

**Prepared Statement of Philip Mudd**  
**Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs**  
**15 February 2011**

The Fort Hood shootings highlight the evolution of the terror threat during the past decade, from operations directed by a central al-Qa'ida organization in South Asia to independent attacks conducted by individuals or clusters inspired by al-Qa'ida's message. The threat picture we faced nearly a decade ago was focused on this centrally-driven group, and the threats we were most concerned about included plots devised by the 9/11 organizers (with al-Qa'ida senior figure Khalid Shaykh Mohammed as a key architect). The intelligence that helped disrupt those plots included not only classic forms of intelligence collection, from human and technical sources, but also extensive, detailed, and critical knowledge acquired from senior al-Qa'ida detainees.

As we approach the ten-year anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, the threat we confront is more diffuse, with individuals who have never met an al-Qa'ida member nonetheless carrying on the al-Qa'ida revolution in this country. Al-Qa'ida is not now and never was primarily a terrorist organization; instead, the group saw attacks as a way to inspire others in a global revolutionary wave to think and act as al-Qa'ida members, driven by al-Qa'ida ideology but not directed by al-Qa'ida operators.

The key to this 21st century revolution is the Internet, which provides an avenue for the transmission of images (Abu Ghurayb), preachers (Anwar Awlaki), publications (inspire), and chatrooms in which future jihadists meet virtually to discuss what they see and hear. And to radicalize each other. Many, probably most, of our budding jihadists are not initially inspired by the Internet. Instead, they meet other like-minded individuals in clusters, and as these clusters of potential radicals talk among themselves, the Internet serves as an accelerant in the radicalization process.

Traditional intelligence methods -- human and technical penetration of a clearly-defined collection target -- are not well-suited to find these individuals or small clusters of people; they do not have clear links to a hierarchy of terror. What they often do have in common, however, are linkages to sources of Internet radicalization. Nadal Hassan represents another example of this phenomenon.

The challenge of using Internet connectivity to find potential terror suspects raises, of course, questions about how security services can both protect the public by preventing acts of violence while ensuring that citizens have the right to free speech. Given al-Qa'ida's success in sparking a global movement of believers well beyond the core of al-Qa'ida members who committed the attacks of 9/11, questions about how to find individual violent radicals in the pool of individuals who are interested in radicalism is a subject worth discussing. If we accept that we cannot use traditional means of

intelligence to find these individuals, can we find ways to employ other means without violating the fundamental rights of a free society?

Among the questions we might consider as we discuss this problem include:

- What kinds of activities might we look for as we consider how to study Internet activity by potential jihadists?
- What kinds of problems might arise if federal security services expand their use of Internet tools?
- Are there counter-messaging opportunities federal agencies might use to work against radicalization on the Internet?
- How might partners around the world help in this effort?

The timing of this hearing is important. Successes against al-Qa'ida's central organization have helped diminish the strategic threat from the tribal areas of Pakistan, though the threat from al-Qa'ida is not close to eroded. Meanwhile, individual violent radicals in Europe and North America have shown increasingly during the past few years that they are the new wave of the global movement al-Qa'ida envisioned when its leaders organized the group two decades ago.

In the coming years, these new, leaderless jihadists will be difficult to find. And they will be successful, in this country and in Europe. Before this movement expands, engaging in a conversation about how to counter these jihadists is both timely and relevant. Thank you for inviting me to participate.