

**Matthews, Patricia (NSD)**

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**From:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)  
**Sent:** Monday, May 23, 2016 8:07 PM  
**To:** (b) (6) (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD)  
**Subject:** FW: CVE TF Get Back re CVE Grant Resources - Senator Leahy

**This message has been archived.**

FYI: See the request below from Sen. Leahy's staff. Brette (b) (5)

(b) (5)

**From:** (b) (6)  
**Sent:** Monday, May 23, 2016 3:55 PM  
**To:** Selim, George; Steele, Brette L. (ODAG)  
**Cc:** Quinn, Kate; Saupp, Jennifer; Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)  
**Subject:** RE: CVE TF Get Back re CVE Grant Resources - Senator Leahy

+ Adding Joanne from DOJ Leg

(b) (6)

Legislative Affairs Specialist

Office of Legislative Affairs

Department of Homeland Security

(b) (6) (desk)

(b) (6) (cell)

**From:** (b) (6)  
**Sent:** Monday, May 23, 2016 3:41 PM  
**To:** Selim, George <(b) (6)>; 'Steele, Brette L. (ODAG)'  
(b) (6)  
**Cc:** (b) (6)  
**Subject:** RE: CVE TF Get Back re CVE Grant Resources - Senator Leahy

All -

Leahy's Counsel would like to know all domestic CVE grant resources that are available.

(b) (5)

Thanks,

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

Legislative Affairs Specialist

Office of Legislative Affairs

Department of Homeland Security

(b) (6) (desk)

(b) (6) (cell)

From: Selim, George

Sent: Monday, May 23, 2016 2:59 PM

To: (b) (6); 'Steele, Brette L. (ODAG)' <Brette.L.Steele@usdoj.gov>

Cc: (b) (6)

Subject: RE: CVE TF Get Back re CVE Grant Resources - Senator Leahy

Copy, the key is to not that the TF is lead for coordinating CVE domestically (not internationally).

From: (b) (6)

Sent: Monday, May 23, 2016 2:58 PM

To: Selim, George <(b) (6)>; 'Steele, Brette L. (ODAG)'

<Brette.L.Steele@usdoj.gov>

Cc: (b) (6)

Subject: RE: CVE TF Get Back re CVE Grant Resources - Senator Leahy

Got it, I will clarify.

(b) (5)

Thanks,

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

Legislative Affairs Specialist

Office of Legislative Affairs

Department of Homeland Security

(b) (6) (desk)

(b) (6) (cell)

From: Selim, George

Sent: Monday, May 23, 2016 2:56 PM

To: (b) (6); 'Steele, Brette L. (ODAG)' <Brette.L.Steele@usdoj.gov>

Cc: (b) (6)

Subject: RE: CVE TF Get Back re CVE Grant Resources - Senator Leahy

Thanks (b) (6) we'll work this for DHS and DOJ, but entire federal government would be tough, especially b/c USAID and State have millions on CVE grants abroad. If "entire government" that would need to go through OMB. If just "domestic" we could answer that, so you might want to go back and clarify.

From: (b) (6)

Sent: Monday, May 23, 2016 2:52 PM

To: Selim, George <(b) (6)>; 'Steele, Brette L. (ODAG)'

<Brette.L.Steele@usdoj.gov>

Cc: (b) (6)

Subject: CVE TF Get Back re CVE Grant Resources - Senator Leahy

(b) (6) Brette -

OLA has received a get back from the 5/11 CVE Senate HSGAC briefing.

The request is from Ranking Member Leahy's Senior Counsel for the Senate Judiciary Committee.

(b) (5)

(b) (5)

Senator Leahy's Counsel would like to know:

- All CVE grant resources available throughout the entire federal government.

If you recall, Senator Leahy's Counsel raised this question in the brief. I believe Brette initially fielded this question.

Please let me know if you have any questions or would like any further information.

Thanks,

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

Legislative Affairs Specialist

Office of Legislative Affairs

Department of Homeland Security

(b) (6) (desk)

(b) (6) (cell)

**Matthews, Patricia (NSD)**

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**From:** (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 08, 2016 8:52 PM  
**To:** (b) (6) Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA); (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Laragy, Scott (USAEO); (b) (6) (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD); Smith, Travis (USAEO); (b) (6) (b) (6)  
**Subject:** RE: DHS Grant Follow-up

**This message has been archived.**

Thanks (b) (6)

FYSA on possible conflicts with the date:

Note the SAC conference is during that October block and immediately followed by IACP. So, the planned review date may shift to the right until after IACP if SACs are to participate. Their participation is the preferred method.

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----- Original message -----

**From:** (b) (6)  
**Date:** 09/08/2016 8:33 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** "Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) (JMD)" <Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov>, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) "Laragy, Scott (USAEO)" <Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov>, (b) (6) (NSD) (JMD)" <(b) (6)>, "Smith, Travis (USAEO)" <Travis.Smith3@usdoj.gov>, (b) (6) (NSD) (JMD)" <(b) (6)>  
**Subject:** DHS Grant Follow-up

All,

George Selim asked me for a status update tonight, so I gave him a brief preview of next steps. He agreed to have his staff brief DOJ and FBI on the DHS "security review" process, so we will work with David O'Leary to schedule that briefing tomorrow. George also flagged that he received the attached "invitation" to testify on September 22, 2016, so he will be very eager to get cleared language in advance of that hearing.

(b) (5)



(b) (6)

From: Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) [mailto:Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov]

Sent: Wednesday, September 7, 2016 3:35 PM

To: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C); (b) (6) Laragy, Scott (USAEO)

<Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov>; (b) (6) (NSD) (b) (6) (b) (6)

(NSD) (b) (6) Smith, Travis (USAEO) <Travis.Smith3@usdoj.gov>; (b) (6)

(b) (6)

Subject: Meeting tomorrow at 10:30 re: follow-up from House Homeland briefing/CVE from last Thursday

All:

10:30 tomorrow (Thursday) appears to work for everyone. We will meet in OLA's Large Conference Room. The Call-In number is (b) (6)

I will send an invite to each of you.

Thank you,

Joanne

X5-8313

From: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Sent: Wednesday, September 07, 2016 11:57 AM

To: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA); (b) (6)

Cc: Laragy, Scott (USAEO); (b) (6) (NSD)

Subject: RE: proposed language

Friday at 10 works for me too.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Supervisory Special Agent

FBI, Office of Congressional Affairs

Desk (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

From: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
Sent: Wednesday, September 07, 2016 11:34 AM  
To: Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) (JMD) <Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov>  
<mailto:Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov> >; (b) (6)  
<mailto:(b) (6)> >; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
Cc: Laragy, Scott (USAEO) <Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov <mailto:Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov> >; (b) (6)  
(b) (6) (NSD) (JMD) (b) (6) >  
Subject: RE: proposed language

Friday at 10:00 works for me.

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----- Original message -----

From: "Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)" <Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov>  
Date: 09/07/2016 9:53 AM (GMT-05:00)  
To: (b) (6) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
Cc: "Laragy, Scott (USAEO)" <Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov>, (b) (6) (NSD) (JMD)"  
(b) (6)  
Subject: RE: proposed language

(b) (6) - You were originally available Friday morning. Does 10:00 on Friday 9/9 work for everyone? Thank you, Joanne

From: (b) (6) [mailto:(b) (6)]  
Sent: Wednesday, September 07, 2016 9:49 AM  
To: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
Cc: Laragy, Scott (USAEO)  
Subject: RE: proposed language

Is there a time early next week that would work for everyone? I can be available any time Monday or Tuesday morning.

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From: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
Sent: Wednesday, September 07, 2016 9:19:23 AM  
To: Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) (JMD), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
Cc: (b) (6) Laragy, Scott (USAEO)

Subject: RE: proposed language

If it's not too much of an inconvenience, I would rather (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) be there. Can we re-schedule for a little later in the day?

----- Original message -----

From: "Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)" <Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov>

Date: 09/07/2016 9:14 AM (GMT-05:00)

To: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Cc: (b) (6) "Laragy, Scott (USAEO)" <Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov>,  
(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Subject: Re: proposed language

Planned for 10:30. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) indicated she was available. Scott: Are Travis and Kris available? You were going to check.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C) If everyone is available, are you okay with us proceeding or is there someone in OCA who could attend in your absence?

Thanks. Joanne

On Sep 7, 2016, at 9:04 AM, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C) > wrote:

Did we ever set a time for this call? I have a hearing I need to cover at 10 on Thursday.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Supervisory Special Agent  
FBI, Office of Congressional Affairs  
Desk (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

-----Original Message-----

From: Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) [mailto:Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov

<mailto:Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov> ]

Sent: Friday, September 02, 2016 3:15 PM

To: (b) (6) >; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ; Laragy, Scott (USAEO)

<Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov <mailto:Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov> >; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C) >

Subject: RE: proposed language

I actually am not available on Friday morning. Does 10:30 on Thursday work for everyone? (Scott - Can you check with Travis and Nancy?) If 10:30 does not work, please suggest alternative times on Thursday morning. Thank you, Joanne



-----Original Message-----

From: Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)

Sent: Friday, September 02, 2016 3:13 PM

To: (b) (6); (b) (6), (b) (7)(C); Laragy, Scott (USAEO); (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Subject: RE: proposed language

All -- Are you available Friday morning at 10:30? If not, please indicate what other times you are available Friday morning or Thursday morning next week. (Scott - Please check with Travis and Nancy, too). Thanks, Joanne 202-305-8313

-----Original Message-----

From: (b) (6)

Sent: Friday, September 02, 2016 2:56 PM

To: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C); Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA); Laragy, Scott (USAEO); (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Subject: RE: proposed language

All,

I am scheduled to participate in wall-to-wall meetings every day next week, but I can step out Thursday and Friday morning (with a preference for Friday).

(b) (6)

-----Original Message-----

From: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Sent: Friday, September 2, 2016 1:28 PM

To: Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) (JMD) <Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov

<mailto:Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov> >; Laragy, Scott (USAEO) <Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov

<mailto:Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov> >; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Cc: (b) (6)

Subject: RE: proposed language

I am available any day but Wednesday.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Supervisory Special Agent

FBI, Office of Congressional Affairs

Desk (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

-----Original Message-----

From: Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) [mailto:Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov

<mailto:Joanne.E.Johnson@usdoj.gov> ]

Sent: Friday, September 02, 2016 12:48 PM

To: Laragy, Scott (USAEO); (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Cc: (b) (6)

Subject: FW: proposed language

Scott/ (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

George Selim (Director of CVE Task Force) briefed House Homeland Security on Thursday. (b) (6)

(b) (5)

Travis/Nancy/ (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) availability next week? (Brette is out this week).

Thank you,

Joanne Johnson  
Attorney-Advisor  
OLA/DOJ  
202-305-8313

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From: Selim, George  
Sent: Friday, September 02, 2016 8:56:42 AM  
To: (b) (6), (b) (6)  
Cc: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C); Kristina Neal; Travis Smith  
Subject: RE: proposed language

(b) (6) thanks again for this. After the briefing yesterday I had a chance to do a quick download with (b) (6), (b) (7)(C). Two items to flag for DOJ that we'll need to do follow-up with the Committee on:

(b) (6), (b) (5)

Ideally we can get these two questions answered in the next week, happy to discuss further in-person, but wanted to give you all a jump on this.

Thank you,

George

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From: (b) (6)  
Sent: Thursday, September 1, 2016 12:02 PM  
To: Selim, George <(b) (6)>  
(b) (6)  
Cc: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C); (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) >>; Kristina Neal  
<kristina.neal@usdoj.gov<mailto:kristina.neal@usdoj.gov  
<mailto:kristina.neal@usdoj.gov%3cmailto:kristina.neal@usdoj.gov> >>; Travis Smith  
<travis.smith3@usdoj.gov<mailto:travis.smith3@usdoj.gov  
<mailto:travis.smith3@usdoj.gov%3cmailto:travis.smith3@usdoj.gov> >>  
Subject: FW: proposed language

(b) (5)

(b) (5)

From: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
Sent: Wednesday, August 31, 2016 8:37 PM  
To: (b) (6)  
<ma (b) (6)>  
Subject: RE: proposed language

Thank you (b) (6). My AD had no issues with the language below (with "and FBI" added following the references to USAO where appropriate).

I verbally conveyed to Dave that we would participate in providing input and would likely piggy-back on your language. I will confirm with him in a minute....unless you and your folks have issues with the plan. I would assume he would only have to give George confirmation of our inclusion in preparation for his off the record meeting tomorrow.

Let me know if you still need me to reach up your chain. Appreciate the heavy lift on this. I owe you one.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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----- Original message -----

From: (b) (6)  
<mailto:(b) (6)>  
Date: 08/31/2016 2:23 PM (GMT-05:00)  
To: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
Subject: FW: proposed language

From: Smith, Travis (USAEO) [mailto:Travis.Smith3@usdoj.gov <mailto:Travis.Smith3@usdoj.gov> ]  
Sent: Wednesday, August 31, 2016 10:27 AM  
To: (b) (6)  
<mailto:(b) (6)>  
Cc: Neal, Kristina (USAEO) <Kristina.Neal@usdoj.gov<mailto:Kristina.Neal@usdoj.gov  
<mailto:Kristina.Neal@usdoj.gov%3cmmailto:Kristina.Neal@usdoj.gov> >>  
Subject: proposed language

Hi (b) (6)

Below is some language to assist with George Selim's off-the-record meeting with congressional staffers tomorrow. (b) (5)  
(b) (5)

**(b) (5)**

Hope all's well. Please feel free to reach out with any comments or questions.

Best,  
Travis Smith  
(202) 252-5870 (office)

**(b) (5)**



**Matthews, Patricia (NSD)**

**From:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)  
**Sent:** Friday, September 23, 2016 5:36 PM  
**To:** Gauhar, Tashina (ODAG); (b) (6) (ODAG); (b) (6) (NSD); Hardee, Christopher (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD); Neal, Kristina (USAEO); Smith, Travis (USAEO); Laragy, Scott (USAEO); Smith, Johnathan (CRT); Raimondi, Marc (OPA); Lucas, Daniel (JMD)  
**Cc:** Losick, Eric P. (OLA); May, M. Benjamin (OLA)  
**Subject:** Expedite: FOR REVIEW: Domestic CVE SIP Roll Out Plan  
**Attachments:** SIP Roll Out Plan 092316.docx; 2016 Stategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States FINAL.pdf

All (CVE Group):

See below and attached re: CVE Strategic Implementation Roll-Out Plan from NSC. I wanted to make sure all of you had it for review. NSC requests comments by Tuesday.

Thank you,

Joanne Johnson  
Attorney-Advisor  
OLA/DOJ  
202-305-8313

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Rhoades, Matthew C. EOP/NSC [mailto:(b) (6)]  
**Sent:** Friday, September 23, 2016 5:23 PM  
**To:** Sadoski, Nicholas A; Fennell, Grace; Johnson, Tia; Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA); Kathryn Crosby; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
(b) (6) (b) (6) OSD OASD LA (US)  
**Subject:** FW: FOR REVIEW: Domestic CVE SIP Roll Out Plan

All - just wanted to flag the below and attached draft Strategic Implementation Roll Out Plan. You should see this through your policy colleagues, but wanted to make sure you had an opportunity to review and provide feedback before OOB Tuesday.

Thanks,  
Matt

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Matty, Bridget E. EOP/NSC  
**Sent:** Friday, September 23, 2016 5:11 PM  
**To:** Russell Porter <rporter@usaid.gov>; dkatz@usaid.gov; Selim, George <(b) (6)>; (b) (6)  
(b) (6) (b) (6) Neal, Kristina (USAEO) <Kristina.Neal@usdoj.gov>; mary.mccord@usdoj.gov; Travis Smith <travis.smith3@usdoj.gov>; Esquith, David <David.Esquith@ed.gov>; Girton-Mitchell, Brenda <Brenda.Girton-Mitchell@ed.gov>; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) tricia.long@hhs.gov; Douglas.Steiger@hhs.gov; (b) (6) (b)(3) - 50 U.S.C. § 3024(m)(1) Holm, Jim S. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Newman, Kimberly A. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Ortiz, Michael R. EOP/NSC <(b) (6)>; Saeed, Irfan <SaeedI@state.gov>; Wilcox, F Oliver <WilcoxFO@state.gov>; Fausett, Andrew D. EOP/NSC <(b) (6)>; Mehta, Coleman A. EOP/NSC <(b) (6)>; walshjb@state.gov; (b) (6) david.gersten@HQ.DHS.GOV; Neal, Kristina (USAEO) <Kristina.Neal@usdoj.gov>; Saeed, Irfan <SaeedI@state.gov>; rporter@usaid.gov; Douglas.Steiger@hhs.gov; (b) (6) Sharma, Avin EOP <sharma.avin.p@dol.gov>; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Kusiak, Pauline M CIV OSD OUSD POLICY (US) <(b) (6)>; (b) (6) (NSD) (JMD) (b) (6) Quinn, Kate <kate.quinn@hq.dhs.gov>; Eleftherion, Anthony J. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Berdy, Erik M COL USARMY JS J5 (US) <(b) (6)>; Schmoyer, Michael (OS/OSSI) <Michael.Schmoyer@hhs.gov>; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C); (b)(3) - 50 U.S.C. § 3024(m)(1)  
Leggett, William R. EOP/NSC <(b) (6)>; Beale, Courtney A. EOP/NSC  
<(b) (6)>  
Cc: Woog, Carlin R. EOP/NSC <(b) (6)>; Rhoades, Matthew C. EOP/NSC  
<(b) (6)>; #TRANSBORDER <(b) (6)>; #CT <(b) (6)>  
Subject: FOR REVIEW: Domestic CVE SIP Roll Out Plan

Good afternoon,

Now that (b) (5) have completed the final review of the updated Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States, we are preparing for a public release, likely next Wednesday, September 28. Ms. Monaco is scheduled to give a public speech at U.S. Attorney Ortiz's national security conference in Boston, and we expect she will reference the release of the updated SIP at that time. Attached is the roll out plan for your department or agency's input and review.

Apologies for the short turn around, but please have all suggestions and edits back by OOB Tuesday, September 27. This is a hard deadline. Discussions regarding the media posture are still in public affairs channels; the NSC lead is Carl Woog. Additionally, expect that legislative offices will hear from my colleague Matt Rhoades in the next few days.

Thanks for your attention to this. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Best,

Bridget

Bridget Matty

Director for Community Partnerships

Transborder Directorate

National Security Council

O: (b) (6)

C: (b) (6)

**Matthews, Patricia (NSD)**

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**From:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)  
**Sent:** Monday, September 26, 2016 12:19 PM  
**To:** (b) (6) (ODAG); Farace, Jessica (OIP); Raimondi, Marc (OPA); (b) (6) (NSD); Smith, Travis (USAEO); Picarelli, John; Pride, Theron; Gauhar, Tashina (ODAG); Meader, Deborah; Slowikowski, Jeff; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Estill, Sarah (COPS); Qureshi, Aisha (OJP); (b) (6) (NSD); Laragy, Scott (USAEO); May, M. Benjamin (OLA); Crump, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Lucas, Daniel (JMD)  
**Cc:** Losick, Eric P. (OLA)  
**Subject:** RE: reminder - CVE coordination call today at 1pm (EOM)  
**Attachments:** House Homeland.Radical Islamic Terrorism.Selim..pdf; House Homeland. Radical Islamic Terrorism.Panel Two.PDF

<<House Homeland.Radical Islamic Terrorism.Selim..pdf>> <<House Homeland. Radical Islamic Terrorism.Panel Two.PDF>>

All: Attached please find the transcript for this past week's hearing with House Homeland re: Radical Islamic Terrorism. George Selim was the government witness and testified about CVE matters. (There were two panels; transcripts from both panels are attached).

Thank you,

Joanne Johnson

Attorney-Advisor

OLA/DOJ

202-305-8313

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**From:** (b) (6) (ODAG)  
**Sent:** Monday, September 26, 2016 11:50 AM  
**To:** Farace, Jessica (OIP); Raimondi, Marc (OPA); Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA); (b) (6) (NSD); Smith, Travis (USAEO); Picarelli, John; Pride, Theron; Gauhar, Tashina (ODAG); Meader, Deborah; Slowikowski, Jeff; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Estill, Sarah (COPS); Qureshi, Aisha (OJP); (b) (6) (NSD); Laragy, Scott (USAEO); May, M. Benjamin (OLA); (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)  
**Subject:** reminder - CVE coordination call today at 1pm (EOM)

CQ CONGRESSIONAL TRANSCRIPTS

Congressional Hearings

Sept. 22, 2016 - Final

# House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Oversight and Management Efficiency Holds Hearing on Radical Islamist Terrorism, Panel 1

## LIST OF PANEL MEMBERS AND WITNESSES

PERRY:

Good morning. The Committee on Homeland Security's Subcommittee on Oversight and Management Efficiency will come to order. The purpose of this hearing is to examine the threat of radical Islamist terrorism and ways to defeat it. The chair now recognizes himself for an opening statement.

From Muhammed Abdulazeez in Chattanooga, Tennessee and Nidal Hasan in Fort Hood, Texas to Syed Farook in San Bernardino, California, radical Islamist terrorism is becoming more and more frequent and devastating. According to the Committee on Homeland Security's September 2016 terror threat snapshot, since 2014 there have been 105 ISIS-linked plots to attack the West, 30 of those in the United States.

In 2016 alone, 214 people have been murdered in terrorist attacks against the West and just a few months ago, the deadliest post 9/11 terror attack on American soil occurred when Islamist terrorist Omar Mateen massacred 49 innocent people in -- in an Orlando nightclub.

Unfortunately, the Obama administration is more focused on being politically correct in its terminology than actually confronting this growing cancer, evidenced by, among other things, the unnecessary censorship of Omar Mateen's 9/11 call transcript.

In a joint statement with the FBI, the Department of Justice said, the purpose of releasing the redacted transcript was not wanting to provide the killer or terrorist organizations with a publicity platform for hateful propaganda, while still providing transparency. Omitting Omar Mateen's pledge of allegiance to ISIS is one of many examples of the willful ignorance of this administration in confronting the threat of radical Islamist terror.

If anyone sincerely questions the assertion, you have to look no further than four days ago when in response to the Islamist extremist attacks in New York, New



Jersey and Minnesota, White House spokesperson Josh Earnest, said when it comes to ISIL, and this is in quotes, "We're in a fight, a narrative fight with a narrative -- with them, a narrative battle," unquote. That's great. We fight with feckless terms and they slaughter our citizens.

While the administration says it refrains from using certain terms so as not to condemn an entire religion, former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich has said, "It is -- it is extraordinary that the political correctness of Western elites has discouraged the study of what inspires those who dream of slaughtering us. We must understand the deep roots of Islamist beliefs if we're going to combat them. It is long past time to stop hiding behind the facade of political correctness."

"Radical Islamist terrorists are the ones who threaten our freedoms and threaten our way of life, not the millions of Muslims who value peace with their American brothers and sisters. It is well-documented that these terrorists murder more peaceful Muslims for their resistance to Sharia adherence than any other group of people. If we're willing -- or if we are unwilling or afraid to name our enemy and to dig deep into their ideological motivations, how will we ever destroy this scourge?"

Retired Army Lieutenant General and former Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency Michael Flynn said it best. "We're in a world war against the Messianic mass movement of evil people, most of them inspired by a totalitarian ideology, radical Islam. But we are not permitted to speak or write those two words, which is potentially fatal to our culture. We can't beat them if we don't understand them and are afraid to define them, but our political leaders haven't permitted that."

"We're not allowed to use the phrase radical Islam or Islamists. That's got to change. By disavowing the use of specific phrases and by denying contributing factors to this extremist movement, the administration is undercutting prominent Muslims who truly understand that reforming Islam must come from within. We must target the root causes of radicalization instead of waiting until countless more of our citizens are murdered by these radicals and then playing defense after the fact."

The Department of Homeland Security was established in response to the -- correction, tragic terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. DHS currently is the lead federal agency in an initiative known as countering violent extremism or CVE.

For example, in September 2015, DHS created the Office of Community Partnerships to counter violent extremism by coordinating efforts among federal agencies. Congress already appropriated \$10 million to DHS for CVE grants for F.Y. 2016, but we have no way of gauging whether CDF -- CVE efforts have been successful or harmful or if the money is being spent wisely.

Additionally, in September of 2015, the department's Homeland Security Advisor Counsel, or HSHC, established a Countering Violent Extremism Subcommittee. However, I was appalled and frankly disgusted to learn that a person who tweeted

that the 9/11 attacks changed the world for good was even considered, let alone asked to be a member of this group, tasked with providing advice to senior government officials responsible for the safety of our nation.

In addition, DHS Secretary Jeh -- Jeh Johnson became the first cabinet secretary to address the Islamic Society of North America's annual conference, addressing an organization that was an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation investigation, the largest terror financing investigation in American history, is astounding.

Not only are these examples exceptionally troubling at best, they call into question the department's judgment and allegiance when it comes to defeating this obvious threat. The scale of these questions is made clear when observers consider the outcome of the Holy Land Foundation proceedings. Along with their plan, uncovered was the Muslim Brotherhood's goal of eliminating and destroying Western civilization -- American civilization.

Juxtapose that fact with the president's issuance of Presidential Study Directive 11. While the document remains classified, open source reporting by the Washington Post, Gulf News and Middle East Briefing found that in 2010, the Obama administration abandoned the longstanding policy of dealing with current regimes to ensure Middle East/North Africa stability and instead implemented by the State Department, transitioned recklessly into a policy of promoting and steering political change in targeted countries including Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria by partnering directly with the Muslim brotherhood.

And I'm sure I don't need to remind anyone here of the breathtaking, costly and unprecedented failures of these irresponsible actions.

The purpose of this hearing is to gain an outside perspective on the real threat that faces our nation. Does our government truly understand the extent of radical Islamist terror and what needs to be done to combat it? I hope this hearing will provide much insight and needed insight into the next actions we should take to fulfill our constitutional duty in protecting this country and its ideals. It's time for us to identify the enemy and destroy it.

And with that, I would like to request unanimous consent to enter into the record the open source documents regarding the Presidential Study Directive 11 into the Congressional Record. Without objection so ordered.

The chair now recognizes the Ranking Member of the subcommittee, the gentlelady from New Jersey, Miss Watson Coleman, for her statement.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Hi. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Before I enter into my statement, I want to ask unanimous consent that Congressman Ellison participate in today's hearing and

question the witnesses.

PERRY:

Without objection.

WATSON COLEMAN:

As I am doing this, I also seek unanimous consent that Congressman Pascrell participate in today's hearing and question the witnesses.

PERRY:

Without objection so ordered.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I want to thank you for holding today's hearing. I thank -- I thank the witnesses for your testimony that we will hear today. I also would like to thank Linden, New Jersey authorities that apprehended the suspected New York and New Jersey bomber on Monday. My thoughts and my prayers are with the Officers Padilla and Hammer, and I wish them a speedy and complete recovery.

Last week we honored those who lost their lives on September 11, 2001. Fifteen years after these horrific attacks, we recognize that the terrorist threat to the United States has evolved. No longer do terrorists have to travel across seas -- overseas, for a training or be directed by a leader of a terrorist organization in order to cause harm to the United States.

As we have seen from the terrorist attacks in Orlando and in Charleston, and quite possibly the attacks in Minnesota and New York, terrorist attacks in the United States can be lone actors inspired by a particular ideology. This ideology can be espoused on the Internet or in public forums.

Additionally, propaganda including political discussions, such as the name of this hearing, that provide a misnomer to the threat, also add to the rhetoric that can inspire a lone actor. Inflammatory rhetoric such as a suggestion that the United States should ban or -- or surveil certain populations also fuel terrorist groups. I caution those with public platforms to be more mindful when addressing that threat.

This is not a matter of being politically correct. This is recognizing that our words resonate beyond these four walls. The words we say reach terrorists, both foreign and domestic-inspired. Even though we have complicated the situation by debating about labels, the federal government, including the Department of Homeland Security, had renewed its focus on countering violent extremism.

While the administration states that countering violent extremism is a whole of

government approach, DHS is seemingly a federal government leader for countering violent extremism. Our witness today is the chair of the Countering Violent Extremism Task Force. Also, last year DHS created the Office for Community Partnerships and recently established the fiscal year 2016 CVE grant program.

These programs were designed to develop and expand efforts to counter violent extremist activity. However, while Congress has appropriated the funds for these efforts, there has been no CVE strategy issued by the department, and there has been no implementation plan of this strategy submitted to Congress.

I look forward to hearing from you, Mr. Selim, on specific CVE strategy that will be implemented, and I look forward to you resolving the lack of transparency behind the department's CVE programs.

Protecting the American people from terrorist threats is the reason of the Department of Homeland Security, its creation. Therefore, it is imperative that the department and Congress look at the threat picture as a whole.

So I look forward to hearing from today's witnesses, their four perspectives on the threat this -- to this country, what we are facing and the ways in which not only DHS but also the federal government as a whole can counter violent extremism.

And with that, Mr. Chairman, as we consider today's subject matter and we consider the activities that we need to engage in, the efforts that we need to support, and the work that needs to be done and not get hung up on the rhetoric of what we call it, I yield back the balance of my time.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentlewoman.

And the chair recognizes the gentleman, Mr. Thompson, the Ranking Member.

THOMPSON:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank you for holding today's hearing. I'd also like to thank this witness and the other witnesses for the testimony they'll offer. I join the ranking member in thanking the New Jersey authorities that apprehended the suspected New York and New Jersey bomber on Monday.

Today we are hearing from the Department of Homeland Security in a private sector panel on the federal government's effort to counter violent extremism. The threat from violent extremism has changed since September 11th. Terrorists do not have to travel overseas to receive training. As we saw in the deadliest attack on U.S. soil since 9/11 in Orlando this past June, the terrorists are acting alone, outside of large cells.



Terrorists do not have to be directed by any one leader and do not have to be affiliated with any particular group. Terrorists are now being inspired by social media or other public platforms including political discourse. While top counterterrorism officials have stated that un-American policies, such as profiling and exclusion play into the hands of terrorists, people with public platforms still continue to use this rhetoric.

For example, there's a presidential nominee who has chosen to call 11 million people rapists and murderers and proposed Cold War ideological tests on Muslim visitors to this country. We have members of Congress who suggested that we should profile entire communities.

In fact, just yesterday in this very room, we had a member make a comparison of a gifted student's engineering project to the bombs that were built by the perpetrator in New York and New Jersey. And while we put a continued focus on one community and debate titles and names, we still willingly neglect the current threat picture.

Yesterday, we also heard from the well-respected heads of police departments from across the nation. They told us that foreign terrorist organizations pose a threat to their communities. But their officers also live with the threat from sovereign citizens and other right and left wing groups. Our witnesses agreed that the widespread proliferation of guns into the hands of terrorists, inspired by foreign and domestic extremists, haunt law enforcement every day.

This was not the committee's first time hearing that guns were adding complexities to the current threat picture. Secretary Johnson testified that in order for Homeland Security to improve there must be sensible gun laws. Even though we just have had testimony from the secretary of Homeland Security and police on the front lines about the need for gun reform, the Republican majority continues to block legislation to keep guns out of the hands of terrorists.

Knowing that the threat landscape has changed, the Department of Homeland Security renewed its focus countering violent extremism. In September 2015, DHS established the Office of Community Partnerships to further the department's CVE efforts. DHS also chairs the administration's CVE taskforce, which places the agency at the front of the administration's CVE efforts.

While the department has renewed its focus on countering violent extremism and is a part of this taskforce, DHS, which stated that there was a department-wide CVE strategy in formation, still has not sent this strategy or implementation plan to Congress.

Hopefully today, Mr. Selim can give this subcommittee a date that the DHS CVE strategy and implementation plan will be submitted to Congress. Furthermore, even though the department has this new office that is supposed to counter violent extremism of all types, its testimony contains shortsighted examples.

Foreign terrorist organization are mentioned approximately 20 times throughout the department's testimony. The department does not articulate any in which it engages to counter violent extremism from domestic movements.

I can say that I'm not shocked. However, as an agency whose mission is to secure the nation from the threats we face, I will say that having such a myopic approach to countering violent extremism is a disservice to the American people.

Today I anticipate a robust discussion and hope that both our members and witnesses will respectively engage in a constructive dialogue that will inform our counter violent extremism policies and efforts going forward. With that, I yield back.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the ranking member. Other members of the subcommittee are reminded that opening statements may be submitted for the record.

And we are pleased to have two panels of distinguished witnesses before us today. The witnesses' entire written statements will appear in the record.

The chair will introduce the first panel and then recognize you for your testimony. Our first panel, Mr. George Selim is the director of the Office of Community Partnerships at the Department of Homeland Security. Mr. Selim also leads the interagency Countering Violent Extremism or CVE Taskforce intended to integrate and synchronize federal efforts on this issue. Previously, he served for four years as the White House's Director of Community Partnerships on the National Security Council.

Prior to his work at the White House, Mr. Selim was a senior policy advisor in the Office of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties at the Department of Homeland Security. He is also a commissioned officer in the U.S. Navy Reserve, and I thank you for your service sir. Thank you for being here today.

The chair now recognizes Mr. Selim for your opening statement.

SELIM:

Thank you, Chairman Perry. Good morning, Ranking Member Watson Coleman, Ranking Member Thompson, and distinguished members of the subcommittee for the opportunity to testify today. And let me also start out by acknowledging the outstanding work of the first responders, law enforcement, and intelligence professionals both in the New York-New Jersey area and in the state of Minnesota for their heroic work over the course of the past several days.

I welcome the opportunity to appear before you to discuss priorities and key actions of the Department of Homeland Security to counter violent extremism. I have considerable personal and professional equities in protecting our homeland, as -- as

the chairman kindly laid out.

By way of background, I've spent over a decade as a civil servant at the Department of Homeland Security. I've also served at the Department of Justice and at the National Security Council staff at the White House. In addition, I'm a commissioned officer in the United States Navy Reserve and view the call to public service as one of the greatest honors our country offers all people regardless of race, religion or national origin.

In recent years, the threat of violent extremism has evolved. The types of attacks we have seen at home and abroad are not just terrorist-directed attacks, but they're also terrorist inspired attacks, as ISIL and other extremist groups are turning to the Internet to inspire lone offenders.

By their nature, attacks involving self-radicalized individuals or lone offenders are harder for intelligence and law enforcement professionals to detect, and they can occur with little or no notice. The attacks in San Bernardino, Orlando and, most recently in New York, New Jersey and Minnesota highlight both the urgency and severity of the threat that we face today.

So what are we doing about it? The evolving threat posed by homegrown violent extremism requires going beyond the traditional counterterrorism approach and focusing not just on mitigation, but also on preventing and intervening in the process of radicalization. This prevention framework that I've just mentioned is known to many as countering violent extremism or CVE.

As was noted earlier, in September of 2015, Secretary Johnson announced the creation of the office that I'm honored to lead, the Office for Community Partnerships within DHS. This office is the focus of our department's efforts to counter violent extremism and works to build effective partnerships with communities across the country for this purpose.

Our CVE efforts depend on working in a unified and cohesive manner across the U.S. government. That's why we've established the CVE taskforce, currently headquartered at DHS, to organize all our CVE efforts across the domestic spectrum. This new taskforce could not -- could not have been possible without the strong partnership from the Department of Justice, who have appointed my deputy director and several key staff to this interagency body.

A unified effort is necessary given the threat environment we face today. Terrorist groups, such as ISIL, have undertaken a deliberate strategy of using social media to reach individuals susceptible to their message and recruit and radicalize them to violence. The Office for Community Partnerships and the CVE taskforce depend on a range of stakeholder partners to reach individuals before they can be radicalize.

Our partners in federal, state and local governments, along with law enforcement, civic and faith leaders, educators, social service organizations, mental health

providers, and the private sector are essential to a unified mission set. Our efforts are federally driven, but they're locally focused.

Our CVE efforts aim to counter the types of ideological recruitment we've seen in recent years, focusing on potential root causes and drivers and working to provide off-ramps for individuals who may have taken steps towards embracing an ideology that advocates violence.

At the same time, we remain consistent in rejecting the terrorist narrative that the West is in conflict with Islam, while denying ISIL, the religious legitimacy that they desperately seek as part of their broader effort to continually recruit and radicalize American citizens to violence. Our goal is to empower credible voices within communities that are targeted by violent extremists.

Research has proven that young people, millennials, victims of terrorism, and community based organizations are the most credible voices to discourage those in danger of being radicalized to violence, and our role in the federal government should be to give those partners the tools and resources they need to raise their own voices.

Some of these tools can be provided by technology companies, and we're working with the private sector to encourage efforts to counter ISIL and other extremist groups online. One of these signature efforts that I've testified to before is titled the Peer-to-Peer Challenging Extremism Competition, which I'm happy to expand on. Our efforts to develop locally driven prevention based CVE frameworks, incorporate both online and in-person efforts.

Thanks to the \$10 million in CVE grant funding that Congress appropriated in the F.Y. 16 omnibus appropriations act, we can continue to take this fight to the next level. On July 6 of this year, the department formally issued the notice of funding opportunity for fiscal year 2016 countering violent extremism grant program with \$10 million in available funds.

This is the first federal assistance program devoted exclusively to providing local communities with the resources to counter violent extremism in the homelands. This grant program was developed by the DHS Office of Community Partnerships and partnership with our colleagues and partners at FEMA. The grant period just closed, and I'm pleased to announce the results have been extraordinary.

We received over 200 grant applications from over 42 states and territories. All told, we received over \$100 million in grant applications. This is a tremendous indication of both the need and desire of state, local, and community based partners to proactively engage in these efforts. This grant opportunity is an important part of our CVE work in building a comprehensive model that incorporates both cyberspace and community space.

As I've stated, events of the last week underscore just how urgent these issues remain and how critical our CVE efforts are in addressing some of our most critical challenges that we face today. Chairman and ranking member, thank you again for the opportunity to provide testimony today, and I look forward to working with you and your staffs on this issue.

PERRY:

Thank you, Mr. Selim.

The chair now recognizes himself for questioning. As we discussed before the hearing, you and I, we -- we do have a common enemy. We in Congress, many Americans, certainly the peaceful Muslim community, many of us remain frustrated with this disconnect of verbiage.

With that, earlier this month, the secretary himself spoke at ISNA, their annual convention, a group that has been named in the Holy Land Foundation investigation trial, the largest terror financing trial in American history, as their keynote speaker. I -- I don't know how else to put it, but let me ask you this question.

How can we as -- as members of Congress and as citizens be sure that the department is not using some of this grant money, some of this \$10 million and sending that hard -- hard-earned tax money to -- to questionable organizations such as ISNA or anybody else? How -- how can we be assured of that?

SELIM:

Thank you, Chairman, for that question. Let me start out by saying I was with the secretary at that event and I personally attended the Islamic Society of North America convention for many years. It's one of the largest platforms to -- to conduct outreach and interact with the American Muslim community. There are over 20,000 attendees.

I'm happy to share a -- aversion of the remarks that the secretary delivered there and by way of background, he was the first ever cabinet official to address that audience. And his message was widely well-received by those who participated.

In specific regard to your question on ensuring that the grant funding is -- is appropriately awarded, you know, we've taken painstaking measures, as is outlined in our notice of funding opportunity, to ensure a rigorous review and evaluation and awarding process for ensuring that any award the department's considering making goes through a thorough and adequate review.

PERRY:

So but by way of answering the question it kind of leads to more questions about that, and specifically does that means -- you've attended. It was a great event. It was



a great -- it's a great organization. It's big, et cetera. Does that mean that ISNA, once again an unindicted co-conspirator -- co-conspirator in the largest terror financing trial and finding in American history, could they receive some of this grant money?

SELIM:

The Islamic Society of North America is as a, if they are a 501(c)3, I think they are, I've never actually reviewed their paperwork status. If they are 501(c)3, under the rules of the notice of funding application, they are eligible to apply for a grant in this program.

PERRY:

I understand they're eligible to apply. Would they be able to -- would you grant them the funds? Is there any prohibition to someone that's involved in terror financing from receiving hard-earned taxpayer funds?

SELIM:

I -- I am not aware of any list in the U.S. government of any 501(c)3s that are prohibited from applying for a federal grant.

PERRY:

So there are no barred individuals or organizations as you currently know, for any reason?

SELIM:

From any -- not just the DHS program, from any federal grant program.

PERRY:

But we're talking about national security, and we're talking about known affiliates of terrorist organizations and terror financing. And so that's what -- I'm trying to be particular. I understand maybe somebody else does it, but we're not necessarily concerned about who builds a sidewalk or beautification, or what have you.

SELIM:

Sure.

PERRY:

That has nothing to do with national security. But this does have national security implications. So there is no known prohibition at this time to any organizations that might be involved in terror or terror financing from receiving these taxpayer dollars?

SELIM:

What -- what I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, is that there is a high degree of scrutiny and review for every grant applicant whether that be a Muslim-affiliated organization or non-Muslim-affiliated organization. Each and every grant application that we receive has four degrees of review that it goes through.

PERRY:

And I appreciate that. But the fact remains there is no prohibition, right? Is that what -- is that what we've established?

SELIM:

I'm not aware of any...

PERRY:

You're not aware of any at least. OK, great. So what are your metrics to gauge effectiveness? I -- I went through your testimony, the long form, the long, so to speak, portion of it, and I have a hard time putting together how we start and how we finish. You know, it seems like -- I hate to say it, but a lot of mumbo-jumbo to me. So what are the metrics? How do you determine whether your successful? What are we getting as taxpayers for our \$10 million, and how do you determine whether it's working or not?

SELIM:

Thank you for that question. So part of the -- the metrics are evaluated on an application-by-application, on a program-by-program basis. Each and every application has a different set of metrics.

On page 26 of the notice of funding opportunity we lay out, we lay out 10 clear criteria that each and program must apply and must meet to even be considered for a potential -- for a potential award. That includes a range of different factors, which I'm happy to go over in much more detail later, that -- that has measures of effectiveness, performance measures...

PERRY:

Mr. Selim, can you give us a couple examples? My time's expired. I just want to get an idea of what -- how -- what are some of those examples of the metric?

SELIM:

Sure, so in the categories of potential applications that we have for training, countering extremist narratives, and a range of other issues, you know, a successful

application would be implementing a campaign to counter extremist narratives online, developing and implementing a training or education program for state and local law enforcement, community...

PERRY:

But you understand that's the input. So yeah, they -- they do that. Let's say they -- they put a great campaign together for online advertising or whatever.

SELIM:

Sure.

PERRY:

How do you gauge what is the deliverable? How do you gauge whether it was successful? Whether it lowered the incidence of radicalization or whatever the goal is. How do you gauge that?

SELIM:

So -- so specifically for online campaigns, there are three kind of core metrics for any kind of online campaign. There's the reach, there's the kind of effect, and there's the measurement of did we make a particular, you know, set of individuals who clicked on a particular program and engaged in it a certain way. We got them to take some type of measure to -- to implement a training curriculum at their school, at their house of worship, at their community based organization or others, you know. But many...

PERRY:

My time's expired. I appreciate it, but I want to be respectful. Thank you sir.

SELIM:

Thank you.

PERRY:

The chair now recognizes the Ranking Member Miss Watson Coleman for her questioning.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think I need to agree that I'm somewhat confused about whether or not you're operating, Mr. Selim, with a -- with a -- with a strategy and with an implementation strategy. And I don't quite understand the criteria that's being

used when you put out the request for the grants and what you will be looking into.

So you've been in operation for one year, right?

SELIM:

Just under, yes, ma'am.

WATSON COLEMAN:

And during that year, have you done anything outside of the agency other than putting the agency together, putting together sort of the flow of work, who's responsible for what?

SELIM:

Yes, ma'am.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Have you -- OK. So you've worked with outside agencies as Office of Partnerships?

SELIM:

Yes, ma'am.

WATSON COLEMAN:

OK. So who are you working with and what are you doing?

SELIM:

OK, so I'll -- I'll allow two specific examples, if I may? In my role as the director of the CVE taskforce, we have over 10 federal departments and agencies who are -- who are part of that effort. And my role as the director of the Office of Community Partnerships, in addition to rolling out one of the fastest grant programs in -- in the history of federal grant programs in less than six months, we created and implemented this CVE grant program. And we've conducted a range of other outreach and engagement opportunities in probably over a dozen states across the country.

WATSON COLEMAN:

So I want to know, specifically, under this Office of Community Partnerships, what are you doing out there in the community? And with whom are you doing these things?

SELIM:

Two -- two core focus areas. The first area on our Office of Community Partnerships in DHS is to build bridges with a range of communities that may be targeted for violent extremist radicalization.

WATSON COLEMAN:

OK, let's -- let's start with that. Who are you dealing with -- with that, under that sort of core issue, building bridges and developing relationships in communities?

SELIM:

Sure. A -- a range of-- so I have three core sets of stakeholders. One set of stakeholders is state and local law enforcement across the country. Another set of stakeholders is municipal officials, mayors, county council members. And a third set of stakeholders, they are NGO, advocacy organization leaders, not-for-profits and so on.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Talk to me about the community organizations that you're engaged with. Name some and where they're located and what you do with them.

SELIM:

So two -- two of the members of my office, two of my employees are -- are located outside of Washington, D.C. One of them is located and -- and works every day in Los Angeles and the other one works in Denver. So my -- my staff, who work in Los Angeles for example, on any given day engage with the mayor's office, engage with Los Angeles Police Department, the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, and a range of other advocacy organizations.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Yeah. I'm not -- I -- I can find out the government stuff.

SELIM:

OK.

WATSON COLEMAN:

I want to know about the non-government stuff -- the -- the lifting up of communities, the developing relationships with communities, helping communities to understand the threats that exist there. What are these communities? Are they all Muslim communities?



SELIM:

No.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Are you doing the same thing for non-Muslim communities? Where are you doing the work and specifically with whom?

SELIM:

Yeah, I...

WATSON COLEMAN:

Other than the government, not the municipal government, not the county government, not the state government. But the NGOs and the community programs that supposedly exist that you're trying to access to be part of this counter -- countering violent extremism effort.

SELIM:

So many of the NGOs that we work with across the country are, in fact, Muslim or Muslim-affiliated NGOs, however not exclusively.

WATSON COLEMAN:

All right. OK. Tell me -- tell me some that you work with that are not.

SELIM:

OK, for example, my -- my staff that work in Denver and -- and service the entire state of Colorado, work with a range of different NGOs who are engaged in countering domestic terrorism of all different forms.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Name them.

SELIM:

I -- I don't have that list on my right now, but I'm happy to provide that for you.

WATSON COLEMAN:

OK, tell me this.

SELIM:

There's -- there's no -- there's no secret to the organization.

WATSON COLEMAN:

How many NGOs do you work with and what percentage of those NGOs are Muslim-focused or Muslim organizations and how many are not?

SELIM:

I -- I think the...

WATSON COLEMAN:

Do you have that information?

SELIM:

I don't have it offhand, but I -- I would offer, Congresswoman, that at the end of this grant application period, as I mentioned, we conducted a fair amount of outreach for this grant solicitation. At the end of the grant application period, I'm happy to work with you and your staff to make all the NGOs and staffs that applied for this grant known to you so that we can look at the percentages by breakdown.

WATSON COLEMAN:

So you received over 200 applications?

SELIM:

Correct.

WATSON COLEMAN:

What percentages of -- of those applications did you receive that were addressed to domestic violence, counter violence? Do you have any idea?

SELIM:

Ma'am, the -- the grant application closed on September 6, I don't have that level of detail breakdown with me today. But I'm happy to supply it to you.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Do you have any idea? Give me, you know, 70 percent of them are from...

SELIM:

I -- I don't offhand.

WATSON COLEMAN:

OK.

SELIM:

We received over 200 applications. I -- I -- I have not personally reviewed each one yet.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Do you all have any kind of strategy -- and my time's just about up -- do you have any kind of strategy or plan or implementation or whatever to look at the issue of countering violent extremism from the foreign-inspired, foreign-directed threat to the United States of America and the domestic threat?

SELIM:

Yes.

WATSON COLEMAN:

OK. When -- when -- when are you going to deliver that to us so that we understand?

SELIM:

Thank you, and I wanted to address that point that you raised as well as Ranking Member Thompson, and I think that's a very important point. So as noted, you know, my office has been in creation for just under 12 months, and I don't want to give the impression that is -- that it is without strategy or without implementation.

WATSON COLEMAN:

So then we should be getting it rather soon as opposed to later. So give me some kind of a date, because you got \$10 million that you're considering.

SELIM:

Correct.

WATSON COLEMAN:

That it ought to be associated with some kind of a strategy, that you ought to be looking at the whole issue from a holistic perspective...

SELIM:

Correct.

WATSON COLEMAN:

... not just focusing on one religious community, but a whole community in the United States of America that provides that kind of violent threat. Just tell me when will I get it? When will you send it to Congress?

SELIM:

I can assure you, Congresswoman, that I'm committed to working on this issue with -  
- with you and this committee.

WATSON COLEMAN:

I appreciate that, and I'm simply been asking, you've been in-- in business for a whole year.

SELIM:

Yes, ma'am.

WATSON COLEMAN:

You're telling me that you're operating under some kind of strategy.

SELIM:

Yes, ma'am.

WATSON COLEMAN:

When can we see it?

SELIM:

I -- I don't have a specific date that I can give you today, but I can tell you that I'm a direct report to Secretary Johnson. I have clear direction from he and the department leadership on how our office should be functioning and evaluating itself on a day-to-day basis. To the extent that I'm able to quantify that in a strategic document to the extent that you're asking for one, I -- I'm working to deliver -- deliver that to you as soon as possible.

WATSON COLEMAN:

We're really concerned that there's -- that there needs to be a rationale supported in evidence when you consider making grants with taxpayers' money. That there is

some metrics in place, that you be able to evaluate what you're doing, why you're doing it, and the outcome.

And I yield back because I'm a little bit over my time. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentlelady from New Jersey.

The chair now recognizes the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Loudermilk.

LOUDERMILK:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for -- for being here today. This is actually on CSPAN this morning and this was a topic of conversation by many of the callers, because we -- we have to take a strong look at terrorism from an objective standpoint and understand one thing. It's the individual that carries out an act of terrorism.

Trucks don't just arbitrarily run over people, knives don't arbitrarily go through malls and -- and stab people, hatchets just don't jump up and attack law enforcement officers, planes don't accidentally fly into buildings by themselves. Pressure cookers don't automatically blow up, killing people. Pipe bombs just don't place themselves in places. And gun stores just don't erupt in gunfire.

It's the individual. We have to focus on the individual. And the one thing I do applaud is -- is our effort to identify the reason that we're having an increase in terrorist activity as well as potential terrorist activities is the pure volume of individuals who are seeking to do harm to Americans.

And that's through people who are already radicalized coming in through various means into this nation, whether it be through refugee program or an open border or whatever. There is a pure volume of people coming into this nation seeking to do harm.

The other aspect of that which, I think, is -- is more difficult to grab hold of are American citizens being radicalized who do have some constitutional protections, which make it harder on our law enforcement. And I applaud you in trying to do that.

My questions really evolve around how do we counter the radicalization process? What is the purpose of the -- how do you actually do your job? Is the purpose to -- intervention, to stop the radicalization process? Is it to identify those who are being radicalized, to put them on a watch list? How is it -- what is the function of the office? How are you gonna carry this out?

SELIM:



Thank you for that question, Congressman. Three core areas I want to focus on to answer your question. When -- when -- when I reference in my written -- in my oral statement attempting to prevent and intervene in the process of radicalization, that falls into one of three buckets of action.

First is that we're gonna raise awareness on the nature and scope of radicalization and recruitment in the homeland so that state and local government, community faith leaders, municipal leaders and so on can recognize what those signs look like. It's not always inherent.

The -- the second bucket for DHS is to supply tools and resources to state, local and community based partners, whether it's a grant program, a community awareness briefing, a training exercise, a tabletop so we can actually walk through what to look like and when to raise something to authorities and -- and so on.

And then the third category, which is the -- the title of my office, the Office for Community Partnerships, is to build and sustain the long-term partnerships between municipal officials, federal law enforcement, community based leaders and so on, so that that type of dialogue and interaction between a range of different sectors can be comprehensively applied.

LOUDERMILK:

So when you identify someone who is potentially being radicalized -- and I really believe this is a local issue. It's no longer a federal issue. The federal government is not very good at working in the local area. We gotta remove barriers to let the local law enforcement, local officials be engaged in this. And I think the people trust their local governments more than they -- obviously, more than the -- the federal government.

SELIM:

I -- I completely agree, sir.

LOUDERMILK:

So what do you do when -- all right. We -- we see a young person that's in process of being radicalized. What do you do? That's what I'm looking for.

SELIM:

So...

LOUDERMILK:

What action are we taking at that point?

SELIM:

So this is -- this is the complexity around radicalization. It -- it's not a black or white issue. It's not this person is in -- definitely being radicalized. And that's what makes some of those cases that we've seen in -- in recent years so difficult for law enforcement and our intelligence agencies to detect.

That's why we're supplying the specific information, training tools and resources at the local level. And I'm in complete agreement with you that this must be a locally led initiative.

LOUDERMILK:

And -- and it has to go further because I think it would be a -- a great gift to us if, let's say, a parent...

SELIM:

Yes.

LOUDERMILK:

... would approach the FBI and say, "My son is showing signs of radicalization" or "My son is a terrorist." Would you agree?

SELIM:

I would absolutely agree.

LOUDERMILK:

Didn't that just happen in New York City?

SELIM:

I -- I'm not sure of all the specifics of the case. I believe that the...

LOUDERMILK:

I believe the parent came to the FBI and said, "My son's a terrorist."

SELIM:

Yeah.

LOUDERMILK:

So what I'm saying is, our intervention has to be better than it is today. We have to take that to the next level. And I -- I'm in support of the efforts that we're trying to do.

But do we have any evidence that intervention -- have we had any successes in actually countering the radicalization process?

SELIM:

Congressman, I'm -- I'm in complete agreement with the facts as you've stated them. And I would just offer that, in attempting to develop this path of countering violent extremism that I've laid out, the director the FBI, the director of Homeland Security and others have said numerous times we're not going to arrest our way out of this threat.

We have to have a number of alternatives. That's what the CVE focus is, is getting community leaders, local officials and so on to -- to have early indications of the potential of radicalization and have options other than just call the FBI.

LOUDERMILK:

But do we have any success? Can you point to where countering the violent extremism has actually reversed a radicalization process or resulted in a stopping?

SELIM:

Yeah, part of the -- the difficult part of answering that question is you're really asking to measure a negative.

But I know anecdotally in cities across the United States, young people who have witnessed some type of -- of who have exposure to violence or trauma and have a potential propensity to violence in some way, that's been raised up to school or religious or local law enforcement officials. And they've been taken off that path.

That's been happening anecdotally in a range of cities across the country. I can't sit here before you today and definitively say that person was gonna commit an act of terrorism with a pressure cooker bomb. But we're developing that prevention framework in a range of cities across the country, and that's the focus of our plan.

LOUDERMILK:

I'm looking for effectiveness, because quite often we build programs and it's a black hole of money to dump into. And -- and in the line of the questioning that the chairman had, I do have concerns about NGOs that we're going to partner in. Where is this money going to go?

And to follow up with -- with some of the things he was getting to, who determines these guidelines for what organizations you would actually contract with or work with? Who makes that final decision?

SELIM:

Ultimately, sir, as -- as laid out in the notice of funding opportunity, the secretary of Homeland Security has final say.

LOUDERMILK:

Do you have a list of folks you would not do work with?

SELIM:

As -- as I noted earlier, sir, there is not in the federal government a list of NGOs that are prohibited from applying for a federal grant.

LOUDERMILK:

Do we know of NGOs who are engaged in anti-American activities?

SELIM:

Do we have a -- a list of NGOs...

LOUDERMILK:

Do we know of organizations out there that are engaged?

SELIM:

I -- I -- I would -- I would defer that question to the law enforcement agencies and intelligence partners. But I think there is a pretty keen understanding of -- if there is a -- an organization in the United States that's conducting any type of criminal or counterterrorism activity, I'm -- I'm fairly certain that's probably on the FBI's radar.

LOUDERMILK:

So I would -- I would think that we do know of organizations who do -- who are engaged in anti-American activities, that we would want to have a list of those we definitely would not engage in. And -- and I apologize, Mr. Chairman. I've exceeded my time .

SELIM:

Thank you, Congressman.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentleman.

The chair now recognizes the Ranking Member Mr. Thompson.

THOMPSON:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Kinda pursuing the line of questioning, Mr. Selim, you said that your effort is to develop a locally driven, comprehensive, prevention-based CVE framework. Can you kinda explain how you can do that when you don't have a strategy or implementation plan?

SELIM:

Yes, Ranking Member Thompson, thank you for that question. So a -- a prevention framework in a particular metropolitan or geographic area in the United States -- they all look very different. A prevention framework in a city like Boston looks very different than a prevention framework looks like in Los Angeles. What -- what we're doing is we're applying...

THOMPSON:

I understand. But you gotta have an overall framework to operate from. It -- you can apply it to whatever community. But I'm talking about a plan and a strategy. Do you have one?

SELIM:

We do.

THOMPSON:

Can you provide this committee in writing both the plan and strategy?

SELIM:

I -- I am working diligently to get this committee, with the greatest amount of expediency I possibly can do to get you that plan.

THOMPSON:

So either you do or you don't, now. Come on now.

SELIM:

I'm sorry?

THOMPSON:

Do you have it?



SELIM:

We have -- we have a plan of direction.

THOMPSON:

When -- when -- and -- strategy?

SELIM:

Strategy. Yes.

THOMPSON:

Both?

SELIM:

We have a strategic plan...

THOMPSON:

Don't -- don't...

SELIM:

... for countering violent extremism at the Department of Homeland Security.

THOMPSON:

Look, look, I understand. But I'm talking about your shop.

SELIM:

My office.

THOMPSON:

Yes, sir.

SELIM:

Yes, sir.

THOMPSON:

You had a plan and a strategy?

SELIM:

We do. We do.

THOMPSON:

When can we get it?

SELIM:

I -- I'll be happy to work with you and staff to get that as soon as possible.

THOMPSON:

Ah, no, now, I mean, if you've got it, send somebody, edit (ph) for it right now.

SELIM:

I -- I'm not at liberty to do it at this very moment, but...

THOMPSON:

Why?

SELIM:

Why?

THOMPSON:

Yes.

SELIM:

Because I'm testifying in front of this committee.

THOMPSON:

Don't -- don't be facetious, brother. Either the plan exists or it doesn't. If it exists, then one of your aides you have out here -- tell them go get the plan for the committee. Or can we get it this afternoon, in the morning or whenever?

SELIM:

Sir, by no -- by no means am I trying to get around providing this to the committee. What I am working to do and what I've been working to do for the past several weeks is ensure that the strategic plan that we provide this committee, including your staff, is at -- up to the highest level of standards. Developing a plan that will...

THOMPSON:

Wait -- wait -- wait now. I -- I understand inside- the-Beltway talk. So just make it as plain and simple. When can we get the plan? Whether it's 50 percent complete -- you told us it's ready. All I'm trying to do is...

SELIM:

Nearly ready.

THOMPSON:

Oh. It's nearly ready now.

SELIM:

Yes, sir. Ranking Member...

THOMPSON:

I -- I -- I understand. Well, I'm disappointed because -- but we'll go on. You talked about the balance that your shop is trying to do. Can you name me five NGOs that you working with right now?

SELIM:

Five NGOs that are conducting efforts to counter violent extremism in the United States?

THOMPSON:

That your office is working with.

SELIM:

Sure. One -- one organization, Life After Hate.

THOMPSON:

All right.

SELIM:

Two organizations, Project CeaseFire in Chicago.

THOMPSON:

All right.

SELIM:

Number three, Muflihun, which is a -- a Muslim-based organization here in northern Virginia. Number three -- is that number four? WORDE Organization, World Resource and Development Organization based in Montgomery County, Maryland. And number five, there is an NGO which name eludes me at the moment in Los Angeles.

THOMPSON:

All right. Now, you -- you've named four. I want you to provide this committee...

SELIM:

Mm-hmm.

THOMPSON:

... with whatever that engagement has been up to this point in writing.

SELIM:

Absolutely.

THOMPSON:

OK. Thirdly, are you aware that domestic terrorists' threat in this country, as documented by a number of sources, comes -- comes more from the right-wing elements in this country rather than the left or the Muslim threat or anything like that?

SELIM:

I have seen some of that data, but I am not a -- a -- a gun or violence expert in that regard.

THOMPSON:

I didn't say gun or violent. I'm saying the threat, the threat.

SELIM:

I am -- I am wholly aware of the range of ideologies that motivate violence in the United States.

THOMPSON:

So based on your professional position...

SELIM:

Yes, sir.

THOMPSON:

... where do you see the most violent threat existing in this country today?

SELIM:

As -- as the secretary of Homeland Security has testified at this table, the preeminent threat to our homeland security today is ISIL's ability to recruit and radicalize.

THOMPSON:

You and -- you know, I don't want you to have the -- the facts irrefutable before this committee says just the opposite, absolutely the opposite. So I'm really disappointed that you come before this committee ill-prepared to answer the questions.

I yield back.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentleman.

The chair now recognizes the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Clawson.

CLAWSON:

I yield my time back to the chairman, Mr. Perry.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentleman.

Mr. Selim, under the headline, under the banner of countering violent extremism, would you consider white supremacist extremism under your umbrella of threats to deal with?

SELIM:

Mr. Chairman, we -- we define violent extremism in the executive branch as ideologically motivated violence to further political goals, irrespective of what the -- what the ideology is. It could be domestic in nature or it could be foreign-inspired in nature.

PERRY:



OK. Let me use another term that -- would you consider the Ku Klux Klan someone that you or your organization would wish to deal with in countering violent extremism?

SELIM:

I don't think the DHS Office of Community Partnerships wishes to deal with the Ku Klux Klan, Mr. Chairman.

PERRY:

I didn't say deal with them as in deal with them in -- in working some kind of an agreement with them, but the things that they espouse. Is that a problem in our country that you would -- would fall under the scope of your purview?

SELIM:

To the extent that any organization, either foreign or domestic, espouses violence in the United States, that...

PERRY:

Have they not espoused violence in the past?

SELIM:

Has the Ku Klux Klan?

PERRY:

Yes.

SELIM:

Absolutely they have.

PERRY:

OK. So shouldn't they -- so I'm just trying to figure out if they fall under the umbrella of your purview.

SELIM:

Ideologically motivated violence, whether that be...

PERRY:

Are they not ideologically motivated?

SELIM:

I believe they are.

PERRY:

OK. So it seems to me they fit all the requirements. I'm just trying to get a simple indication of whether that's -- we're trying to figure out what you consider CVE. Maybe I know. Maybe Mr. Thompson knows what he considers it to be. We're trying to figure out what you consider it to be, so we're giving you examples. And I used this one.

Based on that, based on the information that you just provided -- ideological history of violence, would they fall under that -- within your purview based on your definition, your guidelines, your mission?

SELIM:

To the -- to the extent that an applicant for the Countering Violent Extremism Grant Program wants to institute some type of program to counter the ability for a Ku Klux Klan or any other organization to espouse the type of violence that they have done historically, that would -- that would absolutely fit within the remit of our office.

PERRY:

OK. So you're talking about the grant program and applicants that say, look, we want to deal with -- when I say deal with in the context of we want to minimize the effect, influence of an organization that is a white supremacist organization, such as the Ku Klux Klan, that would be something you would be interested engaging in?

SELIM:

Again, nothing in my office, the Office of Community Partnerships, or in this grant program, there is no targeting of a specific group. This is why when we talk about countering violent extremism, this is a -- a threat-based effort, right? There is an immediate threat in the homeland today...

PERRY:

Right.

SELIM:

... by enemies of the United States, sworn enemies of the United States, to recruit and radicalize here in the homeland. What -- what this office's mission and what the resources we're putting out are for are to prevent and intervene in that process of radicalization, sir.

PERRY:

So there's no thought whatsoever to different organizations that are known -- that are known -- by most Americans, certainly by the records, to have an ideological interest in and -- and use violence to promote their political objectives. As long as it has a name to it, you don't look at the name. You just look at any -- anybody.

SELIM:

We're -- let me -- I'm -- I apologize. I misunderstood the question. Let me -- let me draw a clear distinction. We are not an office that does analysis on -- on -- on hate or different terrorist organizations.

My office is purely focused on -- on -- again, as I laid out earlier, developing and building the partnerships with communities across the country and the range of stakeholders that I laid out, as well as...

PERRY:

Well, goodness, I don't know how -- how you direct your resources if you have no idea what -- where you're headed. You don't even -- if you don't know where you're going, how do you know where to direct your resources? And you can't name one -- I just gave you an organization and you essentially said, no, they're not one of the -- I...

SELIM:

We're -- we're not focused on specific organizations.

PERRY:

But what are you focused on?

SELIM:

We're focused on providing tools and resources to federal, state, local, and community partners who are themselves, as the Congressman alluded to earlier, on the frontlines of preventing radicalization and its...

PERRY:

By who? Radicalization by who?

SELIM:

You know, different -- different -- it's -- it's not the place of my office to tell a police

chief or sheriff in Cleveland, Ohio or Los Angeles, California how they should be driving and implementing their own program. This is why, as -- as part of the grant program, there's a very specific needs analysis and -- and a quantitative set of metrics that speak to how these programs will be applied.

PERRY:

So even being fully aware of the actions of certain entities, whether domestic, whether racist, whether -- whether religiously motivated if that terminology can be used, it makes no difference to you. And you wouldn't -- you wouldn't be able to identify them and -- and place your assets in that direction to have the greatest effect...

SELIM:

Let -- let me...

PERRY:

... based on this paradigm that you just laid out for me?

SELIM:

Let me just go back and be very clear on one thing. The Department of Homeland Security, including my office, assesses that the preeminent threat to our homeland security today is ISIL's ability to recruit and radicalize in the homeland.

PERRY:

So you do differentiate with ISIS or ISIL. Not this other one that I mentioned, but ISIL you do make that distinction.

SELIM:

We -- we differentiate in the sense of -- of the threat of terrorism in the United States.

PERRY:

All right. I think I'm gonna come back to you, Mr. Selim. I've got some further questions based on the information I just gleaned from you, but my time's expired and I want to respect the other members' time in attendance here.

So I will now yield and the gentleman -- correction. The gentlelady. Correction. The - she has left. The gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Ellison, is now recognized.

ELLISON:

Yes, Mr. Chair and Ranking Member, allow me to thank you for being here today. I'm

grateful for the opportunity. And I want to just confer how much respect I have for this very important community -- I mean, committee.

Let me say this. If I were to say the words radical Islamist terrorists, it -- it wouldn't stop -- it wouldn't make ISIS vanish. Use of the words is not the thing. Here's the thing. Organizations like Daesh and ISIS are homicidal maniacs trying to kill us. We know that. They don't care what religion we are. They'll harm us all.

But they're also -- but they're not stupid. They're trying to gain legitimacy in the eyes of people they're trying to recruit.

Now, maybe in a country like our own where I was born and raised -- and I'm 14 generations in the United States, which is a majority Christian country -- my mother, all my family members are Christian. I love them deeply. I love my whole community.

To say that Islam is -- got tremendous legitimacy, we might not recognize that because of the environment we're in. But in the nations where it does predominate, which is 1.5 billion people in this world, putting the word Islamic in your title does confer legitimacy.

Just as if I were to call some -- a group were to call themselves the -- the Christian so-and-so-and-so's, people in America and other Christian-majority countries would think, well, they -- they're probably good guys, 'cause we associate that with that word.

Now, if the Ku Klux Klan were to burn crosses and claim to be associated with Christianity, we would know what they were doing is trying to exploit the majority of the population's attachment to that term in order to gain support, when what they really want to do is murder, kill and terrorize black people.

This is exactly what Daesh is doing, which is why we don't call them Islamic -- Islamic terrorists, Muslim terrorists. They hope we call them that. They want us to call them that. Whenever we call them that, there's some unsuspecting person out there who might be tricked into believing that they actually stand for Islam. That doesn't help America.

We should be trying to expand our friendships and isolate our enemies. Instead, by saying no Muslims can come into the country, lying about saying that Muslims were happy after 9/11, which they absolutely were not, proven in multiple environments, all we do is help Daesh recruit.

Now, I know about Daesh recruitment. They had me in a magazine saying they wanted to kill me personally by name. And so, you know, this idea that just saying radical Islamist terrorist is somehow going to do anything, it's not going to do anything other than help ISIS recruit.

And I don't want to help ISIS recruit. I want to strip them of any legitimacy that they

have. And I think that we all should join in that. Absolutely we should be researching their core ideology and motivation. Nothing about calling them extremists -- violent extremists stops us from doing that. Absolutely we should understand how they think and what motivates them.

And if they pervert religious verses in order to do what they want to do, we should certainly -- and research that. But I'm not going to say that -- that Timothy McVeigh is a freedom fighter. He's not. He's a terrorist. And I'm not going to say that Daesh is Islamic. They're -- there -- there's neither a state, nor they are Islamic. They are criminal, and they need to be treated like that.

Let me move on to say that -- it was said that -- there was a question -- I think there was some question that said that we should perhaps prohibit the Islamic Society of North America from being able to apply for a grant or getting a grant. I've been to Islamic Society of North America organizations. I think that they are an excellent group. I don't see any problem with them. I'm glad that the -- our government is reaching out to them.

And -- and I can tell you that if ISIS is recruiting and the American government is recruiting, we better be talking to people who we can get on our side as opposed to shunning them. It would be a bad idea to do that. It would not help us protect our country. And let me say, if we were to prohibit ISNA, I think we would be engaging in unconstitutional behavior. because there's something called of a bill of attainder.

And a bill of attainder says you cannot pass a law criminalizing somebody. People get trials in America, which brings me to a point about this unindicted co-conspirator. As a person who must have tried 50 cases to a jury -- I used to be a public defender. I know -- I may not know love, but I know criminal -- I know how to try a case in court.

Unindicted co-conspirator means unindicted. If they were indicted, then now you're talking. But even then, that's just the very low threshold of -- of -- of probable cause. But unindicted means nothing. It means absolutely nothing.

And if any one of us were unindicted co-conspirators, you know what that would mean? That we're innocent. So to use that term to try to eliminate people is just -- it's just bad -- it's just a misunderstanding of what the law is.

So finally, I just want to say thank you to you, Mr. Selim, for coming to my community, talking to my community about how we forge better ties and trust and communication so people know and understand that the American government's not against them.

We want to be engaged. We want to talk. And they criticized you a little bit, and you took it all, and you listened. And then you said your job is to work with the community to protect the community. So I want to thank you for keeping your ears open and your mind open. In Minneapolis, I think you did a good job.

SELIM:

Thank you. Can I make just one -- one point to that remark, Mr. Chairman?

Congressman Ellison, I -- I want to thank you for allowing me the opportunity to come to your district and work with you and your team on that.

And I want to make one point clear to -- to the entire committee that, on the programs and measures that my office implements on a day-to-day basis -- on a day-to-day basis, there is not uniform agreement in communities, Muslim communities or non-Muslim communities, on the best way to do this.

I think what -- what Congressman Ellison is referring to -- or inferring, actually, is that there were some pushback on the programs that my office has espoused and implemented.

However, you know, the degree -- the degree to which myself as the director and my team sits and engages with community stakeholders in a constructive dialogue, and we can shape and tailor our programs for maximum effectiveness, that's the ultimate message that I want to convey today to the committee, is that we are at the table. And we look to be at the table in communities across the country to shape and tailor these initiatives.

I get calls and e-mails all the time from communities saying ISIL, Daesh or some other terrorist organization does not represent our religion, our community, our faith. What can we do? And so, the CVE programs that we're implementing are voluntary in nature. We're servicing community and local stakeholders who want to implement these initiative.

And -- and that's a very important part. This is not a prescription. We're not requiring any group to do that. Some people in the Twin Cities, in the Minneapolis area, want to have a seat at the table for this. Others do not.

And that's fine. Our job as the federal government, as DHS, is to work with those who want to be at the table and also address concerns of those that -- that -- that don't want to be involved in these initiatives and have concerns about the programs. Thank you for that.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentleman.

The chair recognizes the gentleman Mr. Pascrell from New Jersey.

PASCRELL:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thanks for having the hearing. I think it's very worthwhile. I want to say hello to the ranking member, and the ranking member on this



committee -- subcommittee.

Mr. Selim, I know your record. You came from the last administration. And I thank you for your service to your country. But when you're -- a little advice. You don't need it from me, but let me give it anyway. When you're answering questions from this committee, I would advise you, when we're talking about the causes of radicalization, when we're talking about that, you used the word metrics many, many times.

When you're using the word metrics, you're not being straight with the committee, and I'm sure you're not doing it intentionally. Metrics is a good word we like to use to throw people into a dizzy. Just be straight about your answers, whether you have the information or you don't have the information.

So the recent events in Jersey and New York underscore how the threat of violent extremism has evolved, Charleston, Dallas, Oak Creek. We have seen an uptick, Mr. Chairman, in instances of homegrown violent extremism.

So it is critical we ensure the government is working to prevent the spread of violent extremists' ideology by using the limited resources wisely. As you briefly noted in your testimony, and despite common misperceptions from what you often hear in the media, extremists and threats come from a wide range of groups and individuals.

I have known and talked about the threat of domestic terrorism, usually in the form of anti-government extremism in this country. My oath of office, the priority, I am pledged to stop foreign and domestic intrusions. It's the first part of my oath of office, as well as the president of the United States.

What threat has posed -- has been posed here? Ever since I was the original member of the House Homeland Security Committee when it was created. In 2009, a DHS report on right-wing extremism was leaked and prompted an outcry. Resulted in the DHS cutting a number of personnel studying, for the record, domestic terrorism unrelated to Islam, and held up nearly a dozen reports on extremist groups.

I spoke out very strongly against this decision. It was carried over into this administration's decision. We cannot allow people to silence facts just because the facts do not fit their preferred narrative of who we should and shouldn't be afraid of and concerned about.

Eric Hoffer wrote in his book "The True Believer," which is my bible about radical thoughts, radical actions against our nation. We want to protect those people that we are -- voted for us, didn't vote for us but live in our district and live in this country.

We had three police folks that testified yesterday. I was not here, but I know what they said. Deputy Chief Miller from New York, New York City. I -- those guys and gals do a terrific job day-in and day-out, and you so -- said it one -- better than I did in -- in -- in your testimony. My job is to protect them. See, anybody who we decide is going to protect us, we have to protect them.

And Mr. Chairman, I have to take exception to one thing that you said before. I agreed with most of the stuff you were talking about. You said -- you questioned, and I think you have a right to, the heart of the issue -- went right to the heart of the issue about national security.

Why should we be perhaps providing dollars to terrorist groups? And I hope these groups are being vetted. I'm sure you do, too. Well, then why do we allow guns to go to terrorists? So we don't want them to get the dollars, but we allow them at the same time to buy weapons.

That is not a slippery slope to defining or destroying the Second Amendment of the United States. It is protecting our law enforcement officers who are outgunned in the streets, regardless of what we're talking about. The gangs -- or we're talking about the gangs of terrorism.

I beg you to think about this in that terms. I agree with you. We don't want to give money to those folks who we gotta really question -- wonder where you're going to spend the money. We do that many times in our foreign aid, don't we? I ask you just to take an objective look at that thing. And if I may -- I'm going over -- can I ask the witness one question?

PERRY:

Go ahead.

PASCRELL:

Thank you.

Mr. Selim, in March of this year we sent a letter -- I sent a letter to Secretary Johnson and Attorney General Lynch. The CVE Taskforce announced -- and since you're here today, I'd like to discuss its goals.

According -- here's my question. According to the New America Foundation, there have been more incidents of right-wing extremist attacks in the United States than violent jihadist attacks since 9/11. I'm not minimizing jihadist attacks.

In that light, can you describe how your office plans to counter violent extremism with respect to domestic right-wing extremism? And if you want me to define it over the last 15 years, I'll go chapter and verse, but you know what I'm talking about. How do you define it, and what is your office doing about it? Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your indulgence.

SELIM:

So, Congressman, thank you for that question. And -- and on the oath of office that I

took in this job -- to the point you made on the oath that you took in your job. And as the oath I took when I was sworn into the United States Navy, I similarly took a pledge to defend and protect the Constitution and the United States against all threats, foreign and domestic.

And I want to assure you that I take that oath very seriously. And that's, I hope, reflected in the job that I'm doing on a day-to-day basis.

With specific regard to your question in what we're doing, the -- the role of the CVE Taskforce is one to coordinate all the different CVE efforts across departments and agencies. It's not an operational body per se. The -- the task force is not deploying into a particular city and doing things like that. It's a -- it's a Washington-based body to coordinate all the disparate resources that have -- that are -- are currently existing in different departments and agencies.

The tools and resources that we supply to our state, local and community based partners related to CVE are ones that can hopefully prevent and intervene in the process of radicalization, whether it's a domestic extremist radicalization or an international terrorist organization that's attempting to recruit and radicalize.

The research and the data has shown us -- and I'm happy to follow up with you on this in great detail -- is that the -- the similarities of paths of radicalization of someone who will commit an act of terrorism in the homeland is very similar, whether they're a Timothy McVeigh or whether they're a young person in this country that's being recruited and radicalized by a group like ISIL.

What we're attempting to do is supply tools and resources at the state and local level for local officials, community partners and municipal leaders to prevent and intervene and recognize those signs, irrespective of where it's motivated on.

So there's not a special focus on D.T. and a different focus on international-related terrorism. The tools and opportunities to prevent and intervene in that process can equally be applied on both.

PASCRELL:

Are you supplying the information to the subcommittee?

SELIM:

I'm -- I'm attempting to.

PASCRELL:

Well, I think that's critical, Mr. Chairman, so we know where we're going. And I thank you.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentleman.

The chair asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Meadows, be allowed to sit on the dais, participate in today's hearing. And without objection, so ordered. The chair recognizes Mr. Meadows.

MEADOWS:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank the committee for your fine work. Obviously, we've been doing some parallel work in the committee that I -- I sit on. So -- so let me follow up on this last question, because it's -- it's intriguing, with my-- my colleague opposite here, in terms of his definition, quoting some group.

And -- and we just had a hearing just the other day which had said that most of the threats that we're actually facing here -- not to underscore some of the horrific things that have happened in South Carolina and in other areas, but we've been trained over the years -- our law enforcement's been trained to be able to address those kinds of threats that the gentleman would say are right-wing extremists.

And yet the numbers don't seem to back that up. I mean, it wasn't right-wing extremists that stabbed someone in Minnesota this week. It wasn't right-wing extremists that exploded bombs in New Jersey and New York.

And so when we look at that -- in fact, the number one stat that I saw was actually the Taliban was higher than ISIS, even though ISIS kinda dominates this. So what stats do you have, since you've been working on this, that would suggest that the number one threat are right-wing extremists and not the radicalization of others?

SELIM:

Congressman, I -- I want to clarify a point. I -- I hope in no way, shape or form did I -- did I give the impression that the threat of domestic extremism by -- by the groups you just mentioned are -- are more severe than that of ISIS. I -- I've said...

MEADOWS:

Well -- well -- well...

SELIM:

I've said repeatedly...

MEADOWS:

... kind of indirectly. You said that, you know, you're here to defend the country. And I appreciate your service as a naval officer. I appreciate your -- your willingness to

defend the Constitution.

But here's -- what we haven't done is actually many times define the enemy. And -- and it is critical that we start to do that. So with the CVE Joint Taskforce. Name -- name four or five accomplishments that have happened since January of 2016. What are the accomplishments?

SELIM:

So just -- just to clarify timeline. The -- the task force was announced in -- in January, but we didn't actually come together with interagency representatives until April of this past year.

MEADOWS:

So name three accomplishments since April.

SELIM:

Just to clarify the timeline. So there's been a -- a number of accomplishments. The first is that there -- a number of different entities across the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Justice, the FBI, the National Counterterrorism Center that were reaching out to state, local, community and municipal officials to provide different products, threat briefings, exercises and so on. And -- and...

(CROSSTALK)

MEADOWS:

So how many of those -- so how many of those have you done?

SELIM:

As an office, I'd have to go back and get you the specific number. But the point on the accomplishment...

MEADOWS:

More than -- more than 100? Less than 100?

SELIM:

In the past year? probably. But I'll -- can give you the specific number.

MEADOWS:

But you can report back to the subcommittee?

SELIM:

Yes, absolutely.

MEADOWS:

OK. All right.

SELIM:

The point --the point on the accomplishment is we've tied that all together in one place. And so when there's a request for some type of training or assistance in that regard, we have a specific group focused on training and engagement that's focused just on synchronizing that and ensuring we're getting the best products of -- and delivery out to state and local officials.

MEADOWS:

All right. And I -- I guess according to the testimony, it says that the CVE grant funding is done through a competitive panel-review application process. I think...

SELIM:

Yes -- yes, sir...

MEADOWS:

... that's a quote.

SELIM:

Correct.

MEADOWS:

So -- so as -- what's the criteria for evaluating?

SELIM:

So I don't want to take up your time here on the panel. We've listed out on page 26 of the notice of funding here 10 clear objective criteria that every potential applicant has to...

MEADOWS:

So what's the top one out of the 10?

SELIM:

Demonstrating expertise.

MEADOWS:

All right. So how do you determine -- who determines that they have expertise?

SELIM:

Each and every application is independently reviewed by one of four people. An individual who works for me in the Office of Community Partnerships reviews and scores independently each application.

An interagency representative from the CVE Taskforce, someone from the FBI, DOJ, the National Counterterrorism Center. And including non-security agencies, education, HHS and others that are part of this whole of government effort. They independently score and review each application.

MEADOWS:

All right.

SELIM:

FEMA -- sorry.

MEADOWS:

So -- so -- yeah, so let me interrupt because I got 36 seconds left.

SELIM:

Sorry.

MEADOWS:

And so as -- as we look at that, as you start to evaluate those, how do you respond to some of the criticism that has been out there that potentially grants go to groups that may not be fully aligned with protecting our national security interests? Is that a valid criticism?

SELIM:

Congressman, I can assure you that I take the awarding of federal grants, taxpayer dollars, with the utmost seriousness. And doing the due diligence...

MEADOWS:

Have you made any mistakes?

SELIM:

... through this process -- sorry.

MEADOWS:

Have you -- have you made any mistakes?

SELIM:

Ever in my life?

MEADOWS:

Well, in this process. No, obviously -- I'm married. I get reminded of that on a regular basis, so...

(LAUGHTER)

SELIM:

I -- I would say that this is a -- this is the first time that -- that we -- this is the first time ever, as I pointed out in my oral statement, that such a -- a great opportunity has existed in the U.S. government.

So it's a learning process. Some of the things that we're doing in this first F.Y. '16 period I will likely change and amend for F. Y. '17, just based on the feedback that we've received from our potential applicants. So there's always room to improve the process.

MEADOWS:

So with the chairman's indulgence, I'll ask my last question and yield back. Is -- if you were to put two different groups that we have to be most concerned about radicalizing individuals here in the United States, who would those two groups be?

SELIM:

ISIL is the preeminent threat in the United States to our homeland security.

MEADOWS:

And who's the second?

SELIM:

Any al-Qaeda or similarly aligned Sunni extremist group.



MEADOWS:

All right.

I yield back. Thank you.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentleman. And the chair thanks the witness for his valuable testimony and the members for their questions.

The first panel is now excused. The clerk will prepare the witness table for the second panel.

(RECESS)

CQ Transcriptions, Sept. 22, 2016

### **List of Panel Members and Witnesses**

PANEL MEMBERS:

REP. SCOTT PERRY, R-PA. CHAIRMAN

REP. JEFF DUNCAN, R-S.C.

REP. E.L. "BUDDY" CARTER, R-GA.

REP. MARK MEADOWS, R-N.C.

REP. CURT CLAWSON, R-FLA.

REP. BARRY LOUDERMILK, R-GA.

REP. MICHAEL MCCAUL, R-TEXAS EX OFFICIO

REP. BONNIE WATSON COLEMAN, D-N.J. RANKING MEMBER

REP. CEDRIC L. RICHMOND, D-LA.

REP. NORMA J. TORRES, D-CALIF.

REP. WILLIAM PASCRELL, D-N.J.

REP. KEITH ELLISON, D-MINN.

REP. BENNIE THOMPSON, D-MISS. EX OFFICIO

WITNESSES:

GEORGE SELIM, DIRECTOR, HOMELAND SECURITY DEPARTMENT'S OFFICE  
OF COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

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CQ CONGRESSIONAL TRANSCRIPTS  
Congressional Hearings  
Sept. 22, 2016 - Final

## House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Oversight and Management Efficiency Holds Hearing on Radical Islamist Terrorism, Panel 2

### LIST OF PANEL MEMBERS AND WITNESSES

PERRY:

The chair will now introduce our witnesses for the second panel.

The Honorable Peter Hoekstra served in Congress for 18 years representing Michigan's 2nd Congressional District from 1993 to 2011. He was the chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence from 2004 through January 2007.

He was responsible for leading congressional oversight of the U.S. intelligence community to confront the threats of the 21st century, such as global Islamist terror and cyber-warfare, including restructuring the intelligence community with landmark legislation following the 9/11 Commission Report.

In his -- now serves as the Shillman senior fellow with the Investigative Project on Terrorism and is a frequent commentator and writer -- writer on radical Islam.

Dr. M. Zuhdi Jasser is the founder and president of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy. The forum seeks to counter political Islam, the ideology that fuels radical Islamists. Dr. Jasser was appointed to the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom in 2012. He has testified before congressional committees on numerous occasions.

Dr. Jasser served 11 years as a medical officer in the U.S. Navy and is a past president of the Arizona Medical Association. And we thank you for your service, sir.

Ms. Sahar Aziz -- do I have the -- the first name correct, ma'am? Thank you -- is a professor of law at Texas A&M University School of Law, where she teaches courses on national security, civil rights and Middle East law. Ms. Aziz is also a non-resident fellow at the Brookings Doha Center. Prior to joining Texas A&M, she served as a senior policy adviser for DHS' Office of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties.

Ms. Shireen Qudosi is an author, including a senior contributor at counterjihad.com

and the founder of the Qudosi Chronicles, a blog about Islam in the 21st century which supports Muslim reformers. For over 10 years, she has been an active advocate of progressive Islam, both educating non-Muslims about Islam and encouraging Muslims to engage in dialogue. She has been recognized as one of the top 10 North American Muslim reformers.

Thank you all for being here today.

The chair now recognizes Mr. Hoekstra for an opening statement.

HOEKSTRA:

It's been a while since I've been here. So thank you, Chairman Perry, Ranking Member Coleman, other distinguished members of the -- the panel for enabling me to testify here today.

Since I left Congress, I've had the opportunity to work with the Investigative Project on Terrorism. This has been a leading organization studying the threat of radical Islam for over 20 years. It has always been at the forefront. I'd like to submit my testimony for the record.

PERRY:

Without objection, so ordered.

HOEKSTRA:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You know, there's just a couple of points that I'd like to highlight as we go through the testimony. I'd like to -- that I think are important.

Number one, we are -- the trend lines in the war have not been going in the right direction. You know, the -- recently the University of Maryland completed a study that showed that back in 2001, roughly 2,500 people per year were losing their lives as a result of radical jihadist terrorist activities.

In 2007, 2008, 2009, that number had gone from roughly 2,500 -- I think we have a chart to show that -- had gone from roughly 2,500 to about 3,000, 3,300 in -- in that timeframe. So it was a significant increase, but not dramatic. But then take a look at the line what happens after 2008 to 2015, and what we're projecting for 2016.

That number has increased from roughly, you know, slightly over 3,000 people per year to approaching 30,000 people per year losing their lives globally as a result of radical jihadism.

The second slide that I'll use that will be up there shows what the spread of radical jihadism has been, the global expansion. 2001, you could look at the globe and it would be in a number of different places. 2009, 2010, it was kinda concentrated in

the Middle East.

But the threat that we see evolving and where we see the threat today, is we see it obviously in the Middle East. We see it in Northern Africa. It is now spreading into Asia. And we also see what is happening in Europe and obviously the United States is at risk. So the numbers and the trend line are clearly heading in the wrong direction. The geographic spread of the threat from radical jihadism is going in the wrong direction.

This is a war that we are not winning today. We are not containing it, we are not confronting it, and we are not defeating it. The key question, I think, that Congress needs to ask is what has happened, potentially, to create this dramatic increase since 2008?

From 2001 to 2008, 2009, you know, it stayed relatively contained. But since that time we have seen it escalate -- escalate significantly. We now have five failed states that are havens for radical jihadists, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, and Afghanistan.

So this is places where -- where these organizations can plan. They can train. And they can prepare to launch attacks against the West, against America and other places in the Middle East.

I really encourage the committee to take a very, very hard look, an in-depth dive on what is called PSD-11, Presidential Study Directive 11. This came out of -- it's still classified, but there's been a lot written about this document in the media. So it has been -- it has been leaked to various people. But what PSD-11 does is it fundamentally changed America's approach toward the Muslim world.

For 40 years, on a bipartisan basis, Republican and Democratic administrations had said our goal in the Middle East was stability and security. 2010, 2011 timeframe, the president -- the president and his administration said that that policy was -- they were going to take a look at it. David Ignatius, in one of the columns that he wrote back then, indicated that the White House -- a White House official said, "We're rolling the dice."

Well, it didn't turn out very well, because the strategy now said we were going to engage with elements of reform. Well, that ended up being organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood and other radical jihadist groups. We did not choose wisely.

In Egypt, we facilitated the overthrow of Mubarak, someone who I met with, many American officials had met with. This was an individual in a country that for years did everything that we asked them to do to maintain stability and fight radical jihadists in that part of the world.

We facilitated and participated in the overthrow of Gaddafi. Again, Gaddafi reformed in 2003, 2004. Someone who had been our enemy, but because of consistent

Republican and Democrat administrations putting sanctions on him and holding his feet to the fire, in 2004 he changed sides. He got rid of his nuclear weapons program. He paid reparations. And he started to fight radical jihadists with us.

And we took an island of stability in northern -- in Northern Africa, and it became a hotbed of extremism, exporting weapons, exporting fighters and ideology throughout Northern Africa, the Middle East, and being a launching pad into Europe.

In closing, let me just say that I think it's time for Congress to ask this administration some very serious questions about PSD-11. Exactly what is the content of PSD-11? What were the criteria for vetting organizations in Libya, Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Afghanistan and Yemen? What were the criteria for vetting organizations that we would work with?

What groups and individuals actually passed through the vetting process and we -- and we started to engage with? The names and the organizations of the individuals responsible for vetting the new groups, and any and all assessments by the U.S. government of the activities undertaken by these groups from 2012 to -- or from 2012 until today.

And I think that you will find that the change in policy is the primary reason for the instability and the radical spread -- or the rapid spread of radical jihadism throughout the Middle East and the increased threat -- threat to the homeland.

Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentleman Mr. Hoekstra.

The chair now recognizes Dr. Jasser for an opening statement.

JASSER:

Thank you, Chairman Perry and Members of the House Committee and Homeland Security's Subcommittee on Oversight and Management for holding this important meeting on identifying the enemy in radical Islamist terror. I ask that my written testimony be entered into the record.

PERRY:

Without objection, so ordered.

JASSER:

As the president and founder of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy based in Phoenix, I'm here because I could not feel more strongly that our current direction and our current strategy, or lack of strategy, is deeply flawed and profoundly

dangerous for the security of our nation.

As a devout Muslim who loves my faith and loves my nation, the concerted focus to de-emphasize the root causes of radical Islam or political Islamic supremacism, Sharia supremacism, is the root cause of the global war that we're in.

And until we -- until we name this, and then once we can name it, treat it and counter it, we're going to continue this whack-a-mole program, which is failing day after day after day. And the denial of truth is wedded to dishonesty from those who reject the need for reform within the house of Islam and -- and the need to engage reformers.

You'll hear endless excuses, excuses as to why we should not use theopolitical terms which our enemies use to define themselves. You'll hear the absurd and, I'm sorry to say, un-American pleas for you to invoke blasphemy speech restrictions upon yourselves in the discourse in order to dishonestly avoid terms like Islamism, Islamist, ummah, takfir, Islamic State, jihad, Salafism, Wahhabism. All these which are the way the enemy defines themselves, but also words that are necessary in order to know which pool these militants come from.

The reason our homeland security is failing is because the pool that they're swimming in, they can't look at the Omar Mateens of the world, the Dahar Dadan from Minneapolis, the Ahmad Rahimi. The idea of the political Islam, anti-Westernism, anti-Semitism are things that we should be monitoring, not taking away the rights of those communities but at least monitoring and profiling those ideas so that we know what the precursors are, because we know what those precursors are. It is a suspension of disbelief and a cognitive dissonance for Homeland Security to list for you Muslim partners and then say Islam, well, it has no problem. There's a -- there's a suspension of disbelief when we say we engage Muslim groups, but yet Islam, Islamism isn't related. Which is it?

Either you don't engage Muslim groups because Islam has nothing to do with it or Islamism has an issue within it, which is the problem ideology, so we need to engage Muslim groups. You can't have it both ways.

You'll hear terms like securitization, where somehow if the American public engages in a debate against theocracy, which is what our Founding Fathers did, that that'll make us into this bigoted, anti-Muslim community.

Well, we fought this battle before. We can engage with the right side of those who share our values within the Muslim community in order to make it clear what are those who do not share our values inside the Muslim community, that they should not be our allies.

But once you say that anyone who is Muslim and that anti-terror is on our side, then you end up doing the bidding of theocracies like Iran and Saudi Arabia and Qatar and Egypt and other military dictatorships that are Sharia states that brew these

radical ideas, that love to hear us just use contra and violent extremism because it allows them to continue to push the Sharia state ideology that is the drug that creates the ISISes of the world.

So when you hear that in America this attempt to invoke blasphemy laws, it's actually doing the bidding of the elephant in the room, which is the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the theocracies that loves to see us not identify this as Islamism because the grassroots movement, the hope and the prayer of the Arab Awakening was about defeating dictatorships that were going to marginalize the radicals, that were going to marginalize theocrats.

But instead, we end up working with the arsonists as the firefighters. And that's what happens when you work with the Saudis and the Muslim groups that Secretary Johnson once spoke to. ISNA and other groups that we are catering to are also both the arsonists and the firefighters because they are distributing literature that glorifies political Islam, that glorifies Sharia state ideology. And that ultimately ends up causing the harms that radicalize our community.

We are ignoring movements like the Muslim Reform Movement. And I'd ask every one of you, left to right, if you truly believe in diversity, what is diversity in the Muslim community? It is not ethnic diversity or racial diversity. It is ideological diversity.

And when you say that well, we speak to the platform of the Islamic Society of North America, that is a monolithic, single ideology group that's based in an idea that is about clerics, men in beards that run the society and speak for Muslims across the country.

And that is not Muslim identification. Those are not groups that represent the majority of Muslims. Even Pew data has shown that they only represent 10 to 12 percent. The rest of us secularized Muslims that believe in the personal aspect of our faith are not represented in major movements in America. And our Muslim Reform Movement has been trying to engage government, media, academia to say that we want to reform against political Islam, and we need representation. That's who should be the partners.

And the reason this whack-a-mole program continues is because we've not been engaging in true reform for the separation of mosque and state. And instead we've been catering to the intoxicant of political Islam, which is the precursor ideology.

So in closing, I want to leave you with recommendations. I think we need to transition immediately in Homeland Security, away from countering violent extremism. What you're going to hear is already supposedly bigoted when, in fact, I don't even know what that is. We need to transition to countering violent Islamism because that's what they call themselves, and that's what Arabs and Muslims across the Middle East are fighting. So it should be CVI.

Second, the U.S. government and academia and media need to include a broad



spectrum of diverse voices. If you believe in diversity, have Muslims debate this publicly so that we aren't just sort of marginalized to the lowest hanging fruit which is the OIC lobby in Washington which ends up speaking for all of our groups.

It's time to stop engaging Muslim Brotherhood legacy groups and recognize their misogynist, anti-Semitic, homophobic, anti-American underpinnings. We must recognize they are not the only voice for American Muslims. And we must make women's issues and freedom of conscience and speech a litmus test when we work with these organizations.

It's time to stop giving credence to the concerns of OIC dictatorships and instead have a long vision for the narratives that we're working with. And as -- as uncomfortable as it may be to speak the language of the enemy, they do call themselves Islamists and effectively separate themselves from other Muslims.

And I also ask that you reopen investigation into the Council on American Islamic Relations' radical ties and their extensive domestic and foreign network because they represent sort of an example of why these other groups were called unembedded co-conspirators and why that is so important. And I ask that you no longer fear offending by using these terms.

Those first oppressed by political Islam are Muslims, modern Muslims that are reformers. And without including us, Homeland Security depends upon your honesty in order for the American people to hold the rest of us accountable. Thank you.

PERRY:

Thank you, Dr. Jasser.

The chair now recognizes Mrs. Aziz for an opening statement.

AZIZ:

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for inviting me to testify. For over 15 years I have worked with Muslim communities in America in various capacities, including as a civil rights lawyer and as a senior policy advisor for the Office of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Currently, I am a professor at Texas A&M University School of Law where I teach and research at the intersection of national security and civil liberties. The opinions I express today are my own. I ask that my testimony be admitted into the record.

PERRY:

Without objection, so ordered.

AZIZ:

I want to address four key issues. First, countering violent extremism programs are counterproductive as they feed the Daesh's narrative that America is at war with Islam. Second, CVE programs are unnecessary. Third, they are a waste of government resources. And, fourth, funds for community development and resilience programs should be administered by social service agencies without law enforcement control.

National security is a priority that crosses partisan lines. Americans of all races; ethnicities and religions are equally concerned with ensuring our country is safe from violence, whether politically motivated terrorism, state violence or violent crime.

Furthermore, we all share an interest in preventing violence before it occurs. As citizens and elected officials, we have a responsibility to carefully examine whether the methods we are using to prevent terrorism are effective.

Using Islamic to label terrorism and terrorists is counterproductive because we give Daesh exactly what it wants -- legitimacy. Daesh wants to be called Islamic because 99.9 percent of the 1.5 billion Muslims across the world reject them and refuse to bestow them with the authority to represent them. And so when we call them Islamic terrorists, they win the war of ideas.

Second, using a religious identity to label a criminal is a slippery slope to calling criminals Christian terrorists, Jewish terrorists or other religious labels based on a suspect's characteristics or ideology. This has serious adverse consequences on religious freedom and imposes guilt by association on faith communities in the United States. It is just a matter of time before a Muslim terrorist eventually is used as a basis to call someone a Christian terrorist.

Now the Obama administration's CVE programs are managed and funded by DHS and DOJ. And as a result, they securitize government- community relations such that Muslims are perceived and engaged with primarily through a security lens. Muslim Americans are treated as potential terrorists first and citizens second.

Such securitized treatment of an entire religious community is counterproductive. CVE signals to the public that Muslims warrant collective suspicion. According to a December 2015 Gallup poll, 43 percent of Americans harbor prejudice towards Muslims. These biases have been contributing toward an alarming spike in anti-Muslim discrimination and hate crimes. Among the most troubling trends is the bullying of Muslim students.

In 2016 a survey in California of more than 600 Muslim American students in middle and high school found that 55 percent reported being bullied or discriminated against, twice the number of students nationally who reported being bullied. Additionally, a report by California State University found that anti-Muslim hate crimes increased 78 percent in 2015, at 196 compared to 110 hate crimes in 2014.

International terrorists point to discrimination and selective government targeting of Muslims in their recruiting efforts to gain followers and sympathy for their perverse political agenda. Daesh, in particular, relies on marginalization and alienation to fuel its narrative that America is at war with Islam.

Moreover, CVE programs are unnecessary to preserve American national security. Muslims, like all other Americans, do not need a special program for them to be Good Samaritans that report suspicious criminal activity about which they have knowledge.

A 2016 Duke University report found that Muslim communities across the country have a positive relationship with police and that they're willing to engage with police departments based on principles of fairness and equal treatment.

According to the New America Foundation, approximately 60 percent of terrorism plots have been prevented due to traditional investigative methods of which 18 percent of those cases were solved by initial tips about -- from Muslim communities without the need for costly and counterproductive CVE programs.

CVE is also a waste of resources because Muslim Americans know less about potential plots by individuals acting alone, in secret and online than law enforcement agencies with a sophisticated array of -- of law enforcement tools and investigative tools. For example, the Boston Marathon bombing, Orlando and San Bernardino mass shootings and attempted Times Square bombing all perpetrated by individuals whose families and friends were as shocked to discover their illicit acts as any other American.

In conclusion, the tens of millions of dollars spent on CVE programs are better spent on programs administered by social service agencies with the expertise to assist the multitude of American communities in need of job training, mental health services, refugee resettlement, youth programs, and other services that promote safe and healthy communities.

Muslim Americans made -- have made significant contributions to our society and our economy as doctors, teachers, engineers, politicians and entrepreneurs. They deserve to be treated with the same dignity, equality and presumption of innocence as all other Americans. Thank you, and I will welcome your questions.

PERRY:

Thank you, Ms. Aziz.

The chair now recognized Ms. Qudosi for her testimony.

QUDOSI:

Thank you for the invitation to speak. I'm grateful for our critical opportunity to speak on this issue that is very close to my heart at this critical point in our nation's history. I ask that my written testimony be submitted into record.

PERRY:

Without objection, so ordered.

QUDOSI:

I appreciate that all of you have taken time today to come here and discuss radical Islam. But just as we evolve from the war on terror to radical Islam, we must really take the next evolutionary leap and realize that we're dealing with a political ideology.

We are dealing with a political parasite that is feeding off of a religion, and that religion is already complex by being both peaceful and warmongering. Islamism is a political philosophy with its own rich intellectual and religious history. Muslim reformers today are a beacon of hope in a challenging time. But we are not an anomaly.

Muslim reformers are a resurgence of free-thinkers that have historically been silenced for political gain by other Muslim groups. The first group were called the Hiwadij (ph), a fierce group of free-thinkers who opposed the Caliphate system in the early years after the prophet's death. Today you will hear Muslim grievance professionals call the Hiwadij (ph) a band of outlaws and link them with ISIS, the very thing that the Hiwadij (ph) were against.

Next, we have the Mutazilites who failed to birth a national and liberal peaceful Islam because they lacked political support. And today we have the reformers.

Political support has and always will be necessary to challenge the system of Islam - Islamism and the monolith it has become in the last century. Today that system is protected by Muslims who refuse to recognize the challenges we face and the hand that Islam that is in place.

Whether we're looking at jihadis or radicals, Islamists or full progressives, which are leftists who refuse to recognize the reality of the situation, these groups enjoy Western liberty but have no interest in honoring or extending that liberty once their goals are secured.

Here is an example. We already see how these groups use shame tactics and exclusionary practices to silence minority voices in Islam, voices like mine, all the while crying that they themselves are a minority in America in need of special protection. How does this espouse liberal values? The fact is, millions of Muslim Americans will not suffer if they are offended. The truth is, Islam is not a race. It is not in our blood. It's an idea. It's just an idea.

Because of this, it is impossible to be Islamophobic, racist or a bigot if you question an idea. It is not hate speech to speak the truth or to ask necessary questions. And in the fight against Islamism, one of the first steps we need to take is to cut the reins on language and allow this country to have a real shot at winning this by having free and open conversations, just like we expect free and open elections.

In that vein, the first point of any litmus today is seeing which one of us is asking a question and which one of us is saying a question doesn't need to be asked. If we want to see more critical thinkers in Islam, if we want to make more voices heard for human dignity, then we need political support and we need a landscape that remembers the best of America, bold and unapologetic truthfulness.

The political ideology of Islam is a needs (ph) to break. At the same time, we have to discuss Islamic theology as well if we want to get to the heart of the problem as it impacts radicalization and CVE efforts. I want to stress that both Islamism and radical Islam need to be tackled. The former creates a ripe breeding ground for the latter.

And ultimately what's going to be most effective in defeating radical Islam is not just programs, but to deploy change agents, like reformers, and help spark movements that break the ideology from within. We need to be culturally and philosophically combative and find, source, identify, and create those allies.

The CVE program is like a math problem that asks you to answer what two plus two equal -- equals and then asks you to use the alphabet to form an answer. It's impossible. It doesn't work that way. The fact is, no CVE program currently in play is as powerful as Muslim change agents with a national, if not global, platform. That's how you win this. Thank you for your time.

PERRY:

Thank you, Mister -- correction -- Ms. Qudosi.

The chair recognizes himself for a period of questioning. I'll start with Mr. Hoekstra. According to your testimony, jihadists have murdered at an alarming rate. These murders have skyrocketed since 2009, as you said, with nearly 30,000 killed last year. What do you see as the causes of this dramatic increase? And maybe -- I was going to save this question until after you answered that one, but maybe this question will help inform the answer to the next one.

So you're already familiar with PSD-11 which, as a matter of fact, you made me aware of it. With that, does that affect domestic policy which then potentially affects the increase in these killings? And how would you characterize that, if there is one, effect on the policy here at home and abroad? And what signs, if there are any, that we can see that indicate the effect of that?

For instance, what many of us in Congress and around the country feel is an unwillingness by the administration to identify the enemy, is that -- is that enrobed, potentially, in that policy?

Are we too close to it and too -- is the administration wedded to that policy so closely that now, for the sake of embarrassment or for the -- the considerations of the dramatic failures in North Africa and in the Middle East that they just don't want to talk about it? And so we can't say radical Islam or Islamists or -- or -- or those type of things. And I would be interested in hearing your thoughts.

HOEKSTRA:

All right, let me address this. The second part of your question, first, is what has been the impact of implementing a policy directive like PSD-11 domestically?

The impact domestically is that there are numerous examples which we've identified at the Investigative Project on Terrorism, and actually have a book coming out next month, because the evidence is so extensive, so deep and so broad, about the -- the different types of people that have now been coming into the United States under visas to visit, the meetings that have been going on with these individuals and policymakers at state and at the White House is frightening.

Many -- there's example after example after example of individuals who have embraced Hamas, who have embraced suicide bombers, issued Fatwahs against, and the death penalty against members of the LGBT community who, in prior administrations, would never have been granted access into the United States. They would never have gotten a visa.

The State Department and Homeland Security would have taken a look at their background, their public statements and their actions and said, no, they're not getting into the United States.

This administration has not only welcomed them into the United States, has welcomed them into the policy arms of the U.S. federal government. So that is how it's domestically -- expanded domestically.

These individuals infrequently will travel around the United States speaking at a number of the organizations that -- that Zuhdi has identified, and they will also participate in fundraising and espousing the same messages of hate that they have given overseas and doing the same thing here in the United States.

Internationally, as I said, yes, the -- you know, it is absolutely important to identify the enemy, and we have. All right? What has happened with the Obama administration is that they have narrowed the definition of who the enemy is by embracing with individuals that the Clinton administration, the Bush administration always would have identified as being part of the problem and part -- and -- and identifying them as the enemy.

The most -- the biggest example is the Muslim Brotherhood. Under PSD-11, and this is why I think it's absolutely critical that you get the information of who is vetted, how they were vetted and who we actually started to engage with. But engaging with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and in Libya, two countries that were strong allies in fighting radical jihadists, OK?

We facilitated or actively participated in their overthrow. And we almost lost Egypt, all right? But thankfully, the forces that be in the country came back and we stopped the Muslim Brotherhood regime in Egypt after one year. We did lose Libya. And so why do you see this escalation in the number of people who are victims? Because we -- we lost Northern Africa, the weapons caches. We lost intelligence.

I mean, I was chairman of the Intelligence Committee. We met with Gaddafi and his intelligence individuals. They were providing us with insights into the threat from radical jihadism not only in Libya but throughout Northern Africa and parts of the Middle East. Gaddafi was good at gathering intelligence at the -- of these bad folks because they threatened his regime.

After 2004, he shared that information with us extensively and cooperated with us. After 2011 that all went dark. In Egypt, cooperation with their intelligence has gone largely dark after 2011 because they no longer believe that they can trust us. In Iraq we have gone dark.

So in a lot of these different areas where we used to get valuable intelligence, great participation, insights into the threat, those countries have now become failed states and they are havens for preparing, planning and executing attacks against the United States.

PERRY:

The chair thanks the gentleman. My time has expired. Since there's only two of us left, if you don't mind, we'll probably go a couple rounds so I can -- because I have some more questions.

But at this time, I yield to the gentlelady.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you, Mr. Perry. And thank you for your testimony. I want to understand a couple of things. Is the term Islam, is that the definition of a religion? Is that -- is that -- can I equate Islam with Christianity, Judaism? Is it the same thing? Is it or is it not? Anybody? Anybody on the panel?

JASSER:

Congresswoman, I -- I would tell you Islam is what a Muslim believes it to be. So my

Islam is certainly -- I feel similar to the morals of Judaism and Christianity in my personal practice and what I teach my children. But the Islam of Saudi Arabia, of the Khomeinis of Iran is an evil supremacist doctrine. So the question is who is Islam? And I think it's similar in other faiths.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Well, thank you. So that is an equation to a terminology from my religion -- I'm a Christian -- Christianity, right? Did you have something you want to say to this?

AZIZ:

Yes. So Islam is a religion, a monolithic religion. And like any other religion, there are multiple interpretations. There are sects within the faith. Much of it is based on history.

WATSON COLEMAN:

So is mine.

JASSER:

Monotheistic.

AZIZ:

Monotheistic, excuse me. But also if you equate a religion with criminal activity of individuals, then you're essentially criminalizing the...

WATSON COLEMAN:

You're ahead of me.

AZIZ:

... the religion.

WATSON COLEMAN:

You're ahead of me, because that's my concern. Because I've -- we've experienced in this country very heinous crimes, killings done by people of other religions. But we've not attached an -ism to it or an I-S-T to it and indict a whole religion. So I don't know how that is helpful.

QUDOSI:

If I may speak?



WATSON COLEMAN:

1 -- when I ask you.

OSI:

1.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you. I don't -- I don't see the helpfulness in ascribing that to a religion and putting it into this sort of geopolitical or theopolitical environment. I -- I will ask -- I want to speak to you a second, Dr. Aziz, because you said CVE is an unnecessary waste of money and in some ways it's counterproductive.

So my question is, is there a -- is there a role for either counter -- countering violent extremism through education and social services and community building? Or is there just no role for that in our country at this time?

AZIZ:

Well, first I think we need to be very careful that we don't turn into thought police. If we start to criminalize and surveil religious beliefs, one is we may be infringing or are likely infringing on the First Amendment and opening the door to doing so with many other religious groups.

The second is you have to focus on individualized activities, predicate acts for criminal activities that are reasonably suspicious. And that will eventually lead you to the crime. These are very traditional, longstanding practices of law enforcement.

WATSON COLEMAN:

So the issue should be for us to be developing these relationships and transform and educate our total community and as a means of prevention, preparation and prevention, identification and encourage sharing. But there's a problem with that in your testimony, I believe, because the only agencies involved in this have a law enforcement identification. Did I get that -- is that accurate?

AZIZ:

Yes, law enforcement is leading the effort and social services agencies are effectively being co-opted. And that's going to create distrust with communities because they're going to be worried that this is a ruse to spy on them and chill their religious freedom and political beliefs.

WATSON COLEMAN:

That's kind of where I also wanted to go. I wanted to know, since you said, is you worked in the Muslim community quite extensively. How does the community or the communities feel about the CVE or projectivity (ph) sort of prioritization?

AZIZ:

It has created a lot of divisions. Most people -- or many organizations want to work with the government in dealing with social problems, economic problems that face Muslim American communities, as they face many other communities, particularly problems that are associated with being low-income or being a new immigrant community where you may need particulars or...

WATSON COLEMAN:

So what do you the pathway should really be?

AZIZ:

I think that the government should take the money from CVE, give it to social services organizations like the Department of Education and Health and Homeland Security and focus on helping communities across the country that are low-income, that have specific social challenges, and creating healthy, thriving, prosperous communities.

And that, ultimately, is going to prevent all kinds of social problems and criminal activity from gangs to vulnerable youth who may, in fact, be recruited online, in secret, by international terrorism outside of the view of their families and their communities.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you.

Ms. Qudosi, excuse me for cutting you off but you can't mess with my train of thought when it's going. So allow -- allow me to let you...

QUDOSI:

Thank you.

WATSON COLEMAN:

... respond.

QUDOSI:

Thank you. To answer your question about what is Islam, I agree with Dr. Jasser that Islam is very personal. Islam, when it was birthed was meant to be a pathway, a

guide in the monotheistic tradition of Judaism and Christianity.

Now, this shift happened initially in -- after the first 12 years of Mohammed's prophethood when he went from peaceful to warmongering, if we're going to be honest. And he waged jihad campaigns. Even he didn't partake in those, he instructed those. He was -- he agreed -- agreed to those. He didn't contest them.

So when we talk about is a religion violent or is it -- does it excuse terror, well, we call it terror today. We call it violence today. Back then, that's just the way of the land, and that's the way of the people. So we have to understand that we're dealing with something really ancient, and it has come to this point and time. And we're using modern language, and we're using, you know, our very limited scope of the last hundred years to understanding something that's been going on for 1,400 years.

So in that sense, how did Islam become political? Well after the Prophet's death is really when it became a monolith of a political identity and ideology. And that started with the Caliphate. And from there on it landed into the Umayyad Dynasty. This is a very complex thing. So Islam, from the get-go, has been very political. And that's where we've sort of wandered off-path.

So when we as Muslims say today that Islam isn't political, it's not -- it's just peace, it's not peace and war, we as Muslims don't understand our own faith. And that's the problem. So to you -- to say that CVE, for example, should only be given to social services also fails to understand who we are as Muslims culturally.

And there is a great agency in Southern California called Access, started by an Arab lady. It took her a very long time to build that up. But one of the challenges she had with that is that Muslims don't speak out. If we need mental health or behavioral health, we don't seek it. We don't identify it. If we need counseling, we don't shame ourselves, quote-unquote, "by asking for help." So trusting that social services somehow is magically going solve this is not understanding the mentality of the Muslim mindset.

WATSON COLEMAN:

OK. Equating -- equating their religion, does that help them -- to -- to -- to violence and terrorism, does that encourage them to be outspoken on their needs and desire to participate? Thank you.

QUDOSI:

Could you -- could you clarify by equating your religion? Could you clarify the question? By equating religion?

WATSON COLEMAN:

By -- you say that they're very -- they're very quiet, they're very insular. They don't

speaking out. And my question to you is are you encouraging them to be more outspoken, to be more engaging, to be more participatory if you indict their religion as something that is dangerous and akin to terrorism? That was just my statement.

QUDOSI:

Sure, I'd love to answer that. Thank you. The direction that we're going with, as Muslims, is one of confrontation- conversation within ourselves and our own, first and foremost. I've been talking about reform, before reform was even a catch phrase. Sixteen years ago is when I first started this. And the more I talk to Muslims, the more the conversation gets pushed even...

WATSON COLEMAN:

Excuse me.

Mr. Chairman, I want to yield back. I'm way over my time here. If you'd like to pursue it.

PERRY:

Yeah.

QUDOSI:

I can -- I can wrap it up real quick.

PERRY:

Sure.

QUDOSI:

They're -- we're going to have division in our community. There's going to be confrontation. These are divisive times. And going to a successful conclusion means having those uncomfortable conversations. So we shouldn't be wary of division, or afraid of it. We should embrace it, and use that as opportunities to really push this dialogue forward. Thank you.

PERRY:

Thank -- thank you, and thanks -- I thank the -- the chair thanks the gentlelady from New Jersey as well.

Dr. Jasser, Secretary Johnson earlier this year in front of the Senate Judiciary Committee stated "If we in our efforts here in the homeland start giving the Islamic State the credence that they want to be referred to as part of Islam, or some form of

Islam, we will get nowhere in our efforts to build bridges with Muslim communities, which need -- we need to do in this current environment right now."

Now I'm not a Muslim, right? So we're trying to figure this out, and we asked you to come and help us. A couple things come to mind. I think there's a doctor of -- of Islamic theology named al-Baghdadi who named the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. And I'm thinking, well, he's a doctor of the -- of the religion. As far as I know, that's his -- that's his background. That's his education. Who am I to question him, if that's what he calls it?

And I wonder if there's a difference between Islamist and Islamic because we use -- the Islamist term is used in the 9/11 Commission Report. And we're trying to -- to be very clear here, because we don't want to indict a whole religion, but we need to get to the focus of the problem. So does the use of Islamic terms when discussing groups like Isis or al-Qaeda really enhance their credibility?

JASSER:

Chairman, actually not using it enhances their credibility, because what it does is it lets the loudest, most militant voices, and the governments and the organizations that currently have the mantle of Islam to dominate the conversation.

So whenever Americans or Homeland Security or government wants to look up Islam, they Google Islam and go to the Islamic identified groups, and it's going to be those that have the heaviest traffic on the Internet, and those that are making proclamations like Baghdadi was.

And at the end of the day, it then also lets the silent majority stay asleep. There's no reason for Muslims that (inaudible) told every day that agree with what I'm doing. And yet they say, gosh, I don't want to get the targets that's on your back by -- by doing their reform because when you stick your head up, it's going to get, you know, attacked.

So at the end of the day, by denying the reality of the source, you're actually then -- it's a bigotry of low expectations, which is, oh, we know the president of the -- you know, the head of the -- the Islamic Republic of Iran doesn't speak for all Islam, but we'll let -- let you guys pass on the fact that it's a homophobic supremacist country in its government.

We'll pass the fact that the royal family of Saudi Arabia is actually brewing and spreading billions of dollars of ideas that are actually the forefathers of ISIS in their ideas. We'll pass that fact, and let them speak for Islam. Because if we talk about Islam in the freest country in the world, then it'll all turn into anti-Islamic stuff, when in fact, people are flogged in front of mosques every day in Saudi Arabia that say what we're telling you.

So in effect, we're actually invoking the same blasphemy laws in America that they

do in Saudi Arabia. Why? Because of this fear of somehow that it's gonna become anti-Islam. And actually, at the end of the day, the best answer to your question is one of denial.

It's like the smokers who don't want to admit that the cancer, lung cancer, is coming from the smoking. And the smoking -- we're not abandoning the whole patient, but the smoking, the -- the habit that's dealing to this, is Harakat-e-Islami, is what they call themselves in Arabic Islamic movements. Political movements.

So they might take away the tactic, and there's this huge letter to Baghdadi that all these organizations that are supported by ISNA and other Imams. They wrote a 25-page screed about why Baghdadi doesn't have the authority to declare jihad. He doesn't have the authority to declare a Caliphate.

What Americans -- and the reason I'm bringing your attention to it, they said the caliphate is mandatory in that letter. They said jihad -- violent jihad is mandatory, but he doesn't have the credence or the authority.

So that's the bigger problem. That's the intoxicant. It's not just the violence in these little terror groups that we can defeat militarily. It's the root cause. And the root cause is this idea that violent jihad, Muslims can do that. Armies should be Muslim by name. That the Ummah is a state -- it's not just a faith practice.

Until we Muslims address, and you bring us and force -- push us to do this, not by taking away our rights, but by actually having an adult conversation, and not by infantilizing our community into saying, oh, we can't address these things. So you have to address it and get us out of the -- the denial that's preventing the treatment of the disease.

**PERRY:**

So how do you believe the -- I call censoring of certain terms when discussing violent Islamist extremists affects the government's ability to interact with the Muslim communities in the United States? I mean does this practice in fact make us less secure? I think you would agree it does.

**JASSER:**

Absolutely. It -- it makes us less secure because what ends up happening is the -- again, like I said in my opening, the arsonists are actually helping us fight fires. And we aren't -- I mean, Muslim, when I hear them talk about the community -- are you working with the community or what's the effort?

The effort is not just Muslims that go to mosque or that are parts of these Islamic groups. It's Muslims that are physicians, attorneys, that work in civic organizations and ethnic organizations from Indian organizations, Arabic, et cetera -- Syrian organizations, not just religious groups.

We are a diverse community. And when Homeland Security and others want to reach out, don't just go to the mosque. I mean, just like in the reformation in the West, it was led by the business community and the others that finally told the theocrats that they don't run what defines Christianity. And that ultimately led to the American Revolution.

This is where we are in our time in history in Islam. And as long as we continue to have this bigotry of low expectations where we just let the theocrats dominate who defines Islam, which is what the avoidance of the term does, then we're going to continue to actually do the bidding of our enemies, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, et cetera, and actually not work with our Muslims that share our values of freedom, democracy and the universal declaration of human rights.

PERRY:

Do you have something to add, Mr. Hoekstra, to...

(CROSSTALK)

HOEKSTRA:

Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman. The -- I think it's important to have that discussion, as -- as Zuhdi was pointing out, because those of us who have -- who've traveled in the Middle East and -- and -- and those types of things, we recognize, as should all Americans, this -- the many sacrifices that so many Muslims have paid to help us.

You know, after the war in Iraq, you go -- and you go to the police training academies and -- and you speak with the -- the young men who are being trained and you recognize that many of these officers ended up being killed because they were targeted by radical jihadists. And we need to celebrate the -- the contributions and the sacrifices that those folks made.

The folks worked that worked with American -- the American military in Iraq, who were targeted as they were working with us and especially targeted when they left Iraq and Afghanistan for being, you know, for working with us. They were targeted. And we also need to recognize that -- that the victims of radical jihadism are primarily other Muslims.

And, you know, it's awful what the radical jihadists do to Christians and other religious minorities throughout the Middle East, but the primary target and the groups paying the biggest price are actually other Muslims. So by moving that total discussion off of the table, you can't even -- you -- you don't have that dialogue and discussion about how much other Muslims have sacrificed to try to help us and how much they want to get rid of the radical jihadist movement.

PERRY:

Do you want to move on?

WATSON COLEMAN:

Well, I don't really like to -- I -- I -- I notice that you wanted an opportunity to sort of weigh in on a discussion that just taken place. And I wanted to present that opportunity to you with my time.

AZIZ:

Thank you. I just have a -- a few points. The first is that the government is prohibited by the First Amendment in entangling itself in religion. The establishment clause prohibits the government from either promoting or infringing on religion and that would include engaging in theological debates. It is not the place, both as a matter of policy but more importantly as a matter of law for the government to intervene in determining what is correct or incorrect in Islam.

That's just something that has to happen within the communities, within the private sphere. And my colleagues here are welcome to engage in that debate within the free marketplace of ideas. And in fact, there are many debates that are going on, at least within the American Muslim communities -- which are very diverse -- about reform. And people define reform very differently.

So I think that it is a bit disingenuous to say that American Islam is stagnant, and that there are no debates, that there are no healthy discussions.

The second point is I don't think we should underestimate the open letter to Baghdadi. We're talking about over 700 mainstream religious authorities, scholars who are qualified, who have -- who have degrees, not people who just self-proclaim themselves to be experts or self-proclaim themselves to be reformists. And those individuals across the world have said this organization is fringe.

It's violent. It's terrorist. It doesn't represent Islam in -- insofar as their interpretations of the theology. And like in any theology, there always has been and there always will be groups who are going to misappropriate it for their political means.

And I just want to also add with regard to the Middle East, secular military dictators are repressing people as much as those who use religion as a ruse to oppress people. And so for us to think that it is one problem, the Muslim Brotherhood, or some particular other organization that claims to use religion for political means, that is very simplistic.

Egypt is a ticking time bomb, and it is going to have another revolution in my opinion, and it's going to be because of poverty, political repression, that is caused by military secular dictatorships.



PERRY:

Yes, ma'am.

Mr. -- Dr. Jasser.

JASSER:

Yeah, thank you. And I welcome the opportunity to respond to that because this is actually the key issue is that it is a cop-out to say that the government cannot get involved. When you have a movement that is a theopolitical movement, it would be like in the Cold War saying that we should work with the Italian communists or the Cuban communists when we were fighting the Soviets.

The Islamist movements are political movements that put into law legal systems that believe that Western secular law is un-Islamic, and they divide the world into Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Harb, the land of Islam, and the land of war. So if you're wondering how the Omar Mateens and others get radicalized, they are simply the tip of the iceberg of movements that view Western liberal democracies as the enemy.

So our Constitution, and our First Amendment, is not a suicide pact. We cannot therefore say, well, if it calls itself a religion, welcome. Give them security clearances, give them whatever they want. It doesn't matter, because it's a religion.

No, we have to have -- and our actual -- our response to the letter to Baghdadi was our Muslim reform movement declaration that we mailed twice to every mosque in the country, every Islamic organization. And it's not 25 pages. It's two pages. It's in the record. It's an appendix to my testimony. I'd ask you to look at it. It's simply two pages. It's not about religious theological debates.

It says we reject the caliphate, all caliphates. We reject the Islamic State, all Islamic states. We reject violent jihad. We call for the equality of men and women, for the freedom of sexual identity, for free speech, rejecting blasphemy laws, apostasy laws.

So therefore, those are not religious issues. Those are American principles that are part of the universal declaration of human rights. So it's not, no, I don't want the government getting into theology, but I certainly want them protecting the underpinning and the -- and foundations of our American democracy that's based in religious freedom.

So when Raif Badawi, Wahid Buheir (ph) and others in Saudi Arabia are flogged for their religious beliefs, and I agree with -- with Dr. Aziz about secular dictators. Both pathways are evil in the Middle East. We need to work toward a third pathway.

But to say that attacking secular dictators and then saying, well, Islamist movements are somehow our friends because they believe in elections, those are mobocracies. And she's right. There will be more revolutions in Egypt. I hope so. But we need to

be on the right side of history.

And the -- the denial to say, well, it's all about food and jobs, and we just get social services. No. It's about a political ideology that's rooted in Sharia statism. And the only counter to that is not countering the tactic, but promoting Muslims that believe in national identity like Americanism, Egyptianism, a Syrianism that believes in liberty for all, equally and not about an Islamic state. That is what CVE should become, which is CVI.

PERRY:

I would also say that while I find the military dictatorships just as unpalatable as the theocratic ones, the military dictatorships, generally speaking, that we might be discussing for purposes of this conversation, aren't -- aren't presenting an imminent threat within and to our homeland, based on their actions in their country, where the other is.

That having been said, I want to give Ms. Qudosi a couple of opportunities to answer some questions here. In an article in the Federalist that you authored earlier this year, you drew a comparison between World War II and our current struggle against violent Islamic extremism.

You argued that unlike today, during World War II, the U.S. had no problem clearly defining its enemy. With that, why do you believe this administration has been unable or reluctant to name a -- to name violent extremist -- Islamist extremism as the enemy?

QUDOSI:

First and foremost, the answer pings off what Dr. Aziz said. And that's a question of our First Amendment rights. It's not just about religion. It's also about free speech, and that's been completely squashed. There's so much purging, scrubbing. There's cultural shaming, social shaming. We're just -- excuse me -- not allowed to speak truthfully without being bashed by the majority Muslim groups. That's number one.

So as a larger -- as a larger democracy, we are dealing with a climate that doesn't understand that here's Islam, and then here's how Islam started. And then here's how this political ideology that grew out of Islam tacked itself on.

So we're dealing with a hybrid faith here that is part theology, part ideology. That means we have to touch political ideology. It's not just Islam. It is the ideology that has come out of Islam that has mutated the faith. And this is something that Muslims simply do not even know about, let alone non-Muslims. So that's part of the problem.

And not having understanding of that affects our ability to really be able to come up with solutions. So when we say that, you know, Islam is peace, or we're not at war with Muslims, well let's look at what a couple of Muslims have said.

Excuse me. Earlier this year, I interviewed Abu Taubah, a.k.a Marcus Dwayne Robertson, who was affiliated, or said to be affiliated, with Omar Mateen, the Orlando shooter. In an exclusive two-hour interview, he stoked race wars. He called for militant Muslims. He said women were unfit for office. And he called for a radical war against -- against the West. And that's inevitable in his eyes.

He is a Muslim convert, a highly educated former intelligence official in the United States Marine Corps. So this is one example of a -- a domestic Muslim. Internationally we have Oriyah Makfuljan (ph) a Deobandi-Taliban supporter, a media personality, and an Islamist in Pakistan, who was seen in 2009 outside Badshahi Mosque standing next to Hillary Clinton, then secretary of state.

While she's speaking about challenging extremism, and challenging Taliban, here's a Taliban supporter right next to her who has been quoted to publicly say that women like to be beaten, the West are heartless killers, Jews are apocalyptic destruction. In the coming war, he calls for all Muslims to come to arms.

These are the people that we are dealing with. These are the people who are using faith to drive that mission. So we can sit here and say we're not going to touch Islam, but what's the alternative here? We can just -- I mean there is no alternative. We have to touch it.

And the other reason is that we keep saying what will ISIS say? Well, ISIS isn't sitting over there wondering about what Americans are going to say. ISIS is going to use whatever narrative we throw at them and twist it. If we talk about ISIS being Islamic, they've won. If we say ISIS is not Islamic, they've still won because we're not addressing what gives them validation.

That validation comes from the darkest underbelly of a 1,400-year-old faith that justified killing. Not to the extremes that they have done in, but still they use the seed of Islamic terror to justify their actions, and launch a caliphate, which was, again, still a part of original Islam and part of Islam's origin story.

So the best way to tackle ISIS beyond whack-a-mole CVE programs is to tackle their belief system, and to ultimately destroy the credibility they hold, which is ultimately that this is a divine -- a divine mission for them on some level. So we have to understand the theology -- theological aspect of it.

PERRY:

Yes. Can I -- can I -- could I supplant belief system with ideology? Would it be -- would that be -- you say we have to attack their belief system. Would it be correct or analogous to use ideology in the same vein?

QUDOSI:

You could, but if I'm gonna be brutally honest, ultimately it comes down to what their identity -- or what their identity as Muslims is and what their belief system is about God, or Allah. So that's really the root of the problem.

So that any radicalized person -- Omar Mateen, if you want to talk about Abu Taubah, you want to talk about ISIS, al-Adnani, these people ultimately look for a higher source, and that is how they have interpreted God. So this becomes an ideological and a theological debate.

At the same time, what we have here is we have a country that doesn't want to be offensive, who wants to hide itself under political correctness, while throwing billions of -- billions if not more dollars at a problem. How much more money are we gonna throw at this problem and expect it to solve itself?

PERRY:

The chair thanks you, gentlelady.

WATSON COLEMAN:

I have two -- I have two questions.

PERRY:

The gentlelady is recognized.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you very much. Miss -- Miss --

PERRY:

Qudosí.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Qudosí, I'm sorry. I can't see the D here. Can I just ask you what is your profession? What do you...

QUDOSÍ:

I'm a writer.

WATSON COLEMAN:

That's...

QUDOSI:

Yes.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Are you -- are you an author, or do you...

QUDOSI:

I'm working on four books at the moment, two of them are almost done. And I've been blogging with Qudosi Chronicles. I've written for numerous outlets. And I've traveled overseas, studied communities, Japanese American and -- sorry -- Japanese Muslim communities.

WATSON COLEMAN:

And that's how you make a living? Is that how you make a living?

QUDOSI:

Yes. I also do marketing, I do marketing specifically for behavioral health, mental health, and for education.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Oh, OK, thank you.

Dr. Jasser, you said something there. You said that the CVE needs to change its name to CVI. So then are you suggesting that CVE's only job should be to address -- counter violent extremism in the Islam -- Islam community? And so what would we do -- what would its responsibility be in other space? Or do you feel that there's no need for any activity in any other space of domestic violence?

JASSER:

I'm glad you want me to clarify that. As far as the context of this hearing, which is countering radical Islamism and the terror that's invoked from that, I believe that we need a CVI program.

Now that would be part of Department of Homeland Security's other programs to keep us safe from all threats. But this comparison, I think it's very ethno-and-national-centric to simply compare radical Islamic groups to other non-Islamic terror threats in America.

Why? Because this is a global war that we are seeing simply on -- fought on the streets of America and on the streets of Europe. But the bigger problem is the cataclysmic changes happening within nations across the Middle East.

So that is going to reach into the biggest threat to those dictatorships, and those Islamist movements, which is America. It's gonna come here whether we're isolationist or not. And the way to counter that is to work with groups that share our ideals within the Muslim community.

Josh Earnest from the administration talked about the narrative, but his discussion of the narrative was simply a negative, which was oh, we need to be apologetic that America isn't bigoted, et cetera. I would tell you we need to promote freedom and democracy within the Muslim community, domestically and abroad, so...

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you.

JASSER:

... I think that's important.

WATSON COLEMAN:

I'd like to just kind of quote you. "The only way to right this deep misdirection is actually very simple. All we need to do is to abandon the mantra of countering violent extremism, and replace it with countering violent Islamism."

JASSER:

Absolutely. So if you're looking at, for example...

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you.

(CROSSTALK)

JASSER:

... extremism that -- that may come from the Nazi party, I would tell you it should be countering violence of fascism. So extremism is simply a tactic.

PERRY:

The gentlelady has yielded her time. Reclaiming my time now, if you want to finish your thought, Dr. Jasser, you may.

JASSER:

Thank you. And -- and again, extremism, the reason we're failing, we're holding our Homeland Security agents to a standard that's impossible. It's turning into some truly

thought police, where they're trying to figure out when an act is gonna happen. Acts come from ideas.

Every time, whether Fort Hood, when he's walking around Walter Reed with cards that said Soldier of Allah. Whether it was Omar Mateen, or -- or any of the radicals. The Chattanooga Bomber was posting online that he wanted to establish Islam on earth. We weren't monitoring that.

Nobody's saying to take away their rights, but we need to monitor that. That's not extremism, that's supremacist -- Sharia supremacist ideology that we should be monitoring. And right now our Homeland Security agents are unable to do that, because of restrictions of verbiage in the lexicon that is blasphemy laws that prevents them from doing their work.

PERRY:

I yield time to the gentlelady.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Thank you. I don't think we disagree that we should be vigilant, and we should be operating in every space that represents a threat to the United -- to the safety and security of the United States of America. That is -- that is not a premise that I disagree with.

I agree that we should be doing it. I just simply think that we should not be targeting our language in such a way that probably helps to fuel the recruitment and the expansion of those that we are talking about today. And with that, I thank you very much.

PERRY:

Reclaiming my time.

Dr. Jasser?

JASSER:

Well, I think it's willful blindness to -- and actually it encourages the radicals to see us in the freest country on the planet -- planet, refuse to identify it as the problem, the root cause as the Islamic State ideology, any Islamic state ideology. That establishment clause that we're defending here is the exact central nuclear idea that the Islamists hate. They don't want -- they want to establish religion not only in their countries, but on earth.

And Muslims that reject that are the ones we should bond with. Homeland Security cannot bond with Muslims that want an establishment clause in Muslim countries,

unless we identify the disease as Islamism domestically and abroad.

And thus we end up actually with these false partners. Imagine the Cold War working with communist parties to help us against the Soviets because they rejected Soviet global theory, but yet they believed in communism.

That's what we're doing right now when we work with the Islamic state ideologues of Saudi Arabia, Iran and others as our partners against radical militant Islamists, and call them, as Mr. Ellison did earlier, a cult, et cetera.

These are natural violent byproducts of Islamist nations that's spread by billions. And books are in organizations and mosques like the Islamic Society of North America mosques and others, books like the "Reliance of the Traveler" that call for the death of apostates and others, still are sold in their conventions that Jeh Johnston speaks at. And that is a problem of willful blindness.

PERRY:

Thank you, Dr. Jasser.

Ms. Aziz, you have argued that the recent rise in radicalism and terrorism can be attributed to factors such as political oppression and lack of economic opportunities in countries. And I -- I don't want to put words in your mouth, but that's what -- that's what I've got here.

So if that's not true, please forgive me and just let me know. But if it is true, do you have any empirical data to support that -- that claim?

AZIZ:

Well, there are many studies by international development experts that focus on failed states. And in fact, there are many -- there's -- the literature is growing about what's happening in the Middle East in terms of the causes for all of these deaths that we see that are caused by terrorism.

And so there is no shortage -- it's certainly a debate within the literature. But there is no shortage of opinion that the terrorism is bred when you have failed states, when you have conflict.

PERRY:

Well, so, and I -- I imagine -- I just wonder if there's a causal relationship. I'm not saying that it doesn't happen in failed states where there's increased poverty and lack of opportunity, et cetera. But we have it happening in the United States. We have it happening in the most affluent countries on the planet.

We have it happening and being led by, or having been led by, some of the most



affluent people on the planet in Osama bin Laden, Al Zawahiri. These are educated people of means, yet they ascribe to this ideology.

So when -- when we hear that some of the roots are political oppression and lack of economic opportunity, I -- I got to tell you, I find -- the -- especially the political oppression, well, either one. I mean the political oppression. These folks are oppressed because they wish to overthrow the governments that they're in.

Now, the governments they're in might be autocratic, but they just wish to institute a theocratic government that is at least as oppressive as the one that they just replaced. And from a -- from the economic standpoint these, again, are people of means. So how do we -- how do we validate that other than just saying it happens at the same place? But I don't see a cause and effect, and that's what I'm looking for as -- as some empirical data, if you have any.

AZIZ:

So I think you have to look at the leaders versus the recruits, versus the opportunity. And leaders of most politically motivated groups that use an ideology, whether it's religious or secular in nature, are often actually quite sophisticated. And that's why they're not on the front lines and they're very few in number. What the failed state and the conflicts and the repression create is fertile ground for recruitment.

And so it makes it very easy to manipulate particularly young people, often young men who may have mental health problems, who may be experiencing a personal crisis, who may in fact be poor, alienated and marginalized, to -- to essentially manipulate them and lie to them, and say this ideology -- if it's religious it's often completely warped -- is a justification for you to join me.

And then when you have a failed state, you have a -- a state -- there's no state to control that, there's no police force, there's no intelligence. But I just want to note that in Syria, over 100,000 Syrians have died from state terrorism from Assad's regime.

So non-state terrorism -- if we didn't have the conflict in Syria and Iraq right now, we would not nearly be seeing these numbers in terms of victims of terrorism, which as my colleague said, most of whom, over 90 percent are Muslims.

PERRY:

Which to some extent I would agree with you, and I would refer back to PSD-11 and a change in policy where the United States essentially partnered with the -- with the Muslim Brotherhood, and people that are interested in a theocratic state. And -- and we've created or been a party to creating this issue in Northern Africa and the Middle East.

It's been a fascinating and enlightening discussion, and I appreciate your patience and your diligence, both the testifiers and the audience and the members. Today the

chair thanks very much the witnesses, especially those who have traveled long distances for their valuable testimony, and the members for their questions.

Members may have some additional questions. If I may depart just from the text for a moment? Dr. Jasser, you said there was a 25-page -- what did you...

JASSER:

Two-page letter.

PERRY:

No, he had the two-page letter that's already been submitted. The 25-page...

JASSER:

The letter to Baghdadi that actually my -- my colleague endorsed. So...

PERRY:

Is -- is that -- has that been entered into the Congressional Record?

JASSER:

No, I didn't...

PERRY:

Could you forward that to me please, at your earliest convenience?

JASSER:

Yes, sir.

PERRY:

I appreciate it.

WATSON COLEMAN:

What is the 25-page supposed to be?

PERRY:

The -- the 25-page, to be correct, right?

JASSER:

The two-page is part of the appendix. My appendices of my testimony has the

Muslim Declaration.

WATSON COLEMAN:

We didn't get either.

PERRY:

OK, we'll make sure you do.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Yeah.

PERRY:

But he's talking about the 25-page letter to Baghdadi.

JASSER:

Yeah, that I didn't...

PERRY:

That's the one I want to see as well.

WATSON COLEMAN:

OK.

PERRY:

He's already submitted the two-page with his testimony. We'll make sure you get it.

WATSON COLEMAN:

Right. I'm (inaudible).

PERRY:

Yes, ma'am. All right.

So with that, members may have some additional questions for the witnesses, and we will ask you to respond to these in writing. Pursuant to Committee Rule 7(e), the hearing record rule, will remain open for 10 days. And without objection, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

CQ Transcriptions, Sept. 22, 2016

## List of Panel Members and Witnesses

### PANEL MEMBERS:

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### WITNESSES:

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PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

M. ZUHDI JASSER, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN ISLAMIC FORUM FOR  
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SAHAR AZIZ, PROFESSOR OF LAW, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF  
LAW

SHIREEN QUDOSI, SENIOR CONTRIBUTOR, COUNTERJIHAD.COM

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**Matthews, Patricia (NSD)**

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**From:** (b) (6) ODAG  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 11, 2017 5:16 PM  
**To:** (b) (6) (NSD); McCord, Mary (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD); Weinsheimer, Bradley (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD); Hardee, Christopher (NSD); (b) (6) (NSD)  
**Subject:** RE: DHS Public Affairs Guidance - FY16 CVE Grant Program Announcements \_OMB....

Thanks (b) (6) and (b) (6). Obviously, we can't speak (b) (5) but it may be helpful to (b) (5) (b) (5) so that there is no confusion.

## Matthews, Patricia (NSD)

**From:** (b) (6) (ODAG)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2017 5:33 PM  
**To:** Farace, Jessica (OIP); Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA); (b) (6) (NSD); Smith, Travis (USAEO); Pride, Theron; Meader, Deborah; Slowikowski, Jeff; Estill, Sarah (COPS); Qureshi, Aisha (OJP); (b) (6) (NSD); Laragy, Scott (USAEO); May, M. Benjamin (OLA); (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Rapp, Stephanie; Keshwani, Sonya (OPA); (b) (6) (NSD); Treene, Eric (CRT); Smith, Johnathan (CRT); Neal, Kristina (USAEO); Lucas, Daniel (JMD); Raimondi, Marc (OPA)  
**Cc:** (b) (6) (NSD); Gauhar, Tashina (ODAG)  
**Subject:** RE: CVE TPs

All – Attached are the final talking points for CVE generally and interventions specifically. Much thanks to everyone's careful review and thoughts. Things may change moving forward, but at least we have crafted a starting place to describe what we do at DOJ to counter violent extremism.

As some of you know, I'll be going (b) (6) so if you have any issues related to CVE that should be elevated to ODAG, please reach out to Tashina Gauhar or if you're not sure who to contact on a matter, feel free to reach out to me and I'm happy to see if I can help. It has been a pleasure working with you the last year + on this and other issues. Thank you for all of the work you do, and (b) (6)

(b) (6)



Interventions

Points - TPs 201...



TPs 2016 +

component co...

New contact info:

(b) (6)

Please stay in touch!

(b) (6)

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**From:** (b) (6) (ODAG)  
**Sent:** Friday, December 30, 2016 11:01 AM  
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<dLucas@jmd.usdoj.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: CVE TPs

<< File: Interventions Points - TPs 2016.docx >> << File: TPs 2016 + component comments.docx >> << File: TPs 2016 + component comments - CLEAN.docx >>

Hello to all and happy new year! Thanks again for everyone's hard work on these documents, the edits provided were extremely thorough and very helpful. There are a few things attached: 1) revised TPs on interventions alone; 2) revised general TPs in redline format; and 3) revised TPs with changes accepted (which frankly, may be easier to read at this point). There are a few questions in comment bubbles, so please note those. Please let me know any comments/edits/questions by (b) (5)

In addition, (b) (5)

Thanks for all of your work over the past year, I hope everyone was able to take some time off and spend time with family and friends. I look forward to seeing everyone in the new year!

(b) (6)

---

**From:** (b) (6) (ODAG)

**Sent:** Tuesday, October 25, 2016 5:22 PM

**To:** Farace, Jessica (OIP) <jfarace@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Raimondi, Marc (OPA) <mraimondi@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) <jjohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov>; (b) (6) (NSD) (b) (6) Smith, Travis (USAEO) <Travis.Smith3@usdoj.gov>; Picarelli, John <John.Picarelli@ojp.usdoj.gov>; Pride, Theron <Theron.Pride@ojp.usdoj.gov>; Gauhar, Tashina (ODAG) <tagauhar@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Meader, Deborah <Deborah.Meader@ojp.usdoj.gov>; Slowikowski, Jeff <Jeff.Slowikowski@ojp.usdoj.gov>; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Estill, Sarah (COPS) <sestill@cops.usdoj.gov>; Qureshi, Aisha (OJP) <Aisha.Qureshi@ojp.usdoj.gov>; (b) (6) (NSD) (b) (6); Laragy, Scott (USAEO) <Scott.Laragy@usdoj.gov>; May, M. Benjamin (OLA) <mbemay@jmd.usdoj.gov>; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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**Subject:** CVE TPs

All - As discussed on yesterday's coordination call and at the lunch a few weeks ago, (b) (5)

(b) (5)

am circulating here for comments.

There are two documents attached - (b) (5)

(b) (5)

(b) (5) Send everything back to me, and I'll deconflict and recirculate a full document for review by everyone (and will deconflict with Brette at that time as well).

If you have any questions or concerns, please let me know and feel free to forward to whomever I missed, but please note these are still drafts. To keep this process moving, (b) (5)

(b) (5)

(b) (6)

<< File: 2016 10 16 Updated Interventions Points.docx >>

<< File: end of 2016 TPs.docx >>





**From:** Brooks, Roshelle (OLA)

**Sent:** Friday, February 02, 2018 3:10 PM

**To:** Klimavicz, Joseph (JMD) <jklimavicz@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Schlemmer, Maxwell A. (JMD) <mschlemmer@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Davis, Valorie A (OLP) <vadavis@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Matthews, Matrina (OLP) <mmatthews@jmd.usdoj.gov>; White, Cleo (OLP) <clwhite@jmd.usdoj.gov>; (b) (6) NSD; (b) (6) NSD; (b) (6); (b) (6) NSD; (b) (6) NSD; (b) (6) NSD; (b) (6) NSD; (b) (6) NSD; NSD LRM Mailbox (NSD) <Ex\_NSDLrmMailbox@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Clarke, Conor (OLC) <(b) (6)>; Forrester, Nate (OLC) <(b) (6)>; Hardy, Liam P. (OLC) <(b) (6)>; Harris, Sarah (OLC) <(b) (6)>; policy, civil (CIV) <(b) (6)>; (b) (6) (CRM) <(b) (6)@CRM.USDOJ.GOV>; Hendley, Scott (CRM) <(b) (6)@CRM.USDOJ.GOV>; (b) (6) (CRM) <(b) (6)@CRM.USDOJ.GOV>; Morales, Michelle (CRM) <(b) (6)@CRM.USDOJ.GOV>; Opl, Legislation (CRM) <Legislation.OPL@CRM.USDOJ.GOV>; Wroblewski, Jonathan (CRM) <(b) (6)@CRM.USDOJ.GOV>; USAEO-Legislative (USA) <USAEO.Legislative@usdoj.gov>; (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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**Subject:** (OLA WF 116898) FW: LRM [OG-115-263] DHS Questions for the Record on Worldwide Threats

**PLEASE PROVIDE COMMENTS TO  
ADRIEN SILAS/OLA, BY NO LATER THAN  
10AM, Wednesday 2/7/2018.**

# PLEASE PROVIDE COMMENTS TO ADRIEN SILAS/OLA, BY NO LATER THAN 10AM, Wednesday 2/7/2018.

From: Gonzalez, Oscar EOP/OMB [mailto:(b) (6)]

Sent: Friday, February 02, 2018 12:58 PM

To: 'DEFENSE' <osd.pentagon.ogc.mbx.olc@mail.mil>; Justice Lrm (SMO) <JusticeL@jmd.usdoj.gov>; (b)(3) - 50 U.S.C. § 3024(m)(1)  
(b)(3) - 50 U.S.C. § 3024(m)(1) STATE' <state-lrm@state.gov>; 'TRANSPORTATION' <dot.legislation@dot.gov>

Cc: Kraninger, Kathleen L. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Marten, Lexi N. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Abrams, Andrew D. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; DL-OMB-GGP-THJS-Homeland <DL-OMB-GGP-THJS-Homeland@dsr.eop.gov>; Boden, James EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Newman, Kimberly A. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Pipan, Joseph G. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Vanka, Sarita EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; DL OMB STAFF OIRA-LRM <DL.STAFF.OIRA-LRM@whmo.mil>; Theroux, Rich P. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Joyce, Shannon M. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Bashadi, Sarah O. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Walsh, Heather V. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Nusraty, Tim H. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Slemrod, Jonathan A. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Sugarman, AJ J. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Freeland, Jeff K. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Zadrozny, John A. EOP/WHO <(b) (6)>; Veprek, Andrew M. EOP/WHO <(b) (6)>; Whetstone, Trevor D. EOP/WHO <(b) (6)>; Salvi, Mary E. EOP/WHO <(b) (6)>; DL-NSS-LRM <DL-NSS-(b) (6)>; DL NSC Legal <(b) (6)>; DL NSC Legislative <DL.Legislative@whmo.mil>; DL-OVP-LRM <(b) (6)>; DL-WHO-WHGC-LRM <(b) (6)>; Koenig, Andrew D. EOP/WHO <(b) (6)>; Simms, Cindy B. EOP/WHO <(b) (6)>; Swonger, Amy H.



EOP/WHO <(b) (6)>; Anderson, Jessica C. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>;  
Vaeth, Matt J. EOP/OMB <(b) (6)>; Ventura, Alexandra EOP/OMB  
<(b) (6)>  
Subject: (b) (5)

DEADLINE: 11:00 A.M. Thursday, February 08, 2018

(b) (5)

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LRM ID: OG-115-263  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM  
Friday, February 02, 2018

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer - See Distribution

FROM: Ventura, Alexandra (for) Assistant Director for Legislative Reference  
SUBJECT: (b) (5)

OMB CONTACT: Gonzalez, Oscar  
E-Mail: (b) (6)  
PHONE: (b) (6)  
FAX: (b) (6)

(b) (5)

Thank you.

**Congress of the United States**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

February 3, 2017

Mr. Dana Boente  
Acting Attorney General  
U.S. Department of Justice  
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Acting Attorney General Boente:

We are writing to express concern over reports that President Trump intends to overhaul the government program designed to counter violent ideologies in a manner that appears to target one religion--Islam.

It has been reported that the Countering Violent Extremism program would be changed to the "Countering Islamic Extremism" or the "Countering Radical Islamic Extremism" program.<sup>1</sup> Such a move is wrongheaded insofar as persons who commit acts of violent extremism are inspired by diverse political, religious, and philosophical beliefs, and are not limited to any single population or region. This government-wide program is currently implemented by the Department of State, Department of Justice, and the Department of Homeland Security. Changing the name to "Countering Islamic Extremism" or "Countering Radical Islamic Extremism" would have damaging effects to our national security by feeding into the propaganda created by terrorist groups and chill domestic and international diplomatic relations. Additionally, it could further alienate and create distrust in the Muslim-American communities when the program depends on close cooperation with law enforcement. Finally, such a move is also certain to have civil rights implications since the targeting of any American on the basis of religion—as opposed to unlawful action—violates the U.S. Constitution.

National Security Adviser Michael Flynn has publicly and repeatedly maligned Muslims. He has called Islam a "vicious cancer inside the body of 1.7 billion people" and in a now-deleted tweet wrote: "Fear of Muslims is RATIONAL."<sup>2</sup> We strongly disagree. There are over three million Americans who practice Islam peacefully. The specter that there would be a Federal program that - in name and action-- singles out people of a particular faith warrants immediate consideration by the Department of Justice.

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<sup>1</sup> Julia Edwards Ainsley, "Trump to focus counter-extremism program solely on Islam- sources," *Reuters* (Feb. 2, 2017) <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-extremists-program-exclusiv-idUSKBN15G5VO>.


<sup>2</sup> Andrew Kacynski, "Michael Flynn in August: Islamism a 'vicious cancer' in body of all Muslims that 'has to be excised'," *CNN* (Nov. 22, 2016) <http://www.cnn.com/2016/11/22/politics/kfile-michael-flynn-august-speech/>; Thomas Gibbons-Neff "Fear of Muslims is rational": What Trump's new national security adviser has said online," *Washington Post* (Nov. 18, 2016) [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/11/18/trumps-new-national-security-adviser-has-said-some-incendiary-things-on-the-internet/?utm\\_term=.d008564c6c85](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/11/18/trumps-new-national-security-adviser-has-said-some-incendiary-things-on-the-internet/?utm_term=.d008564c6c85).


Accordingly, we respectfully request you answer the following questions:

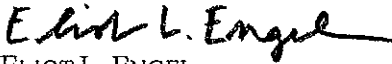
- (1) Was there consultation with the Department of Justice (DOJ), including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Civil Rights Division, regarding such changes to the Countering Violent Extremism programs?
- (2) If so, please elaborate on the nature and timing of such consultation and whether DOJ has provided a legal opinion, formally or informally, about the constitutional implications of changes to the Countering Violent Extremism programs at the Department of State, Department of Justice, and Department of Homeland Security?
- (3) Absent the particulars of this matter, would you say that as a prima facie matter the establishment of a Federal program or office with the explicit purpose of targeting one religion raises constitutional questions?

Thank you in advance for your timely response to our letter. Should you have questions regarding this matter, please do not hesitate to contact Hope Goins on the Committee on Homeland Security staff at 226-2616, Aaron Hiller on the Committee on the Judiciary staff at 225-6906, and Mark Iozzi on the Committee on Foreign Affairs staff at 226-8467.

Sincerely,

  
BENNIE G. THOMPSON  
Ranking Member  
House Committee on Homeland Security

  
JOHN J. CONYERS  
Ranking Member  
House Committee on the Judiciary

  
ELIOT L. ENGEL  
Ranking Member  
House Foreign Affairs Committee

cc: The Honorable John Kelly, Secretary, Department of Homeland Security  
The Honorable Rex Tillerson, Secretary, Department of State

**Gleaves, Lani (NSD)**

---

**From:** McKay, Shirley A (OLA)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 06, 2018 2:16 PM  
**To:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)  
**Cc:** Cole, Karen (NSD)  
**Subject:** FW: Status Update re Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security - Thompson #3780381 -NSD request to close  
**Attachments:** 3780381.Thompson.Conyers.Engles.incom.pdf; 3780381.ES.ctrol.sheet.rtf

**Importance:** High

Hi Joanne

NSD has a several close outs; here is the first one, see attached Bennie Thompson letter re CVE. Pls advise if the matter can be closed as OBE, or if DOJ will be sending out a response. Thanks.

---

Shirley McKay | Department of Justice | Office of Legislative Affairs | Congressional Correspondence Liaison  
950 Pennsylvania Ave NW | Room 1343 | (202) 514-5305 | [shirley.a.mckay@usdoj.gov](mailto:shirley.a.mckay@usdoj.gov)

**From:** Brooks, Roshelle (OLA)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 13, 2017 11:20 AM  
**To:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) <[jojohanson@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:jojohanson@jmd.usdoj.gov)>  
**Cc:** Lasseter, David F. (OLA) <[dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov)>  
**Subject:** RE: Status Update re Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security - Thompson #3780381

Hi Joanne,

**(b) (5)**

Best,  
Roshelle

**From:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 29, 2017 6:20 PM  
**To:** Lasseter, David F. (OLA) <[dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Cc:** Brooks, Roshelle (OLA) <[rbrooks@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:rbrooks@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Subject:** Re: Status Update re Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security - Thompson #3780381

Got it. Will do.

Joanne Johnson  
Attorney-Advisor  
Office of Legislative Affairs  
US Department of Justice  
202-305-8313

On Nov 29, 2017, at 6:05 PM, Lasseter, David F. (OLA) <[dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov)> wrote:

(b) (5)

**From:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)

**Sent:** Wednesday, November 29, 2017 6:03 PM

**To:** Lasseter, David F. (OLA) <[dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Cc:** Brooks, Roshelle (OLA) <[rbrooks@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:rbrooks@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Subject:** Re: Status Update re Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security - Thompson #3780381

Yes. It was from Thompson and Conyers on Judiciary.

Joanne Johnson  
Attorney-Advisor  
Office of Legislative Affairs  
US Department of Justice  
202-305-8313

On Nov 29, 2017, at 5:52 PM, Lasseter, David F. (OLA) <[dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov)> wrote:

Can you call the staffer and relay this to them?

**From:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)

**Sent:** Wednesday, November 29, 2017 3:10 PM

**To:** Lasseter, David F. (OLA) <[dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov)>



**Cc:** Brooks, Roshelle (OLA) <[rbrooks@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:rbrooks@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Subject:** FW: Status Update re Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security - Thompson #3780381

David – See the attached. It is an outstanding letter, dated February 2017, from Thompson re CVE. (b) (5)

(b) (5)

**From:** Weinsheimer, Bradley (NSD)

**Sent:** Tuesday, November 28, 2017 11:54 AM

**To:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) <[jojohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:jojohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Cc:** NSD.Leg (NSD) <[NSD.Leg@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:NSD.Leg@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Subject:** FW: Status Update re Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security - Thompson #3780381

Joanne: Here is a proposed response. It may be prudent to check with your counterparts at DHS as well, as they also have been playing a leading role on CVE. Thanks, Brad.

**From:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)

**Sent:** Friday, November 17, 2017 12:12 PM

**To:** (b) (6) (NSD) <(b) (6)>; (b) (6) (NSD) <(b) (6)>; NSD.Leg (NSD) <[NSD.Leg@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:NSD.Leg@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Cc:** Brooks, Roshelle (OLA) <[rbrooks@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:rbrooks@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Subject:** FW: Status Update re Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security - Thompson #3780381

**Importance:** High

(b) (6) – See attached. This appears to still be open. Did you have a thread on this? Thanks, Joanne

**From:** Brooks, Roshelle (OLA)

**Sent:** Friday, November 17, 2017 11:55 AM

**To:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) <[jojohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:jojohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov)>

**Subject:** Status Update re Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security - Thompson #3780381

**Importance:** High

Hi Joanne,

(b) (5)

This workflow is currently showing as 'open' and is overdue. Any information you can provide will be helpful.  
Thanks!

Best,  
Roshelle

**From:** Burton, Faith (OLA)  
**Sent:** Friday, February 03, 2017 5:02 PM  
**To:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA) <[jojohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:jojohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov)>; McKay, Shirley A (OLA) <[smckay@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:smckay@jmd.usdoj.gov)>  
**Subject:** RE: Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security

Sure, that's fine, but also add OLC. Thanks. FB

**From:** Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)  
**Sent:** Friday, February 03, 2017 4:52 PM  
**To:** McKay, Shirley A (OLA) <[smckay@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:smckay@jmd.usdoj.gov)>; Burton, Faith (OLA) <[fburton@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:fburton@jmd.usdoj.gov)>  
**Subject:** Fwd: Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security

It appears the assignment should be NSD with review of draft by CRT, OJP (NIC), and FBI before upper level review. Faith: Do you concur? It is CVE-related.

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** "DOJ Correspondence (SMO)" <[Ex\\_DOJCorrespondence@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:Ex_DOJCorrespondence@jmd.usdoj.gov)>  
**To:** "Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA)" <[jojohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov](mailto:jojohnson@jmd.usdoj.gov)>  
**Subject:** FW: Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security

Hi joanne

Pls see the attached & provide assignment guidance. Thanks.

**From:** Phillips, Elise [<mailto:Elise.Phillips@mail.house.gov>]  
**Sent:** Friday, February 03, 2017 4:25 PM

**To:** [doj.correspondence@usdoj.gov](mailto:doj.correspondence@usdoj.gov)

**Cc:** Cohen, Rosaline <[Rosaline.Cohen@mail.house.gov](mailto:Rosaline.Cohen@mail.house.gov)>; Comis, Adam <[Adam.Comis@mail.house.gov](mailto:Adam.Comis@mail.house.gov)>

**Subject:** Correspondence from the Committee on Homeland Security

Good afternoon:

Please find attached a letter of correspondence to the attention of Mr. Dana Boente.

Should you have issues viewing this file, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Best,

Elise Phillips

*Office Manager* | U.S. House Committee on Homeland Security

Rep. Bennie G. Thompson (D-MS) | Ranking Member

H2-117 Ford House Office Building

Washington, DC 20515

202.226.2616

<https://democrats-homeland.house.gov> | [@HomelandDems](#)