

Brussels Forum

March 20, 2016

Plenary #9: Part II Countering Terror - Security or Values?

Announcer: Ladies and Gentleman, please take your seats. The program will begin momentarily. Ladies and gentleman, please, welcome back to the stage Ms. Cami McCormick.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Thank you. Hi. Put this right here. Thanks for being here. Nice to see everybody. We have a lot to talk about here. This is a very important issue. It's also a very complicated one so I'm just going to throw out a lot of questions just at the beginning just for everyone to sort of think about. Not directly--not that you have to answer them. I'm going to then get each of your thoughts very briefly and then we're going to go to audience questions very quickly because the last session, we found that the audience questions were much better than mine. So we'll send it right to you, and also a reminder on social media, you can use your apps to write a question and they will appear on this [audio skip 03:07:46] Judge Jean-Louis Bruguiere, who is the former head of Counterterrorism Section at the Paris High Court and has had years [audio skip 03:07:53]. We have the honorable Yves Goldstein, who is Head of the Cabinet of the Minister [audio skip 03:07:58] on Foreign Relations, and the first ever special representative to Muslim Communities at the U.S. State Department. And we have Nick Rasmussen, who is the Director of the U. S. National Counterterrorism Center.

And some of the things that I was thinking about in reading the title of forum, "Security or Values? Countering Terror." How far are we willing to go in our own countries to stop terrorist attacks? Are we willing to accept more surveillance, including of our own communities? Are we willing to accept more intelligence gathering of our own people, if that's what it takes? Should we strip foreign fighters of their citizenship? Some countries are considering that, as well as their families, in fact. Does that work? Would that help? How much should be handled by our police learned a little differently? So we'll see what's working and perhaps what's not. What are the implications for our democracies in countering terrorism at home? [Audio skip 03:08:53] on these subjects or any other subjects you would like to talk about and we'll start--

Mr. Jean-Louis Bruguiere: [Audio skip 03:08:57] just want to beginning to say what we are facing right now with ISIS in Europe and maybe elsewhere is, in fact, you know, it's not very--something very new. It is a continuation of a long, you know, threat, terrorist threat, you know, with (inaudible) of the Cold War. And I [audio skip 03:42:43] have a, you know, a continuum between 1993, 1994, 2001, and right now. What is important, operationally speaking? We should want, you know, to understand very well the situation. We have absolutely close operational connections between what I call the land of Jihad. That

means the country where people are fighting Muslim against non-Muslims and (inaudible) has been and maybe will be the part in the (inaudible) Afghanistan. Afghanistan, you know, is the core of the terrorist threats, but you have others that are Jihads, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kosovo and Kashmir.

So in 2014, given unprecedented geo-political situations in Iraq and Syria, which had changed, you know--we have, you know, Syria replaced Afghanistan in the role to attract, to (inaudible), you know, much more militants and jihadists in Europe at an unprecedented scale. But the problem is a (inaudible) situation, not (inaudible). That's very different, you know. It's very important to take into account the fact that it's not very new. What is new is the geo-political situations. If you don't succeed, you know, to find a political solution in Syria, we will have (inaudible), you know, (inaudible) new phenomenons. And be careful because it's absolutely possible that we have a new phenomenon at the same scale and importance in terms of violence with Africa.

Africa could replace, you know, Syria and Iraq, you know, and could benefit from ISIS to reinforce the capacity, you know, because they are very opportunistic, you know, just to fight against Europe because Europe and the United States are the target of ISIS.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Yves?

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: I think global act local. In fact, in my perspective as chief of staff of the (inaudible) president of this region--in the region that you are today is the center for the medias for the couple of days and months because since the attack of Paris, a lot of Jihadist was charged and find here in Brussels. So my question here when I heard what the judges said, is when we know that--when we know the situation, how we can act in our cities. Our cities are facing a very huge problem, maybe the hugest since World War II.

The problem is an ideological problem. It's not, I think, it's not that we have people who can commit violence in our cities. Of course, it's the problem and we have to tackle terror and there is a lot of things to do and we know that is very complex, but the problem is really in our cities. How people who were born here in Brussels, in Paris, in other cities can call them heroes, who commit--the people who commit violence? This is the real question what we are facing for. What we can do is young people who prefer to death--they could be an example for them.

It doesn't mean that they will go to Syria, to Libya, to other countries. It doesn't mean that, but it means that in their life here, in our cities, they can be resilient and radicalized in our rejection of the society. And this huge and complex issue, I think, that for the moment we don't have deciders, civil society, intelligence services, security services, we don't have the toolbox to face and to tackle this challenge. And I hope that this kind of forum and others can bring us more tools, more levels of capacity of act.

It's urbanism. It's the urban development. It's education. It's culture. All we can bring all of our young people in a museum, in a concert hall, in an opera, pretend that they are in schools. That's the real issues that we have to tackle to make that our society cannot be only the question of being together, but living and doing together.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Thank you. Farah?

Ms. Farah Pandith: So I'm going to piggyback a little bit off of what you said, but I'm going to put a little bit of an optimistic spin on it. There are one billion Muslims on the planet under the age of 30. You all know that one-fourth of the planet [audio skip 03:48:00] and they recruit you. Now, when I think about the framework of how we think about this, the reason why I'm telling you we have tools in our toolbox is because for 15 years after 9/11, we have experimented. In the most micro of ways, but we have experimented and you are absolutely right, everything comes back down to the local. What we haven't done is to lift up the kinds of peers that can push back against their own peers who find sympathy in the ideology of the extremist. And you questioned why? It is not that they have things that we don't have. It is not that they have suddenly invented a component of the internet that we've never seen. It is not that in the offline space they're doing something wild and crazy that we can't put our heads around. It is that they have determination, and they have will. And they have a 24/7 machine that is able to do it.

The question we all should be asking ourselves, not just as citizens, but as countries, is why haven't we scaled up proportionately the fight [audio skip 03:49:01] power piece, how do we stop the momentum of these guys, but we have not done the same thing in the soft power. Absolutely true, sir, what you are talking about, whether it's Africa or Central Asia. Whether it's happening here in Europe, and by the way, South America should not be forgotten.

But these connect--the connectivity for young Muslims around the world as millennials, as digital natives, means that because ideas have no borders, what they see in Nouakchott, Mauritania, will ricochet across the world and make a difference. And it will happen in your backyard as well.

So when I think about the threat that we are facing, it is far larger than ISIS. ISIS is not the last stop. The fight that we are fighting is the fight to stop the recruitment process, the sympathy [audio skip 03:46:23] is an issue of protecting our youth both in an on and offline space and understand that we actually can win, that the solution [audio skip 03:46:40] I mean, this is the good news part.

We don't -- we're not [audio skip 03:46:56] about that so-called conveyor belt from somebody just being [audio skip 03:47:10] in the way that we should.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Nick?

Mr. Nick Rasmussen: Well, I want to start first by congratulating my Belgium counterterrorism colleagues for the terrific work they did this weekend. That involved law enforcement, military and intelligence, all working together here in Belgium [audio skip 03:47:33] delighted with the headlines that we saw on Friday and I just wanted to offer my congratulations to our partners.

I'll be the third panelist in a row to use the word toolbox because that just ends up being a term of art we end up using a fair amount in the counterterrorism world. The threat that we're seeing in our cities, and when I say we in this case, I mean, both the United States and Europe, comes in two different variations, deploying individuals into far-flung places to carry out organized terrorist attacks with a command and control structure, a tie back to a safe haven in an unstable part of the world somewhere else.

That is something we've been dealing with since the period of al-Qaeda and even before and so, in that sense, the set of tools we need to confront that threat is well known, well understood, well resourced, even if the challenges are still pretty profound.

But the second flavor of threat that we're facing right now is one we are particularly focused on on the other side of the Atlantic and United States. And that is the threat of the lone terrorist actor who doesn't come connected in a formal or direct way with a terrorist organization, who may only have the kind of indirect online contact that Farah was referring to, but is nonetheless moved, motivated, inspired, direct or instigated to carry out a violent act, to maim, to kill, to shoot, to stab. That individual [audio skip 03:49:10] than anything I talked about in that first category. And so the toolbox that we need to confront [audio skip 03:49:19] the former toolbox is a whole lot of other things that we've been talking about over the last three days, conflict resolution in unstable parts of the world, et cetera.

But the toolbox we're needing to rely on to deal with the second flavor of threats that I mentioned is much more a community-based set of tools. And this is where we struggle, and Farah is right to point out that we have struggled, particularly in the United States, at finding scalable solutions to bringing the kinds of tools that communities need to engage in the kind of work that Yves was talking about as well.

Recognizing and understanding how a young person might be [audio skip 03:50:43]

Ms. Cami McCormick: --at the heart of what we're talking about. Can you talk about this specific case and your feelings about it, and what happened here? The particular area in which it happened?

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: Brussels is a city of 1,200,000 inhabitants. And long ago, we chose a way of developing which is, I'm sorry, which is a kind of third way between the French model, which the migrants was put outside of the cities, and the English/American model, which in those cities, there were communities, Chinatown, Little Italy, to be a little bit characterization. In Brussels, everybody is living in

the city. And we choose a model of living, of diversity in the city by (inaudible). (Inaudible) of population in the same neighborhoods.

What we failed in (inaudible) or--and I say (inaudible) for French friend to say (inaudible). What's happening (inaudible) is that we failed in the (inaudible). When we have neighborhoods with people only see the same people, only go to schools with the same people, with the same teachers. Go to the bakery to see the same people. Go to the lawyer to see the same people. What connection they have with their whole society, what connection they have with the real diversity? So the fundament of the ghetto. it's the thing in our urban development that we have to tackle. Because we know, in Brussels, where the lot of neighborhoods where the people are living in different neighborhoods with very (inaudible) of people from all migrations that we have in Brussels. We have European institutions with European people, more than ever, in our city that can live also within a neighborhood with diversity. But we know, we see that where we failed it's the place that there is no diversity.

And so, our fight now is to get diversity in those neighborhoods. It means housing policies, it means mobility policies, it means urban development policies. We cannot let a neighborhood without a mix of people. And I think that the fact that Abdeslam Salah--I'm very sorry. The fact that this (inaudible) can stay four months in Brussels show that the networks, the connections, the people, and that what I say that--that doesn't mean that all those people who helped Salah are terrorists. It doesn't mean that. But it means that in their mind, in their mind, they can help those kind of people.

And it means that in our society, the ideology and the vision of the city are interlinked. We have to fight by urban development out, the ideology can grow. And the only weapon that we have, if I can say, is that the young people are connected to the world, are connected to the other culture, are connected to see the difference between, and to dream, to dream about what a young people now in Brussels that it's true for other cities can dream about.

What about what? There is no more ideology. There is no more great utopia. What we can do to say that the young people will never go to the museums just until he's 18 or 20 years old, can dream about--that never saw Chagall, that never saw Dali, that never saw Warhol, that don't know what dream is, to see another society, it's possible. We know that there is an unemployment rate. We know that there is housing problems. We know that there are social problems, and social issues very deep in Brussels. But we don't give to them this young people the keys to think different, to think outside of the little box that in the neighborhood that they live, they put them, the little ideologic box, this closed-eyes box.

And we need to open the mind of the young people. And I think that, for the moment, it's true in Belgium, it's true in Brussels, I think it's true in other countries, we don't--when we're fighting so problems, the far--

I say it's from my point of view, personal point of view, when the government can put 400 million in security, my point of view is that we need the same money for education and culture.

Ms. Cami McCormick: So it's not a question of sending police and intelligence into these neighborhoods, it's a question of opening these neighborhoods--

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: Yes.

Ms. Cami McCormick: --to everyone.

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: Yes.

Ms. Cami McCormick: And to them being more--yeah, and I would like to know how, too, that compares to the lone threat in the States. What's the difference here between the type of area that we're talking about here and a certain lone threat that would come out of the States? I also, Farah, would like your opinion on this as well. Whichever one wants to go first. If you want to--

Ms. Farah Pandith: I just wanted to say a couple of things. One is, it isn't one or the other, by the way. You have to have a really important piece has got to be the intelligence on what's happening. The policing. I mean, that's just what society, I mean, you have to have that.

But it isn't also, by the way, just because Muslims are put into a particular area that they're not seeing anything. The bad guys are demonstrating that there's only one way to be Muslim. That there's a monolith. That you've got to do this. What we haven't seen is the pushback on that to say there's a diversity of Islam on the planet, and you need to learn about it.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Who does that pushback?

Ms. Farah Pandith: There's--communities can do that pushback if they're given the tools to do it at scale. But right now, the only thing a young person is seeing is one way to be Muslim on and offline. And [audio skip 03:59:00] that it is important, certainly, for any youth of any background, of any religion, of any culture to be aware of the diversity in culture and arts and all of that. There is something [audio skip 03:59:19]

Unidentified Male: --our media and I don't know who--during two months, they became Islamic terrorist and before two months, they weren't Islamic terrorist. I'm asking myself the question why.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Okay. So do we understand his point here properly?

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: Yes.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Okay.

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: I understood.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Okay.

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: I did. I think I understood. First of all, I didn't say that the integration was a failure. I say that we failed in (inaudible). It's not the same. And it's for sure and I'm also a local elect people and chief of minor--retain my community of (inaudible) also difficult to say for the French journalists (inaudible) as elected as a [audio skip 04:07:19] on all community. But the things changed. The things changed and, yes, friends, teachers in schools with a majority of Muslims people in the classes, and yes, after the Paris attacks, they call them heroes. They call them heroes. Ninety percent of the young students in the class in the last class, 17, 18 years old was call them heroes.

Yesterday, I was in the tram in (inaudible) to go to this carnival, which is a very Belgian tradition, very mixed tradition, very mixed organization. And young people in the tram was calling Abdeslam Salah as heroes. So I don't say that it means that it's everybody [audio skip 04:08:40] in what I said, the little ideological box that they are confronting, the third, the fourth generation with the process of the positioning of identity. We cannot deny that those young people are confronted to a question of identity. And identity is a two-sides relations. It's relations between himself, between ourselves, and the relation between ourselves and the others. So it's the identity what I'm facing, what I'm believing, what I believe I am and also how the other people saw me.

And that's true, that's the media and too much politics are walking with stigmatization of the whole community, which is totally (inaudible) excuse me to say that in French. I think that the people understand what I mean.

Ms. Cami McCormick: We have a couple of questions here in the front. These two in the front row.

Ms. Trudy Rubin: Trudy Rubin, The Philadelphia Inquirer. I'd like to ask Mr. Goldstein, you have known that (inaudible), excuse my pronunciation--

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: It's quite better than the French (inaudible).

Ms. Trudy Rubin: [Audio skip 04:10:10] for a long time. Can you speak to what you tried to do in this community? I mean, people have talked about going into the Mosques, to the Imams. I don't know if these young people had anything ever to do with a Mosque. I mean, can you talk about what you have tried to do [audio skip 04:10:29] about how to reach these people because you have to try something new, since obviously, something didn't work.

And also, can you say whether they were found, Abdeslam was found, as is reported by a tip from somebody in the community whom he knew?

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: More--a lot of questions. I think that the failure without--that's in that kind of organization of the people of the new Muslim migrants bringing together with an organization of the community was the good way to live their lives and to be in peace with the rest of the community.

And I think that this concentration policies (inaudible) policies, which is also the willing of those communities. In my commune of (inaudible), there is--I don't--I hate the term, so I don't want--it will be misinterpreted, but there is a Turkish ghetto, has something to do that there will be this Turkish Ghetto [audio skip 04:12:15] problem is also that they don't speak one of the two language of our [audio skip 04:12:23] community and now the two synagogues of this neighborhood is to sell because there is no more Jews in this neighborhood.

But it's the levels of migrations. Migration come, another replace another one and so to live in community, it by itself, I think it's also something human, that the people want that. We know, and this is connected to the global question, geopolitical question, but also I think ideology can question because I think that's true that those people who commit violence, I'm sure they are not Islamist. People radical as defined by Islam is a way to express their radicalization. They are radicalized into society. There was young people radicalize against society since more than 100 years. There was young people in the Nazis. There was young people in the anarchist of the '60 and '70s year. There was people in the communist parties. There was ideology, there was utopia and now, Islamism, it doesn't mean that they believe in something--that they believe in nothing. They believe in nothing. But it's the way they're defined to crystallize radicalization.

In French, we say--I'm sorry to prefer to say that in French [speaking foreign language] those people have nothing to do with religion. They're nothing to do with religion. Religion for them is a protest. So to answer--one minute to the other question, what we can do now. I think that we have, by education policies for the young people, the very young people, a lot of things are played at the level of 7, 12 years old people, we have to give all the money and all the power that we have in direction of those people. We need to create more diverse schools. We need to bring people from other neighborhoods to the old neighborhoods with the policies of housing--public housing. But [audio skip 04:15:24] say that I know that it's not the issue of this debate and this panel, but [audio skip 04:15:36] their deficit and debt policies. But with, according to the European criteria, we cannot make [audio skip 04:16:01] In modern day, two museums are quite open this year and in three years in Molenbeek to make that treasure is open to everybody in our cities.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Okay, Judge, did you want to add something or--I know that we talked before the session. I want to bring you into this conversation. We talked before the session. You said that terrorist



organizations have learned to manipulate our systems, right? To influence the people they want to influence. Did you want to add something to that?

Mr. Jean-Louis Bruguiere: I just to get--absolutely agree 100 percent. [audio skip 04:1:52] It's a lot. [audio skip 04:16:57] That's crucial. If we don't, you know, have, we lose. So problem is that the Muslim population is the first victims of radicalists. And so we have to make, you know, especially in France--we don't have the same phenomenon because we have 5 millions in our country. And so it's very important because--and I'm very surprised by the fact that the counter-narrative of the (inaudible) is very low. We should have to enforce, to examine--because they are (inaudible) for that. You know, there's what we have.

We are just, you know, we heard only the speech of the radicalist or either issues through social medias, through special networks or most special [audio skip 04:17:52] So very important is right now is to rebuild, you know, and to reinsert the Muslim community inside, you know, the landscape. That's very crucial for me, you know, and what we have to do.

You know, there's to balance and to have a much level powers to fight against radicalization process because the problems that you have explained [audio gap 04:18:21:] the object of the young, of this generation.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Okay. Let's go to some more questions. First of all, we had a question right here in the front and then we're going to go over here. I'm going to get to you, sorry. Do you have the mic, sir? Yes, go ahead.

Mr. Peter Brosni: Yes, thank you. Peter Brosni, European Institute of Peace. Our expertise comes from working with extremists groups in Syria, Yemen, Libya, those places. And what we have learned is that it is possible to talk to groups that officials cannot talk to. We brought that expertise inside Europe. We are working with the city of Brussels. We are working across Brussels and other countries in Europe. The question is, for me, also to the American colleagues, is it possible, even at low cost, for officials to talk to radical leaders because that's not happening? We are meeting with leaders already discreetly, who have a million YouTube hits, 200,000 Facebook friends. And for 20 years, they've never been met by an official. So does the establishment also have an obligation to have to meet those who are leaders in their own right?

Ms. Cami McCormick: Would one of you like to take that question?

Mr. Nick Rasmussen: Farah, you served inside government. You want to take one from outside government first?

Ms. Farah Pandith: Sure. So I think you're asking a really important question. But there is so much more to it than that, right? You're assuming that those leaders that have 200,000 people on whatever, Facebook or whatever social platform you're talking about are the ones you need to get to because the minute you tell me that that's the person, you're setting up a hierarchy situation. I heard this day in and day out right after 9/11. Islam doesn't have a Pope. Who do we go to to say this? And if they decree this, everything will be fine. It doesn't work like that. How many people in this room are parents? Can you raise your hand, please? [audio skip 04:20:19] about the person who is--has, you know, how many million people on Twitter. Those things are important, but the landscape of influence is really important. The graffiti artist, the hip hop artist, the theologian, but also the poet. So you get a wide scope.

I get your point. Can government [audio skip 04:20:47] the ideas that we hear on the ground. We are not doing our job as government if we do not go deep and wide and find a whole lot of different kinds of partners on the ground that can actually be the ones that interface with the kinds of people you're talking about and indeed other kinds of people. Now what have we learned since 9/11? We experimented in this kind of prototype right after 9/11. And we--I mean, look, I was on the ground in 2007 doing this in Europe when most European governments were really pissed off at the U.S. government for somebody going in and trying to talk to their Muslims.

We've got to break away from the who has ownership over this. You've got to stop thinking about which lines we're talking about. We're talking about millennials across the board. So if there is an influencer, for example, in Kazakhstan or in India or in Norway or in Brazil that is going to make a difference, we have to have those governments and the localities being able to be partners with us in doing that. That's why networks like the Strong Cities Network is so important because you have mayors and governors that are talking to each other. But you also, and this is another key point, think about how government is talking about Islam and about Muslims and that's where you get the trust factor.

You can't build the kind of relationships with the kind of influencers you're talking about if we don't have that trust. The lexicon matters, the way government speaks about things. I have to tell you I've come to a point, after working on this for so many years, to reject all kinds of cute terminology that we're using to describe things. So when you hear from communities that say don't use these kinds of terms use these kinds of terms, governments can do that. We can then part [audio skip 04:22:50]

Mr. Nick Rasmussen: --battlefield by Kurdish forces and was given [audio skip 04:23:10] I would find all of the things you would hope would be the way to infuse into the community of [audio skip 04:23:27] Washington Post. I bet that is probably not the most efficient or effective way to reach anybody who needs to hear this message. And this is where we have struggled in the United States, in particular, is finding the platforms so that that message can get out that--it was terrific journalism. It was good that this

story was getting out to an American mainstream audience that needs to understand this problem, but it's not necessarily [audio skip 04:24:00] in the United States who might have found themselves on a similar path. We are trying to do something about that in the United States right now by getting--trying to get out of the way of the private sector a little bit more effectively and enabling people from the entertainment industry in California in spreading ideas. But doing so [audio skip 04:24:53] sit in a room with a bunch of people from Madison Avenue and have them think about deconstructing the ISIL brand as if they were deconstructing and tearing down the brand of a rival soap company or a rival beer company. But that's what their mental process was and we were trying to provide them the information they need to do that.

And again, we're not doing it at scale yet. This goes back to something Farah was saying earlier. But again, the piece on The Post this morning reminded me that it's not mainstream methodologies that are going to speak to this audience.

Ms. Cami McCormick: That's fascinating. Go. [audio skip 04:25:23].

Unidentified Male: --foreign ministry. I have a question which might sound a little strange [audio skip 04:25:32] to train our own imams and I'm totally agreeing with him. If you look at Saudi Arabia, Saudi Arabia is sending thousands of missionaries to various countries, University of (inaudible) has created thousands [audio skip 04:25:57] and seat (inaudible) communities, but you also find them in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, in Malaysia, in Europe in Kosovo, in Bosnia and some have ended up in western Europe.

So how do we [audio skip 04:26:17] to create in Islam which is compatible to our values, which is compatible to our constitutions. This is not something which comes overnight. So this is a long term shot. You have to create universities. You have to create Islamic theology at our universities. We have done this Germany. We have set up five faculties. But this still takes time, 20 years, 25 years, at least one generation, if not more.

I've talked to, since the end of the Arab Spring, to a couple of imams, or let's say intellectuals in Egypt and other places and they are putting hope on European Muslims, that modernization of Islam might come from European Muslims. And I think there's something, that's something we should encourage.

Ms. Cami McCormick: So what is your question, sir?

Unidentified Male: And my question is given the total separation of state and religion in the U.S., is this something which is also something which (inaudible) could subscribe?

Ms. Farah Pandith: I have three answers for you. One, you raised the Saudi question, why is it now in 2016 that people are actually paying attention to this one? This has been going on for 30 years. When

governments become brave and have the courage to call a spade a spade on exactly what Saudi Arabia has been doing around the world, we will see a game change. So I'm glad you mentioned it. On your question of training of imams, that is an important thing that we have been talking about for about a decade and a half, not just in Europe, but around the world in terms of getting a different sort of way of going forward. Because of the digital era, you don't necessarily need to do it the old school way. There are things that can be happening, you know, in terms of showing the diversity of Islam.

But you made a statement that I want to put forward. We don't have to wait for [audio skip 04:28:24] in Europe. What we're talking about is how [audio skip 04:28:31] the Muslims living in the west, whether it is in Europe, whether it is in Australia and America, they can actually transform the way their millennial peers around the world see Islam. And I think that is the issue which we could do a lot more with.

And I think you're right. I think that they're--if we were to, to your point, provide the platforms to lift up the kind of voices that these peers can sort of execute a different sort of vision about what it means to be modern in Muslim, be western and Muslim not that that's the only way, but it is a way, I think we'd see a tremendous change out there. Thank you.

Ms. Cami McCormick: We have a question right here.

Ms. Nevasouco Navaki: Hi. My name is Nevasouco Navaki. I work in the committee of the regions of the European Union. You were talking about the public policy tools at our disposal and you spoke about some exchange of experiences between cities. I would be quite interested to know how you feel we can better connect to our cities across the Atlantic to face some of these common [audio skip 04:29:41]

I would also pose that question. For instance, how many of us actually know that in the Bible, in St. John's first letter to the Corinthians, he actually talks people covering their hair? Now some of the questions that come to Muslims within Europe, but also I think across the Atlantic, are so basic and they just illustrate this huge knowledge gap. Thank you very much. [audio skip 04:30:09]

Ms. Cami McCormick: --Strong cities Network.

Ms. Farah Pandith: Be a part of--

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: Ladies first.

Ms. Farah Pandith: No, no. I want you to tell them about the--

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: Ladies first. It's a principle.

Ms. Farah Pandith: I was just simply going to say if you want to learn more about the Strong Cities Network, it was launched at the U.N. last fall and it is a tremendous network that is coming out and really

connecting mayors and governors, looking at the municipalities because that's where things change. I think you're part of it. Are you not?

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: Yeah, yeah.

Ms. Farah Pandith: So this is the man who's going to be able to tell you much more.

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: No, but you are talking about also Transatlantic examples. We are now beginning to work with Quebec and Montreal, in particular, because they have, since many years, made a real new toolbox to faces on the ground the question of radicalization and resilience. So I think it's very important to have this kind of forum to exchange the best practices that we can find.

And we know that we need practices on the ground. This is the only place we can tackle the problem. And I can also answer when you see the young, radicalized people for today, the mosques are no more the problem. I don't say that the Imams who work outside the mosques also can make a difference and things, but the things are it's not in the mosque. To be influenced by (inaudible) the young people are not going to the mosque. They also don't practice religion for a lot--we talked about Abdeslam Salah and others. They were just selling (inaudible) coffee. There wasn't a big religious practice, a huge practice of the religion. So I want also to answer Islam is not the problem. Islam is compatible with everything, [audio skip 04:32:15] their religion. And I think that our society has to be focused to help.

We also are putting in place in Belgium the first training institute for Imams. I think we have to help all those practices, all those good practices. But the solution is in the community. We don't have--us public authorities, we have to fight with the same force two things, radicalism and discrimination and all the ideas who are outside the framework of values. We have to show that we are fighting in the same way with the same force, radicalism. I'm born here in Brussels 38 years ago [audio skips 04:33:20] How many friends with Muslim faces with me at university, great doctors, great lawyers? The massive success story is for not a day, not a month, not a year, but of course, it's a great part of the community. How many times they was controlled by policemen each week, each day? Our society gives to those young people a bad idea of what they are, and this is the first problem. So fight racism and fight those who are combating our values with the same force and I think we can find a way for our society tomorrow.

Ms. Cami McCormick: We have a question here over on this end. I think there were a couple of questions. [audio skip 04:34:28] Long hair [audio skip 04:34:31] and then after her [audio skip 04:34:32]

Unidentified Woman: --but my question is, and I want to link this to yesterday's panel on refugees, without tracing any link between refugees and terrorism, but the truth of the matter is that the refugees [audio skip 04:34:59] growth in European cities [audio skip 04:35:07] of multiculturalism of coexistence

with a Muslim community. And I'm wondering, in the spirit of foresight and in looking forward, what is being done to prepare these cities for more successful rather than less successful experiences?

Ms. Cami McCormick: I've just been told we only have 10 minutes, so let's make the answers really quick so we can get a couple more in, okay? Were you directing that question to anyone in particular or would someone like to step up?

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: In Brussels, we faced the problem without refugee crisis, if I can say. It means that if we are talking about the Muslim presence in Brussels, I repeat there is no question of stigmatization or anything about this. This is one-fourth of Brussel's people are from Muslim origin. And that was before the refugee crisis. So I think that, for us, it's the kind of a city, that there is no very [audio skip 04:36:24] very connecting effect. But that's true that puts pressure, (inaudible) pressure, also the manifestation against, the demonstrations against, the demonstrations for, we also instrumentalized this crisis to stigmatize, it's a good word, this kind of [audio skip 04:37:42] for our young people here in Brussels, I mean.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Okay, can we go? We've got another question right here. Quickly, please.

Özgür Ünlühisarcikli: My name is Özgür Ünlühisarcikli. I'm the Ankara director at the German Marshall Fund. First of all [audio skip 04:39:13] about what's happening in the home countries and globally. And if I wanted to summarize the problem in one sentence, I would say that the problem is that Muslims worldwide feel that they belong to a defeated civilization. They feel defeated not only militarily and politically, but also economically and culturally, in the area of scientific advancement, in sports, in arts and cultures. And the sense of being defeated makes them angry.

And then, they turn their anger to people and civilizations, whatever, that they think defeated them and put them in this humiliating situation. So according to me, the answer to the problem that we should develop policies which will [audio skip 04:39:56]

Ms. Cami McCormick: Do you have a question?

Mr. Özgür Ünlühisarcikli: No.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Senator.

Sen. Jeanne Shaheen: I'm Jeanne Shaheen. I'm a senator from the United States [audio skip 04:40:07] how to respond to counter violent extremism. [Audio skip 04:40:11] what government can do and what's the proper role of government as we're trying to think about how we set up structures to push back?

Mr. Nick Rasmussen: Thank you, senator. And again, this is something we have been struggling with for the entire period since 9/11 and I hope, in its current iteration, we've got some of the structural pieces

right. I think one of the fundamental things we've come to realize is that our most profound contribution in engaging the private sector will be as a convener rather than as a funder [audio skip 04:40:47] role of the government, certainly not in the United States.

But what we can do is bring people from outside government into the conversation in a way that provides them information [audio skip 04:41:03] organization underway at stake I think is designed to try to scale up our efforts and then marry up also the state department tends to be outwardly focused, focusing on events overseas. But we've also realized this is a conversation we need to have internally inside the United States as well [audio skip 04:41:41] right now to try to make sure that we can do what we do, but do it in a much better, more scalable way than we've been doing over the last 10 years.

We do very, very well when we send individual experts into a community to have a conversation. But America is too big and too vast to try to handle the problem community by community in that way.

Mr. Cami McCormick: We have a question way back in the back here.

Mr. Steven Erlanger: Thanks. Steve Erlanger from the New York Times. I wanted to ask, first of all, whether (inaudible) becomes more of a problem than a solution because is it any more neutral and does it lead to ignorance on the part of young Muslims living in Europe about their religion? But then I also really wanted to ask Mr. Rasmussen, a question which is, there's a program in Britain called Prevent. Other countries have programs. Is there anyone doing it well, do you think?

Mr. Nick Rasmussen: I guess where I would start is I bring to any conversation about what anybody's doing in this area a heavy dose of humility because I would be the last person to suggest that we've [audio skip 04:43:14] internal effort inside the United Kingdom to address radicalization in their communities. And again, I don't look at this as something where we critique and say this is what you've done wrong, this is how you failed, this is where you've succeeded. It usually ends up being something that just helps serve as grist for our own internal conversations inside the United States.

So I [audio skip 04:43:48] outside government can certainly do that. I view it much more as an area of collaboration with our British partners where we're learning from each other's both positive and negative experiences.

Ms. Farah Pandith: Sorry, just wanted to respond to the senator on the two points you made, one about the private sector and the second about the CSCC. First, from the private sector, as you well know, this is not--and Nick said this. This is not something we've just done. We've been trying to get the private sector engaged since 9/11 and we've done it in a wide variety of ways.

And I am absolutely in agreement with you that actually the skill set, those that have the creative minds to be able to take the content and do something really descriptive with it and really influential with it in a way that a millennial can absorb it comes from outside government. No question about it. The creativity, the malleability, all of the things that we really need in terms of the nuance has to happen outside of the government. We're not fast enough. But we as government keep thinking that if we just tell the private sector here's the content and this is what we're seeing, they're just going to go do it. Well they need to get paid, right?

They're private sector organizations. I have yet to meet anyone in the private sector who hasn't said we're really scared about the recruitment process. We really want to do something. But when rubber hits the road it's, "And who's going to pay me for my services?" So we have a real problem on that front that is not just Hollywood. That is not just Madison Avenue. It is sort of the private sector at large. That's not to say that there isn't philanthropic dollars in the private sector that can do the kind of thing that Bill Gates did with Malaria. And I'm waiting at the edge of my seat for that moment.

To your second point about the CSCC, this is with all due respect to my former colleagues at the Department of State and throughout the inner agency, we have rebranded that poor organization about a hundred times. It has different [audio skip 04:45:41] shellac, paint, things in it and it looks really shiny each time, but the fact [audio skip 04:45:50] at pace with what the bad guys are doing. They are consistently moving things on Twitter and we are getting clearances on whether or not we think that that thing is going to hit. The push and pull of policy and politics will never allow the CSCC to do what it has to do. And this is, again with all due respect to every one of the Directors who has tried to do the very best with that, that is with every respect to the Secretary who is trying to do something. We indeed have to answer the mail to our own American constituents that we are trying to do something. But my question is, wouldn't it be better if we could actually do what we do well, which is mind the content, give what the narratives are, and then figure out a mechanism to move the content into a private sector arm that can actually do this at pace the way we really need it done?

Ms. Cami McCormick: We have time for one more question and you get it.

Unidentified Male: Well, my question is on the wall, actually. So my name is (inaudible). I'm from the Netherlands so I'm introducing myself through that question because I'm kind of tired of this kind of discussion we're talking about security, about (inaudible), focusing on Muslim and Islam. We're talking about extremism right here. And I think we have this--what about the politicians in our countries? Populist, racist, fascist, fueling, actually, the discussion about the hate of Muslims. What about Donald Trump, for example? I think that discussion is something that really, really need, as a Muslim in Europe



and in the western world, to discuss because it's really fueling the hate and racism among the societies. So thank you.

Ms. Cami McCormick: There is a very great last question. Who would like to take it?

The Hon. Yves Goldstein: If I can--I have maybe more liberty than freedom to say this, but I agree with what you said. I think that we miss the problem if we act like this. The problem for me is the young--the young generations. And whatever the religion, whatever the philosophy, whatever the color of their head and the hair also, I think that we have to create new ways to mixing the people in a way that those kind of difference are not important because what they share together is more important than the difference. And the difference can have to be a richness--have to be a richness. For me, a Jewish, to be in this society as a Jew, it's--every day some things make me richer to learn, to learn about the religions, the religious people, but also the (inaudible), the people, the secular people, about the diversity of culture, the diversity of (inaudible), which I hope that you enjoy in Brussels, which is very good. That was the minute of publicity for Brussels. This makes our city so beautiful, diversity and to recognize to everybody that they have an added value in our society and to build this society together without any stigmatization, without any simplification, without any racism, without also any denial of the society--of the situation.

I think it's very important to be lucid to the--I don't know to be lucid in English, but to be clear--a clear view of the situation and a clear analyst.

Ms. Cami McCormick: I think Nick wanted to add something.

Mr. Nick Rasmussen: Yeah, I just wanted to say Mr. (inaudible), your point has been--is well taken and is something I think we have tried to internalize in this conversation at home. We're well aware that there is--there are a number of flavors of extremism that we confront inside the United States. There's right wing extremism, there's extremism driven by environmental radicalism, there's extremism driven by criminal gangs, and so it's not simply of one flavor. When we go to engage communities to have this conversation, we know that it goes much, much better when you simply aren't honing in on examples of one kind of extremism.

So that if you are talking to a group of Muslim Community Leaders, we make sure--we make very, very sure that the way we're talking about extremism highlights all of the different ways in which extremism is manifesting itself in the United States and we're not simply selecting the case of the San Bernardino terrorist attackers. That makes the conversation go much better and it's also analytically sound because the pathways to radicalization that a young person travels to get there, to go from a [audio skip 04:50:37] one community.

Ms. Cami McCormick: Great. Fantastic audience. Thank you so much for all the great questions. Thank you panel. [Audio skip 04:51:01]