

TERROR INMATES: COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN PRISON AND BEYOND

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AND INTELLIGENCE
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Wednesday, October 28, 2015

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COUNTERTERRORISM AND INTELLIGENCE,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Peter T. King [Chairman of the subcommittee] presiding.

Present: Representatives King, Barletta, Katko, Hurd, Higgins, Keating, Vela, and Thompson.

Also present: Representatives Langevin and Jackson Lee.

Mr. KING. Good morning. The Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence will come to order.

The subcommittee is meeting today to hear testimony from three distinguished experts regarding radicalization in U.S. prisons. I would like to welcome the Members of the subcommittee and express my appreciation for the witnesses who are here today, and I now recognize myself for an opening statement.

The United States is facing a long-term growing threat of terrorism from ISIS and other radical Islamist terrorist groups. At least 55 people in the United States have been arrested for links to ISIS so far this year. Over the past several years, approximately 200 more have travelled to the Middle East to join the terror group. Just last week, FBI Director Comey stated that the FBI had an estimated 900 active investigations of suspected Islamic State-inspired operatives and other home-grown violent extremists across the United States, and as previously noted, that such investigations are taking place in all 50 States. There can be no doubt that we have an extremism problem in the United States.

Even more disturbing is that there are an unknown number of people who are watching terror propaganda and potentially being radicalized but who are not on law enforcement's radar. Compelled by this Jihadist propaganda, these individuals could choose to carry out a small-scale attack with little planning and no notice.

DHS Secretary Johnson and Director Comey have done an excellent job over the past year communicating with the public about this threat, and their agencies are stretched to the limit in their efforts to investigate, arrest, and prosecute terrorists walking the streets.

An issue that rarely comes up, however, is how the United States is preparing to ensure that the 100-plus individuals in Federal

prison for links to terrorism who will be released in the next 5 years do not pose a continued threat to the homeland. In the wake of 9/11, our Federal, State, and local law enforcement did great work in arresting and prosecuting potential terrorists, but we cannot forget about these individuals once they are incarcerated because 90 percent will eventually be released. We have never been faced with such large numbers of terror inmates before.

When this committee held a hearing in 2011 on prison radicalization, the primary focus was on the threat of inmates being radicalized once in prison. There are still a number of concerns related to how prisoners are monitored, how employees are trained to watch for possible signs of radicalization, and how religious service providers are vetted.

We are all familiar with the known cases of individuals who became radicalized inside prison and then attempted to carry out attacks within the homeland, cases like Kevin James and Jose Padilla. Prison radicalization is not unique to the United States. In France, of course, the Charlie Hebdo attackers were radicalized in prison. In the United States, the challenge of prison radicalization, both within prison and once inmates are released, must be addressed with consistent proactive information sharing among Federal agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Prisons and State and local partners, close cooperation among prison chaplains of all faiths and with law enforcement, and careful monitoring of former inmates after they are released into society.

The goal of this hearing is to have a public discussion about the eventual release of hundreds of individuals serving time for terrorism and to understand what is being done to prevent further radicalization within the prison system. We welcome today our distinguished panel of experts to testify about the current risk of prison radicalization, for providing their views in current Government programs, and the lack of sufficient programs, and provide recommendations to help the Federal Government and Congress create an effective response to this situation.

I now recognize the Ranking Member of the subcommittee, the gentleman from New York, my good friend, Mr. Higgins, for his opening statement.

Mr. HIGGINS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for holding this, today's hearing, to explore the detention and monitoring of radical ideology in prisons, and to ensure that information is shared between corrections personnel and law enforcement before the release of inmates, while understanding the limitations of sharing such information after an inmate's release from prison.

As we begin today's discussion, I believe it is important to distinguish between the terms radicalization and terrorism. Under the First Amendment, an individual's thought and speech are protected, including radical and extremist thought and speech. When radicalized individuals move from radicalized thought to illegal terrorist activity and other crimes, the criminal activity is not protected.

Based on that distinction, I am hopeful that today's discussion will focus on how we can prevent former inmates from becoming a terrorist actor upon release. It is difficult to predict the behavior of an incarcerated individual upon release from prison. By its na-

ture, a prison may bring together disaffected people who might be receptive to antisocial messages offering intolerant solutions to complex problems of identity and belonging.

Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that some disaffected prisoners may join extremist groups and engage in extreme behavior in an attempt to find meaning, establish bonds, or combat a sense of fear and alienation within prison walls. Since 9/11, more than 250 people have been convicted for their involvement in home-grown violent Jihadist plots. However, an analysis of home-grown violent Jihadist activity since 9/11 showed that these plots have nearly always featured people who radicalized outside of prison.

This statistic and similar numbers prove, despite a few high-profile cases, terrorism plots among prison-radicalized violent Muslim extremists are rare, but we must remain vigilant. Radicalization in prisons remains a concern abroad both in non-Muslim and Muslim-majority countries. Middle Eastern governments have struggled to contain violent radicalization in their prisons and have developed innovative approaches to addressing the issue with varying degrees of success.

The United States does not have prisoner deradicalization programs, as many of our Constitutional rights do not permit aspects of several of these programs conducted abroad. Today, I hope we can have a robust discussion of the existence of these programs as we seek to understand whether post-prison countering violent extremist reentry programs may be helpful in reducing recidivism and decreasing the allure of committing a terrorist attack upon release from prison.

I yield back.

[The statement of Ranking Member Higgins follows:]

STATEMENT OF RANKING MEMBER BRIAN HIGGINS

OCTOBER 28, 2015

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for holding today's hearing to explore the detection and monitoring of radical ideology in prisons and ensure that information is shared between corrections personnel and law enforcement before the release of inmates, while understanding the limitations of sharing such information after an inmate's release from prison.

As we begin today's discussion, I believe it is important to distinguish the terms "radicalization" and "terrorism." Under the First Amendment, an individual's thought and speech are protected, including radical and extremist thought and speech. When radicalized individuals move from radicalized thought to illegal terrorist activity or other crimes, the criminal activity is not protected.

Based on that distinction, I am hopeful that today's discussion will focus on how we can prevent former inmates from becoming a terrorist actor upon release. It is difficult to predict the behavior of an incarcerated individual upon release from prison. By its nature, prison may bring together disaffected people who might be receptive to anti-social messages offering intolerant solutions to complex problems of identity and belonging.

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have struggled to contain violent radicalization in their prisons, and have developed innovative approaches to addressing the issue, with varying degrees of success.

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Today, I hope we can have a robust discussion of the existence of these CVE programs as we seek to understand whether post-prison CVE re-entry programs may be helpful in reducing recidivism and decreasing the allure of committing a terrorist act upon release from prison.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Ranking Member Higgins.

I now recognize the Ranking Member and former Chairman of the full committee, Mr. Thompson, for a statement.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and former Chairman of the full committee. I would like to thank you for calling this hearing to examine current prison counter-violent extremism programs and explore the development of such programs for inmates post-release.

The United States holds an estimated 1.5 million prisoners in State and Federal custody at the end of 2014. While that number is down 1 percent from the previous year, the United States continues to have the highest-documented incarceration rate in the world.

I am aware that most of today's discussion will likely focus on a possible radicalization of Muslim inmates; however, I would like to encourage the committee to remember that limiting this committee's oversight of radicalization to one religion ignores threats posed by violent extremists of all religious and ethnic backgrounds.

Violent gangs organized along racial and ethnic lines exist throughout United States prisons. The National Gang Intelligence Center has assessed that major gangs pose a serious domestic threat, particularly National-level prison gangs that maintain substantial influence over street gangs. In some cases, counting incarcerated members as well as affiliated individuals outside of correctional facilities, prison gangs can wield influence over thousands of individuals, both incarcerated and free, throughout the United States.

It is clear that prison gangs often pose a security threat to prisoners and prison staff, as well as the American public. Some prison gangs delve into radical or extremist ideologies, and in a number of instances these ideologies are integral in fashion to cohesive group identities within prison walls. Several gangs in America's prisons subscribe to white supremacist beliefs, views broadly shared by some domestic extremist groups such as the Aryan Nation, the National Socialist Party, and the National Alliance.

For example, the Aryan Brotherhood is a particularly dangerous National-level gang with approximately 15,000 members in and out of prison. In June 1998, James Byrd, a particularly disabled black man, was dragged to his death by 3 ex-convicts, 2 of whom were members of the Aryan Brotherhood and the other was seeking membership with that group. The presence of these types of intact and operational gang organizations, coupled with the ability of their leaders to control and direct operations outside of the prison from within the prison's walls should not be ignored.

The willingness of these groups to use violence, undermine order, and commit mayhem is not dependent on religious belief or polit-

ical ideology, nor do these groups limit their terrorist acts to prison walls. The use of a prison as a platform for collaboration between both criminal and extremist gangs and groups, pose a real and present threat to our homeland. With that, Mr. Chair, I yield back.
[The statement of Ranking Member Thompson follows:]

STATEMENT OF RANKING MEMBER BENNIE G. THOMPSON

OCTOBER 28, 2015

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for holding this hearing to examine current prison countering violent extremism programs and explore the development of such programs for inmates post-release. The United States held an estimated 1.5 million prisoners in State and Federal custody at the end of 2014.

While that number was down 1% from the previous year, the United States continues to have the highest documented incarceration rate in the world. I am aware that most of today's discussion will likely focus on the possible radicalization of Muslim inmates. However, I would encourage the committee to remember that limiting this committee's oversight of radicalization to one religion ignores threats posed by violent extremists of all religious and ethnic backgrounds.

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The presence of these types of intact and operational gang organizations coupled with the ability of their leaders to control and direct operations outside of prison from within the prison walls should not be ignored. The willingness of these groups to use violence, undermine order, and commit mayhem is not dependent on religious belief or political ideology nor do these groups limit their terrorist acts to prison walls.

The use of prison as a platform for collaboration between both criminal and extremist gangs and groups poses a real and present threat to our homeland.

Mr. KING. I thank the full committee Ranking Member. Bennie, I just want you to know that even though the emphasis—my emphasis today is on Islamist radicalization in prison, I agree with every word you said. We are in full agreement underneath, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

Mr. KING. Has to be done in prisons.

Other Members of the committee are reminded that opening statements may be submitted for the record.

We are pleased to have a distinguished panel of witnesses before us today on this important topic.

Our first witness is a person who often does a lot of the work for us and doesn't get the credit for it. I am glad to give you the credit today, Mr. Jerry Bjelopera, as a specialist in organized crime and terrorism with the Congressional Research Service. He has au-

thored or coauthored more than 35 reports for Congress on homeland security and intelligence issues.

Jerry has been a valued asset to the committee on Homeland Security and has assisted in a number of oversight and investigative projects, including prison radicalization, the DHS intelligence enterprise, and the Boston Marathon bombing investigation. Jerry, I do want to thank for your service and especially for what you do, you know, for this committee and have done for us over the years. With that, Jerry, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF JEROME P. BJELOPERA, SPECIALIST IN ORGANIZED CRIME AND TERRORISM, CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Mr. BJELOPERA. Chairman King, Ranking Member Higgins, Ranking Member Thompson, and Members of subcommittee, my name is Jerry Bjelopera. Thank you for the opportunity to testify today on behalf of the Congressional Research Service. My testimony attempts to frame the issue of violent jihadist radicalization in U.S. prisons.

Since 9/11, the vast majority of home-grown violent jihadists have not radicalized behind bars. Far more often the shift from law-abiding citizen to terrorist has involved other social environments and contexts. In fact, most home-grown violent jihadists radicalize via virtual or in-person interactions that can depend on powerful relationships such as face-to-face or on-line friendship networks or family ties.

CRS has identified more than 120 post-9/11 home-grown violent jihadist conspiracies. Only one of these plots included participants who had clearly radicalized while serving time behind bars in the United States. This suggests that domestic prisons are not fertile grounds for the nurturing of future jihadist terrorists. However, two important caveats likely limit this observation.

These two points suggest that U.S. correctional institutions cannot be dismissed as potential radicalization arenas. The first caveat. We don't know the actual extent of jihadist influence in U.S. prisons. No solid publicly-available estimates exist either of the number of people imparting violent jihadist messages in U.S. prisons or their followers. Social interaction in prison might offer opportunities for convicts unfamiliar with terrorist world views to learn about them and to radicalize.

Violent jihadists embrace intolerant interpretations of Islam, the fastest-growing faith in U.S. prisons. Some disaffected prisoners adopt versions of the religion that stray far from broadly-accepted sects and schools of thought. Some espouse forms of Islam that may incorporate radical viewpoints and violent rhetoric.

Other extremist viewpoints such as white supremacy have taken root behind bars, suggesting that it may be possible for violent jihadists to circulate their messages in similar settings. A number of gangs in U.S. prisons recruit and organize around extremist but not jihadist ideologies. The beliefs that such gangs have adopted helped them to indoctrinate new members. However, these gangs tend not to use their ideological systems to justify terrorist acts. Rather, groups like white supremacist gangs focus on maintaining

their own cohesion and profiting from crimes like drug trafficking while incarcerated.

The second caveat. It is unclear whether incarceration in U.S. prisons fosters deeper commitment to radical violence among people already jailed on terrorist charges. We will likely learn more about this in coming years. In the next 2 decades, scores of convicted and incarcerated home-grown violent jihadists are to be released from U.S. prisons, potentially making this issue especially salient.

Until recently, relatively few home-grown jihadists have been released from U.S. correctional facilities, offering us little insight into the effect of prison on such persons. Though, of this small pool of released convicts, none has returned to terrorist plotting, according to open sources. This suggests at least several questions. How successfully will convicts due for release after 2015 reintegrate into life outside of prison? How might they influence the home-grown threat landscape? Will any of these ex-convicts foster new plots? Will any serve as role models for future terrorists?

Based on CRS research, since 9/11 more than 250 people have been convicted for their involvement in home-grown violent jihadist plots. CRS was able to find information regarding the sentences of 151 home-grown violent jihadists. Of the 151, 132 had identifiable release dates, and just over 100 will be released after 2015.

To summarize, only 1 post-9/11 home-grown jihadist terrorist plot has involved people who clearly radicalized behind bars. This may imply that jihadist extremism is not a problem in U.S. correctional facilities; however, arguably, we cannot dismiss this issue.

We haven't determined the extent of jihadist influence in U.S. prisons. We also need to better understand whether confinement in U.S. jails fosters deeper commitment to radical violence among convicted terrorists. Further work on these issues will help us to better understand the security challenges that radicalization in U.S. prisons may pose. I thank the subcommittee again for this opportunity to testify and look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bjelopera follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JEROME P. BJELOPERA

OCTOBER 28, 2015

OVERVIEW

Chairman King, Ranking Member Higgins, and Members of the committee, my name is Jerry Bjelopera. Thank you for the opportunity to testify today on behalf of the Congressional Research Service. My testimony attempts to frame the issue of violent jihadist radicalization in U.S. prisons and briefly examines whether Federal efforts to counter violent extremism extend to U.S. prisoners.

Since the attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11), the vast majority of home-grown violent jihadists have not radicalized in U.S. prisons. Far more often, the shift from law-abiding citizen to terrorist has involved other social environments and contexts—both virtual and real. Domestic prisons do not appear to create many violent extremists out of non-terrorist criminals, according to open-source information.

Two important caveats temper this point and suggest that U.S. correctional institutions cannot be completely dismissed as potential radicalization arenas.

- *We do not know the actual extent of jihadist influence in U.S. prisons.*—No solid estimates exist either of the number of people preaching violent jihadist messages in State and Federal prisons or their followers. Non-jihadist extremist movements such as white supremacy have taken root behind bars, suggesting that it may be possible for violent jihadists to propagate their messages in the same settings.

- *Whether incarceration in U.S. prisons fosters deeper commitment to radical violence among convicted terrorists remains unclear.*¹—In the next 2 decades, scores of convicted and incarcerated home-grown violent jihadists are to be released from U.S. prisons potentially making this issue especially salient.

Key Terms

Radicalization.—The process of acquiring and holding radical, extremist, or jihadist beliefs. A radicalized individual becomes a terrorist when he or she commits a crime on the basis of such beliefs.

Home-grown.—Terrorist activity perpetrated within the United States or abroad by American citizens, lawful permanent residents, or visitors radicalized largely within the United States.

Violent Jihadists.—Radicalized individuals using Islam as an ideological and/or religious justification for their belief in the establishment of a caliphate—a jurisdiction governed by a Muslim civil and religious leader known as a caliph—via violent means.

Plots.—Schemes by home-grown individuals or groups to either join terrorist organizations abroad or to commit violent attacks at home or abroad.

AMERICAN PRISONS HAVE PRODUCED ALMOST NO POST-9/11 JIHADIST TERRORISTS

According to CRS analysis of home-grown violent jihadist activity since 9/11, such plots have nearly always featured people who radicalized outside of prison. Out of approximately 120 conspiracies, CRS has found 1 that included participants who had clearly radicalized while incarcerated in the United States.

- Kevin James, Levar Washington, Gregory Patterson, and Hammad Samana were arrested in August 2005 for plotting to attack targets in the Los Angeles, CA area, including synagogues, the Israeli Consulate, Los Angeles International Airport (LAX), U.S. military recruiting offices, and military bases. In 1997, James founded a violent jihadist movement he named Jamiyyat Ul-Islam Is-Saheeh (JIS or the “Authentic Assembly of God”) in the California State prison system. James met Washington behind bars in 2004 and recruited him into JIS. After his release, Washington enlisted Patterson, an employee at LAX, and Samana at the Jamaat-E-Masjudal mosque in Inglewood, CA, where they all worshipped.²

Most home-grown violent jihadists radicalize via virtual or in-person interactions that can depend on powerful contexts such as real or on-line friendship networks and family relationships. These usually do not involve the levels of scrutiny or supervision by authority figures as do interpersonal dealings in prison.

- In 2013 and 2014, Asher Abid Khan conspired with a friend to travel to Syria and join the terrorist organization known as the Islamic State (IS).³ Khan, a 20-year-old Houston, TX resident, and his friend radicalized together. For example, they watched violent jihadist videos on-line. The duo exchanged IS-inspired messages and imagery via social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram. They also used Facebook to contact an IS foreign terrorist fighter facilitator based in Turkey. Khan’s friend eventually made it to Syria and joined the Islamic State.⁴
- In 2014, Heather Elizabeth Coffman, a 29-year-old Glen Allen, VA resident, attempted to assist others to join the Islamic State. Coffman relied on Facebook

¹ Since 9/11, more than 250 people have been convicted for their involvement in home-grown violent jihadist plots.

² Department of Justice, “Man Who Formed Terrorist Group that Plotted Attacks on Military and Jewish Facilities Sentenced to 16 Years in Federal Prison,” March 6, 2009, <http://losangeles.fbi.gov/dojpressrel/pressrel09/la030609ausa.htm>; Department of Justice, “Man Involved in Domestic Terrorism Plot Targeting Military and Jewish Facilities Sentenced to 22 Years,” July 23, 2008, <http://losangeles.fbi.gov/dojpressrel/pressrel08/la062308usa.htm>; Department of Justice, “Second Man Involved in Domestic Terrorism Plot Targeting Military, Jewish Facilities Sentenced to Prison,” July 21, 2008, <http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2008/July/08-nsd-634.html>; Department of Justice, “Four Men Indicted on Terrorism Charges,” August 31, 2005, http://www.dodig.mil/IGInformation/IGInformationReleases/fourmen_090105.pdf.

³ The group has also been known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), the Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham (ISIS), and Daesh among other names.

⁴ Adam Goldman, “An American Family Saved Their Son from Joining the Islamic State. Now He Might Go to Prison,” *Washington Post*, September 6, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/an-american-family-saved-their-son-from-joining-the-islamic-state-now-he-might-go-to-prison/2015/09/06/2d3d0f48-44ef-11e5-8ab4-c73967a143d3_story.html; *United States v. Asher Abid Khan*, Criminal Complaint, United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, May 25, 2015.

postings as she radicalized and attempted to help a man she described as her husband travel to Syria to link up with the terrorist group.⁵

YET, CONCERNS ABOUT JAILHOUSE JIHADISM PERSIST

The extent of violent jihadist radicalization behind bars is unknown. American prisons might offer venues for such activity, where neophytes can be radicalized or recruited, even though only a small percentage of such individuals may eventually turn to terrorism.⁶ Also, we do not fully understand the effect of prison time on convicted terrorists who came to prison already radicalized.

In its many peaceful mainstream forms, Islam is the fastest-growing faith behind bars in the United States. However, some disaffected prisoners adopt versions of the religion that stray far from broadly-accepted sects and schools of thought, versions that may incorporate radical viewpoints and violent rhetoric. One such non-traditional jailhouse variant is commonly known as “prison Islam.” Prison Islam selectively uses the Quran and other Islamic texts in a “cut-and-paste” ideological approach to reinforce gang values and may encourage violence.⁷

Islam and Conversion Behind Bars

Islam has been described as the fastest-growing religion among North American prisoners, with one estimate suggesting that “30,000 or perhaps as many as 40,000” prisoners convert every year.⁸ Prison converts do not necessarily adopt the tenets of mainstream major religions. Some consider non-traditional, potentially radical, quasi-religious outlooks instead. At least two broad motivations influence potential converts—a search for meaning/identity (which can translate into defiance of prison authorities) and a need for physical protection from other inmates. Religious conversion plays a varied part in prison life. Cynical prisoners may use conversion to demonstrate good behavior to prison officials, thereby potentially improving their conditions. For others, religious conversion can offer a powerful alternative to harmful or destructive behavior behind bars and may reduce the likelihood that they will commit future offenses in jail or once released.⁹

Other Radicals in Prison

While the scope of jihadist radicalization in U.S. correctional facilities is unclear, a number of large gangs in U.S. prisons recruit and organize around other extremist ideologies. The existence of such gangs suggests that extremist ideologies can find

⁵Department of Justice Press Release, “Glen Allen Woman Pleads Guilty to Making a False Statement Involving International Terrorism,” February 2, 2015; Danielle Haynes, “Virginia Woman Arrested for Allegedly Offering to Help Islamic State,” United Press International, November 17, 2014. *United States v. Heather Elizabeth Coffman*, Criminal Complaint, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, November 14, 2014.

⁶See Mark S. Hamm, *The Spectacular Few: Prisoner Radicalization and the Evolving Terrorist Threat* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), Hereafter: Hamm, *The Spectacular Few*. See also Mark S. Hamm, “Terrorist Recruitment in American Correctional Institutions: An Exploratory Study of Non-Traditional Faith Groups,” December 2007, p. 112, <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/220957.pdf>. Hereafter: Hamm, “Terrorist Recruitment.” See also “U.S. Congress, House Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Intelligence, Information Sharing, and Terrorism Risk Assessment, Written Statement of Janice Fedarcyk, fmr. Special Agent in Charge, Counterterrorism Division, Los Angeles Field Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, ‘Radicalization, Information Sharing, and Community Outreach: Protecting the Homeland from Homegrown Terror.’” 110th Cong., 1st sess., April 5, 2007, p. 18; George Washington University Homeland Security Policy Institute (HSPI) and The University of Virginia Critical Incident Analysis Group (CIAG), “Out of the Shadows: Getting Ahead of Prisoner Radicalization,” HSPI and CIAG, Washington, DC, September 2006, http://www.healthsystem.virginia.edu/internet/ciag/publications/out_of_the_shadows.pdf.

⁷Hamm, *The Spectacular Few*; Peter R. Neumann, *Prisons and Terrorism: Radicalisation and De-radicalisation in 15 Countries*, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, London, 2010, p. 2, <http://www.icsr.info/publications/papers/1277699166PrisonsandTerrorismRadicalisationandDeradicalisationin15Countries.pdf>. Greg Hannah, Lindsay Clutterbuck, and Jennifer Rubin, *Radicalization or Rehabilitation: Understanding the Challenges of Extremist and Radicalized Prisoners*, RAND Europe, Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2008, p. 10, http://www.rand.org/pubs/technical_reports/2008/RAND_TR571.pdf.

⁸Hamm, *The Spectacular Few*, pp. 43–44. According to one study, just State and Federal institutions held “an estimated 1,574,700 prisoners on December 31, 2013, an increase of 4,300 prisoners from year-end 2012.” This figure peaked in 2009 at 1,615,500. When factoring in local jails as well, the number of inmates for 2012 was 2,231,400 and 2,220,300 for 2013. See E. Ann Carson, “Prisoners in 2013,” U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, (September 30, 2014); Lauren E. Glaze and Danielle Kaebler, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, “Correctional Populations in the United States, 2013” (December 2014).

⁹Hamm, “Terrorist Recruitment,” pp. 112, 113.

root in American prisons. The beliefs that some prison gangs have adopted help them to radicalize new members. However, these gangs tend not to use their ideological systems to justify terrorist acts. Rather, they focus on profitable criminal enterprises such as drug trafficking.¹⁰ White supremacist prison gangs illustrate this.

White supremacist beliefs form the key tenets binding several gangs in U.S. prisons. Extremists of this persuasion hold that whites: (1) Are superior to all other racial groups, (2) have experienced decline at the hands of other races, and (3) require extreme measures to return them to social and political preeminence.¹¹

- The Aryan Brotherhood, a National-level prison gang with approximately 15,000 members in and out of custody, has factions within facilities managed by the California Department of Corrections and the Federal Bureau of Prisons.¹²
- The Nazi Low Riders, a regional-level gang with a membership estimated between 800 and 1,000, exists in correctional facilities on the West Coast and in the Southwest.¹³

How Have Incarcerated Jihadists Fared in Prison?

Until recently few home-grown violent jihadists have been released from U.S. correctional facilities, offering little insight into the effect of prison time on such persons. Though, of this small pool of released convicts, none have returned to terrorist plotting, according to open sources. In the next 20 years, the United States is to release scores of similar individuals. It is unknown how such people will handle their exits from penal institutions. How successfully they reintegrate into life outside of prison might influence the home-grown violent jihadist threat landscape. Will a significant portion of these released jihadists foster new plots? Will any serve as role models for future terrorists? Since 9/11, more than 250 people have been convicted for their involvement in home-grown violent jihadist plots. Approximate release dates for 132 people imprisoned for such activity are publicly available and depicted in Figure 1 below. CRS was able to find information regarding the sentences of 151 home-grown violent jihadists arrested for either their involvement in terrorist attacks for plotting such attacks. Of the 151 home-grown violent jihadists:

- 132 had identifiable release dates. (The earliest possible release date was considered, where appropriate.)
- Of the 132 with identifiable release dates, 5 were incarcerated at the State level. The rest (127) were held in Federal (non-military) correctional facilities.
- 16 received life sentences.
- 3 received death sentences. Two of these individuals were tried as U.S. soldiers in military courts and await their executions in military custody.
- 11 are housed in the U.S. Bureau of Prisons Administrative Maximum Security (ADX) facility, in Florence, CO. Commonly referred to as ADX Florence, Florence ADMAX, or the Alcatraz of the Rockies, this prison is reputedly the most secure prison facility in the United States.¹⁴

¹⁰ Joshua D. Freilich, Steven M. Chermak, and David Caspi, "Critical Events in the Life Trajectories of Domestic Extremist White Supremacist Groups," *Criminology and Public Policy*, vol. 8, no. 3 (August 2009), p. 508; David Holthouse, "Smashing the Shamrock," *Intelligence Report*, Southern Poverty Law Center, Issue 119, (Fall 2005), <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2005/fall/smashing-the-shamrock?page=0,1>. Hereafter: Holthouse, "Smashing." Camille Jackson, "Nazi Low Riders," *Intelligence Report*, Southern Poverty Law Center, Issue 114, (Summer 2004), <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2004/summer/nazi-low-riders>.

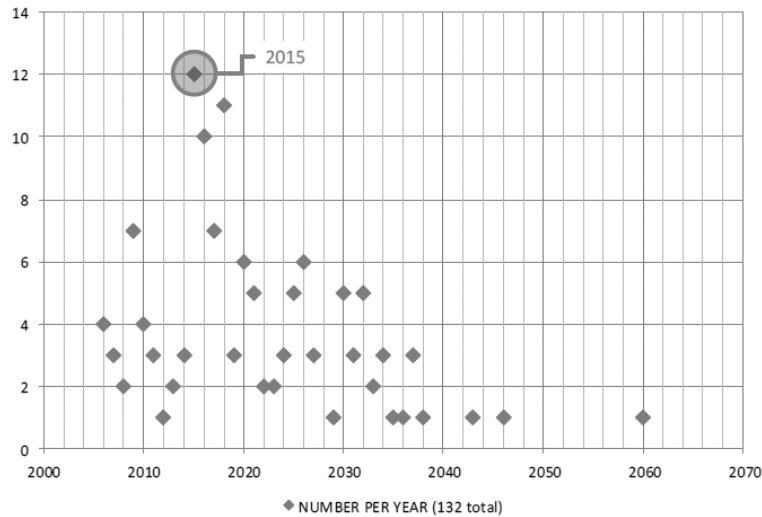
¹¹ Such views are broadly shared by domestic extremist groups such as the National Socialist Party and racist skinheads.

¹² Department of Justice, "Prison Gangs and Photos," May 11, 2015, <http://www.justice.gov/criminal-ocgs/gallery/prison-gangs>; "Member of Aryan Brotherhood Booked in Slidell," *Associated Press State and Local Wire*, October 6, 2009; Holthouse, "Smashing."

¹³ Ibid. See also National Drug Intelligence Center. Attorney General's Report to Congress on the Growth of Violent Street Gangs in Suburban Areas, (April 2008), Appendix B. Pete Simi, Lowell Smith, and Ann M.S. Reeser, "From Punk Kids to Public Enemy Number One," *Deviant Behavior*, vol. 29, no. 8 (2008), pp. 753–774.

¹⁴ For example, see Mark Binelli, "Inside America's Toughest Federal Prison," *New York Times Magazine*, March 26, 2015.

Figure 1. Post-9/11 Homegrown Violent Jihadists Released or Slated For Release



Source: CRS review of open source material related to homegrown violent jihadist plots since 9/11.

Notes: Available information about specific plotters was washed through publicly available federal and state-level prison inmate locator databases to determine sentencing information and place of incarceration.

TO WHAT DEGREE DO FEDERAL EFFORTS TO COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM EXTEND TO U.S. PRISONERS?

Based on public sources, it is difficult to determine how much of the Obama administration's program to thwart terrorist radicalization focuses on Federal, State, or local prisons.¹⁵ The plan, dubbed "countering violent extremism" (CVE), was announced in 2011. When describing existing CVE efforts in 2011, the administration noted that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Bureau of Prisons (BOP), and the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) had collaborated to evaluate how State-level prisons identified radicalization among inmates and shared such information with law enforcement partners.¹⁶ The administration's program for further work on CVE included almost 50 "future activities and efforts" for numerous Federal agencies.¹⁷ One of these focused on prison radicalization, suggesting that DHS, FBI, BOP, and NCTC continue existing collaboration to:

- Improve awareness of the risk of violent extremism in correctional systems;
- Enhance screening of new inmates to detect individuals associated with violent extremist organizations;
- Improve detection of recruitment efforts within the correctional environment; and
- Increase information sharing, as appropriate, with Federal, State, and local law enforcement about inmates who may have adopted violent extremist beliefs and are being released.¹⁸

It is unclear what progress has been made in these efforts.

I thank the subcommittee again for this opportunity to testify and look forward to your questions.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Bjelopera, for your testimony.

¹⁵ *Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States*, August 2011, p. 1. Hereinafter: *Empowering Local Partners*.

¹⁶ *Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States*, December 2011, p. 13.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Our next witness, Mr. Tony Parker, is the assistant commissioner of prisons with the Tennessee Department of Corrections. Commissioner Parker has a 32-year record in the corrections field, and is currently responsible for overseeing the day-to-day operations of the correctional institutions in Tennessee.

In addition, in 2013, Commissioner Parker completed the Naval post-graduate school in Monterey, California, and wrote a thesis entitled, "Establishing a Deradicalization/Disengagement Model for America's Correctional Facilities: Recommendations for Countering Prison Radicalization." Now, the staff was not able to come up with simultaneous translators for today, so Mr. Parker and I have agreed not to comment on each other's accents and try to understand our dialects as closely as possible. Thank you, Commissioner. You're recognized.

**STATEMENT OF TONY C. PARKER, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER,
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION, STATE OF TENNESSEE**

Mr. PARKER. Thank you, Chairman. Chairman King, Ranking Members Thompson and Higgins, and Members of this subcommittee, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the men and women who work inside America's jails and prisons. It is truly an honor to testify at this hearing and to share my experiences about the correctional environment as well as my prison radicalization research.

My name is Tony Parker, and I serve as the assistant commissioner of prisons for the Tennessee Department of Correction. Prison radicalization has been identified as a significant threat to America's homeland security. Currently, the United States has no prison deradicalization program. When considering the inmate population within the Federal Bureau of Prison who have a terrorism nexus and the fact that 95 percent of America's inmate population will return to our communities, it is evident we need to do something proactively to address prison radicalization.

In 2011, I had the opportunity to participate in the master's degree program at the Naval Postgraduate School, Center for Homeland Defense and Security in Monterey, California. I would like to thank Congress and FEMA for funding a program grounded in providing future homeland security leaders with the analytical tools to establish future policy.

My research examined the literature about environmental factors within prisons that promote radicalization. I also conducted a comparative analysis of deradicalization programs used in Singapore and Saudi Arabia. That research provides the basis for my recommendations regarding a U.S. prison deradicalization model, a model that addresses both prison environmental factors as well as providing recommendations for a rehabilitative initiative targeted toward reentry.

Prison radicalization has left its footprint on society through the actions of individuals like Kevin James, Jose Padilla, and Michael Finton. The American prison system has many of the characteristics that promote radicalization. Prisons are isolated environments.

In such an environment, inmates become easy targets for radical extremists searching for individuals to join their cause.

The most effective correctional system incorporates productive rehabilitative programs with sound security policies. Corrections' long-term strategy, security, is the foundation of sound correctional policy, although that strategy may have become a liability. We have failed to recognize the need to change the strategy to an approach that includes both security and a robust rehabilitative initiative. I would argue you cannot have one without the other.

Effective monitoring and control of prison groups, especially security threat groups, are essential to reducing the vulnerability of prison radicalization. The radicalization message can enter the correctional environment through numerous avenues such as radicalized inmates, unvetted radical chaplains, extremist propaganda labeled as religious material, illegal cell phones, and social media sites. Rigorous vetting and monitoring of prison chaplains and religious volunteers must be a standard.

Understanding the complexities of a captive society like prison populations is complicated. My 32 years of correctional experience has helped me recognize how fragile this environment can be, but additional social science research would be beneficial in expanding the knowledge base regarding prison radicalization. Providing adequate staff training and developing intelligence-sharing networks with criminal justice partners are critical in fighting prison radicalization.

The correctional intelligence initiative developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the National Joint Terrorism Task Force provides a good framework that promotes intelligence gathering related to terrorism and prison radicalization from United States correctional agencies. I argue that although the framework is structurally sound, there remains a significant training element that must be accomplished.

The prison deradicalization programs of Singapore and Saudi Arabia were based on the applicable laws and cultural considerations of both countries. I recognize the profound differences in both of these countries, especially when compared to our Nation's civil liberties and due process protections. Even so, the value of learning from successful deradicalization programs of other countries should not be minimized.

Although the deradicalization programs of Singapore and Saudi Arabia were designed to counter radicalization within their respective borders, unique elements of these programs offer possible solutions to prison radicalization in the United States that should be evaluated through a filter that maintains the Constitutional protections afforded to U.S. prisoners.

The 9/11 Commission report identified failure of imagination as America's most glaring failure leading to the attacks of September 11. According to the report, we failed to understand and consider the gravity of the threat. May we never underestimate the threat of prison radicalization and the importance of reentry protocols for the convicted terrorist.

Without a multi-disciplinary approach that targets prison radicalization and understands the reentry issues that surround the inmates with a terrorism nexus, America will always be react-

ing to prison radicalization. Our policy and our strategy must be proactive. Correctional policymakers must be cognizant of the environmental factors that promote prison radicalization and promote policy to mitigate the threat. Failing to provide aggressive treatment and program options to counter prison radicalization leads to the prison gates open to releasing potentially radicalized individuals back into our communities.

I would ask the subcommittee to support this model and support additional social science research designed to mitigate the factors of contributing to prison radicalization. Again, I thank you for allowing me to address this distinguished committee.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Parker follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF TONY C. PARKER

OCTOBER 28, 2015

Chairman King, Ranking Members Thompson and Higgins, and Members of this subcommittee, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today. I would also like to express my appreciation to the men and women who work inside America's jails and prisons. It is truly an honor to testify at this hearing and share my experiences about the correctional environment as well as my prison radicalization research.

My name is Tony Parker and I serve as the assistant commissioner of prisons for the Tennessee Department of Corrections (TDOC).

Prison radicalization has been identified as a significant threat to America's homeland security. Currently, the United States has no prison deradicalization program. When considering the inmate population housed within the Federal Bureau of Prisons who have a terrorism nexus, and the fact that 95 percent of America's inmate population will return to our communities, it is evident we need to do something proactively to address prison radicalization.

In 2011, I had the opportunity to participate in a Master's Degree Program at the Naval Postgraduate School—Center for Homeland Defense and Security in Monterey, California. I would like to thank Congress and FEMA for funding a program grounded in providing future homeland security leaders with the analytical tools to establish future policy.

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Prison radicalization has left its footprint on society through the actions of individuals like Kevin James, Jose Padilla, and Michael Finton.¹ The American prison system has many of the characteristics that promote radicalization. Prisons are isolated environments. In such an environment, inmates become easy targets for radical extremists searching for individuals to join their cause.

The most effective correctional system incorporates productive rehabilitative programs with sound security policies. Correction's long-term strategy—security—is the foundation of sound correctional policy, although; that strategy may have become a "liability." We have failed to recognize the need to change the strategy to an approach that includes both security and a robust rehabilitative initiative. You cannot have one without the other.

Effective monitoring and control of prison groups, especially security threat groups, are essential to reducing the vulnerability for prison radicalization.

The radicalization message can enter the correctional environment through numerous avenues such as radicalized inmates, unvetted radical chaplains, extremist propaganda labeled as religious material, illegal cell phones, and social media sites. Rigorous vetting and monitoring of prison chaplains and religious volunteers must be a standard.

¹House Committee on Homeland Security, *Background Information on Prominent Post-9/11 U.S. Prison Radicalization Cases* (Washington, DC: Committee on Oversight and Government Affairs, 2011).

Understanding the complexities of a captive society like prison populations is complicated. My 32 years of correctional experience have helped me recognize how fragile this environment can be, but additional social science research would be beneficial in expanding the knowledge base regarding prison radicalization.

Providing adequate staff training and developing intelligence-sharing networks with criminal justice partners are critical in fighting prison radicalization. The Correctional Intelligence Initiative, developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the National Joint Terrorism Task Force (NJTTF), provides a good framework that promotes intelligence gathering, related to terrorism and prisoner radicalization, from United States correctional agencies. I argue that although the framework is structurally sound, there remains a significant training element that must be accomplished.

The prison deradicalization programs of Singapore and Saudi Arabia were based on the applicable laws and cultural considerations of both countries. I recognize the profound differences of both of those countries, especially when compared to our Nation's civil liberties and due process protections.

Even so, the value of learning from the successful deradicalization programs of other countries should not be minimized. Although the deradicalization programs of Singapore and Saudi Arabia were designed to counter radicalization within their respective borders, unique elements of these programs offer possible solutions to prison radicalization in the United States that should be evaluated through a filter that maintains the constitutional protections afforded to U.S. prisoners.

The 9/11 Commission Report identified "Failure of Imagination" as America's most glaring failure leading to the attacks of September 11. According to the Report, we failed to understand and consider the gravity of the threat. May we never underestimate the threat of prison radicalization and the importance of reentry protocols for convicted terrorist.

Without a multidisciplinary approach that targets prison radicalization and understands the reentry issues that surround the inmate with a terrorism nexus, America will always be reacting to prison radicalization. Our policy and our strategy must be proactive. Correctional policymakers must be cognizant of the environmental factors that promote prison radicalization and promote policy to mitigate the threat. Failing to provide aggressive treatment and program options to counteract prison radicalization leaves the prison gates open to releasing potentially radicalized individuals back into our neighborhoods.

I would ask the subcommittee to support this model and support additional social science research designed to mitigate the factors contributing to prison radicalization.

Again, I thank you for allowing me to address this distinguished committee.

ATTACHMENT.—ESTABLISHING A DERADICALIZATION/DISENGAGEMENT MODEL FOR AMERICA'S CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COUNTERING PRISON RADICALIZATION

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A U.S. PRISON DERADICALIZATION MODEL

Suggested Proactive Measures for the Correctional Environment Aimed at Reducing the Vulnerability of Prison Radicalization	Suggested Proactive Measures That Provide Individual Treatment Options for the Radicalized Inmate
1. Productive Rehabilitation and Effective Security: The Dual Strategy (effective rehabilitation enhances security).	1. The establishment of a voluntary cognitive-based counseling program for inmates who are incarcerated for terrorism-related crimes or inmates who exhibit violent ideological expressions.
2. Effective Monitoring and Control of Prison Groups.	2. Inmates who participate in voluntary deradicalization programs should be afforded the same incentives related to sentence credit reductions, ¹ vocational/educational opportunities as well as aftercare programs that support their chances for successful reentry and reduce the chances of further extremist activity.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A U.S. PRISON DERADICALIZATION MODEL—
Continued

Suggested Proactive Measures for the Correctional Environment Aimed at Reducing the Vulnerability of Prison Radicalization	Suggested Proactive Measures That Provide Individual Treatment Options for the Radicalized Inmate
3. Rigorous Vetting and Monitoring of Prison Chaplains and Religious Volunteers.	3. U.S. Corrections should invest in an intensive effort to recruit properly-vetted and trained volunteers, chaplains, and psychological professionals that would be utilized in an established counseling program as recommended in recommendation 1.
4. Encourage Positive Inmate/Family Social Interaction and Communication.	4. Develop and implement a vigorous aftercare initiative that ensures post-incarceration monitoring/supervision, counseling and social service assistance upon successful completion of the deradicalization program.
5. Correctional Policy Should Encourage Social Research Within Prisons.	
6. Provide Adequate Staff Training and Develop Intelligence-Sharing Networks.	

¹ Sentence credit reductions would be considered the reduction of days from the offender's total sentence for satisfactorily participating in a program or job as well as the reduction of days from the sentence for good behavior.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Commissioner Parker.

Our next witness, Mr. Brian Levin, is a professor within the Department of Criminal Justice and the director of the Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism at California State University in San Bernardino. Professor Levin is the author, coauthor, and editor of a number of books, articles, and studies on extremism and hate crime. He has testified previously before Congress and has appeared on multiple National news outlets.

Prior to joining academia, Professor Levin earned a law degree from Stanford, and I must say I am particularly proud of the fact that you served as a New York City police officer and is then third generation NYPD.

So thank you for your service and thank you for your testimony today, Professor. I just wish you were back on Long island. That is all. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF BRIAN H. LEVIN, PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE, AND DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR STUDY OF HATE AND EXTREMISM, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN BERNARDINO

Mr. LEVIN. Good morning, Chairman King. Mets in 6. Ranking Member—

Mr. KING. We can end the hearing right there. I am with you. Here we go.

Mr. LEVIN. The last time I went to a World Series was 1986. Good morning, Chairman King, Ranking Members Thompson and Higgins, and Members of the committee. Thank you so very much for the privilege of speaking before you, and my son Gabriel, a Boy Scout, today, on behalf of the nonpartisan Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino.

My name is Professor Brian Levin, and for over 15 years I have served as director of our center where, as you have heard, I teach in the criminal justice department and in our interdisciplinary National security studies program. I also write front-page analysis in National security for the *Huffington Post*, including today, and like you, I am very proud to be part of an NYPD family—in my case, three generations. I think that is what I am most honored to be associated with.

My testimony today, however, will address three basic subjects. First, I will address the overall homeland terrorist threat, with particular emphasis on the two most prominent ones coming from violent Salafist jihadists and far-right-wing extremists. Second, I will discuss issues relating to these movements in the context of prisons and post-release activities. Lastly, I will address issues relating to countering violent extremism, CVE, programs in the contents of efficacy, as well as civil rights and civil liberties concerns.

The United States faces multiple severe risk factors and a diverse set of emerging contemporary actors in the area of mass terrorism, with shots on goal increasingly coming from across both the ideological and competency spectrum. According to the global terrorism database, GTD, at the University of Maryland's START program, total terror attacks in the United States have increased from 9 in 2011 to 19 in 2014, and from no fatalities in 2011, to 18 last year.

The GTD data indicates that since 9/11, at least 66 attacks came from right-wing extremists versus about 25 from Muslim ones. The next deadly mass attack, assassination, or crippling infrastructure sabotage may not necessarily come from extremist movements that have had more terrorist attacks or plots before, or even more or better-trained adherence. Rather, the next terrorist attack will simply come from whoever is proximate, operational, and undetected tomorrow, and we cannot mechanistically presume from the totality of these threats, solely revolve around any single movement alone, including the two most prominent ones, violent Salafist jihadists and far-right extremists.

In today's splintered socio-political landscape, increasingly sophisticated organized groups also share the stage with angry, unstable, or disenchanted loners along with smaller informal groups. My counsel to the House Judiciary Committee almost 20 years ago is even more valid today. Leaderless resistance calls for small autonomous bands of terrorists to further the overall goals of their movement by committing random acts of terror against public institutions, infrastructure targets, and innocent citizens will continue.

While there are significant qualitative and quantitative factors that plausibly skew our center's current overall mass terror threat assessment toward violent Salafist Jihadists, available data does not yet indicate that their potency outside of prisons has sparked significant internal activity or wave of recidivism. While there have been two known Salafist jihadist prison-related plots at different ends of the operational landscape over the last decade and some really disturbing incidents involving bigoted literature and poorly-vetted clerics, far-right extremists, often operating as criminal syndicates, along with other ethnic-based prison gangs have been far more prominent and violent within correctional settings.

While violent Salafist jihadists have achieved extensive notoriety over recent years, they are but a tiny sliver of the estimated 2.7 million law-abiding American Muslims. Recent statements by FBI officials tentatively suggest violent Salafist jihadists are possibly plateauing at the top of an evolving terrorism threat matrix, with 900 open investigations, and 6 foreign-fighter Middle East forays a month, down from a previous sustained level of 9 monthly departures.

The catalytic civil wars in Syria and Iraq, a well-organized overseas ISIS presence, and the most sophisticated use of the internet ever for terrorist recruitment and training is indeed the most profound, though hardly the only, threat to our National security.

One of the things that we are seeing is that context is critical. With respect to prison and post-release issues, we may very well be in the eye of a small incarceration storm with only about 200 internal security and terrorism Federal prosecutions last year, compared to over 1,200 in 2002. The 2014 figures show a one-third decline in cases from 5 years ago and a 75 percent decline from the previous 10 years, according to the Syracuse University-based Transactional Record Access Clearinghouse.

As Mr. Bjelopera points out, many of those convicted during the height of the Federal prosecution efforts over the last decade have been or will be released soon, while new offenders may be ensnared in the foreseeable future, as Federal authorities ramp up counter-terrorism investigations related to recruitment efforts of ISIS and related entities. These numbers, however, represent a mere fraction of the 1.5 million prisoners incarcerated Nationally and of the 211,000 incarcerated in the Federal system.

Just because my time is running over, I am just going to close with a couple of observations. Far-right-wing extremists, for instance, groups like Aryan Brotherhood, 15,000 to 20,000; Nazi Low Riders, maybe 1,000 or so; Public Enemy Number 1, 800 to 1,200, these are all significant prison presence relating to radicalism on another end of the spectrum. They, however, often operate as criminal syndicates.

Interestingly enough, the first post-9/11 operational jihadist Salafist plot came from a prison. So simply, while we have not seen prisons be a fertile breeding ground yet, that does not mean in the future that won't change because we are in a very fluid environment, and I would be more than happy to answer questions related to that in the Q and A section. However, what I must say, though, we must be very careful with respect to civil rights and civil liberties concerns.

As the Supreme Court has stated, the Constitution does not stop at prison walls. While we very well may have to engage in a variety of rehabilitative and monitoring programs, it is crucial that they apply across the board to the vast threat because we don't want to focus just on one section of the ice, when the shot on goal tomorrow might come from another. I again want to thank you so much for the privilege of testifying here before you and am honored to do so.

Let me just say, I am so moved by the bipartisanship that your committee has shown, and I think the words of Senator Robert Kennedy speak well here. "Let us work together towards this noble

effort against terrorism to dedicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago, ‘to tame the savages of man and make gentle the life of this world.’ Let us dedicate ourselves to that and say a prayer for our country and for our people,” and if I may, for this wonderful committee. Thank you so much for inviting me today.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Levin follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BRIAN H. LEVIN

OCTOBER 28, 2015

INTRODUCTION

Good morning Chairman King, Ranking Members Thompson and Higgins, and Members of the committee. Thank you so very much for the privilege of speaking before you, and my son Gabriel, today on behalf of the nonpartisan Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism, at California State University, San Bernardino.

My name is Professor Brian Levin and for over 15 years I have served as director of our Center at the University, where I teach in the Department of Criminal Justice, and in our interdisciplinary National Security Studies Program. I also write front-page analysis on National security for the *Huffington Post*, and am 1 of 3 generations of officers in my family who have had the honor of serving in the NYPD. I am also a graduate of Stanford Law School, where I was co-recipient of the Block Civil Liberties Award, and of the University of Pennsylvania.

My testimony today will address 3 basic subjects. First, I will address the overall homeland terrorist threat, with particular emphasis on the 2 most prominent ones coming from violent Salafist Jihadists and far-right-wing extremists. Second, I will discuss issues relating to these movements in the context of prisons and post-release activities. Lastly, I will address issues relating to Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs in both the context of efficacy, as well as civil rights and civil liberties concerns.

THE CONTEMPORARY TERROR THREAT TO THE AMERICAN HOMELAND

The United States faces multiple severe risk factors and a diverse set of emerging contemporary actors in the area of mass terrorism with shots on goal increasingly coming from across both the ideological and competency spectrum. According to the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) at the University of Maryland’s START Program, total terror attacks in the United States have increased from 9 in 2011 to 19 in 2014, and from no fatalities in 2011, to 18 last year. The GTD data indicated that since 9/11 at least 66 attacks came from right-wing extremists, versus about 25 from Muslim ones. Other estimates put the number of home-grown Islamic plots far higher from 63 to 188 according to one of our Criminal Justice Masters’ recipients, Cynthia Quintero.

The next deadly mass attack, assassination, or crippling infrastructure sabotage may not necessarily come from extremist movements that have had more terrorist attacks or plots before, or even more or better-trained adherents. Rather, the next terrorist attack will simply come from whoever is proximate, operational, and undetected tomorrow, and we can not mechanistically presume that the totality of these threats solely revolve around any single movement alone, including the two most prominent ones: Violent Salafist Jihadists and far-right-wing extremists. In today’s splintered socio-political landscape, increasingly sophisticated organized groups also share the stage with angry, unstable, or disenchanting loners; and with smaller informal groups. These latter actors may sculpt idiosyncratic hatreds on-line, become operational, and even recruit with little external backing. My counsel to the House Judiciary Committee almost exactly 20 years ago is even more valid today:

“Leaderless resistance calls for small autonomous bands of terrorists to further the overall goals of the movement by committing random acts of terror against public institutions, infrastructure targets, and innocent citizens. Information on how to commit such violence is widely available, and an underground market for the tools of destruction exists.”

Former FBI supervisor, Dr. Carl Jensen III, writing in this month’s *American Behavioral Scientist*, that I co-edited, forecasts that over the next 5 years terrorists will make increasing use of technology, forge new alliances and hybrid structures, and morph between politics, criminal enterprises, and even gangs.

DIVERGING ASSESSMENTS OF THE OVERALL TERROR THREAT

While there are significant qualitative and quantitative factors that plausibly skew our Center's current overall mass terror threat assessment toward violent Salafist Jihadists, available data does not yet indicate that their potency outside of prisons has sparked significant internal activity or a wave of recidivism. While there have been 2 known Salafist Jihadist prison-related plots at differing ends of the operational landscape over the last decade, and some really disturbing incidents involving bigoted literature and poorly-vetted clerics, far-right extremists, often operating as criminal syndicates, along with other ethnic-based prison gangs have been far more prominent and violent within correctional settings.

While violent Salafist Jihadists have achieved extensive notoriety over recent years, they are but a tiny sliver of the estimated 2.7 million law-abiding American Muslims. Recent statements by FBI officials tentatively suggest violent Salafist Jihadists are possibly plateauing at the top of an evolving contemporary terrorism threat matrix, with 900 open investigations and 6 foreign fighter Middle East forays a month, down from a previous sustained level of 9 monthly departures. The catalytic civil wars in Syria and Iraq, a well-organized overseas ISIS presence, and the most sophisticated use of the internet ever for terrorist recruitment and training, is indeed the most profound, though hardly the only, threat to our National security.

Moreover, while our Center's threat assessment currently leans somewhat more towards violent Salafist Jihadist extremists due to ISIS, al-Qaeda, al-Shaabab and others, it is a close call. For instance, in the post-9/11 era 48 Americans have been killed in far-right-wing attacks, compared to 31 fatalities in Salafist Jihadist incidents. However, when all casualties, included the wounded are factored in, it is the Salafists who become more prominent. Although the Boston Marathon bombing killed only 3 civilians, it injured 264 others, with well over 1 dozen amputees. The subsequent lock-down of Boston and surrounding areas during the manhunt for the suspects also had significant economic costs to the region, not to mention the fear from the assailants being on the loose. Either of these metrics would have skewed substantially more toward radical Salafist Jihadists. A recent study by the Anti-Defamation League's Dr. Mark Pitcavage, also in this month's *American Behavioral Scientist*, however, shows that lone attacks by active shooters appear more prevalent among right-wing extremists. Moreover, a 2014 law enforcement agency survey, by the Police Executive Research Forum found that 74% regarded anti-Government extremism as being among the top threats, while only 39% listed extremist Muslim organizations, but the survey was concluded before ISIS ramped up external recruitment operations. Today's threat scenario is fluid not only by the background of would-be actors, but also by the breadth of attack types, and the potential casualties are wide-ranging too, from moderate to devastatingly severe.

PRISON EXTREMIST RISKS VARY

CVE programs, particularly those in the correctional and post-release settings, must be flexible and responsive not only to the diversity of extremist adherents by ideology, but to the civil rights and civil liberties issues that these responses necessarily impact. Context is critical. With respect to prison and post-release issues, we may very well be in the eye of a small incarceration storm with only about 200 Internal Security and Terrorism Federal prosecutions last year, compared to over 1,200 in 2002. The 2014 figures show a one-third decline in cases from 5 years ago and a 75% decline from the previous 10 years, according to the Syracuse University-based Transactional Record Access Clearinghouse.

As Mr. Bjelopera points out, many of those convicted during the height of Federal prosecution efforts over the last decade have been or will be released soon, while new offenders may be ensnared in the foreseeable future as Federal authorities ramp up counter-terrorism investigations related to the recruitment efforts of ISIS and related entities. These numbers however, represent a mere fraction of the 1.5 million prisoners incarcerated nationally, and of the 211,000 incarcerated in the Federal system, which accounts for 13% of all prisoners Nationally, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Moreover, researchers urge prudence in our analysis. As Dr. Mark Hamm noted in a National Institute of Justice Study entitled *Prisoner Radicalization: Assessing the Threat in U.S. Correctional Institutions*:

"[E]xtensive literature review revealed that moving from radicalization to actual recruitment for terrorism is a rare event. Only a small percentage of converts to white supremacy groups and to Islam—primarily, fresh converts, the newly pious, with an abundance of emotion and feeling—turn radical beliefs into terrorist action. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that it is not the sheer number of prisoners

following extremist interpretations of religious doctrines that poses a threat; rather, it is the potential for small groups of radicals to form support networks for terrorist goals upon release.”

THE JIS CASE: OUTLIER OR BELLWETHER?

Fortunately, to the present time violent activity exhibited by these extremists in the prison and post-release context has been significantly less pronounced than in other contexts, with only 1 identifiable independently operational prison-related terror plot in 2005 in Southern California, out of well over 120 post-9/11 cases involving violent Salafist Jihadists. The Jam’iyyat Ul-Islam Is-Saheeh, or JIS, terror plot, however, was the first operational home-grown Salafist Jihadist plot in the post-9/11 era.

The JIS cell and plot formed inside a California State Prison from a small group founded in 1997 by convict Kevin James. Torrance, California police, aided by a regional law enforcement consortium, unraveled a local conspiracy to attack military, Jewish, and Israeli targets that was to be financed through a series of armed robberies. The plotters included three American-born converts along with a Pakistani-born man, and with the exception of extremist literature was completely home-grown. Dr. Hamm observed in his NIJ report that, “James, however, was the first gang member to radicalize inmates into joining a prison gang with a terrorist agenda.” Attempted airplane shoe bomber Richard Reid converted to Islam while incarcerated in Britain, while another terror convict Jose Padilla was a violent gang member with a criminal record before his conversion.

Interestingly, violent Salafist Jihadists, who apparently are classified as international in orientation by authorities, irrespective of their birthplace, citizenship, or gang affiliations, do not appear to have yet developed an imposing prison infrastructure or demonstrated a pattern of recidivism, though the exact extent of their prison radicalism is largely unknown and could very well accelerate as their representation and infrastructure evolves. Muslims, and converts in particular, appear to be among the fastest-growing segments of the prison population.

The apparent relative lull in violent Salafist extremism in the correctional and post-release setting, while possibly temporary, is probably due to a variety of factors. First, because of a post-9/11 pivot to terrorism interdiction, many Federal prosecutions come at earlier stages of criminality than was previously the case. Thus, some of those ensnared are less competent, motivated, and operationally advanced than was previously the case. Moreover, these defendants, often convicted on lesser charges, lack the structural and communicative connections to organized gang or terror groups compared to other extremists, or even fellow travelers on the outside. The Center on Law and Security at New York University, School of Law found that in the decade following 9/11 the five most charged offenses in terrorism cases were:

1. 18 U.S.C. § 371; Conspiracy to commit offense or to defraud the United States,
2. 18 U.S.C. § 2339A; Providing material support to terrorists,
3. 18 U.S.C § 2339B; Providing material support or resources to designated foreign terrorist organizations,
4. 18 U.S.C. § 1001; (False) Statements or entries generally, and
5. 18 U.S.C. § 1956; Laundering of monetary instruments

Lastly, with the exception of individuals like Egyptian clerics “Blind Sheikh” Omar Abdel-Rahman and hook-handed cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri nearly all of the convicted Salafist Jihadists were not part of the hierarchy of the movement or considered theologically authoritative. The lack of accessible incarcerated charismatic leaders may have been a factor in stunting the spread of certain types of radicalism.

FAR-RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS

Another prominent terrorist threat comes from adherents to an array of extreme far-right-wing ideologies. These far-right-wing extremists, who are properly distinguished from peaceful politically-active Conservative citizens, are steeped in deep-seated bigotry, an array of increasingly mainstreamed conspiracy theories, and exhibit a profound distrust of pluralistic democratic governance. Distressingly, it should be noted that trust in Government and other institutions including religion, media, academia, finance, and health care have declined precipitously in recent decades across the general population as well.

The FBI reportedly lists 7 current domestic extremist categories, with 4 arguably falling under the extreme right-wing umbrella:

- White Supremacists
- Anti-government Militias
- Abortion Extremists

- “Sovereign Citizen” Nationalists.

Some like white supremacists and neo-Nazis have a significant prison presence Nationally because they belong to more structured hate groups or racial criminal syndicates, like Aryan Brotherhood, Nazi Low Riders and California’s Public Enemy Number 1, a racist gang that exists both inside and outside of prisons. In the racist neo-Nazi and white supremacist subculture there is significant approbation for violence, with imprisonment serving as a mark of distinction. These bigots, like Animal Liberation adherents, Jewish radicals, Black Separatists and violent Anti-Abortion extremists regard many of their incarcerated ideologues as political prisoners who took a selfless stand against a corrupt powerful Government and immoral society. In the neo-Nazi and white supremacist sub-culture some prisoners are hailed as folk heroes and political prisoners of the “Zionist Occupation Government.”

For example, prisoner and Federal felon David Lane was a co-founder of the violent domestic terrorist group, The Order, which took its name from fictional anti-Government terrorists in the racist *Turner Diaries* novel. Before his death behind bars in 2007, Lane became a folk hero and “political prisoner” whose written works were widely circulated throughout the white supremacy world, while his “14 words” became a mantra for violent racists, including the mass killer of African-American Charleston church members earlier this year. Upon his death memorials for him were held around the world.

AT Think Progress Online Magazine recently observed:

“White supremacist prison gangs are the only formal subculture in the American racist movement that is thriving, and yet, ironically, their ideology is also the most superficial and least consequential to their day-to-day operations . . . The Aryan Brotherhood is widely considered the oldest and most notorious racist prison gang in the United States.”

CVE RESPONSES IN THE CORRECTIONAL AND POST-RELEASE CONTEXT

In the correctional context, both pragmatism and civil rights protections can be coextensive. As President Obama counseled, “As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals.” It is one thing to discuss terror threats in general, but prisons ensnare and release individuals first, rather than ideologies.

As seen below extremists are individuals with differing influences, so there is simply no one-size-fits-all solution, nor one that is fool-proof. Extremists like Holocaust Museum shooter James Von Brunn, served 6 years in prison for an armed plot against Federal Reserve members before his murderous attack decades later. In France Amedy Coulibaly was radicalized in prison by “segregated” al-Qaeda supporter Djamel Beghal, before his homicidal rampage this past January, years after his release. Alleged Army of God member Shelley Shannon firebombed clinics and shot a physician. She nonetheless, still communicated with “Reverend” Paul Hill during her incarceration, before he murdered two people outside a Pensacola, Florida clinic.

Extremists come in three general types:

Ideologically Motivated

- Religious
- Political
- Hybrid

Psychologically Dangerous

- Cognitively Impaired OR
- Sociopath

Personal Benefit or Revenge

- (Most can be “mixed and matched,” but one is dominant.)

Randy Borum defines radicalization as the “process of developing extremist ideologies and beliefs.” As Pete Simi and Bryan Bubolz point out the transition from nonviolent to violent ideology can include a variety of catalytic influences including:

- internet propaganda,
- social networks and personal connections to existing extremists,
- religious and political leaders,
- and intergroup conflicts.

Governmental programs promoting deradicalization, that is the social and psychological desistance from violent extremism, occurs internationally, where laws, state authority, societal norms, and religious roles vary significantly. Horgan and Brad-

dock observed that internationally, these programs involve education, occupational assistance, mentoring, psychological assistance, and encouraging a shift to positive social networks. In the United States, where large numbers of prisoners are dispersed across Federal and State institutions, deradicalization programs are not as focused or sophisticated as some of our smaller allies, but are sometimes modeled from those used in the gang and cult disengagement process.

Cilluffo, Cardash, and Khor detail an intensive, culturally unique, Saudi program that nonetheless still has a failure rate of 10–20%:

“Since 2004 Saudi Arabia has operated one of the most high-profile terrorist deradicalization and disengagement programs in the world. The Saudi approach blends coercion with an appeal to family/clan honor by integrating detainees’ family members into the deradicalization and disengagement effort, in part by holding a close male relative responsible for keeping the released prisoner out of trouble following release. Significant financial resources are likewise invested in the case of each detainee in order to provide the individual with the tools necessary (such as a car and a job) to succeed outside of prison and the realm of violent extremist groups. Regarding the counseling component, Muslim clerics meet with detainees and prisoners as part of the Saudi program. To facilitate reintegration back into society and after-care, both governmental and non-governmental agencies are involved.”

While domestic programs are still being developed, some key final points are worth noting. Correctional and post-release programs, by their very nature restrict liberties. (See e.g. *Hudson v. Palmer*, 468 U.S. 517 (1984)). However, in 1987, the United States Supreme Court held that prison walls “do not form a barrier separating prison inmates from the protections of the Constitution.” (*Turner v. Safley*, 482 U.S. 78, 84). The high court further held that prison regulations impinging on Constitutional rights must be “reasonably related to legitimate penological interests.” Still, the Court granted deference to prison officials by instructing judges to exercise a “policy of judicial restraint” in cases of Constitutional claims by prisoners.

Outside of prison, in many instances, depending on individualized threat assessments and conditions of release, it may be necessary to monitor or restrict contacts, travel, weapon possession, drug use, technology, and employment, among other things. However, whatever restrictions or aftercare measures are implemented, they must be applied based on objective individualized criteria and not discriminatory stereotypes that not only violate civil rights, but damage offender disengagement from extremists, as well as trust from the mainstream communities that are essential to our partnerships.

It is key that CVE responses in this context should take into account the following:

- The reestablishment of moderating influences from offender’s family and community may be key, as they provide an alternative during disengagement from anti-social associations.
- Individualized, and culturally-specific programs and aftercare, which may include emotional counseling, substance rehabilitation and vocational training should be considered.
- Flexible monitoring and counseling by trained professionals should be individually tailored to promote disengagement and prevent reinfection.
- When indicated and legal, monitoring may include associations, technology access, financial reporting, employment, location, and long-distance travel.
- CVE programs should be more open to legitimate academic research as restrictions make objective micro research on individuals as well as trend analysis difficult.
- CVE programs addressing extremism should always be implemented to consider all religious backgrounds and all parts of the political spectrum in a manner that does not infringe on Constitutional rights.

In the words of Senator Robert Kennedy, let us work together toward this noble effort to: “[D]edicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of this world. Let us dedicate ourselves to that, and say a prayer for our country and for our people.”

Thank you. I will address any question the committee may have.

APPENDIX

Definition of Terrorism

The unlawful use, or threatened use, of force or violence by a group or individuals; to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment there-

of in furtherance of political or social objectives. (Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Division, 2007).

FBI National Domestic Threat Assessment

- White Supremacist Extremists
- Black Separatist Extremists
- Anti-Government Militias
- Abortion Extremists
- Violent Animal Rights
- Environmental Extremists
- “Sovereign Citizen” Nationalists
- Anarchists

Terrorist Incidents Directed Towards Americans by U.S. Deaths

1. 9/11 Attacks, Incendiary Bombing by Aircraft, NY, DC, PA 2,975 killed, 9/11/2001 Al-Qaeda
2. U.S. Marine Barracks, Truck Bombing, Beirut, Leb., 241 killed (US) 10/23/1983 Hizbollah precursor
3. Pan Am Fl. 103, Aircraft Bombing, Lockerbie, Scotland, 270 killed (189 US), 12/21/1988 Libyan Agent
4. Murrah Fed. Bldg., Truck Bombing, Oklahoma City, OK, 168 killed 4/19/1995 Anti-gov’t extremists
5. Bath, MI School Bombings, Bombing, 44 killed, 5/18/1927 Disgruntled taxpayer
6. Wall Street Bombing, Horse Cart Bomb, NY, 35 killed, 9/16/1920 Socialists/Anarchists Suspected
7. Los Angeles Times Bldg., Bombing, Los Angeles, CA, 21 killed, 10/01/1910, Union militants

Source: Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism.

Extremists by Organizational Structure

Lone Offender

- Ted Kaczynski, Unabomber (1978–1995)
- James Vonn Brunn, Holocaust Museum Shooter (2009)
- Richard Poplawski, Pittsburgh Police Killer (2009)
- Kevin Harpham, WA MLK Parade Bomb Plot (2011)

Duo (Leader & Follower)

- John Allen Muhammed & Lee Boyd Malvo, DC Sniper (2002)
- Timothy McVeigh & Terry Nichols, Oklahoma City Bombings (1995)

Autonomous Cell

- The Order (Neo Nazi, 1980s)
- JIS (CA—1st operational Jihadist Cell)

Command Cell/Large Group

- 9/11
- Symbionese Liberation Army
- Weather Underground
- Traditional Ku Klux Klan

Terrorism by Method

- Explosives
- Arson
- Active Shooting
- Targeted Assassination
- Multiple Simultaneous Targeting
- WMD
- Sabotage
- Chem/Bio
- Radiological Nuclear
- Disabling Infrastructure: Cyber, Transport, Communication, Energy

Potential Targets by Type

Symbolic

- Government
- Religious
- Cultural
- Political

- Financial Center
 - Military/Police*
 - Aviation & Transit*
 - Other Infrastructure: Power Grids*
 - Cyber*
 - Special Events/Anniversaries*
 - Assassination*
 - Idiosyncratic*
 - High Density*
- Events
- Entertainment
- Schools
- Hotels

Mr. KING. Thank you very much, Professor Levin.

I thank all the witnesses for their testimony.

Let me begin on the point that Professor Levin raised at the end about the Constitutional guarantees, and obviously, there is a line we have to be very concerned about. I really ask all three of the witnesses. Commissioner Parker, you mentioned about the experiences of Singapore and Saudi Arabia. I would like to ask the witnesses if they are aware of any other deradicalization programs in other countries, and to what extent do you think we can use the methods used in a non-democratic society such as Saudi Arabia or Singapore here in the United States without violating civil rights and civil liberties? I guess we will just go across the board. Mr. Bjelopera.

Mr. PARKER. Sure.

Mr. KING. Okay. Mr. Parker.

Mr. PARKER. My research at the time of my research, I found a couple of other programs, but they were all very similar in nature. All of them basically dealt with a—were framed around a counseling program where they basically targeted the ideological perspective of the inmate based on a misinterpretation of a religious text. All of them were pretty much the same, a 3- or 4-step process where they had counselors, people who come in and talk to the inmates with an attempt to try to change their mindset, basically, before they were released. So all of the programs that I found were pretty much the same.

Mr. KING. In what way can they be adapted to the United States, do you believe?

Mr. PARKER. Well, I think there is an open door there. Currently, we have to look at what are we doing now. What are we doing now in BOP when we house these offenders. I have had the opportunity to talk to Director Samuels and with some other people with the BOP. We basically take a containment model, a total security model where we house these individuals in a segregation unit, and we may provide them some type of vocational training at some point, but the point is, we are not doing anything to try to address the ideological motives that make them the way they are.

The point is, if we train people to be welders, a vocational program, a terrorist, a convicted terrorist, and we turn them out with only that training, then all we have done is put a welder in society that is still a terrorist.

Mr. KING. Professor Levin.

Mr. LEVIN. Yes, if I may. Cilluffo, Cardash, and Khor detailed an intensive culturally-unique Saudi program that nonetheless still had a failure rate of 10 to 20 percent. "Since 2004, Saudi Arabia has operated one of the most high-profile terrorist deradicalization and disengagement programs in the world. The Saudi approach blends coercion with an appeal to family, clan, honor, by integrating the detainee's family members into the deradicalization and disengagement effort, in part, by holding a close male relative responsible for keeping the released prisoner out of trouble following release."

Significant financial resources are likewise invested in the case of each detainee in order to provide the individual with the tools necessary, such as a car or a job to succeed outside of prison, and the reality of violent extremist groups. Regarding the counseling component, Muslim clerics meet with detainees and prisoners as part of the Saudi program to facilitate reintegration back into society as well as after-care, both governmental and non-governmental agencies involved.

But the Saudi model, and I think this is interesting, they put a lot of money into it, it is very culturally-specific, and there, where clerics have a direct connection to the Government, there is a type of, I think, authority and gravitas that those religious leaders would have that we couldn't have in a more secularized society such as ours. To be sure, we have seen some disturbing cases that have been outlined in various testimonies before this committee before.

I would say, though, if we look at a lot of the surveys that are out there, including the Pew surveys and others, the overwhelming majority of American Muslims are quite concerned about extremism as well. One of the reasons that they so love this country, and I think this is very important, is because, that there is not an orthodoxy of acceptable religious expression here. But I think, basically, common sense prevails.

As President Obama said, we don't have to check our ideals and our pragmatism with respect to terrorism. The same rules can apply. We had a shooter and an arsonist of medical clinics go to prison and was counseling a reverend who then shot an abortion provider to death. So common sense prevails, but I do think that one of the things that we have to understand, and I put this in my testimony, is that there are different types of extremists that do not rely upon necessarily one aspect.

So in other words, some theological-based extremists might very well have sociopathic or cognitive impairments. They may also be seeking personal benefit or revenge. So if we step away from stereotypes and approach each prisoner and the situation uniquely, it says something. I think just, if I may, Mr. Bjelopera made an excellent point, and that is, a lot of times it is attachment to social networks or some kind of connection to a leader that is important.

Something that I just want to close with in answering your question, one of the things that we have not seen in American prisons yet has been this hierarchy where theological leaders, Salafists with gravitas are in prison. We get a lot of low-level people who have been connected to the movement who are converts or through

social networks or the internet. So we haven't seen yet, in other words, a network top-down, with the exception of Sheikh Rahman and a couple of other examples, where they have that gravitas.

But interestingly enough, in France, where they segregated, for instance, clerics, nonetheless, one of the Paris massacre killers was in direct communication in prison, gets released, is monitored, and then 5 or 6 years later commits an act of brutal terrorism. So what we have to do is be flexible, and in some instances monitoring may be necessary. But if we are going to do so, we have to look at the individual characteristics and understand that fanatics come across the ideological spectrum. We want to go make sure that we look at people such as Coulibaly over in France, who did those terrible attacks, but also James Von Brunn who tried to do an armed attack on the Federal Reserve, and then decades later, shot up the Holocaust Museum. Or the head of the White Patriot Party who, in the 1980s, was incarcerated, and then goes, shoots up a Jewish center decades later.

We have to be careful with all extremists and look at their individual situations in order to come up with a CVE counter-extremism rehabilitative or monitoring program. It has got to be individualized. It has got to be culturally-specific.

Mr. KING. I am over my time.

Mr. Bjelopera, do you have anything to add? Then I will go to Mr. Higgins.

Mr. BJELOPERA. Just one slight comment. I defer to my fellow witnesses and their expertise in this area. But to paraphrase a scholar, the vast majority of people who hold radical beliefs don't necessarily become terrorists, and terrorists may not themselves primarily be driven by radical beliefs.

In such a challenging environment, it is extremely difficult to figure out who is going to become a terrorist, who isn't, when to intervene, and how to intervene, and I can only begin to fathom the challenges that prison officials and law enforcement face in this area.

Mr. KING. Thank you. Mr. Higgins, as much time as you want.

Mr. HIGGINS. Thank you. Mr. Bjelopera, in your testimony, you described non-traditional form of Islam practiced in United States prisons termed "Prison Islam." This form of Islam is not necessarily consistent with jihadist principles. Is there a trend in U.S. prisons that would suggest that the current form of Prison Islam is being supplanted by a more extreme form of jihadist Islam?

Mr. BJELOPERA. Thank you. It is very difficult to, given public information, publicly-available sources, to dip into that realm and understand trends and broad currents in terms of faith, in terms of radical beliefs. Again, I would defer to people who have studied prisons directly or worked in prisons directly who may have greater expertise in the general trends.

One of the other challenging issues here is that our prison system isn't unitary. There are all sorts of different levels of prisons and different structures of authority.

Mr. HIGGINS. Mr. Parker.

Mr. PARKER. I would say, you know, again, that is very hard to determine. One of the recommendations that I made was there is definitely a need for more social science research in our facilities.

Correctional administrators must be willing to open the doors to allow researchers in. Academic facilities must be willing to go through the—work with individuals through the IRB process to get research approved for prisoners. There is a big data set there that we are missing as far as research inside of our correctional facilities.

Mr. HIGGINS. Mr. Levin.

Mr. LEVIN. You know, interesting enough, in the past, when prisoners converted to Islam it actually had a positive impact with regard to rehabilitation in many, many instances. Giving up many vices and violence and becoming more introspective, is a part of the Islamic faith. Indeed, introspection during the month of Ramadan, for instance, proclamation of faith, prayer 5 times a day, and adhering to, for instance, dietary rituals puts a structure, and in many ways, in the past, in many instances, had had a positive effect.

Here is the problem. We currently now, according to publicly-available sources, have 900 open investigations relating to ISIS and related extremists. We have seen that there have been approximately 125 prosecutions, and the average defendant that we have seen has been about age 31. The top 5 charges have been providing material support to terrorism or terrorist groups, both foreign and domestic, money laundering, et cetera. So we have two things that are happening in this eye of the storm.

Last year, we haven't had a lot of prosecutions relative to what we had 10 years ago. So we had like 200 or something like that. Yet we have 900 open investigations. We had 1,200 cases in 2002, so we are in the eye of the storm now. One of the things I have to say is, in August 2001, there was a *New York Times* op ed, which spoke quite authoritatively using retrospective data on how Salafist jihadist terrorism wasn't a problem, and then weeks later we have the 9/11 attacks.

We are in such a fluid situation both with the overall terror threat matrix and with respect to ISIS and other groups. In this month's *American Behavioral Scientist*, which I co-edited, I did an article about one small group of 22 people that had an internet presence that in 2009 to 2010 was linked to the 30 to 40 percent of terrorist plots in the United States.

Now we have a sophisticated quasi-state recruiting effort using the internet, with 900 investigations in 50 States. What is going to happen when these people come into prison in greater numbers and there may be people with more clerical authority? So we just don't know. By the same token, we have Christian identity adherents who are very upset with the kinds of changes that are going on in society now.

The Klan hit its biggest zenith at a time of similar change almost 100 years ago. So we have basically a chaotic, very fluid structure—I am sorry, situation with regard to extremism that is coming from different places. I am worried that the salutary effects that exist now are temporary, and that in the future, as more people come in who have been radicalized through the most sophisticated effort we have ever seen in history involving technology, that this may very well change within a very short time.

Mr. HIGGINS. Thank you very much. I would ask that the Chair recognize Congressman Langevin to participate in this hearing.

Mr. KING. Without objection, so ordered. It is a pleasure.

Mr. LANGEVIN. Thank you.

Mr. KING. I now recognize the Chairman of the Transportation Security Subcommittee, Mr. Katko.

Mr. KATKO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to focus on something a little different here, and that is, the access to information that prisoners have that might lead to radicalization. I know you have the word of fellow inmates, but I just concluded a study from the Foreign Fighters Task Force with ISIS, and it is painfully clear that ISIS is radicalizing people over the internet at an alarming rate. The question I have for each of you is, on the Federal prison level as well as the State prison level, what type of media access do they have?

I know it is some of it is monitored, some of it is not from my days as a Federal prosecutor for 20 years, and I got a lot of good information on that over the years to bring cases. But I am concerned about their access to the internet, I am concerned about their access to various sources of media which seem to be never-ending these days.

So if you could each comment on that for me, I would appreciate it.

Mr. BJELOPERA. I can comment only in general terms. I would imagine that they have much less or less access than they would on the outside. One of the factors that I would also throw in there is that many of these suspects related to ISIS who are being put into the system, arguably have short-term experience in terms of radicalization on the outside, and so it will be interesting to see what happens on the inside of prison cells to these people who haven't spent maybe years or decades, maybe just months or weeks thinking about radical violent jihadist things.

Mr. KATKO. Again, my thing is once they get in there, what do they have access to? That is the more important question.

Mr. PARKER. Thank you. One of the primary points that I would like to make is, just because someone is in a correctional environment, don't assume they don't have access to the information.

Mr. KATKO. That is my point.

Mr. PARKER. You know, in today's correctional environment, not only in Tennessee but across this Nation, we fight every day to keep illegal cell phones out of our facilities. We have been in touch—a lot of other correctional agencies have been in communications with FCC to try to come up with a solution that would disable these phones inside that correctional environment.

We are not allowed to jam the cell phone signal inside the correctional facility. So the only other options at this point is very expensive other technology that often becomes outdated within a year.

We try to monitor the literature that comes in through our mail rooms. Most prisons do. They have a monitoring process. One of the things that is critical there, though, is that we have staff that is trained to recognize that message, that violent extremist message, the message that we will not allow in our facilities. You have to have people at that ground level, correctional-officer-level, properly

trained to recognize that and to catch that coming through the filters that we have for inmates receiving information.

They have access to their family, they have access to the television, they watch the news. So an inmate with an illegal cell phone in prison has a lot of access to the media and also what is going on in the world.

Mr. KATKO. Now, what about their access to the internet or anything? Do they have any access to computers?

Mr. PARKER. Well, they have access to computers, but a computer that they would have access to in the facility is basically locked down. They can't get to a lot of internet sites. It is very limited. But a person with an illegal smart phone inside the facility has access to the internet.

Mr. KATKO. Okay. Then, of course, they have access to books and magazines, and they also have access to telephones to talk to individuals.

Mr. PARKER. Absolutely. That is a constant struggle. That is one of the things that a corrections department has to have their security threat group coordinators that work in conjunction with the mailroom staff to vet that material coming in to identify that message before it gets to the inmate.

Mr. KATKO. Thank you. Mr. Levin.

Mr. LEVIN. Yes. One of the things, you know, very interesting, again, what I would like to get permission to do, because of these questions, is to introduce into the record some of the articles that we have in this month's *American Behavioral Scientist*, which in some way is responsive to these questions. One of my colleagues—two of my colleagues, actually, Pete Simi and Bryan Bubolz, wrote about how folks get radicalized, and they listed 4 things, and at the top was internet propaganda. Of course, there is social networks, religious and political leaders, and then there is intergroup conflicts, which can be catalytic, anything from Waco, for instance, to the civil war in the Middle East.

I can't tell you how important—

Mr. KING. Without objection, that article will be introduced into the record.*

Mr. LEVIN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. I can't tell you how important this recruitment has been, again, across the ideological spectrum. So you can get the *Turner Diaries*, which has been linked to such things as the Oklahoma City bombing. Look at page 39 of that book. It describes a truck bomb attack on a Federal facility at 9:00 in the morning, and that book was sold by Timothy McVeigh below cost to get the word out.

David Lane was in prison. David Lane was a part of a group called The Order that was inspired by this book, the *Turner Diaries*. The 14 words about preserving the white race that the Charleston shooter used, he would send materials out through his wife while he was in prison. So now we have not only that, the *Turner Diaries* is on the internet. We also have *Dabiq Magazine*, on-line ISIS magazine, we have *Inspire* magazine by AQAP. Right after the Boston Marathon bombings, I was on National television, I said, you know, this is really interesting. There is this magazine

*The document has been retained in committee files.

that just came out, and you know what was in it, a recipe to make a pressure cooker bomb. Indeed, what came out at the trial was the Tsarnaev brothers had that magazine.

So internet access is extremely important to the recruitment. But what I am saying to you is, it is important across the ideological spectrum, and what we must not do is say, well, we are just going to go after one type of extremist because what I can tell you in this business, like politics and baseball, what you might think in June, come October will be a different story.

Mr. KATKO. Thank you very much.

Mr. KING. I recognize the Ranking Member.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me just say how really good our witnesses are. I mean, they are—you know, that is a credit to you.

Mr. KING. Once again, we agree.

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, yeah, yeah, yeah, and you see we are a good committee.

Mr. Parker, as somebody who is in this business every day, I find it, that the thought in corrections, obviously, a few years ago it was lock them up, throw away the key, don't provide anything to them, and when their time is up, push them out the door. I think the recidivism rates and other things that came behind that, people have now started saying we got to do some other things to try to tamp down the likelihood of people coming back once they get out.

So is it your experience that if we start looking at this terrorist threat that potentially can evolve inside the prisons, we need to look at it as a whole rather than as a silo? In other words, let's look at all the bad guys and develop a strategy around that?

Mr. PARKER. Absolutely, sir. A couple of points I would like to make. In the correctionals field, when we talk about violent extremists, when we talk about the culture and the environment that we work in every day, that prisoners live in every day, I think we have to focus on two things. One is the environment. Now, there is a lot of room left for research in regards to the environment. What is it about prisons, what is about that environment? Again, all prisons are not the same. What is it about that environment that promotes radicalization? What can we do, as correctional practitioners, as lawmakers, to try to change and modify that to mitigate the threat of radicalization? That is part of my research that we considered. What can we do on that side?

The other piece is the environment of the rehabilitative initiatives that we have to put in place. I think you are exactly right. If we lock people up under the control and containment model and just deal with the security aspect of putting them away, putting them in an environment to where they have no access to anyone else or any programs, then we keep them there until the day comes when they knock and it is time to let them go home.

So then we asked ourselves the question, what have we done to prepare these individuals to return to society? I think that is exactly right. It doesn't matter if it is an Islamic radical or if it is a white supremacist. We have to take the same approach across the board. But it is a very important question to ask, what are we doing in the corrections field to prepare these individuals to return

to our communities? Because I think a lot of times we forget, over 90 percent of them will be returning. That is critical.

A colleague of mine, a Michael Brown that studied at NPS, addressed this in 2011 when he wrote a thesis on the ripples that created when we released these terrorists from prison, how do we know where they are, how do we track them? Do we need to track a terrorist that is released from BOP back into the community?

We require other inmates in some categories to be registered. That is a question I think that needs to be put on the table and discussed. Do we have a public interest in knowing where a convicted terrorist lives at, and where they move to? How does the sheriff or the official police chief or the DA in a county know who is in their county?

I think those are all relevant questions, but I think more relevant is that what we do inside that facility to prepare a person to return. If it is an ideology that promotes extremism and radicalization, then I think we need to look at possible solutions that meet due process and civil rights standards, that we can challenge them and talk to them, have discourse about what they believe, and try to use every tool we have to change their mindset or at least to get them to disengage before we turn them back out into the community.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you. Mr. Levin, are you aware of any recommendations or research as to what we can look at once a person leaves a penal institution and get back into society that meets the civil rights, civil liberties test?

Mr. LEVIN. Yes. One of the things that I do want to point out is that we don't imprison ideologies. We imprison flawed people. So it has got to be individualized and culturally-specific. I think a lot of times, in this media-driven world that we are in, you know, sometimes we are seeing all Muslims all the same and then there is something else and it is all extremist Nazis all the time. What I am saying is, our center sees everyone all the time.

You know, I am worried about the animal liberation extremist. You know, one of the things that we also have to take into account is, we are presuming that when an extremist is in prison, for instance, that they will only—if they are white supremacist, they will only look at white supremacist material.

There is animal liberation material. There is radical material across the board which might help them become operational even if it is not something they share ideologically.

So I think a couple things: First, we have to look at an individualized and particularized threat matrix that is prisoner or released-person specific. What I worry about is that when we have a CVE program we are going to be looking at the shot-on-goal coming from here and it very well may come from here next time. I think there are content and viewpoint neutral aspects that must be incorporated.

So there might be an animal liberation person that gets released from prison, and we will have to make sure that their associational activities might be restricted, their travel might be restricted if appropriate, their access to the internet may be restricted; not necessarily because of their ideology, but because they happen to be a person prone to violence and certain associations.

We know that when you take a focus on ideology only off the table, we see that there are various characteristics that many of these people share. I have interviewed convicted terrorists in the Middle East, I have interviewed Aryan folks, I have interviewed Jewish extremists, Animal Liberation, and they share certain characteristics. When they get to a certain point, they are a threat irrespective of what ideology they are looking at.

Certainly, ideology does play a role. Interestingly enough—and I will close with this—many of the people, particularly converts, for instance, whether it is people who came into the Christian identity world, which is a racist religion of white supremacy—it is not a Christian religion—where people who go into violent radical Salafist jihadism, many of them had unique personal issues that prompted them to anti-social behavior.

We have to look at that as well in the context of the ideology. If you look at ideology alone, without the individualized drivers that took people into this, then we are missing it. Jose Padilla—and it is pronounced Padilla, by the way—Jose Padilla was a gang member in south Florida.

Bledsoe experimented with different religions. He was the Little Rock recruitment shooter, bounced from religion to religion. He had antisocial issues before. So if we are just saying, well, we are going to have a CVE program that focuses only on one ideology, then we may very well be looking there when the shot-on-goal is coming from here. I believe that we can do so in a Constitutional manner.

Indeed, if we only look at one community, I think there are not only pragmatic issues but Constitutional issues as well.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

Yield back, Mr. Chair.

Mr. KING. First, just for the record, Bledsoe's father testified before this committee twice, back in 2011.

Mr. LEVIN. Yes.

Mr. KING. Was a very compelling witness.

I now recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Barletta.

Mr. BARLETTA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My constituent senior correctional officer Eric Williams of Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, proudly worked in a United States prison. He was brutally murdered by convicted gang assassin Jessie Con-Ui on February 13, 2013. I applaud the decision by the prosecutors to seek the death penalty for this terrible crime. I want to thank his coworkers, some of them who are in town today, for the job they do every day to make our Nation a safer place.

One simple bill that would help the 39,000-plus employees working in our Federal prison system is the Eric Williams Correctional Officer Safety Act, introduced by David McKinley, Tom Marino, and Matt Cartwright. I am a cosponsor of the bill, and Pat Toomey has introduced it on the Senate side. It is a simple, bipartisan bill that will require the Bureau of Prisons to issue pepper spray to correctional officers and employees in high- and medium-security prisons.

Assistant Commissioner Parker, can you describe the conditions under which pepper spray would be helpful to prison workers, and why would pepper spray be preferable over some other form of non-lethal weapons?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, I would be happy to. Chemical agents are one of the items that we use for officer protection. When you look at the level of use of force, it is usually the second level, third level up. Once you establish physical force, the chemical agents are available. The only caveat there is to make sure that individuals are trained in the use of chemical agents, the proper use of chemical agents.

We issue chemical agents to our officers in Tennessee, especially those working in maximum custody units and high-security restricted housing areas. Yes, it is a very productive tool. You have inmates in physical altercations or even an inmate that may attack an officer. Chemical agents is one of the first resources that would be available to use that.

It basically hampers the offender's ability to see. It disorientates them. So it makes it a lot easier to handle the inmate. Very productive tool.

Mr. LEVIN. If I may, as someone who has actually been sprayed with pepper spray, one thing when I was in the NYPD, we had someone who—I was not personally involved in this—who was on drugs and extremely strong and in a close situation. Pepper spray was ineffective. So I am not opposed to your bill, but what I can say is sometimes a risk in a closed environment is that depending on how it is dispersed, it could affect correctional officers and other prisoners.

Additionally, some of these prisoners are pretty brutal people. If they were to grab the pepper spray, it could have a deleterious effect on correctional officers. But I will leave that to the folks with the training and the design. But having the opportunity to be armed with pepper spray, it is a tool but it isn't fool-proof.

Mr. BARLETTA. Yeah. In this case Con-Ui kicked Williams down a flight of stairs before brutally beating him and slashing him to death with two shanks. This may have been a case had he been able to have something to defend himself, he would be alive today.

One final question: As a former mayor before I came here, so how will a local police chief, sheriff, or mayor know if a terror inmate will be released into their community, and are you aware of a process for sharing this information?

Mr. PARKER. We often notify police chiefs, district attorneys, judges when we release individuals back into their communities. I would also say that I am not aware of a process in regards to a terrorist being released. I would have to defer to BOP to what their policy is on that. But an important point that I would point out is, knowing that that individual is back in your community is good, but I think we have an interest in knowing where that individual is at.

I mean, again, we don't require them to register. As far as I know, we don't require them to register. I made this point earlier. There are some inmates that are released that we require to register, a database. We know when that individual moves to another town or moves to another area. Again, I think that needs to be looked at and needs to be considered, because it is important that we be able to track these individuals when they are released.

Mr. LEVIN. If I could just interject one quick point. Here is another issue, and you are a former prosecutor. One of the things

that we have seen with regard to the prosecutions from, let's say, 2002 for the next several years—and that is why I brought up in the written testimony the different charges. The Justice Department right after 9/11, properly so, said, you know, we are not going to wait until plots come to fruition. We are going to interdict. That is the new strategy.

What that has done is that has cast a wide net that has ensnared operational folks like the JIS people in southern California, who interestingly enough, were found because of just good local police work by the Torrance Police Department, and then they got the JTTFs involved, you know, the fusion centers.

We have to make sure that we share information, but not every person that gets released is going to be of the same threat level because that net ensnared people who in some instances were just violently-talking imbeciles as opposed to operational folks who had a depth of motivation. That is something that is really important as someone who studies both hate and extremism.

We have a matrix that involves how operational is someone, how connected and networked are they, and how shallow or deep are their hatreds? For instance, an article in *Think Progress* this summer talked about white Aryan prison gangs. They are among the most violent; and indeed, for instance, Aryan Brotherhood of Texas would kill their own members with lye and torture them with fire and things like that because they were criminal syndicates.

But some of these groups will oftentimes partner up with other folks who are outside of their in-group because it is effective for drug dealing, for instance. So we have to look at both the violence, the type of violence, the depth. Because what we don't want to do is inundate law enforcement with information that may or may not be specific to an actual terrorist threat.

One other point with regard to information sharing that all my colleagues really have begged me to say, and that is, not only do we want to continue the information sharing, which has been relatively good in the post-9/11 period with the fusion centers and even between Federal law enforcement, but there are a lot of us who are former police officers, former FBI agents, who are in academia now who would love to get the opportunity to be able to do some kind of trend analysis but we don't have access to prisons and prisoners.

That might be something that we should look at, opening up for the appropriate people, local law enforcement as well as academia, to get information. Information is the life blood of what we are doing and in such a fluid situation. What I am telling you is my testimony might very well, along with my colleagues and friends here, be somewhat more irrelevant 8 months from now than it is today because of fluidity of the situation.

When we do share information, what I think is important is that we have some kind of trained person vetting saying, okay, this person who has no criminal record and merely was ensnared with shallow hatreds and low operational efficiency is not the same as the JIS folks, and that is something that I think is important. But yes, you are completely correct.

Mr. BARLETTA. Thank you.

Mr. KING. Does the Ranking Member have any questions?

Mr. HIGGINS. No.

Mr. KING. Recognize the gentleman from Rhode Island, Mr. Langevin.

Mr. LANGEVIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would welcome our witnesses here today. Thank you for your testimony. It has been very informative.

To the panel, we know that violent extremism is a global phenomenon, and we have seen incidents of radicalizations in prisons around the world. Can you describe similarities and differences between the prison environments in the United States and elsewhere, particularly Europe, and what elements might make the U.S. corrections system more or less likely to allow prisoners to radicalize?

Mr. PARKER. I am not that familiar with the other correction environments in other countries. In America we have—a lot of facilities have set standards. The American Correctional Association sets best practices standards that a lot of facilities follow. So I feel like the conditions of confinement in America is pretty good. I believe they have access to the things they need.

In regards to their living conditions, I think it is very acceptable. I think there is things that make up that correctional environment though that I have identified that could contribute to radicalization, and I have listed those. You know, I think we have to have a dual strategy where you have to have a security component and rehabilitative initiatives inside the facility.

We have to do rigorous vetting and monitoring of prison chaplains and volunteers. I don't think just a criminal background check is sufficient. I think we have to understand and know the message of people who come in, in the volunteer status to hold these services.

We need to encourage positive inmate family social interaction and communication. I think that is a positive. Policies should encourage social science research. I think the gentleman here has testified to that. We are missing a point there where there is more work to be done and research inside of our facilities to detect those issues that might promote radicalization.

Then provide staff training and developing intel networks with criminal justice partners. I think we have done a good job with that. The correctional intelligence initiative works well. It is a good framework. But it is very important to know that you have to train those people at that ground level, those correctional officers, those counselors, those people that deal with inmates every day, to first of all, recognize and understand what kind of threatening message we need to identify, what we need to look for, and how to pass that information on, where it can be properly vetted with the FBI and the Joint Terrorism Task Force.

Mr. LANGEVIN. Thank you.

Mr. BJELOPERA. Just a quick comment. One of the big successes in the post-9/11 era in terms of fighting terrorists in the United States was the expansion of Joint Terrorism Task Forces. Based on public information, it seems apparent that BOP and FBI work extensively on Joint Terrorism Task Forces, sharing information about what is going on inside and out of facilities.

Mr. LANGEVIN. Thank you.

Mr. LEVIN. Can I tell you a joke I can't use anymore? It used to be—and an FBI agent told me this. It used to be, what did the FBI agent say at the scene of a terrorism attempt? I would like to thank my local colleagues. We got it all under control as he screwed the light bulb into the faucet. I can say that because an FBI agent told me that.

Now the level of cooperation is actually quite good. We have terrorism early warning groups, JTTFs, fusion centers. Again, the JIS case was an example of something that should happen in this context. The Torrance police uncovered some gas station armed robberies. These folks were operational. They were going to attack military institutions, National Guard, Jewish institutions, and Israeli targets, and they came across material and then got the whole regional consortium together.

Put that back to the assassination of Meir Kahane when there was a lot of extremist material that was uncovered, but sat in boxes without being analyzed. So today things are definitely a lot better, and I would say that anything that this committee could do to encourage cooperation between law enforcement.

But let me just say also, NGOs, we have folks in monitoring entities that are not Government-related and academia who I think would be a resource. Like, for instance, when we had a graduate student that was trying to study to make a typology of what was going on with post-9/11 extremists, it was very difficult to get information.

Again, I want to make sure that I mention two things: First, our response has to be individually specific because we don't have automatons that come out of like a white supremacist extremism factory or a Salafist jihadist extremism factory or an Animal Liberation factory. We have folks who, through a variety of networks, exposure to propaganda, and indeed personal dysfunctions, go into extremism for different reasons and in different depths.

One of the things that we know about hatred and extremism, it is based on three things: No. 1, emotion. What is emotionally appealing about extremism to these folks? No. 2, they adhere to a belief system; and then No. 3, some kind of effective component, affective component, rather, where there is behavioral change. They can be different.

What we want to make sure is that we get everybody involved in the matter. As Chairman King knows, even though we are both Mets fans, Bucky Dent got a hit in 1978. Nobody was looking at Bucky Dent and the Yankees got into the World Series. So we really have to be open with respect beyond ideology.

Because some of the people that we are seeing—and this is something—some of the people that we are seeing go from a buffet of ideologies, and they become operational with their own idiosyncratic drivers. So it is not like everyone is in a tight box. So I think for that reason we have to involve the Joint Terrorism Task Forces with outside monitoring organizations and academia who could give them further insight.

Because what we are seeing now is a very diffuse spectrum of actors that don't fit in boxes. We might have someone tomorrow who commits an attack with multiple hatreds who does not fit one particular profile and may have had individuals strain exposures that

catapulted him or her to action. Most of them are male, though, however.

Mr. LANGEVIN. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I have other questions I will submit for the record, but thank you. I yield back.

Mr. KING. Thank you.

Before I recognize Mr. Keating, I would like to point out for the record, I was not expecting a home run off Jeurys Familia in the ninth inning last night either. That was as big a surprise as Bucky Dent.

But in any event, as a Massachusetts man, let me introduce Mr. Keating.

Mr. KEATING. I am disappointed in this Bucky Dent conversation, and, you know, if it wasn't for the Fenway wall, maybe it wouldn't have gone over there. But that is another sore subject of discussion.

Mr. KING. Before you got here, they were commenting on how bipartisan we are and how we get along and now you are trying to interject a Red Sox/New York feud into this. It is really inappropriate for this committee.

Mr. KEATING. Well, for a team that finished as low as ours did, this is rubbing real salt in the wound. But that is another topic of terrorism that we will talk about later.

I just want to thank you for being here. But one of the things I am grappling with and looking at this issue is—and it is hard for a lot of prison programs to measure the effectiveness. But what kind of metrics could be used? Mr. Levin was just talking about how individualized this is, and it is not a great history right now.

So I guess, I will ask just one question and include two threads: One is, what did we learn that wasn't working when we were looking at some of the other programs that are functioning abroad; and No. 2, what kind of metrics would you be looking at so we can measure the need and the effectiveness of anything we do here? Because that is important as well.

Mr. PARKER. In the research on the two programs that I looked at, and of course it was open-source and very hard to get information, and, again, you have to consider that information is open source and it is what they reported. So I understand the issues surrounding that.

But, you know, they talked to—Saudi Arabia and Singapore both said that it was very important to have individuals who participated in the program as counselors who were recognized as legitimate. The detainees had to recognize these individuals as legitimate and could speak on the issue of the misinterpretation of the Quran in this case. That was basically the primary issue that they focused on as a must have for the program, along with the social support, the families, the community model they used after the inmate was released.

As far as our metrics, you know, I am not sure how we would measure that. Again, we have to look at what are we doing now, and I think that is an important question. What are we doing now, and where do we want to go in the future? How do we take that first step to begin looking at a process to prepare these people to return?

I think also important is the risk assessment. Coming up with a validated risk assessment that we can use to target these individuals—or maybe not target them, but to look at them and to have some type of idea of what kind of programs they need, what kind of—is supervision possible once they are released from that correctional environment back into our communities?

Mr. KEATING. What do we have in place now for like some of the domestic terrorist groups? Do we have programs in place now for skinheads, some of the other white supremacist-type groups? Is there applicability back and forth?

Mr. PARKER. No, as far as challenging their mindset, the thought process, no, we track them. We basically track them in the correctional environment. There is anger management programs that they can be involved in, things like that. But no, there is no specific programs that target the ideology that they use.

Mr. KEATING. Okay. Well, thank you, and it is important to look back at the past, even if it is painful with Bucky Dent.

I will yield back to the Chairman, reminding him that there was a football game with the Jets recently and New England Patriots. It is good to be cautious of the present as well as the past. Thank you for taking the time here.

Mr. LEVIN. If I may, I will take you to a game in Fenway. I have always wanted to take my son to a game at Fenway. So you have a deal.

Just very briefly, Horgan and Braddock, who are two experts, observed that internationally these programs outside of the United States involved education, occupational assistance, mentoring, psychological assistance, and encouraging a shift to positive social networks away from extremists, for instance.

In the United States, though, where large numbers of prisoners are dispersed across Federal and State institutions, deradicalization programs are not as focused or sophisticated as some of our smaller allies. But when they are modeled, they often are modeled, for instance, as my colleague Pete Simi pointed out, and Mr. Bubolz, they are often modeled off of ones that have been used in the gang and cult disengagement process, which may very well be effective.

But, again, we are at the nascent stage of this, and we don't have a lot of great data. Fifteen years ago there was something called Operation Grow Hair out of the central district of California's U.S. Attorney Office, with regard to skinheads. We just don't know how effective these programs are. Did these people not reoffend because of the program, or did they not reoffend because of other factors?

Mr. KEATING. Yeah, I think we have to get a handle on the metrics. We can clearly look at other examples to see how effective that is.

So again, I thank you. This has been very painful. You have gone from Bucky Dent to something called Operation Grow Hair.

Mr. LEVIN. I will never be invited back.

Mr. KEATING. So, I am going to lick my wounds, and I yield back.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Bill. Thank you, Mr. Keating.

I have two questions I would like to ask, one to Mr. Bjelopera: In the 2011 administration CVE strategy, they included a section on prison radicalization, which included goals for improved aware-

ness of the risk of extremism in prisons, enhanced screening to identify inmates with extremist views, improve detection of recruitment efforts, and increased information sharing.

The committee has done a lot of oversight over this 2011 strategy, and I don't believe we found very much progress. But, are you aware of any progress toward these four goals in the U.S. prison system, and do you have any recommendations for the best approaches to address these areas?

Mr. BJELOPERA. I am not aware of any progress. It doesn't mean necessarily that there hasn't been. I am just not aware of any progress from the public record. I would imagine that one of the things that the administration may consider is looking at more intervention in terms of prison radicalization and CVE in prisons, but I am not even sure if that is going on.

Mr. KING. Okay. I would like to ask Professor Levin, I agree with everything you are saying about the skinheads, Nazis, Aryan Nation, and they are as malevolent and evil as anyone else, that is a concern I have.

But the question I have is, those who are evil that existed prior to September 11. After September 11, whether it is the Department of Homeland Security or the Committee on Homeland Security, or even the NYPD which you are familiar with. You know that for years the NYPD was monitoring these extremist organizations, including certainly skinheads, I am aware of, and others; and yet after 9/11 they set up a special counterterrorism unit to deal with this unique form of Islamist terrorism.

In the prison system, is there one system to address extremists or in view of the international dimension of the threat that comes from Islamic terrorism? Again they killed more people maybe than anyone who has come out of prison, but the potential of a mass disaster because of the international dimension of the Islamist threat, does that warrant, in effect, two different systems of monitoring radicalization in the prisons?

Mr. LEVIN. They didn't come out of the prison system though. He did not—

Mr. KING. No, no, I am just saying as far as the potential evil. I am not saying he came out of the prison.

Mr. LEVIN. Oh, sure. Sure.

Mr. KING. I am just saying that obviously there are cases where domestic radicals, domestic extremists can cause large casualties, no doubt about it. So I am not talking about really the extent of the evil. I am talking about the nature of the dimension and the international dimension that comes with Islamist jihadists.

Mr. LEVIN. Sure. But, you know, there is an international dimension, for instance, to anti-Muslim violence. When I go to bed at night, I worry about an extremist shooting up a mosque in addition to worrying about a Salafist jihadist and in addition to worrying about all these other folks.

Look, narcoterrorism has an international—

Mr. KING. But again, we go like to the NYPD, you are familiar with 2,000 people working on Islamist jihad in addition to what they are doing as far as the other radical groups.

Mr. LEVIN. Right. But I would say, though, is that with regard to the risk of violence, for instance, narcoterrorism has an inter-

national component. We are now seeing for instance in Israel the Israeli Government classifying Jewish extremists as terrorists and using their rules like that. We haven't seen that yet come here. What I am saying is, I am concerned about the shots-on-goal that come from close to the goal, back at the end of the ice.

So, if there is an international component, by all means, we don't have to put blinders onto it. But the Animal Liberation world has an international component to it, for instance. You know, the violence actually in Europe with regard to the Animal Liberation people has been worse.

So yes, if there is an international component, we shouldn't put blinders on. What I am worried about is something where it is all Muslims all the time and we craft something that will be perceived in the Muslim community as being discriminatory and then lose some of our best allies in this.

Some of the most wonderful people that I have worked in the counter extremism world, have been from the Muslim American or Arab American community, who are as concerned about this as others. So, yes, in the abstract, let's, you know, let's look where the bad guys may come from. Where I am worried about, if it is something that operationally either is overinclusive with respect to politically-protected speech, I am concerned.

You know, look, we had a speaker come to our university who was friendly with two presidents of religious organizations at schools that were involved in plots over in Britain. I have chronicled an award-winning piece that I did for the intelligence report about a home-grown American Muslim extremist who go on college campuses and say all kind of things.

However, the United States Supreme Court has said that abstract advocacy of violence is something that is Constitutionally protected, and it is separate from particularized incitement. Where the problem arises is when we have, I think, good people—I work with people in law enforcement. I love law enforcement. I am blessed to be the least successful law enforcement member of my family.

But we have to be careful to not cast a wide net that would take folks who are merely political dissenters as opposed to people who are actually fomenting immediate calls to violence. In particular, if we concentrate merely on just one community. Because in Orange County, California, we had a recent case with an ISIS supporter who wrote a letter and said, “je suie,” not “je suis,” “je suie Al Qaeda.” You know who turned him in? His mother. So we want to make sure that we don't alienate the very communities that we need to fight this effort.

Mr. KING. I guess the difference is one of degree, because we do have organized crime bureaus, we have narcotics bureaus, which are different dimensions of attacks, different types of attacks. I just believe that Islamist jihadism is a separate form of threat to the United States and it doesn't mean we should cut back on organized crime monitoring or going after narcoterrorists.

But there is to me a unique dimension to the Islamist threat today, which is why the whole Department of Homeland Security was created, why the NYPD has set up a 2,000-person counterterrorism unit in New York because of the nature of it. They are still

looking at organized crime. They are still looking for skinheads. They are looking at the drug dealers, and they have separate units for all of those.

But they also have a separate one for counterterrorism which is focused right now on the Muslim community in New York because that is where the threat comes. As they focused on the Italian community during the glory days of the Mafia and the Irish community during the days of the Westies and the west side of Manhattan.

So I guess what I am saying, no one is saying go after Muslims, but I just think there is a unique dimension to that threat which has to be admitted and acknowledged without saying all Muslims are evil. When I had my hearings on Islamic radicalization, the key witnesses we had supporting my position were Muslims.

So it is not that we are trying to demonize Muslims anyway, but that is where the threat is coming from, just as the threat from the Mafia came from the Italian American community and the threat from the Westies came from the Irish American communities. That is really the point I am making on that.

Mr. LEVIN. Our center by the way, as I put in our testimony, our center regards the Salafist jihadist threat as the most profound threat facing our country today. But what I am concerned about is that not everyone is as well-versed in this area as you are, and there are people who will exploit this sliver. We have 2.7 million or more Muslim Americans in the United States who exploit the sliver for some kind of other agenda.

We have in the United States, unfortunately, in the words of Fareed Zakaria, an Islamophobe industry. We see this on different things in the white supremacy world. Any time a Jew does something bad, it is a headline on Stormfront. Or anytime an African American, you know, spits on the sidewalk, it is a big thing on the neo-Nazi sites. All I am saying is we don't operate in a vacuum, and we have to let law enforcement investigate where the problems are.

When I was in the NYPD, we had an officer shot to death by a mobster, and we went crazy on the mob at that point. The Salafist jihadist threat represents the most profound terrorist threat to the United States right now. I acknowledge that. What I am concerned about is that there are not people who are as even-tempered as you—

Mr. KING. Wow, put that in the record.

Mr. LEVIN. No, but, you know, you read this stuff every day. You know, let me just say, God bless this whole committee. God bless this whole committee and the bipartisanship that you have shown because my son's safety depends on you.

Unfortunately, there are people who exploit things. CNN did a whole thing where there were people who were not qualified who were Islamophobes who were giving trainings to law enforcement. You know, we have to make sure that the care that you have taken in getting people to come before your committee is exhibited by people in law enforcement.

What sometimes happens is that we get—look, we get into a point where conservatives might feel that they are being targeted because we look at far right wing. What we have to do is approach it in a professional way that you have. We should definitely look

at the places where extremists are. That is how we break up these plots.

But we also have to be careful that we understand that no extremist group has a monopoly and that we exert due care that we are not casting such a net as to exclude other types of extremists or people who are not, but yet hold politically differing views from the two of us.

Mr. KING. Mr. Higgins.

Mr. HIGGINS. Yes. Thank you again, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for this outstanding panel of witnesses. This has been a very, very enlightening experience and we appreciate it very much.

Mr. Levin, in your testimony you had indicated that former FBI supervisor Dr. Carl Jensen, III, writing in this month's *American Behavioral Scientist* that you coedited, forecasted over the next 5 years terrorists will make increasing use of technology, forge new alliances and hybrid structures, and morph between politics, criminal enterprises, and even gangs.

We on this committee have both a budgetary and oversight responsibility. We had mentioned, and I think they have been highly successful thus far, the fusion centers, the Joint Terrorism Task Force. So structurally, I think law enforcement post-9/11 has become more cooperative in the sharing of information intelligence, toward the goal of thwarting terrorist activity.

Are the resources available to meet the new trends over the next 5 years? If you can comment on that.

Mr. LEVIN. Partly so. Again, one of the things I really think is important, you know, I reached out to folks in the counterterrorism community. These are heroes. I wrote to one saying, gosh, I am going before this committee, you know. He said, well, I am working from 2:00 in the morning until 10:00, you know, contact me. These are people who are 24/7 working on things. Here is some of the problems: I think we have to have alacrity in pivoting to different threats. Right now, as I said, our center regards the Salafist jihadist threat as the most prominent one, but it is a close call.

You know, I remember before Oklahoma City people regarding the alarming rise of militias, most of whom, by the way, were non-violent. But we are now seeing in society a splintering. There are so many angry, distrustful people. If you look at the polls of trust for Congress, of the media, of medicine, of academia, it has plummeted in recent decades.

So people across a broad range can hook into a variety of anti-social and conspiratorial ideologies. If I may—and I hope I am not, you know, going to get disinvited for another hearing—we have to have that alacrity, and that includes if we have to look at the Animal Liberation people, let's do it. But by the same token, there have been concerns that the investigations relating to far right—and I am not talking about considered people of good will, who I adore who are my closest friends, we have to have alacrity as the threats come up, because we are in such a fluid environment.

If we can depoliticize it. Because, you know, one of the things that Attorney General Ashcroft, to his credit, who is vigorously opposed to abortion, he went after those violent people, who in very similar models to Salafist jihadists use faith and the internet to target people.

What I think we must do is have funding that is not only towards the Salafist jihadist threat, which I regard as the most prominent one, but also to collecting trend analysis on other threats, which many people have come to me off the record, say, hey, if you ever get to talk to a Congressman, say this. What they tell me—this isn't me. This is people in law enforcement and intel saying, can we have a little bit more funding and alacrity to look at a variety of threats, particularly from the far right but also others as well.

We might be talking about Jewish extremists next year because of what is going on in the Middle East. We might be talking about Palestinian extremism. It is a very fluid situation, and we have to have that alacrity to pivot to where the threat not only is today, but where it will be 18 months from now.

Mr. HIGGINS. Yeah. See, you know, counterterrorism is all about what didn't happen, and you rarely get credit for what didn't happen. Fighting counterterrorism, the whole objective is keeping things from happening. Perhaps, you know, we are too reactive to the previous, or immediate threat and not visionary enough to have that fluidity to diversify our efforts to anticipate the emerging trends, because obviously that is going to be very, very important in our counterterrorism efforts as well.

With that, I will yield back, thank you, sir.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Brian.

I am going to thank all the witnesses. This has been a terrific hearing. I want to thank you for your valuable testimony. I want to thank the Members for their questions. Also, the Members of the subcommittee may have additional questions for you, and so we would like to ask you to respond to those in writing if they do come in.

Now pursuant to committee rule 7(e), the hearing record will be held open for 10 days. Without objection, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:47 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

