Written Statement of the
Council on American-Islamic Relations

The State of Civil and Human Rights in the United States

Submitted to the

Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the

Constitution, Civil Rights, and Human Rights

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Introduction

Chairman Durbin, Ranking Member Cruz, and other distinguished committee members of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Human Rights, the Council on American Islamic-Relations (CAIR), the nation’s largest Muslim civil liberties and advocacy organization, appreciates the committee’s ongoing oversight of the state of civil and human rights in the United States and respectfully submits this written testimony for your consideration.

The safety, rights and opportunities of Americans residing in the United States are largely dependent on race, faith, and socioeconomic status. As a nation comprised of diverse racial, ethnic, and religious communities, we all inhabit the same space, but do not share the same experience.

This hearing has been called for a great number of reasons, including the tragic and unnecessary deaths of Eric Garner, Michael Brown and Tamir Rice - all unarmed African Americans killed by police officers. In the cases of Eric Garner and Michael Brown local prosecutors and grand juries declined to bring their shootings to trial. Racial and religious disparities persist at many stages of the criminal justice system; spanning criminal prevention, detection, investigation, pursuit, prosecution, sentencing, imprisonment, and reform.

American Muslims are the most racially diverse religious group in the United States, with African-Americans, Arabs, and South Asians each making up a third of the religion’s believers. The experiences of American Muslims shed light on many key civil and human rights issues and on the need to reform the criminal justice system and on how police-community relations are handled.

To this end, CAIR offers several recommendations on how Congress, the judicial system and federal and state law enforcement agencies can better protect the civil and human rights of all Americans. In detail, CAIR will address the extrajudicial killings of unarmed African-Americans and other U.S. minorities; the prevalent practice of racial and religious profiling; racially-and-religiously-biased training of federal and state law enforcement; blanketed surveillance of the U.S. Muslim community, leaders and groups; false entrapment of Muslims; and, the need for national moratorium on the death penalty.

Responding to the Extrajudicial Killings of Unarmed African Americans and other U.S. Minorities

Following the recent fatal police shootings of Brown and Rice and chokehold death of Garner and other similar cases nationwide, CAIR and other civil rights groups called for "national action" to address issues of racism and urgent reforms needed in police procedures and training.

In 2012 it was reported that an unarmed black male was killed by law enforcement or armed security guard or neighborhood watchman once every 28 hours.\(^1\) While it is incredibly rare for a grand jury to not indict, in the cases of Garner and Brown and other U.S. minorities shot or killed by an agent of the law, juries are far less likely to proceed to trial and bring charges against an officer.\(^2\) In all cases

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mentioned below, an unarmed U.S. minority had been shot or killed by a law enforcement officer, yet no one was charged with a crime.

In response to Michael Brown's death, an 18-year-old African-American fatally shot in Ferguson, Missouri, CAIR joined the NAACP and other civil rights groups in calling for a special prosecutor to investigate the shooting. CAIR also questions the "problematic" grand jury process that resulted in a failure to indict the officer.

CAIR expressed deep dismay at the decision of a grand jury to not allow an open trial for an officer who placed Eric Garner, a 43-year-old African-American and father of six, in a chokehold that resulted in his death. Garner was unarmed and witnesses believe that he did not pose a threat to anyone.

Nearly two weeks ago, Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old African-American boy was killed by a police officer within two seconds after arriving in a patrol car. Last Friday, the DOJ released a long awaited report finding the Cleveland Police department has a pattern of “unreasonable and unnecessary use of force”.3

In May, the Florida chapter of CAIR sent letters to DOJ, the state attorney's office and the FBI seeking investigations of the history of substantial allegations of official corruption, misconduct, abuse, and civil rights violations made against an FBI agent who shot and killed Ibragim Todashev, a unarmed 27-year-old Chechen American, while in FBI and Florida State Police custody during interrogation last year in his home apartment.4

In October, Dearborn, Michigan marked the fifth anniversary of the fatal shooting of Imam Luqman Ameen Abdullah, 43-year-old African-American community leader who was unarmed when killed by FBI agents in a sting operation. According to Dawud Walid, executive director for the Michigan chapter of CAIR, “Although neither Abdullah nor any of his congregants were charged with terrorism related crimes during that sting, the prior infiltration of his mosque by FBI informants was shaped through the narrow focus of viewing the Muslim community through the lens of national security.”5

In addition to today's hearing, CAIR recommends that Congress hold a special hearing to investigate the broad pattern of unarmed minorities being shot and killed by federal and state law enforcement officers, without subsequent impartial and comprehensive court reviews. Congress should also provide the DOJ with more resources to dedicate to special prosecutors to independently investigate the police shooting of U.S. minorities. Congress should also press the DOJ and FBI to collect more complete statistics on such police shoots, as they are presumed to be undercounted and come from voluntary police reports.

Prevalence of Racial and Religious Profiling by Federal and State Law Enforcement

As previously mentioned in CAIR’s April 2013 statement to the subcommittee during its hearing on “Ending Racial Profiling in America,” since the tragic events of September 11, 2001, CAIR has received hundreds of reports from innocent Americans who have been wrongfully targeted by federal, state and local law enforcement officials because of their race, religion or national origin. They report having been searched, investigated and detained without reasonable suspicion. Since then, the American Muslim community has become the unfair target of numerous federal and state counterterrorism initiatives and surveillance programs.

In a recent investigative report published by The Intercept, based on leaked federal law enforcement documents, Dearborn, Michigan was ranked as second in the top five U.S. cities represented on federal watch lists. The report stated that “at 96,000 residents, Dearborn is much smaller than the other cities in the top five, suggesting that its significant Muslim population - 40 percent of its population is of Arab descent, according to the U.S. Census Bureau - has been disproportionately targeted for watch listing.”

“The top five U.S. cities represented on the main watchlist for “known or suspected terrorists” are New York; Dearborn, Mich.; Houston; San Diego; and Chicago,” said the report.

Distressingly, states with the largest number of mosques, Muslim houses of worship, correspond to this leaked list of top cities represented on the watchlist. New York is ranked the number one state with the largest number of mosques in the U.S., Michigan is eighth, Texas is third, California is second, and Illinois is fifth.

Ranked number one on both lists, the city of New York is no stranger to racial and religious profiling.

As highlighted in CAIR’s May 2013 written statement to the U.S. House Committee on Homeland Security on the Boston bombings, until recently the New York Police Department (NYPD) engaged in a blanketed surveillance program that targeted American Muslims across the mid-Atlantic region. This program was allegedly being conducted with the assistance of individuals linked to the CIA.

As reported by AP investigative reporters Matt Apuzzo and Adam Goldman in August 2011: “The [NYPD] has dispatched teams of undercover officers, known as 'rakers,' into minority neighborhoods as part of a human mapping program, according to officials directly involved in the program. They've monitored daily life in bookstores, bars, cafes and nightclubs. Police have also used informants, known as 'mosque crawlers,' to monitor sermons, even when there's no evidence of wrongdoing. NYPD officials have scrutinized imams and gathered intelligence on cab drivers and food cart vendors, jobs often done by Muslims. Many of these operations were built with help from the CIA, which is prohibited from spying on Americans but was instrumental in transforming the NYPD's intelligence unit.”

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According to the AP, NYPD investigators have also “placed informants or undercover officers in the Muslim Student Associations at City College, Brooklyn College, Baruch College, Hunter College, City College of New York, Queens College, La Guardia Community College and St. John's University” as well as “Rutgers, in New Brunswick, New Jersey” and the “elite Ivy League colleges of Yale and the University of Pennsylvania.”

The NYPD reported that in the course of its six-year surveillance program it had “never generated a lead or triggered a terrorism investigation.” The yearly cost of this program is allegedly $62 million.

In April, CAIR welcomed a decision by the NYPD to disband a special unit that conducted widespread warrantless surveillance of law-abiding Muslims. Still, the New York chapter of CAIR and its civil liberties allies questioned whether the policy of racial and religiously motivated profiling itself has been ended and that the department would no longer apply mass surveillance or other forms of biased and predatory policing to any faith-based community.

CAIR believes that in addition to costing taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars, the program of racial and religious profiling has damaged the Muslim community’s trust of the NYPD and made it difficult for the NYPD to maintain open lines of communication.

Likewise, CAIR and many other civil liberties and human rights organizations have worked for years to put an end to the NYPD’s racially motivated stop-and-frisk program. A program that violated the constitutional rights of tens of thousands of the city's residents, NYPD documents reveal that between 2004 and 2012 police detained, questioned, and searched some 4.43 million people, and that 80 percent of those stopped were minorities.

In Boston, Massachusetts a similar stop-and-frisk program continues as it was recently reported by the Massachusetts chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, that between “2007 and 2010, out of approximately 200,000 encounters that did not result in an arrest, 63 percent of people stopped and frisked by the BPD were African American. Only 24 percent of the city’s population is black.”

CAIR believes that racially and religiously-motivated profiling by state and federal law enforcement remains a serious problem across the nation as well as at our ports of entry. Reports to CAIR from the Muslim community suggest that CBP agents may be racially and religiously profiling American Muslims or those perceived to be Muslim for extra scrutiny during border crossings at multiple points of entry.

These reports include numerous incidents of American Muslims being repeatedly stopped at the U.S.-Canada Border by CBP agents in a show of force displaying their weapons, unnecessarily handcuffing these travelers and placing them in prolonged periods of detention, conducting intrusive and demeaning searches of their persons and possessions, asking inappropriate questions that pertain to their religion and religious practices.

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9 AP, “NYPD monitored Muslim students all over Northeast,” Chris Hawley, February 2012. Website: [http://www.ap.org/Content/AP-In-The-News/2012/NYPD-monitored-Muslim-students-all-over-Northeast](http://www.ap.org/Content/AP-In-The-News/2012/NYPD-monitored-Muslim-students-all-over-Northeast)

10 AP, “NYPD: Muslim spying led to no leads, terror cases,” Matt Apuzzo & Adam Godman, August 2012. Website: [http://www.ap.org/Content/AP-In-The-News/2012/NYPD-Muslim-spying-led-to-no-leads-terror-cases](http://www.ap.org/Content/AP-In-The-News/2012/NYPD-Muslim-spying-led-to-no-leads-terror-cases)

11 Ibid 8.

Complainants allege that CBP agents have repeatedly questioned members of the American Muslim community about First Amendment protected activities. Questions include: What religion do you belong to? How religious are you? Why do you wear a beard? How many times a day do you pray? What do you pray for? Which mosque do you go to? Do you pray the Morning Prayer in the mosque? Who else prays in your mosque? Who is your religious leader?

While CBP has publicly responded to these allegations that it “strictly prohibits profiling on the basis of race or religion,” complaints gathered from the DHS Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties and other civil liberties and human rights organizations contradict this policy.

CAIR believes that freedom to peacefully assembly and practice one’s religion without any undue burden imposed by the government, including protections from state and federal law enforcement racially and religiously profiling American Muslims and invasively questioning community members about their beliefs and practices, is guaranteed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. Moreover, Congress adopted the 1993 Religious Freedom Restoration Act to prevent such laws or actions that place an undue burden on the free exercise of religion.

CAIR is concerned that the reported actions of racial and religious profiling by state and federal law enforcement, including the FBI and Border Patrol, could weaken the American Muslim community’s trust in law enforcement, be in violation of the U.S. Constitution and public law, impact public safety by diverting limited law enforcement resources, and sidetrack such agencies from their mission to protect the U.S. citizens.

Concerning Biased Training of Federal and State Law Enforcement Agents

Following calls for reform by CAIR and other groups after revelations of apparently widespread anti-Muslim bias in the training of law enforcement, security and military personnel nationwide, in 2011 Obama administration removed biased and inaccurate materials about Islam from federal trainings.13

An 80-page report by Political Research Associates (PRA), titled “Manufacturing the Muslim Menace: Private Firms, Public Servants, & the Threat to Rights and Security,” detailed a systemic failure to regulate content in counterterrorism training.14

In 2011, Washington Monthly magazine also published a major investigative article showing similar anti-Islam attitudes by private trainers of law enforcement agencies.15

However, recent headlines were made by the NSA’s prejudiced use of the fake name "Mohammad Raghead" as a placeholder in agency documents describing how to properly format surveillance justification. While most of these federal training materials have since been purged, CAIR believes that the effects of such trainings still linger.

CAIR also expresses similar concerns about frequent reports that state and local law enforcement agencies are hosting anti-terrorism training sessions conducted by training groups that view all Muslims as being under suspicion of a connection to terrorism.

In August 2013, the Chicago chapter of CAIR worked with the Lombard Police Department and Elmhurst and Highland Park Police Departments in cancelling previously scheduled trainings featuring controversial anti-Islam trainer Sam Kharoba. Kharoba in the past has falsely taught police officers that "Islam is a highly violent radical religion that mandates that all of the earth must be Muslim."

In February 2014, CAIR worked with the Virginia's Department of Criminal Justice Services to withdraw its accreditation for a three-day training program on "Jihadi Networks in America" that was be offered by a notorious anti-Muslim conspiracy theorist John Guandolo.16 John Guandolo bizarrely claims that the current CIA director is a secret Muslim and asserts that American Muslims "do not have a First Amendment right to do anything."

Kansas Sedgwick County Sheriff's Office also canceled a planned anti-terrorism training in May after being contacted by CAIR.17 Unfortunately, Guandolo was then sponsored by Maricopa County Attorney Bill Montgomery to conduct a September 2014 training in Tempe, Arizona.18

In response to these anti-Muslim training materials and trainings, CAIR recommends Congress to request and independent Congressional Research Service study to review of DOJ and DHS national security and counterterrorism training programs and materials used to educate agents and officers on communities' cultures, beliefs, and practices, in addition to trainings on upholding civil rights and liberties of American citizens and persons residing inside the United States.

Such a review should also investigate how federal national security and counterterrorism training funds, grants, are distributed to state and local law enforcement agencies and to which trainers these funds are provided to.

CAIR also recommends Congress request the DOJ, FBI, and DHS to retain national security and counterterrorism officers and agents who, for the past decade, received such inaccurate and biased instruction with involvement from Arab, South Asian, Sikh, and Muslim organizations and ensure that First Amendment-protected activity and nonviolent civil disobedience is not improperly equated with terrorism.

Concerning Blanket Surveillance and Entrapment of Muslims

CAIR fully supports law enforcement counterterrorism investigations that are based on credible information, carried out to prevent criminal acts of violence, or to halt material support to would-be terrorists. CAIR believes that responsible enforcement of counterterrorism programs is what truly keeps Americans safe.

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Since September 11, the FBI has made preventing the next act of terrorism its top priority. Out of its $8.2 billion yearly budget, $3.3 billion is spent on counterterrorism operations. During the last decade, the FBI has built a network of 15,000 registered informants, many of whom are paid to infiltrate American Muslim communities.

Of the 508 federal terrorism prosecutions during this period, nearly half have involved the use of an informant, with sting operations resulting in the prosecution of 158 defendants, out of which 49 defendants were ensnared by an informant who led the plot.

CAIR acknowledges the value of FBI sting operations in prosecuting individuals who would attempt to do our county harm. However, in recent years a number of troubling details have emerged about some informant-led plots.

According to Mother Jones magazine, all but three of the last decade's high profile terror plots were informant-driven FBI stings that targeted suspects which had no actual ties to overseas terrorist groups like al-Qaeda.

As CAIR addressed in its written testimony submitted to the U.S. House Committee on Homeland Security on missed opportunities concerning the April 2013 Boston bombings, recent details about some of these cases have CAIR and many other Muslim community leaders, civil rights groups, and media questioning whether most of these FBI stings were geared toward preventing operational terrorists or were actually cases of financially motivated informants going to great lengths over long periods of time to radicalize and enable unlikely and at times mentally ill individuals to commit acts of scripted terrorism.

CAIR recommends that the Congress investigate allegations that the FBI has engaged in unlawful or questionable practices of entrapment in the American Muslim community, as well as other religious communities and politically left- and right-leaning movements.

**Concern Over Federal Law Enforcement Agencies Spying on Muslim Leaders**

In July 2014, CAIR joined with a broad-based coalition of 45 organizations, led by the ACLU, in insisting that President Obama provide a full public accounting of surveillance of American Muslim leaders.

According to new revelations by journalists Glenn Greenwald and Murtaza Hussain, CAIR's own national executive director was among those U.S. Muslim leaders reported to be targeted for FBI and NSA surveillance under FISA.

Among other leaders spied on was Faisal Gill, an American citizen, U.S. Navy veteran, and former Bush administration DHS official. Of particular concern, Mr. Gill's nationality was marked "unknown" on a leaked FISA recap document.

Addressing targeting of American Muslim leaders, CAIR stated it was "an outrageous continuation of civil rights era surveillance of minority community leadership by government elements who see threats in all patriotic dissent."

As the Obama administration continues to allow some government agencies to treat all Americans as objects of suspicion, it is time for a full public accounting regarding surveillance of American minorities.
CAIR strongly recommends that Congress investigate and hold a hearing to review allegations that the FBI and NSA are spying on U.S. Muslim leaders and to ensure that government surveillance works within the bounds of law and the Constitution.

### Addressing Racial and Religious Profiling Through New Federal and State Law

CAIR, like numerous other civil rights and advocacy organizations, recognizes the critical need for Congress to take action and put an end to racial and religious profiling by federal and state law enforcement agencies. The U.S. Constitution requires that federal and state law enforcement agencies respect the rights and freedoms of “all persons,” regardless of race, religion, ethnicity, or national origin.

On Monday, CAIR expressed serious concerns about the newly-released DOJ revision of its “Guidance Regarding the Use of Race by Federal Law Enforcement Agencies” retaining a “Muslim” carve-out on profiling by government agencies at airports and borders.

While the new guidelines extend the existing ban on federal law enforcement profiling on the basis of religion, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, and gender identity, it retains exemptions for DHS agents’ use of religion, national origin and other characteristics to profile at airports and the border and allow the FBI to “map” minority communities to place informants.

CAIR is dismayed that at a time when our nation is struggling to come to terms with a series of high-profile police killings of unarmed African-Americans, the DOJ would release revised profiling guidelines that include loopholes for targeting Muslims and Hispanics.

The addition of religion, national origin and other characteristics to the guidance is a sign of progress. However, these additions remain only a symbolic gesture if the DOJ keeps carve-outs for DHS, TSA, and CBP to discriminate at airports and the U.S. border, and allows the FBI to ‘map’ minority communities to place informants.

Under these guidelines the DOJ will still authorize the FBI’s racial mapping program to continue registering minority neighborhoods from across the nation for possible surveillance and community informants, spanning African Americans in Atlanta, GA to Asian Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area, CA to Arab and Muslim Americans in Dearborn, MI.

These guidelines will do nothing to stem the complainants CAIR receives American Muslims that CBP profiles them based on their religion at the northern border and when returning home from travel abroad by asking about First Amendment protected activities.

With the release of this new guidance, the rights of American Muslims at the airport, border and in their communities and houses of worship remain at risk.

There are several important steps Congress can take to support comprehensive reform of the nation’s law enforcement policies and practices dealing with racial and religious profiling. To safeguard our communities’ constitutional rights and freedoms, CAIR offers the following recommendations:

Congress should enact the End Racial Profiling Act (H.R. 2851/S.1038), introduced by Senator Cardin and Representative Conyers, and push for the DOJ to revisit its newly revised guidelines on profiling.
Congress should address the Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic FBI Operations (AGG) and the FBI's Domestic Investigations and Operations Guide (DIOG), which permit the FBI to engage in racial and ethnic profiling in certain contexts, to initiate investigations, and to use intrusive investigation techniques absent any suspicion of wrongdoing.

Congress should also review how these guidelines and the DIOG impact law enforcement practices in Muslim communities -- and others -- and could help the attorney general to better understand the harmful effects of the policies.

**Federal and State Moratorium on Death Penalty**

Following the 2013 controversial execution of Troy Davis in Georgia for the murder of an off-duty police officer, CAIR once again called for a moratorium on the use of the death penalty.

Because of circumstances surrounding his trial and sentencing, Davis' execution captured worldwide attention. Seven of the nine key witnesses at Davis' trial later recanted their testimony. Some jurors say they have changed their minds about Davis' guilt. A man who was with Davis the night of the murder reportedly confessed that he actually shot the officer.

CAIR believes that this disturbing case demonstrated the urgent need for a moratorium on the use of the death penalty nationwide. As in this case, studies have clearly demonstrated that poor and minority defendants are more likely to be sentenced to death than members of the majority society who have adequate access to legal representation. Justice can never be served by the execution of the innocent.

CAIR calls on Congress to adopt legislation for a national moratorium on the use of the death penalty following the numerous wrongful executions that have come to light in the past decade.

**Conclusion**

The promise of racial and religious equality enshrined in the U.S. Constitution is left unfulfilled if we as a nation are not brave enough to see the inequality that currently exists and are too weak to hold our systems of justice accountable when it fails to preserve the rights of any minority community.

As a nation we have inherited a long history of institutional racism and unchecked privilege. While significant progress has been made in overcoming this history, as a society we still face an alarming crisis of racial and religious profiling that is condoned by some members of Congress and employed as a policy and a tactical response by the federal and state law enforcement agencies sworn to keep us safe.

CAIR hopes the committee will act on the above referenced issues and recommendations surrounding racial and religious profiling by state and federal law enforcement officers and agencies.

Once again, CAIR thanks the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Human Rights for holding this important hearing on the state of civil and human rights in the United States.