COMBATING TERRORIST RECRUITMENT ACT OF 2016

APRIL 26, 2016.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. McCaul, from the Committee on Homeland Security, submitted the following

REPORT

together with

DISSENTING VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 4820]

[Including cost estimate of the Congressional Budget Office]

The Committee on Homeland Security, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 4820) to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to use the testimonials of former or estranged violent extremists or their associates in order to counter terrorist recruitment, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose and Summary</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Background and Need for Legislation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearings</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Consideration</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Votes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Oversight Findings</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Budget Authority, Entitlement Authority, and Tax Expenditures</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congressional Budget Office Estimate</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of General Performance Goals and Objectives</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplicative Federal Programs</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congressional Earmarks, Limited Tax Benefits, and Limited Tariff Benefits</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Mandates Statement</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preemption Clarification</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disclosure of Directed Rule Makings</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisory Committee Statement</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59–006
The amendment is as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
This Act may be cited as the “Combating Terrorist Recruitment Act of 2016”.

SEC. 2. DIRECTIVE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Homeland Security shall incorporate, to the extent practicable, into Department of Homeland Security efforts to combat terrorist recruitment and communications the public testimonials of former or estranged violent extremists or their associates, including friends and family. Such efforts may include the following:

(1) Counter-messaging of foreign terrorist organization communications and narratives.
(2) Related community engagement and public education efforts.

(b) COORDINATION.—The Secretary of Homeland Security shall, where appropriate, coordinate the actions described in subsection (a) with the heads of other Federal departments and agencies and, as appropriate, to the extent practicable, engage nongovernmental and international partners in the identification and use of testimonials described in such subsection.

PURPOSE AND SUMMARY

The purpose of H.R. 4820 is to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to use the testimonials of former or estranged violent extremists or their associates in order to counter terrorist recruitment, and for other purposes.

BACKGROUND AND NEED FOR LEGISLATION

In September 2015, the final report of the Committee on Homeland Security’s Task Force on Combating Terrorist and Foreign Fighter Travel was released. It included 32 findings and more than 50 recommendations for enhancing U.S. security. Among other conclusions, the Task Force found that “unlike many countries, the U.S. government has made little use of disaffected extremists to dissuade others from traveling to fight in terrorist sanctuaries.”

The Task Force highlighted the need to counter-message extremist propaganda because terrorists are radicalizing Americans at unprecedented speed and “crowd-sourcing” attacks. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), for instance, has been tied to more than 80 terrorist plots and attacks against the West, according to House Homeland Security Committee analysis, one-third targeting America. At present, FBI director James Comey has said publicly indicated there are nearly 1,000 homegrown terror investigations in all 50 states, mostly ISIS-related, and more than 250 Americans have traveled or attempted to travel to fight with jihadists in Syria and Iraq. This terror surge is tied to the group’s ability to recruit remotely-online and across borders. Most of these individuals were radicalized partly through online terrorist propaganda.

The Task Force indicated that the United States should use testimonials from former extremists to keep others from joining the fight. ISIS is recruiting Americans with promises of paradise and opportunity, but defectors have revealed that the group’s territory is, in reality, a repressive and violent prison state. These are the kind of messages that need to be amplified to counter terrorist propaganda. As President Obama noted in February 2015 at his
Countering Violent Extremism Summit, we “need to lift up the voices of those who know the hypocrisy of groups like ISIL first-hand, including former extremists.” Moreover, the nonpartisan Homeland Security Advisory Council made a similar recommendation in a Spring 2015 report published online, urging the Department of Homeland Security “to craft and disseminate counter-narrative efforts” based on the testimonials of former extremists.

The Task Force found many foreign countries have engaged disaffected extremists and returnees from terrorist battlefields to tell their stories and convince others not to travel to terrorist safe havens. These individuals are likely viewed by potential extremists as more credible voices than governments. Therefore, they stand a better chance of dissuading likely or future extremists from coming under the influence of groups like ISIS. Moreover, the U.S. State Department has already worked to promote the testimonials of former extremists abroad.

However, the panel was disappointed to find such efforts are not happening here in the U.S. homeland. Key U.S. departments and agencies had done little to leverage the stories of American returnees or family members of those who have fled to the conflict zone. Accordingly, the Task Force recommended that the U.S. government “should launch a concerted effort to use the testimonials of disaffected ‘former’ foreign fighters, extremists, and their friends and relatives” to counter the message of terrorist groups. The panel also urged that the Administration should help facilitate and distribute these stories through nongovernmental channels where possible and empower non-traditional partners to do the same.

This bill gives the Secretary of Homeland Security the flexibility needed to combat the wide array of terrorist groups that threaten the United States at home and abroad. The bill provides guidance on the types of activities that might fulfill the requirement, such as “counter-messaging foreign terrorist organization[s],” but it does not limit the Department’s ability to counter-message other dangerous terrorist groups that threaten the United States, including domestically.

HEARINGS

The Committee did not hold any hearings on H.R. 4820, however, the Committee held the following oversight hearings:

On February 11, 2015, the Committee held a hearing entitled “Countering Violent Islamist Extremism: The Urgent Threat of Foreign Fighters and Homegrown Terror.” The Committee received testimony from Hon. Francis X. Taylor, Under Secretary, Intelligence and Analysis, U.S. Department of Homeland Security; Hon. Nicholas J. Rasmussen, Director, National Counterterrorism Center, Office of the Director of National Intelligence; and Mr. Michael B. Steinbach, Assistant Director, Counterterrorism Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice.

On March 24, 2015, the Committee held a hearing entitled “A Global Battleground: The Fight Against Islamist Extremism at Home and Abroad.” The Committee received testimony from Hon. Newt Gingrich, Former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives; General Michael Hayden (USAF-Ret.), Former Director, Central Intelligence Agency and Former Director, National Security Agency; Mr. Philip Mudd, Senior Fellow, New America Foundation;
and Mr. Brian Michael Jenkins, Senior Adviser to the RAND President, The RAND Corporation.

On June 3, 2015, the Committee held a hearing entitled “Terrorism Gone Viral: The Attack in Garland, Texas and Beyond.” The Committee received testimony from Mr. John J. Mulligan, Deputy Director National Counterterrorism Center; Hon. Francis X. Taylor, Under Secretary, Intelligence and Analysis, U.S. Department of Homeland Security; and Mr. Michael B. Steinbach, Assistant Director, Counterterrorism Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice.

On July 15, 2015, the Committee held a hearing entitled “The Rise of Radicalization: Is the U.S. Government Failing to Counter International and Domestic Terrorism?” The Committee received testimony from Ms. Farah Pandith, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Mr. Seamus Hughes, Deputy Director, Program on Extremism, Center for Cyber and Homeland Security, George Washington University; and Mr. J. Richard Cohen, President, Southern Poverty Law Center.

On September 8, 2015, the Committee held a field hearing in New York City, New York entitled “Beyond Bin Laden’s Caves and Couriers to A New Generation of Terrorists: Confronting the Challenges in a Post 9/11 World.” The Committee received testimony from Hon. Rudolph “Rudy” W. Giuliani, Former Mayor, City of New York, New York; Mr. William J. Bratton, Commissioner, Police Department, City of New York, New York; Mr. Daniel A. Nigro, Commissioner, Fire Department, City of New York, New York; Mr. Lee A. Ielpi, President, September 11th Families Association; and Mr. Gregory A. Thomas, National President, National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives.

On October 21, 2015, the Committee held a hearing entitled “Worldwide Threats and Homeland Security Challenges.” The Committee received testimony from Hon. Jeh C. Johnson, Secretary, Department of Homeland Security; Hon. Nicholas J. Rasmussen, Director, The National Counterterrorism Center, Office of the Director of National Intelligence; and Hon. James B. Comey, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice.


**COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION**

The Committee met on March 23, 2016, to consider H.R. 4820, and ordered the measure to be reported to the House with a favorable recommendation, as amended, by voice vote. The Committee took the following actions:

The following amendments were offered:

An Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute offered by MR. KATKO (#1); was AGreed TO, without amendment by a recorded vote of 16 yeas and 5 nays (Roll Call Vote No. 19).
An amendment by Mr. RICHMOND of Louisiana to the Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute (#1A); was NOT AGREED TO by a recorded vote of 8 yeas and 12 nays (Roll Call Vote No. 18).

An en bloc amendment to the Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute offered by Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi (#1B); was NOT AGREED TO by voice vote.

Consisting of the following amendments:
In section 2(a)(1), insert “and domestic terrorist organization” before “communications”.
In section 2, add at the end a new subsection entitled “(c) Director of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties.”
In section 2, add at the end a new subsection entitled “(c) Classified Report on Sources of Testimonials.”
In section 2, add at the end a new subsection entitled “(c) Background Investigation.”
In section 2, add at the end a new subsection entitled “(c) Oversight.”
In section 2, add at the end a new subsection entitled “(c) Report on Former or Estranged Violent Extremists.”
In section 2, add at the end a new subsection entitled “(c) Definitions.”
At the end of the bill, add a new section entitled “Sec. 3. GAO Report.”

COMMITTEE VOTES

Clause 3(b) of Rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives requires the Committee to list the recorded votes on the motion to report legislation and amendments thereto.

The Committee on Homeland Security considered H.R. 4820 on March 23, 2016, and took the following votes:

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY

ROLL CALL NO. 18

H.R. 4820

On agreeing to the amendment #1A offered by Mr. Richmond of Louisiana. Not agreed to: 8 yeas and 12 nays.

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<td>Mr. McCaul, Chair.</td>
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<td>Mr. Thompson of Mississippi, Ranking Member.</td>
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<td>Mr. Rogers of Alabama</td>
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<td>Mr. Duncan of South Carolina</td>
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<td>Mr. Clawson of Florida</td>
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<td>Mr. Hurd of Texas</td>
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<td>Mrs. Torres</td>
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<td>Mr. Carter of Georgia</td>
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COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY

ROLL CALL NO. 19

H.R. 4820

On agreeing to the Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #1 offered by Mr. Katko, without amendment.

Agreed to: 16 yeas and 5 nays.

Committee Oversight Findings

Pursuant to clause 3(c)(1) of Rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee has held oversight hearings and made findings that are reflected in this report.

New Budget Authority, Entitlement Authority, and Tax Expenditures

In compliance with clause 3(c)(2) of Rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee finds that H.R. 4820, the Combating Terrorist Recruitment Act of 2016, would result in no
new or increased budget authority, entitlement authority, or tax expenditures or revenues.

**CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE ESTIMATE**

Pursuant to clause 3(c)(3) of Rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, a cost estimate provided by the Congressional Budget Office pursuant to section 402 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 was not made available to the Committee in time for the filing of this report. The Chairman of the Committee shall cause such estimate to be printed in the *Congressional Record* upon its receipt by the Committee.

**STATEMENT OF GENERAL PERFORMANCE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES**

Pursuant to clause 3(c)(4) of Rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, H.R. 4820 contains the following general performance goals and objectives, including outcome related goals and objectives authorized.

The goal of H.R. 4820 is to require the Department of Homeland Security to use the narratives of disaffected extremists to push back against terrorist propaganda, such as that produced by groups like ISIS. The bill requires the Secretary of Homeland Security, to the extent practicable, to incorporate the public testimonials of former or estranged violent extremists into DHS efforts to combat terrorist recruitment and communications. The Secretary may also use the testimonials of friends or family, who may be tied to former extremists, to fulfill this requirement. By codifying this activity, the Committee aims to bring DHS in line with emerging best-practices used by other government agencies, international partners, and nongovernmental organizations to use credible voices to keep terrorists from recruiting additional followers and operatives, particularly from within the United States.

This legislation gives the Secretary maximum flexibility to determine how such testimonials are obtained and disseminated, but emphasizes that they must be “public,” which could include pre-existing counter-narratives in news stories, interviews, nongovernmental productions, or other openly available sources. As there is already extensive material on this subject in the public domain, the bill does not require DHS to create a dedicated program to collect new narratives and instead directs that they be incorporated into existing DHS efforts. For instance, many individuals who have joined groups like ISIS have publicly repudiated the organization, contradicted its false narratives, and urged others not to make the mistake of enlisting with it. These are the types of messages the Committee hopes DHS will help amplify as part of its ongoing efforts to combat terrorist recruitment and communications. The bill also does not require DHS to disseminate the narratives under its own seal, as the Department may not be viewed as a credible messenger in some communities. Accordingly, the legislation urges the Secretary, to the extent practicable, to engage nongovernmental and international partners in the identification and use of these messages.
DUPICATIVE FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Pursuant to clause 3(c) of Rule XIII, the Committee finds that H.R. 4820 does not contain any provision that establishes or reauthorizes a program known to be duplicative of another Federal program.

CONGRESSIONAL EARMARKS, LIMITED TAX BENEFITS, AND LIMITED TARIFF BENEFITS

In compliance with Rule XXI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, this bill, as reported, contains no congressional earmarks, limited tax benefits, or limited tariff benefits as defined in clause 9(e), 9(f), or 9(g) of the Rule XXI.

FEDERAL MANDATES STATEMENT

An estimate of Federal mandates prepared by the Director of the Congressional Budget Office pursuant to section 423 of the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act was not made available to the Committee in time for the filing of this report. The Chairman of the Committee shall cause such estimate to be printed in the Congressional Record upon its receipt by the Committee.

PREEMPTION CLARIFICATION

In compliance with section 423 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, requiring the report of any Committee on a bill or joint resolution to include a statement on the extent to which the bill or joint resolution is intended to preempt State, local, or Tribal law, the Committee finds that H.R. 4820 does not preempt any State, local, or Tribal law.

DISCLOSURE OF DIRECTED RULE MAKINGS

The Committee estimates that H.R. 4820 would require no directed rule makings.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE STATEMENT

No advisory committees within the meaning of section 5(b) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act were created by this legislation.

APPLICABILITY TO LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The Committee finds that the legislation does not relate to the terms and conditions of employment or access to public services or accommodations within the meaning of section 102(b)(3) of the Congressional Accountability Act.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF THE LEGISLATION

Section 1. Short Title.

This section provides that this bill may be cited as the “Combating Terrorist Recruitment Act of 2016”.

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Sec. 2. Directive.

Subsection (a)—In General.

This subsection requires the Secretary of Homeland Security, to the extent practicable, to incorporate public testimonials from former or estranged violent extremists, or their friends or family, into DHS efforts to combat terrorist recruitment and communications.

Subsection (b)—Coordination.

This subsection requires the Secretary, where appropriate, to coordinate these efforts with the heads of other relevant Federal departments and agencies and, to the extent practicable, engage non-governmental and international partners in identifying and using such testimonials.

Changes in Existing Law Made by the Bill, as Reported

As reported, H.R. 4820 makes no changes to existing law.
DISSENTING VIEWS

When H.R. 4820 was considered, at the Full Committee markup, those of us who opposed the measure did so for the following reason.

While we do not take issue with the bill requiring the Department of Homeland Security to incorporate “public testimonials of former or estranged violent extremists or their associates” into the Department’s efforts to combat terrorist recruitment and communications, we do strenuously object to the fact that the bill, as approved by the Full Committee, focuses on only counter-messaging “foreign terrorist organization,” thereby excluding counter-messaging domestic terrorist organizations.

Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, domestic terrorists have killed 48 people within the United States and individuals inspired by foreign terrorist organizations have killed 45 people within the United States.1 According to a recent study by the Police Executive Research Forum and the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security found that state and local law enforcement personnel are almost twice as worried about right-wing and anti-government terrorism as they are about the threat from al-Qaeda types.2

In recognition of the fact that, like foreign terrorist organizations, domestic terror groups recruit and spread propaganda through social media and online chat rooms, I, together with like-minded Committee Democrats, made multiple proposals—during and after the markup—to remedy this matter. Each proposal was rejected.

Specifically, at the markup, Representative Cedric Richmond offered an amendment to define the term “violent extremist” as an individual engaged in ideologically motivated international terrorism or domestic terrorism, as such terms are defined in section 2331 of title 18, United States Code, and that may include individuals ideologically motivated by white supremacy extremism, militia extremism, anarchist extremism, sovereign citizens extremism, eco-

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terrorist and animal rights extremism, including the views espoused by 175 domestic and international terrorist organizations.3

The Richmond amendment was rejected.
Subsequently, I offered an amendment that would have inserted “domestic terrorist organization” into the measure to bring it in line with DHS’s approach to countering violent extremism, which is governed by the “Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States (National CVE Strategy),” which was issued in August 2011. The central tenet of the National CVE Strategy is that “[g]roups and individuals inspired by a range of religious, political, or other ideological beliefs have promoted and used violence against the Homeland.”

My amendment, too, was rejected.

Finally, I would note that, during the markup, there was a lengthy discussion with the attorney from the Office of Legislative Counsel about how the bill could be broadened if the word “foreign” was struck from the bill. Since the Majority, at the conclusion of the discussion, did not advance a proposal to strike the word, it is patently obvious that the Majority wants the focus of DHS’ efforts to be on the propaganda advanced by Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and other foreign terrorist groups and has little interest in DHS integrating public testimonials of former domestic militia-member, white supremacists, sovereign citizens, and other domestic terrorists into DHS’ efforts to combat terrorist recruitment and communications. For those of us on the Democratic side of the aisle that voted against this measure, this represents a major weakness in the bill and a major blind-spot regarding the terrorist threats this nation faces.

Importantly, DHS repeatedly communicated to the Committee that this legislation is not necessary, as it has the authority to integrate testimonials into its efforts, as appropriate. Therefore, from a public policy perspective, there is no need for this legislation to advance unless, as those Committee Democrats who voted against this measure were left to conclude, the Majority wishes to direct DHS to focus its attention on countering ISIL and engaging the American Muslim community, to the exclusion of other serious violent extremist threats.

Terrorist organizations continue to move rapidly in their recruitment of our children, coworkers, and neighbors and we must act to counter their efforts. Countering violent extremism should be a top priority for this Committee and we have a duty to ensure that Federal efforts to counter violent extremism are focused on domestic terrorist and foreign terrorist threats.

Bennie G. Thompson.