a hearing in this committee on those kinds of groups that I have evidenced that they are dangerous as any might be. The difficulty with these hearings is it may provide information, but it may provoke unnecessarily individual communities that are trying to do their best.

The Chairman is my friend. I would also like to say this is such a poor time for this hearing. If you want to know about the devastation of a nation, these are the innocent Somalis who are fleeing a famine that is the worst famine in the history of Africa at this point. So I simply raise the question, if we are going to be constructive, let us be constructive by writing the right kind of legislation, getting Chief Smith more dollars, because you have proven effective and the young people of your communities, Somalians, have come to hear you talk about another way of life; is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. That is correct, ma'am, yes.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I would expect that would be the case of all Muslim Americans here who would be welcomed—

Chairman KING. Time of the gentlelady has expired.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. The other gentleman—

Chairman KING. Time of the gentlelady has expired.

The gentleman from Michigan is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you.

Mr. WALBERG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank you for your opening comments, especially. The strength of that and the clarity of what we are working with.

This is a very personal issue to me, and I appreciate the witnesses being here today and holding this hearing. I had mentioned earlier on in another hearing that had direct contact with two very, very close, very close family friends, who experienced the Ugandan-Kampala bombing. One who miraculously was spared by being in between the bomber and five other bodies, or five bodies in between him.

My two close friends spent the remainder of the night and next day identifying bodies. Then, ultimately finding out several of my personal friends, some being Muslim in Kampala, Uganda, were victims there and are no longer on this earth because of al-Shabaab. Then hearing subsequent days al-Shabaab come out and apologize to Ugandans because they were killed, because their purpose was to kill whites and Americans.

So, it is a personal issue to me. So I appreciate you being here and talking about how we deal with in a realistic way what is going on here in the United States and in Canada, our dear neighbor.

Mr. FOLK, I would ask you—and I thank you for your service as a Marine as well.

How do you assess the effectiveness of the FBI and DOJ's efforts to thwart al-Shabaab's on-going recruitment of Muslim Americans around the United States?

Mr. FOLK. Thank you, Congressman. I think we can look at a couple of different factors to guide us in that. First, I believe that the FBI and DOJ recognize the threat and moved quickly to counter it. I believe that there is certainly an on-going need to take care to focus on any groups that are recruiting people to fight on behalf of a foreign terrorist organization. I believe al-Shabaab currently represents an incredibly active group in that regard.

So I think that the efforts need to be on-going and we are going to need to remain vigilant to ensure that they are not recruiting. I think that if you want to look at whether or not we have managed to stop this problem, we can look at the fact that as of February 2008 the State Department designated al-Shabaab a foreign terrorist organization.

Since that time, additional groups of men have left Minnesota to join al-Shabaab. So, clearly, I think while our law enforcement efforts have been effective and continue to be effective, and I have no doubt will be effective in the future, this problem isn't solved by any stretch of the imagination and we are going to need to continue to focus on al-Shabaab.

Mr. WALBERG. Then why in general, at least the perception is out there for me why U.S. intelligence in law enforcement communities—and there is some specifics that we have here—but in general, it consistently downplayed threats posed by other foreign terror groups that ended up striking our homeland, such as AQAP in Yemen and the Pakistani Taliban. What was your answer to that?

Mr. FOLK. Congressman, I think that is an excellent question, and I think that the reality is we don't know what terrorist organizations are able to do, looking forward. They are certainly in some regards more aspirational than operational. That is, the things that they say may not necessarily reflect what they are capable of. But the difficulty is we don't know when they are going to cross the line from aspiration to operation.

The reality is, as was illustrated with what is being commonly termed as the underwear bomber, that cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty. As a result, we have to prepare as if groups that are potentially only aspirational today, could be operational tomorrow.

Mr. WALBERG. I guess that would—I appreciate the answer to that—adds to my concern about downplaying it, if we are taking it serious enough.

Well, thank you.

Mr. Hussen, thank you for being here. Thank you for working within your community. Giving voice to the overwhelming majority, I believe, of Muslims who don't want this violence, this terrorism to go on, and participate.

According to a recent investigative report, some recruits to al-Shabaab admitted that trips to go and fight with terror groups in Somalia were funded by community elders, including a mosque in Ohio not far from me.

How can the Government help community leaders such as yourself combat al-Shabaab recruiting, when respected elders are targeting and encouraging vulnerable and impressionable young men to join the designated terror group?

Mr. HUSSEN. The problem is the—when people look at the Canadian Somali community or the American Somali community, they say where do we find the leaders and they zero in on the mosques. But the reality is that there is more to the American and Somali communities beyond the mosque.

You need to target the young professional, people who are coming up, people who are dedicated to the values that have made this country great. That is where you target them. Those are the people who have the credibility to turn back against the messaging that leads to radicalization.

I honestly believe with all my heart that we should stop assuming that just because Canadian and American Somalis live physically here, that somehow our values will percolate into their brains by osmosis. We have to counter the radicalization by emphasizing the importance and the connection between our Islamic values and Canadian and American values.

The fact of the matter is you can be a fully morphed, better-functioning Muslim in the United States and Canada than any other place in the world, because of our freedom of worship. It is very difficult for a Sunni Muslim to be a fully practicing Sunni in Shiite

Iran. And vice versa, it is extremely difficult for a fully practicing Shiite Muslim to live a full life in Sunni Saudi Arabia because of persecution.

So this is a very special place, and it is one of the few countries, the United States and Canada, where Muslims can actually be Muslims whatever denomination they have. It is values like that and realities like that and facts like that that we need to re-emphasize to take away the strength of the radical message that says that Muslims are not—

Chairman KING. Time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WALBERG. Thank you.

Chairman KING. The gentelady from California, Ms. Richardson.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I concur with the objective of the Homeland Security committee that we should discuss the potential threat to the homeland posed by the Somali terrorist organization al-Shabaab. I also concur that the alleged recruitment of American citizens, not limited by race or religion, by al-Shabaab, the organization's relationships with al-Qaeda and those associated with it in Somalia, vis-à-vis the potential plotting against the U.S. homeland should be addressed.

However, I want to make sure on the record that according to the Ranking committee staff, to this date this committee has not secured a single Federal official or other objective recognized authority currently to legitimize the discussion on the alleged limited scope and insinuations that only the activity of Muslim Americans should be investigated or warrant a discussion.

The threats and activity of al-Qaeda and al-Shabaab are real and should be investigated by this committee. Clearly, that is within our jurisdiction. However, the continued limited scope is insufficient and discriminatory.

Mr. Folk, you said that you—first of all let me say thank you for your service to this country. You said that you worked on prosecuting those who did efforts on behalf of al-Qaeda and al-Shabaab and you are concerned with the effectiveness and the effect of the organization, which I agree with you.

My question is: Today are you here under the direction of the FBI, the CIA, the Department of Justice, or the Department of Homeland Security?

Mr. FOLK. Thank you, Congresswoman. The answer is I am not. I am here as a—

Ms. RICHARDSON. Do you have the authority by any of those organizations to submit any of the comments or back-up anything of what you said from the FBI, the CIA, the Department of Justice, or the Department of Homeland Security?

Mr. FOLK. No, ma'am.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Okay. Thank you.

Chief Smith, you talked about the recruiting of Somalia American youth immigrants. Are there other young people, youth, that have been recruited by al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda, to your knowledge?

Mr. SMITH. You know, that is probably a question better served for Federal authorities. I can tell you just from open source information, I know of just one individual who was not of Somali descent.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Okay, thank you. So there are others than Somalia descent that you are aware of that have been recruited?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Ms. RICHARDSON. To your knowledge?

Okay. Mr. Joscelyn, you talked about in your—as was introduced for you—that you are a terrorist expert and that you have been following this since 2006. In your comments you said in the very beginning mostly Muslims. Would you also agree that are there any other individuals of any other groups that are also being recruited and radicalized by al-Shabaab?

Mr. JOSCELYN. Oh, certainly. Shabaab has an international—

Ms. RICHARDSON. Okay, thank you.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman KING. The gentleman from Texas, subcommittee chair, Mr. McCaul?

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you for demonstrating the political courage to hold these hearings. I must say, I am mystified by the controversy that has followed from this. It was said by one of the Members that we are investigating Muslims. Nothing could be farther from the truth. We are investigating the radicalization of Muslim youth in the United States.

Does anybody on this panel disagree with the notion that the radicalization of Muslim youth in the United States poses a threat to our homeland security?

I take it by your silence that you agree with the idea that the radicalization of Muslim youth in the United States poses a direct threat to the security and safety of our homeland security. We know that three dozen Americans have left the United States, mostly from Minnesota, to join forces in Somalia, to receive training under al-Shabaab, to receive training by al-Qaeda. I guess the question is what kind of a threat does that pose to us here in the United States?

I want to read to you what was just recently said by Mr. Olsen, who is the nominee to lead the National Counter Terrorism Center, in his confirmation hearing just on Tuesday. He said, “Al-Shabaab’s bombing last year targeting Westerners shows the group is willing and capable of striking outside Somalia, and therefore poses a significant threat.”

So my question to I think to Mr. Folk and Mr. Joscelyn is: How big of a threat is this to the United States? I mean, there are those who will say that these individuals are leaving the United States to join these national forces in a civil war, and that that is their main focus. Their threat—or their focus is not posing a threat to the United States. How would you respond to that?

Mr. FOLK. Thank you, Congressman. As I set forth in my written remarks, the threat that we need to be aware of is the fact that the terrorist training camps run by al-Shabaab teach their participants show to kill people, how to utilize weapons, how to build bombs, and in addition to the military training, provide an ideological indoctrination that teaches that it is okay to do that. So, the ability of one of those individuals to return to the United States and to put into practice that training is a threat.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Joscelyn.

Mr. JOSCELYN. Well, you know, it is tough to say how big of a threat. But I certainly take it seriously. I think any al-Qaeda affiliated party we shouldn't downplay the threat. But you know, earlier we were talking about the Uganda bombings, for example, okay, which were a very personal connection.

The brigade that carried out the Uganda bombings was named the Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan Brigade. Okay? Nabhan was a top al-Qaeda operative and Shabaab member—Shabaab operative, as well. He was killed in a U.S. air strike in 2009. The brigade was named after him, because he is so legendary in Shabaab and al-Qaeda circles. Well, the recruits from Minneapolis who went to Somalia, who are in the Department of Justice, were actually trained under Nabhan.

In fact, the Department of Justice just on the 16th I believe, came out with its plea deal with the Minneapolis-based recruiter for Shabaab. In the materials it said that they named a senior member of al-Qaeda in East Africa who conducted the training. If you look at this.

So when you are talking about the threat, you are talking about individuals recruited in Minneapolis, who go to Shabaab in Somalia, and receive training from one of the all-time sort-of al-Qaeda in Somalia.

Mr. MCCAUL. So that al-Qaeda/al-Shabaab connection I think in my judgment does pose a threat to our interests here in the United States. Obviously, AQAP has a direct interest in attacking the United States. So am I correct in saying that it is that connection that concerns you?

Mr. JOSCELYN. That is exactly right. I think my colleague here, Mr. Folk, very succinctly said you just don't know when they are going to cross the line from aspirational to actually trying to pull something off. Umar Farouk Abdelmutallab, you know, nobody in the U.S. intelligence community, according to the Senate intelligence report, thought that somebody like that was going to come along from AQAP and try and attack us. All of a sudden he is on board Flight 253 trying to blow it up.

Mr. MCCAUL. Clearly, al-Awlaki is becoming the emerging threat, you know, on the scene, in my judgment. He is radicalizing Muslim youth over the internet here in the United States. What easier way to do it? If you can't get into the country with travel documents, why not radicalize people who are already here?

Last question. How can we track these individuals that we know have left the United States and are in Somalia now to make sure they don't come back to the United States and commit acts of terrorism?

Mr. JOSCELYN. That is a difficult question. I think there is a lot of good work being done on that, and you can't say that all the individuals that go off to fight aren't being tracked. It is tough to say. It becomes very difficult. The problem is that once you leave the country and you go into these—you know, the Badlands of Africa, basically—where all this warfare. It is tough to say who could get a false passport or a false visa or something like that.

I mean, there are just so many potential possibilities there. So, I wouldn't want to speculate on how best to track all of these guys. I think the FBI, the intelligence community, does a fairly good job

of tracking it. But again, you just don't know when somebody like Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab will come along.

Mr. MCCAUL. Yes.

Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HUSSEN. Just to, if I may, Mr. Chairman, just to add to that point. We should actually utilize the incredible sacrifice that is being made by Somali Americans on the other side of the equation fighting al-Shabaab. The current Somali prime minister is from Mr. Chairman's state of New York. The defense chief is from Ohio. There is a number of people from California and also Somali-Canadians. So we can utilize that intelligence to track some of the—

Mr. MCCAUL. That is an excellent point. The most effective weapon is I think the moderate Muslim against the radical.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

I would ask the Ranking Member to indulge me for a moment, and ask Mr. Folk if you want the opportunity to respond. You were asked about your testimony. Did you consult with the Justice Department before your testimony? Did they put any restrictions on you?

Mr. FOLK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have not had any restrictions put on me prior to coming in here today by anybody.

Chairman KING. Did you tell the Justice Department you were going to testify?

Mr. FOLK. I didn't.

Chairman KING. Okay, thank you.

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, I guess the question is: Did you submit your testimony to them?

Mr. FOLK. Ranking Member, the only—or the only entity to which I have submitted my testimony is this committee.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

Chairman KING. Could I just say to the Ranking Member, I wasn't trying to make a point. I just wanted to give him the opportunity for his professional life to make sure whether or not he spoke to the Justice Department before he came here. That is all.

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, and I think you were good with it. But I think the point Ms. Richardson was making was in fact that Mr. Folk was representing himself and not any other Federal or investigative entity.

Chairman KING. I wasn't trying to counter Ms. Richardson's point. I was just trying to give Mr. Folk the opportunity, so it is on the record as to what he did and didn't do. That is all. I was just trying to protect Mr. Folk, not trying to counter Ms. Richardson.

With that—

Mr. THOMPSON. I am sure Ms. Richardson appreciates that.

Chairman KING. I am sure she loves me for that.

Speaking of people who love me, the gentlelady from New York, Ms. Clarke, is recognized for 5 minutes. At least her mother loves me, I don't know about Yvette.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. I do love you, Mr. Chairman.

But I would like to welcome our witnesses, and I do want to say for the record my disappointment in the denial of Congressman Ellison's request to address our committee at this hearing. As the



Member of this body who has the largest concentration of Somali Americans in his district and who has worked very closely with that community, I think we should have afforded him that courtesy. I just want to put that on the record.

Let me also say that I have also felt a bit troubled about our focus on Muslim Americans when it comes to radicalization. Certainly there is not a human being alive on the planet right now that does not recognize what is taking place in terms of the Islamic threat from specific groups.

But when we get into this sort of generalization—and I can't say it better than Ms. Richardson did—about the fact that radicalization is cross-cultural, cross-religious, cross-ethnic, for us to focus on very specific communities and not putting the full gamut in perspective, I think opens us up to the disdain of others. That then perpetuates the notions that we are trying to combat.

So I really want to discourage us from stigmatizing and ostracizing communities. This is a nation of diversity and for generations Muslim Americans have been a part of the fabric of this Nation. For us to focus in and say Muslim Americans specifically are this threat, when I can also talk about gang radicalization, domestic terrorism, in my community. I don't see the same type of resources being put into communities that are poor, where young people are being jumped into gangs. I think that the lives that have been taken from that type of activity is just as valid.

So we need to take a look at our motives here, and certainly want to educate the public is fine, but when we become fixated on a particular group of people, we take our eyes off the prize. Then we become even more vulnerable, because the unexpected happens. The unexpected, like in Norway, happens.

So, I just wanted to, Mr. Chairman, say I love you, you know. However, my concern is for our civil society and how we treat each other, how we address the threats and the vulnerabilities, how we educate and inform one another, it would have been good to have some of our intelligence community on this panel giving us the most up-to-date information about the issue that you seek penetration on.

I have felt that we are dealing with a number of opinions here, and opinions are not fact-based.

Chairman KING. If the gentlelady would just yield for 10 seconds, I will keep this short.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. I certainly will, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. As far as the intelligence community, we held a series of meetings and briefings available to both the Majority and the Minority staff in the lead-up to this, meeting with various intelligence and security officials throughout our Government. It was made available to both staffs.

Also, as far as whether or not we are stigmatizing any element of the community, Mr. Hussen has said that our committee hearings have actually empowered the Muslims in his community—

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Hussen is entitled to his opinion. He is one man of a massive group of people, and he is entitled to his opinion. He is from Canada and I don't know what his relationship is to the Somali American community here in the United States.

Chairman KING. Well, he explained that in his opening statement, I thought.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Really? Did he? I don't—I didn't get that from him.

Chairman KING. He works very closely with the Muslim American community, particularly the community in Minneapolis, because of the nexus between Toronto and Minneapolis.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. With all due respect, that is a relative perspective. Working closely?

Chairman KING. Well, unlike you or I, he is active in the Muslim community.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Well, listen, so is Mr. Ellison, and he was denied the ability to come and to speak to us.

Chairman KING. I need to say that Mr. Ellison is a Member of another committee. We gave him the opportunity to testify at the first hearing, where one of the witnesses was from Minneapolis. He testified. We gave Mr. Ellison the opportunity to testify then. This is an expansion of that, and quite frankly, in view of the strictures of time, I thought it best to focus on this. Mr. Ellison, I consider him a good colleague, but again, he had his opportunity, and today we are listening to other witnesses.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Chairman, that is all well and good, but my point remains the same. I am not here to rebuttal anyone. I am sharing my opinion as a member of this committee. My opinion is that we have focused almost as a fixation on this one community, when there are many threats to our civil society that have not been examined at all.

I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. Thank the gentlelady.

Mr. Richmond, I just hope you aren't going to throw a fastball or a curveball or a screwball at us. The reason for that preamble is he was the star pitcher in last week's Congressional game. I hate to admit it, but he absolutely destroyed the Republicans.

With that, I yield him 5 minutes.

Mr. RICHMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just had a quick day that day. It is very unusual.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for the focus on radicalization in the first hearing and the things that we got out of the first hearing. Maybe this is, for me, since I am a new Member, that we are revisiting this issue over and over again. It reminds me of my first visit to the zoo when I saw a one-trick pony.

But I would say that out of the testimony, and we have heard from the first hearing the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community and the community response. We heard from Mr. Bledso, Mr. Baca—Sheriff Baca, Mr. Bihi, Dr. Jasser. The next hearing, the "Threat of Muslim Radicalization in U.S. Prisons," we heard from Kevin Smith, Patrick Dunleavy, Professor Burt Hussein, and Michael Downey. Today we had another panel, four remarkable people with good insight.

I just want to pull from what we learned in those hearings to see if I am missing something—and members that are testifying, you can jump in—that community and outreach and engagement is important, and breaking this cycle. We have to break some of the cultural norms. We need to partner in teaching American integration,

and develop an attachment to the community. We need to make sure that we focus on the youth that are targeted for radicalization, that all youth are targeted for radicalization.

In fact, I will go back to the testimony of Mr. Hussen, who was—who testified that our outreach efforts after a grueling 2 years have won us the hearts and minds of the Somali American community to commit to the radicalization efforts of the few extremists and radicals in our community. The testimony of Sheriff Lee Baca, who said that all of these agencies recognize that you cannot arrest or enforce your way out of the radicalization issue. That outreach to community members and the building of relationships will lead to a trusted network for sharing of information and contacts.

Does that summarize our efforts of what we should be doing to combat radicalization in all of our communities, no matter what religious faith, and no matter what part of the country or world or ethnicity you are. Does that sum it up?

I will take the silence as a fact that we have had an exhaustive answers to all of these questions, and I think that there is a comprehensive answer to what we are doing. So in the hopes of moving on and working on this issue, I hope that answer suffices so that we don't have radicalization—hearings about radicalization in schools, radicalization in mosques, radicalization in churches, radicalization in grocery stores, radicalization at bingo.

I would hope that we can focus on the commitment and the resources that we can give to our law enforcement officers, and to those who can truly work on community outreach and make sure that we are making sure that all U.S. citizens are being integrated into those principles that make America great. That there is also the responsibility they have to make sure that their children are safe, and that we create the environment we want.

So Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the hearings. I get it, I get it, I get it, and I hope that everyone else gets it also.

Chairman KING. Could the gentleman just yield to me at the end so we can have a—

Mr. RICHMOND. I will yield.

Chairman KING. I understand where you are coming from, and I understand your contribution to this committee. The reason I have gone forward with these hearings is there are many different dimensions to this radicalization issue. For instance, we started off—people—many people in Government, many people on this committee, many people in the media, denying there was a threat within the Muslim American community, denying the fact that there were any mosques or Imams or leaders who were not cooperating, who were not coming forward.

The testimony of Mr. Hussen that as a result of these hearings more people are coming forward and its helping to change the narrative in Canada. We have seen by the intelligence officials in recent months the concern they are showing between al-Shabaab and AQAP linking up. So there is a change in the dimension of the issue. You know, you are talking about bingo games and grocery stores. The fact is people in bingo games and grocery stores have not killed 3,000 Americans. That is the difference.

I would hope that there is no equivalency right now between the various organizations that your side has been talking about, which

never investigated for 4 years, by the way, and an enemy which has an international component which is attempting to destroy us. What is for political correctness reasons, people in the media and Government are afraid to directly confront in many ways.

As far as Chief Smith, he is doing a phenomenal job, and that is an important part of it. But also an important part is what Mr. Hussen is talking about, and that is to have people in the community step forward and speak out and change the narrative.

That is what I hope these hearings are doing. If not, I will be judged on that, but as Chairman I believe I have an obligation to pursue it.

I know your time has expired, but if you wish to answer that you certainly may.

Mr. RICHMOND. Mr. Chairman, I just think that it is abundantly clear now that radicalization is a problem, that all of our youth are targeted, whether they are Muslim, whether they are African American, whether they are white. I mean, there is someone targeting all of our kids. All of our children are prey.

I think that all of the answers are consistent, which is community outreach, engagement, and all of those things which all require funding and making sure that our law enforcement officers and our community leaders have the ability to do that, which takes funds. So at some point we know what the problem is, we know all of our youth are at risk, and we know that community engagement and all of those things are a very viable answer.

So I would like to get to the point where we start talking about the funding of those answers, and how effective they are. Weeding them out and figuring out the funding of those answers, those answers. How effective they are in weeding them out and figuring out the best way to make sure that we protect our kids, protect our seniors, so that we don't have those terrorist attacks.

So I was just saying, and the purpose of my comment was to say point made. This is the third hearing on it, let us move on. I am not the Chairman, and I respect that. But in my sense it would make sense to start focusing on the answer.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. Okay. I understand. I would just say there is only one group that has killed 3,000 Americans, and that is why al-Qaeda—the group that al-Qaeda is targeting, if they start targeting other groups tomorrow we will look at that.

That is all I am saying. But I understand your point. The funding is a very legitimate issue, by the way. That is what Mr. Hussen was talking about, too. If we do have the funding, what kind of narrative do we use?

With that, I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Duncan, who has waited patiently listening to me and to Mr. Richmond.

Mr. DUNCAN. South Carolina. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

These committee hearings allow for a great exchange of ideas, and I appreciate the gentleman from Louisiana's comments. But you know, I was sitting here thinking that on July 4 in my church, and I am Baptist, we sang patriotic hymns about America and we talked about American greatness that he referenced. We talked about the freedom of religion and the separation of that and Government and our founding fathers, the creation of this land.

That is what I would hope, Mr. Richmond, that the Imams in the mosques would begin talking about is the freedom of religion that they have got to worship in America in a mosque, where you know, the country was founded on Christian principles, but an Islamic religion can practice in this country freely.

So, I want to encourage the mosques and then the communities to talk about American greatness and talk about the religious freedom that we have got and first amendment and the Constitution and supporting law enforcement that is out there supporting our liberties, supporting the military that is fighting for the liberties even in that part of the world where there is a dominant Islam religion.

But as I sit through these hearings, you know, you have a lot of questions you want to ask the panelists. But then you hear a lot of the questions and comments by the other committee members. So, let me just reference an article that I read from Al Jazeera, July 22, "2 weeks after al-Shabaab said a ban on certain aid groups working in Somalia would be lifted, the Islamist group has announced that a ban remains in place." This was a quote from al-Shabaab, which controls part of the affected region affected by the drought and the famine.

"Those earlier banned groups are not welcome to serve our area of control," Shabaab spokesman Sheikh Ali Mahmoud Raj said in a broadcast on Islamist al-Furqaan Radio on Friday. "There is drought in Somalia, but not famine. What is declared by the U.N. is 100 percent false."

This is al-Shabaab. This is the group that we are talking about today refuting the claims by Members of this committee that the aid is not getting there. They are saying that there is no famine. There is a drought, but there is no famine. So I just wanted to bring that point out that they are denying some of the claims that are even being made here today.

I am concerned about al-Shabaab's connection with al-Qaeda. There is numerous articles since September 2008 al-Shabaab pledged allegiance to Osama bin Laden. February 2010 al-Shabaab officially announced its alliance with al-Qaeda. Its intention was to connect the Horn of Africa Jihad to the one led by al-Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden. Today we have strong evidence of a longstanding collaboration between al-Qaeda and the Iranian regime using the Quds force. With these recent events, and with al-Shabaab's November 2009 announcement of the establishment of an all-Quds brigade, a military unit specifically tasked with attacking Israel and freeing Islamic holy places.

Have you—and I will ask Mr. Folk there—have you seen any evidence of Iran supporting al-Shabaab?

Mr. FOLK. No, I have not, Congressman.

Mr. DUNCAN. Is it possible that al-Shabaab receives financing through the Iranian donations or training from the Iranian Quds force that the Iranian regime supports al-Qaeda?

Mr. FOLK. Congressman, if you are directing that at me, I apologize, I can't answer that. I don't know one way or the other.

Mr. HUSSEN. If I may, Chairman, I can answer that question. The Iranians have in recent years been arming al-Shabaab, not because they like al-Shabaab specifically, but because they want to

harm the U.S. ally and the transitional federal government of Somalia. So their weapons go through Eritrea, and there is a whole connection between Eritrea and al-Shabaab and piracy and all that stuff.

Mr. DUNCAN. All right. We are seeing the al-Shabaab extend their reach beyond their home country. I apologize, I wasn't in for the whole meeting. How much strength do they have for going beyond Africa, do you believe, Mr. Hussen, in terrorist acts?

Mr. HUSSEN. Well, first of all it is very inaccurate to keep talking about the connection between al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda. They are integrated. The top leadership, the decision makers and the top military commanders of al-Shabaab are also people who have been trained in al-Qaeda camps.

Second, there is no shortage of foot soldiers and young men that al-Shabaab can recruit in Somalia. So why would they spend all this money, effort, and great risk to recruit Westerners? People who hold Canadian, U.S., and British passports. It is because we think they have aspirations beyond East Africa. They have proven that by attacking Uganda.

They have also made an attempt at attacking the World Cup in South Africa, but they were unsuccessful. So they have global ambitions, they have connections with al-Qaeda and also AQAP. With the recruiting of Westerners they have the means to get recruits who can evade border controls.

Chairman KING. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Ranking Member have—

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Hussen, you answered the gentleman from South Carolina's question about Iran's involvement. You are not speaking on behalf of the Canadian government?

Mr. HUSSEN. No, I am not.

Mr. THOMPSON. You are not speaking on behalf of any intelligence agency?

Mr. HUSSEN. No, I am not.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

Chairman KING. The gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Davis, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

You know, as I listened to the exchange I was just thinking of my experience with people that I know from Somalia. As a matter of fact, I have a group of friends that we have interacted with now for about 15, 20 years. I note that they have got pretty strong feelings about politics, about government, about the history, about their existence, about their country, how they were raised, issues of poverty, issues of instability, issues of not having certain kinds of resources available to them.

But I don't know that I have detected any particular feelings of animosity towards say this country or other countries. But they have all expressed and do express on a rather consistent basis serious intensity about the shape of the world and government. I mean, you can get a great discussion going at any time.

I grew up with the idea that an ounce of prevention is worth much more and is far more effective than a pound of cure. I guess my—I was struck by our religious differences. I just happened to

be reading the Bible the other day, and I read the comment that said if you would put an end to oppression, to every gesture of contempt, that you would be known as the people who rebuilt the walls, building on the old foundations.

I guess my one question would be—and if each one of you could just give a brief response—how do we incorporate into the thinking of individuals enough confidence so that, you know, if somebody is selling something that I am not buying, they can sell it, but I am not buying. I mean, you can set on the corner and holler crack and blow, pills and thrills, but if I don't have the need for it, you will just be broke at the end of the day.

How do we overcome some of the feelings, I guess, that may have been developed down through the years and really are not necessarily new, but historically have existed? With individuals who may have come from or whose parents may have lived in Somalia? They are individuals with that heritage?

Mr. HUSSEN. I think the biggest value in our religion is justice and to emphasize to these young people that the biggest attempt at justice can only come from a society that guarantees religious freedom and human rights and the rule of law to the best of its ability.

If you do that you undercut the messaging of victimology that says to a young person in Canada or the United States that these societies will never accept you. But you have to come at it from an Islamic perspective that says in this form justice is very important and in these countries there is an attempt to live by the rule of law and freedom of worship.

Mr. JOSCELYN. Thank you, Congressman, that is an excellent question. I would point you to two specific examples that I think answer your question, and then to a more general theme. Specifically, the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's Office in Minneapolis, since the criminal investigation started, have made a concerted push to reach out to the Somali community and to really find out at a street level what is going on. That is an absolutely essential component of any prosecution strategy, because you cannot prosecute your way out of a problem.

I think that the Minneapolis U.S. Attorney's Office and the FBI have realized that and are complementing the hard edge of criminal justice with the softer side of outreach. If we have ever sent a message by our prosecutions or by our investigations that people are being prosecuted because of the god they worship, the country they call home, or the language they speak, we would fail. I think outreach has to temper our prosecution to make sure we don't send that message.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you.

Mr. FOLK. Congressman, just to add one thing real quick. I actually had a question very similar in mind to what you just asked when I wrote the second point in my testimony. Because the second point in my testimony is that Somali Americans and Somalis in Somalia, Muslims in Somalia, are the biggest victims of Shabaab. More Muslims are killed by Shabaab than anybody. That is who they target. That is who they kill.

In other words, the enemies of the Somali American community overall, the enemies of Somalis in Somalia are our enemies. We

share a common enemy. Shabaab does not represent all of them by a long shot. Okay? You know, and that is—and when you look for that common bond that is where, to my mind, when you talk about threats or security, that where it starts, is that your enemies are our enemies.

Chairman KING. Time—I am sorry.

Chief Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Just real briefly, I was going to say, Congressman, the answer is dialogue. Continued dialogue. Whether it is within our community, our Saint Paul Somali elder council, working with our youth, and listening. I think that that is a key, because that is where we hear. You don't have to sell, or you don't want to buy something. You need to listen first.

One quick example, our United States attorney that Mr. Folk used to work with, B. Todd Jones, under his own volition—and he is part of our program as well. But B. Todd Jones every weekend has a Somali youth group come and he teaches them about civil rights, about the United States. They have the opportunity to come. They volunteer to come, and it is very powerful. I think that it is efforts such as listening and education that paved the way to our success.

Thank you.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. I thank the gentleman.

Now the moment that we are all waiting for.

Mr. Green is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to join the chorus of persons who have indicated a deep abiding affection for you. I love you, too, Mr. Chairman.

If I may, I think this is a preeminent opportunity to make it abundantly clear that this hearing is not to condemn all Muslims. Is that a fair statement, Chief?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, that is a fair statement.

Mr. GREEN. We would not want persons who are hearing what we are saying and witnessing what we are doing to conclude that we think all persons who are Somali are radicals and people to be watched and people who are to be monitored. Is that a fair statement, Mr. Joscelyn?

Mr. JOSCELYN. I think it is a very fair statement. Absolutely true.

Mr. GREEN. You really didn't come here today to demean Muslims, did you? Anybody come to demean Muslims?

Mr. SMITH. No.

Mr. GREEN. Okay. The truth be told, radicals and people who want to hurt us come in all forms and shapes and ethnicities. Is that a fair statement, Mr. Folk?

Mr. FOLK. Absolutely, Congressman.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Folk, you ever heard of a person called Jihad Jane?

Mr. FOLK. I haven't.

Mr. GREEN. How tall was she?

Mr. FOLK. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. GREEN. Was she under 7 feet? Of course she was. What color was her hair?



Mr. FOLK. I don't—

Mr. GREEN. You don't know? Somebody knows?

Mr. JOSCELYN, what color was her hair?

Mr. JOSCELYN. It was either light brown or blond.

Mr. GREEN. Light brown or blond.

Mr. JOSCELYN. From my memory, yes.

Mr. GREEN. Yes, these are the kind of things you might want to take note of. What color—she did have eyes, we all agree. What color were they? What color were her eyes?

Don't remember? Okay. Well, maybe you remember this. What was her complexion? Not everybody at once, please.

Mr. SMITH. She was a Caucasian, right?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, of European ancestry, is that a fair statement?

Mr. SMITH. Sure.

Mr. GREEN. Is there some consternation with saying this? Or does this create you—does it take you out of your comfort zone to say that Jihad Jane was—not at all? Okay. Does that everybody agree that Jihad Jane was what we call in this country a white person?

Mr. SMITH. Sure.

Mr. GREEN. Would you kindly raise your hands?

Chairman KING. If the gentleman would yield for a second?

Mr. GREEN. Okay, yes of course, I will yield, but Mr. Chairman, if you would, would you extend my time since I am—

Chairman KING. Well, as a guest of the committee I will take it into consideration. Certainly I will.

Mr. GREEN. Okay.

Chairman KING. The point I am trying to make is you are laying a whole series of questions here which have no basis at all. I don't think anyone who has ever sat on this committee, no one has ever said anything about a person's ancestry. No one has ever said anything about their race. What we are saying is al-Qaeda by its own statements is attempting to radicalize people of the Muslim faith, whether they are black, white, brown, tan, yellow, no matter what they might be, whether they are male or female, whether they are 7-foot tall, have blue eyes, whatever complexion they have, means absolutely nothing.

So I mean, it is an interesting line of questioning, but it makes absolutely no sense and is not based on anything that has been said by any Member of this committee on either side.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, if I may reclaim my time.

Chairman KING. Absolutely.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, to be quite candid with you, I didn't expect it to make sense to you. I did not.

Chairman KING. Okay, you just said—

Mr. GREEN. Now, Mr. Chairman, if I may continue, it is my time, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. Okay, and you are a guest of the committee. I will respond to you at the end, just so you know.

Mr. GREEN. I understand. Do the rules that apply to everyone else apply to guests, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman KING. At this time.

Mr. GREEN. Okay, well listen, I am being candid with you because you decided to bring this to my attention. I am going along

with my line of questioning, and I have a reason for doing this, and it is because I agree with you, believe it or not. I have said I don't think that we want all Muslims to be painted with the same brush.

I have said, and the line of questioning connotes that I believe we should also let the world know that we believe that Muslims are law-abiding people, that they should not be monitored. There is nothing wrong with this, Mr. Chairman. It is not an unreasonable line of questioning.

Now, if it causes you some degree of discomfort for me to make it transpicuously clear that there are some people who are intent on harming us, who are persons that don't look like what we typically call terrorists, then I have to respectfully ask that you allow me to continue my questioning.

Chairman KING. You have 20 seconds. The gentleman has 20 seconds.

Mr. GREEN. All right. Thank you.

So you all agree that there are people who, of European ancestry, who want to harm us. The purpose of this—you are being here today—is not to condemn all Muslims? Is that a fair statement?

If you agree would you just raise your hands? I want to thank all of you for coming. I think you have been here and you have done a noble service, but it is also just important for us to let the world know that we are not here condemning all Muslims.

Chairman KING. Time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. Let me just make several remarks as the Chairman of the committee. The Ranking Member can certainly respond.

The reason I interrupted your line of questioning is we have heard from so many people about what message are we sending to the world. If we have a Member of the committee or a guest of the committee come in and somehow imply that this committee or anyone on this committee has ever suggested that a person's color, a person's origin, has anything to do with terrorism, that is the wrong message to send.

I mean, it is not a profound finding to say that a person can be an al-Qaeda terrorist with blue eyes.

Mr. GREEN. Will the Chairman extend to me the same courtesy I extended to the Chairman?

Chairman KING. Well, since we extended the courtesy to you of being a guest, let me finish. Your time has expired.

Let me just say that—

Mr. GREEN. The Chair will not extend the courtesy that—

Chairman KING. No, I will not. I have extended enough courtesy today.

Mr. GREEN. All right.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KING. Now, the point I was going to make is that if we want the world to realize what we are trying to do on this committee, and what I believe on both sides of the aisle, certainly on our side, we are trying to conduct intelligent hearings. We are trying to see the extent of radicalization in the American Muslim community, the same as the White House.

The deputy national security advisor in the White House went to a mosque in March of this year and said one of the severe threats

facing the country is al-Qaeda's attempt to radicalize the Muslim American community. He didn't talk about males, females, blond hair, blue eyes, white skin, black skin, brown skin. That is not the issue.

But anyone listening to your questioning overseas, whether they are watching al-Jazeera or BBC or whatever they are watching, they would somehow think there were in this committee, in this Congress, on this side of the aisle who somehow suggest that terrorism is linked to a person's race, or gender, or height, is just wrong.

And that is why I wanted the record clear, so those of you who are listening from overseas will realize that the gentleman's line of questioning had no basis and no foundation at all to anything that has ever been testified to by any witness before this committee, or any Member of the committee, certainly on this side of the aisle.

And if the Ranking Member wishes to comment?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes.

Thank you, Mr. Green, for your participation in the hearing. We have testimony in the record that radicalization has occurred in prisons, that skinheads are the most dangerous group of people in prison. They are domestic terrorists, they are gang members; have offered severe threats to this country.

I think the point that a lot of Members on this side made is that there are a lot of bad people in this country. Some are Baptists, some are atheists. I think the effort was to broaden and look at a lot of bad people.

But I would like to close by saying to all our witnesses, thank you for your testimony. Chief Smith, you gave up a vacation to come and hear this. I want to personally thank you. Your law enforcement experience added significant credibility to this hearing. I think it is what we need as a committee to move forward. Coming up with good public policy.

The other witnesses, your testimony was equally good. Collectively what we will fashion as a committee is legislation addressing many of those things. Unfortunately, a lot of the resources that will be necessary to address the issues outlined are being cut. So, I think the State and local entities are going to be hard-pressed, given this situation, to continue at the same level.

However, I am confident that even with the cuts, those of you who do it every day will do a good job. For that I thank you.

Chairman KING. I thank the Chairman—the Ranking Member, the former Chairman, and hopefully it stays former. I want to thank the Ranking Member for his statements, for his contributions.

If I could end on a bipartisan note. As we go through the authorization process, you may find more in common than you might expect as far as funding and the requests we are going to make. So I look forward to working with you on that.

As far as the other issue, I would just go back to the fact that with all of the various threats we may have in this country, there is only one threat that has killed 3,000 Americans, and that is why I am focusing on that.

I also want to thank all the witnesses. They did a great job. Chief Smith, you took a day off from your vacation. I am really in-

debted to you. Thank you. My father was in law enforcement for many years, and I have some idea of the work that you people try to do, and do, and do achieve under a very stressful circumstance. So thank you for your service.

Thank all the witnesses.

Let me also say the Members of the committee may have additional questions, and we will ask you to respond to those in writing in 10 days. We will send them on to you if we get any additional questions. The hearing record will be kept open for 10 days.

Without objection, the committee stands adjourned

[Whereupon, at 12:21 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

## APPENDIX I

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### QUESTION FROM HONORABLE LAURA RICHARDSON FOR AHMED HUSSEN

*Question.* Immigrants from around the world have migrated into the United States and experienced isolation and struggles and have not become “terrorists”. Why do you believe that Somalians, which you mentioned come here and receive an education and believe that working hard will improve their status, will turn anti-American and bring terror here?

Answer. Response was not received at the time of publication.

### QUESTIONS FROM HONORABLE LAURA RICHARDSON FOR W. ANDERS FOLK

*Question 1.* Mr. Folk, in your experience, what role did the Somali community play in the prosecution of these recruits?

Answer. Congresswoman Richardson, thank you for your important question. Based on the size and diversity of the Somali community, it is difficult to specify a role in the prosecutions that the “community” played. Individuals within the community, however, played a variety of roles in the prosecution of the recruits. (1) Some individuals were witnesses to the recruitment or were in contact with recruited individuals upon their arrival in Somalia. I would qualify individuals who fell into this category as witnesses in the prosecution of those who were recruited to fight in Somalia. (2) Some individuals in the Somali community were suspected of criminal activity. They played a role as subjects or targets of the law enforcement investigation and prosecutions. (3) Some individuals were family members of those who were recruited. Individuals in this category often played dual roles as witnesses to and victims of the criminal activity that formed the basis for the prosecution of recruits.

*Question 2.* Was the community helpful in passing on information and tips?

Answer. Thank you for the question, Congresswoman Richardson. It is difficult to label the entire community as helpful or unhelpful. Some members of the Somali community appeared to be concerned about the recruitment of its members to fight on behalf of a terrorist organization. The concerned individuals took actions to include passing information and tips they deemed relevant to the investigation to other members of the community and in some cases, to law enforcement. On the other hand, some members of the community, as illustrated in the prosecution and conviction of Abdow Munye Abdow, were concerned with protecting the individuals who were the focus of law enforcement investigation. These individuals took active steps to obstruct the law enforcement investigation.

### QUESTIONS FROM HONORABLE LAURA RICHARDSON FOR THOMAS JOSCELYN

*Question 1.* For a short period of time, groups such as UNICEF were sending aid into south Somalia, before al-Shabaab banned the groups. Now the group is only allowing aid from certain groups and it is uncertain what they will allow in the future, but the situation is growing worse by the day.

Is there any way that we can leverage future aid to gain concessions from the group?

Answer. Response was not received at the time of publication.

*Question 2.* Are there other options the international community should be considering to provide food aid?

Answer. Response was not received at the time of publication.

### QUESTIONS FROM HONORABLE LAURA RICHARDSON FOR THOMAS E. SMITH

*Question 1.* Mr. Smith, the Justice Department has specifically cited the relationships between the FBI and Justice department officials with the Somali American communities in your area as a model for community relations. Of particular note

is the two-way cultural exchange that was developed. Two-way exchanges such as this one can develop a conversation based on trust and communication, which is why the Justice Department is now trying to replicate these efforts Nation-wide. Has this been your experience at the local level as well?

Answer. The Saint Paul Police Department successes noted in my testimony was specifically derived by an open dialog where genuine trust was earned. As one would suspect, there was a significant amount of confusion which existed in the local East African Communities related to the role of local government and law enforcement specifically. There was an authentic reluctance to interact with law enforcement due to the immediate fear of deportation.

The Saint Paul Police Department has spent a considerable amount of time discussing the various and differing roles of law enforcement with the local East African communities. We have earned acceptance by demonstrating through practice and a robust dialog the idea that local law enforcement exist to assist families in crisis or having minor needs. Members of the Saint Paul Police Department have heard from the local East African community a message indicating uneasiness with Federal law enforcement in the Twin Cities area. This exists in spite of the outreach occurring by members of various Homeland Security agencies or the local FBI. An assumption can be made that the community has not fully embraced Federal law enforcement entities because of the same confusion that once existed between them and the Saint Paul Police Department.

*Question 2.* Mr. Smith, counterterrorism and policing experts say that effective policing is based on trust and that isolation and alienation of communities is counterproductive in intelligence gathering and law enforcement. Can you please explain for the committee what does not work and what we know is counterproductive?

Answer. Earning trust must be a genuine endeavor and I would cite this as the most important consideration. The Saint Paul Police Department has learned from other law enforcement agencies that intelligence gathering missions under the guise of relationship-building activities will always become exposed and undoubtedly undermine the communities' trust. Therefore, law enforcement entities must not mingle outreach and more traditional investigative tactics. The Saint Paul Police Department invests in outreach activities and also traditional intelligence-gathering techniques but takes great steps to maintain separation between them. In theory, I will not ask a police officer who is working with children in an after-school program to use his/her position of trust to directly investigate terrorism leads. The SPPD has been as successful in obtaining information about concerning conditions/actions while engaged in outreach activities as it has via traditional counter-terrorism methodologies.

A second point to consider as counterproductive is the dangers of creating an imbalance of empowerment among community groups. The primary thought here is the ability for Government entities to provide unintentional authority to specific groups via relationships. The Saint Paul Police Department has found competing community groups having specific agendas will place themselves between our agency and the community. Interpreters with bias have changed the message delivered by Saint Paul Police Department employees leading the community to believe they had to work through the community group to access the police department. This has occurred on more than one occasion.

