

# Building Bridges

## TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA

FORGING AN EFFECTIVE COUNTERTERRORISM ENTERPRISE  
**BETWEEN MUSLIM AMERICANS & LAW ENFORCEMENT**

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**PART 8**  
**POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND APPENDIX:**  
**THE QUR'AN AND THE RULES OF USE OF FORCE**



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## Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

**R**adicalization is a multi-faceted process that cannot be boiled down to a single causal factor. As such, policy responses from law enforcement, the government and local communities must reflect this complexity. This must include recognition from policymakers that stamping out terrorism cannot be done by enforcement without community help.

Law enforcement and Muslim communities need to strengthen their relations and recognize the separate but interrelated roles they play in safeguarding America. This relationship must be built on a firm foundation of trust, which must be premised on a respect for civil liberties. By involving all citizens – communities and law enforcement alike – in the effort to defeat violent extremism, America can remain both safe and free. Therefore our report offers the following general recommendations:

### **To Muslim American Communities:**

- **Develop better programming and support networks, particularly for Muslim youth and converts.** Mosques and religious community leaders have the ability to proactively enrich their congregants' spiritual lives, as well as to ensure they do not fall prey to extremism and possible criminal activities. Communities should also develop support networks, social programs and means of information outreach, that are directly relevant to the everyday activities and concerns of congregants, especially to youth and converts.
- **Counter cyber-based extremism.** Outreach must include dealing with the challenge of radicalism on the Internet. These plans of action should also be expanded to include online communication where mainstream "E-dawah" (electronic religious outreach) can counteract extremists' deceptive image of "Jihadi cool." Since research indicates consumption of cyber-based extremist material is a symptom, not a cause of radicalization, the most effective outreach remains in the real world. Mosques can serve as conduits for healthy discussions of media information and perception of Muslims, including extremist material on the Internet.
- **Invest in long-term institutional creation and development.** Central to ensuring the longevity of the Muslim American community and its integration into America is sound institutional development. There are multiple challenges facing Muslim American communities, which require multiple solutions coming from multiple organizations. No single Muslim American organization can provide the solutions to all of our communities' problems. There needs to continue to be strong support for the creation and development of policy engagement, civil liberties and social welfare organizations.

- **Invest in Muslim youth leadership training.** Since they represent the future of our communities, young people should carry part of the responsibility of representing Muslim American interests. The Muslim Public Affairs Council conducts its annual Youth Leadership Summit, which immerses young Muslim Americans in civic and political engagement and creates a network of like-minded young leaders around the country. Such programs provide Muslim American youth with the spiritual and professional skills needed to develop the next generation of ethically and professionally capable leaders. Such organizations need their financial and programming capacities to be expanded through the assistance of community donations and general operating grants from philanthropic organizations.
- **Invest in long-term homegrown religious leadership education and development.** Anecdotal evidence appears to point toward the beginning of a generational gap between Muslims born and/or raised in America and their immigrant parents. As such, the spiritual needs of the younger generation (as well as converts) are shaped by a different social context than older generations, requiring different modes of religious thinking and spiritual outreach.<sup>1</sup> Muslim communities should encourage students interested in religious studies to attend colleges such as Hartford Seminary that offer Islamic chaplaincy courses. Community leaders should also seek to create indigenous religious institutions tailored to the religious needs of Muslim Americans.
- **Promote partnership and information exchanges between Muslim communities and institutions.** No one community or Muslim American organization has all the solutions to the challenges it faces. It requires a multi-faceted and, preferably coordinated approach. On the topic of radicalization, MPAC plans to convene a conference in DC with prominent American Imams and government policymakers which will lay down the foundations for a renewed partnership.

#### **To Law Enforcement:**

- **Continue to adopt community-oriented policing practices.** If law enforcement wants to establish and continue its partnerships with Muslim American communities in fighting crime and preventing terrorism, then it needs to continue cultivating those relationships through community-oriented policing. Such relationships require much effort and resources to maintain. The Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) – which was recently allocated \$1 billion in stimulus money from Congress – can serve as an important resource by providing technical resources and research on best practices.
- **Continue to research and adopt practices reconciling federal, local and state policing efforts and priorities within Joint Terrorism Task Forces.** Federal offices like COPS should continue to collaborate with law enforcement foundations like the Police Executive Research Forum to strengthen local-federal police partnerships. Meanwhile, JTTFs are encouraged to examine and adopt practices that will empower rather than undermine local community-oriented policing efforts.<sup>2</sup> Memoranda of Understanding governing JTTF activities should provide better

delineation of information sharing from Federal entities to its state and local partners.

- **Adopt MPAC’s principles for community engagement with Muslim Americans.** Again, these principles are 1) decisions and assessments of Muslim communities must be made based on credible information, 2) respect for communities’ civil rights and civil liberties must be maintained at all levels, 3) move away from a “securitized” relationship, and 4) leave the counterradicalization to Muslim communities. These principles are meant to form the foundation of an effective partnership with Muslim American communities against violent extremism.
- **Highlight Muslim American contributions to local and national security.** Much of the national discourse surrounding Muslim Americans is shrouded in fear rather than facts. This is especially true when it comes to terrorism. Despite substantial evidence of Muslim community members denouncing terrorism and even assisting law enforcement investigations, misperceptions about Muslim Americans persist. Unfounded or even exaggerated charges of extremism and terrorism can undermine relations between Muslims and their neighbors, pushing communities toward isolation and alienation. Law enforcement officials must be extremely proactive in this regard by publicly emphasizing Muslim Americans’ assistance and cooperation in preventing radicalization and violent extremism.

#### **To Local, State and Federal Governments:**

- **Raise legal standards and build infrastructure to protect civil liberties.** This is essential to ensure the “synergy” between Muslim communities and law enforcement is strong. Congress should examine stronger legal remedies that rein in abuses of National Security Letters and strengthen the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. Congress should also consider using appropriations funding to push DHS and state and local fusion centers to adopt greater civil liberties protections,<sup>3</sup> including CFR 28 Part 23. Attorney General Eric Holder should thoroughly re-examine the Department of Justice’s current Domestic Investigations Operations Guidelines to effectively address concerns over the use of informants and the legal standards for opening an investigation on a surveillance target.<sup>4</sup> The President can also assist in the effort to strengthen civil liberties by populating and empower the Privacy Civil Liberties Oversight Board. The board is currently vacant, prompting concerns from civil liberties and policy advocacy groups.<sup>5</sup> The Attorney General can also take further steps to strengthen the President’s Intelligence Advisory Board and the Intelligence Oversight Board.<sup>6</sup>
- **Take steps to address racial profiling.** It is not only unethical, but also an ineffective and counterproductive policy that alienates Muslim communities. Congress should support legislative initiatives banning racial/religious/ethnic profiling across all law enforcement agencies in the US, including at the local, state and federal levels (including the End Racial Profiling Act). This should include all types of investigations, including criminal and domestic counterintelligence operations. Meanwhile, the Attorney General can enhance the Department of

Justice's guidance document on the use of race in law enforcement investigations to include ethnic and religious profiling. The guidance should also be applicable to all federal agencies and types of investigations. The Attorney General should also institute a thorough re-examination of the Domestic Investigations Operations Guidelines and address concerns over possible "ethnic mapping" permitted under the current Guidelines.<sup>7</sup>

- **Overhaul the Fusion Center development process at the Federal level.** The current network of fusion centers across the country remains disjointed, despite having their databases being interconnected with other state and regional centers and receiving a significant portion of federal funds. A coordinating office that has the power to harmonize the activities and development of Fusion Centers is needed. The Office of the Program Manager of the Information Sharing Environment (PM-ISE) appears to be best suited for this role. The PM-ISE should contain audit functions such as Privacy and Civil Liberties Impact Assessment capabilities to identify those fusion centers not in compliance with the ISE Functional Standard and personnel training standards. Congress should also make civil liberties concerns – such as compliance with CFR 28 Part 23 and PM-ISE protocols – a factor in deciding whether or not to give grants to state and regional Fusion Centers.<sup>8</sup>
- **Encourage coordination of fusion center development at the state level.** State governments should also create their own oversight board, similar to the Texas Intelligence Council (TIC). The TIC has its own independent auditing capabilities and includes civilians to better incorporate better feedback and integrate itself with local community-oriented policing efforts.<sup>9</sup> State level efforts should be coordinated by a mechanism like the National Council of State Legislature's Task Force on Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness.<sup>10</sup>
- **Encourage further research and adoption of community-oriented policing practices.** Congress recently allocated \$1 billion toward community-oriented policing as a part of its stimulus package legislation.<sup>11</sup> This is a step in the right direction. Such funding levels should be maintained in the coming fiscal years and additional appropriations should be allocated specifically toward conduct on improving community-oriented policing practices.
- **Expand investments in better human capital acquisition and training.** The United States needs more individuals with language and subject matter expertise serving at all levels in all agencies, including law enforcement and national security. Currently entities such as the State Department,<sup>12</sup> Bureau of Prisons<sup>13</sup> and the Federal Bureau of Investigation,<sup>14</sup> lack individuals with such language and subject matter expertise. It should encourage entry into the public workforce through diversity recruitment at job fairs as well as expanding financial incentives such as the National Security Education Program scholarships, research fellowships and tuition reduction for recent college graduation.

## **Appendix:** **The Qur'an on the Rules of the Use of Force** **& the Sanctity of Life**

Extremists selectively quote certain Quranic verses out of context in order to justify their radical ideology and violent behavior. MPAC, like all other mainstream organizations and individuals, believes such interpretations profoundly misrepresent the teachings of the Qur'an and Islam.

Dr. Maher Hathout, Senior Advisor to the Muslim Public Affairs Council and a leading Muslim American thinker on topics related to Islam and Muslims, offers a brief Qur'anic commentary:<sup>15</sup>

According to the Qur'an, faith in God is a call to life, not to death:

- *“O you who have attained faith, respond to God and the apostle whenever he calls you unto that which gives you life...”* (8:24)

Human diversity is meant to be celebrated and reflected upon as a part of God's will, not a reason for conflict:

- *“...had your Lord so willed, he could have surely made all mankind one single community, but He willed it otherwise, and so we continue to have differences...”* (11:118-19)
- *“Oh humanity! Behold we have created you all out of a male and a female and have made you into nations and tribes, so that you may come to know one another. Verily the noblest of you in the sight of God is the most deeply conscious of Him.”* (49:13)

All human beings, regardless of background have an inherent dignity and sanctity that is not to be violated:

- *“We have bestowed dignity upon the children of Adam.”* (17:70)

Violence is permitted only against combatants and under the guide of self-defense and enforcing the rule of law to pursue justice:

- *“...take not life, which God hath made sacred, except by way of justice and law: thus doth He command you, that ye may learn wisdom.”* (6:151)
- *“And fight in God's cause against those who initially wage war against you, but do not commit aggression for verily God does not love aggressors...”*

Killing of an innocent person disregards the sanctity and dignity of a person so much as that God considers it to be a crime against all of humanity:

- *“...because of this did we ordain onto the children of Israel that if anyone slays a human being [in the punishment of murder or spreading corruption on earth], it is as though he had slain all mankind, whereas, if anyone saves a life it shall be as though he had saved the life of all mankind...” (5:32)*

Muslims must always act justly toward others, regardless of the circumstances or the people:

- *“Let not the wrongdoing of others sway you into injustice.” (5:8)*
- *“Oh believers! Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to God, even as against yourselves, or your parents, or your kin, and whether it be rich or poor: for God can best protect both...” (4:135)*

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> For instance, see: Neil MacFarquhar, “A Growing Demand for the Rare American Imam.” *New York Times*, (June 1, 2007), <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/01/us/01imam.html?ei=5088&en=1dbcef0acf586194&ex=1338350400&partner=r&pagewanted=print>.
- <sup>2</sup> See the recommendations contained in: Murphy and Plotkin, *Protecting Your Community from Terrorism*, P. 12-13.
- <sup>3</sup> Matthew Harwood, “Civil Liberty Concerns Could Become a Factor in Grants to State Fusion Centers.” *Security Management*, (November 24, 2009). Available at: <http://www.securitymanagement.com/news/civil-liberty-concerns-could-become-a-factor-grants-state-fusion-centers-006506>.
- <sup>4</sup> For instance see: “Investigative Guidelines Cement FBI Role As Domestic Intelligence Agency, Raising New Privacy Challenges.” *Center for Democracy and Technology*, (October 29, 2008). Available at: <http://www.cdt.org/policy/investigative-guidelines-cement-fbi-role-domestic-intelligence-agency-raising-new-privacy-cha>.
- <sup>5</sup> Richard Esguerra, “Coalition Calls for Restoration of Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board.” *Electronic Frontier Foundation*, (November 12, 2009). Available at: <http://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2009/11/coalition-calls-restoration-privacy-and-civil-libe>.
- <sup>6</sup> Steven Aftergood, “Obama Boosts White House Intel Advisory Board.” *Federation of American Scientists*, (October 20, 2009). Available at: [http://www.fas.org/blog/secretcy/2009/10/obama\\_piab.html](http://www.fas.org/blog/secretcy/2009/10/obama_piab.html).
- <sup>7</sup> On “ethnic mapping” concerns, see: “Muslim Advocates Lawsuit Seeks FBI Surveillance Guidelines”.
- <sup>8</sup> Randol, *Terrorism Information Sharing*, P. 14-15.
- <sup>9</sup> Interview with Mohamed Elibiary, dated 10/15/09. Elibiary is the CEO and President of the Freedom and Justice Foundation (F&J). F&J is an educational non-profit working to enhance Centrist Public Policy development and implementation through the civic and interfaith engagement of Texas Muslims. He is also a civilian appointee of the Texas Intelligence Council. See: [www.freeandjust.org](http://www.freeandjust.org).
- <sup>10</sup> “Task Force on Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness.” *National Conference of State Legislatures*, (July 9, 2007). Available at: <http://www.ncsl.org/default.aspx?TabID=773&tabs=855,106,702#702>.
- <sup>11</sup> “COPS FY 2009 Funding.” *Department of Justice Office of Community Oriented Policing Services*, (December 8, 2009). Available at: <http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/Default.asp?Item=46>.
- <sup>12</sup> Jess T. Ford, *Persistent Staffing and Foreign Language Gaps Compromise Diplomatic Readiness.* *Government Accountability Office*, (September 24, 2009). Available at: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d091046t.pdf>.
- <sup>13</sup> Glenn A. Fine, “A Review of the Federal Bureau of Prisons’ Selection of Muslim Religious Services Providers.” *U.S. Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General*, (April 2004). Available at: <http://www.justice.gov/oig/special/0404/final.pdf>.
- <sup>14</sup> Glenn A. Fine, “The Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Foreign Language Translation Program.” *U.S. Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General*, (October 2009). Available at: [http://www.justice.gov/oig/reports/FBI/a1002\\_redacted.pdf](http://www.justice.gov/oig/reports/FBI/a1002_redacted.pdf).
- <sup>15</sup> Interview with Dr. Maher Hathout. Conducted 11/11/2009. Also see, Maher Hathout, *Jihad vs. Terrorism*. (Los Angeles, CA: Multimedia Vera International, 2002); Louay Safi, *Peace and the Limits of War: Transcending Classical Conceptions of Jihad*. (Herndon, VA: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2001); Sherman A. Jackson, “Jihad and the Modern World.” *The Journal of Islamic Law and Culture*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (2002), P. 1-26; Zaid Shakir, “Jihad is Not Perpetual Warfare.” *Seasons Journal*,

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(Autumn/Winter 2003-04), P. 53-64; Sherman A. Jackson, "Domestic Terrorism in the Islamic Legal Tradition." *Muslim World*, Vol. 91, No.3, (Fall 2001), P. 293-310.



Founded in 1988, MPAC is an American institution which informs and shapes public opinion and policy by serving as a trusted resource to decision makers in government, media and policy institutions. MPAC is also committed to developing leaders with the purpose of enhancing the political and civic participation of Muslim Americans.

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