

Remarks of the Honorable Rudolph W. Giuliani  
Before The House Homeland Security Committee

GOOD MORNING, MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, AND THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO ADDRESS THE CRITICAL TOPIC OF ATTACKS ON OUR HOMELAND.

SINCE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, RARELY A DAY GOES BY THAT I AM NOT ASKED “ARE WE SAFER TODAY THAN WE WERE BEFORE THE 2001 ATTACKS?” THE ANSWER HAS NEVER BEEN A CLEAR “YES” OR “NO.” IT’S ALWAYS BEEN A QUESTION OF AREAS OF INCREASED SECURITY AND AREAS WHERE WE EITHER HAVE NOT GIVEN ENOUGH ATTENTION OR JUST NOT ANTICIPATED.

THE PREVAILING VIEW TODAY AMONG SECURITY EXPERTS IS THAT ALTHOUGH WE HAVE IMPROVED OUR SAFETY AND SECURITY WITH REGARD TO ATTACKS FROM THE IDENTIFIED AND ORGANIZED ISLAMIC EXTREMIST TERRORIST GROUPS, WE ARE VULNERABLE AGAINST ATTACK ON OUR HOMELAND BY A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL OR SMALL, PREVIOUSLY-UNIDENTIFIED GROUPS. THIS IS NOT A NEW PHENOMENON. IT HAPPENED AT LITTLE ROCK AND FORT HOOD. IT WAS STOPPED IN TIMES SQUARE AND FORT DIX, AND FOILED IN THE AIR OVER DETROIT. AND OF COURSE, MOST RECENTLY, WE SAW IT IN BOSTON. AT THE TIME OF THE FORT DIX PLOT, THEN-U.S. ATTORNEY CHRIS CHRISTIE, WHO DEVELOPED THAT CASE WITH THE FBI AND LOCAL POLICE, TOLD ME QUITE PROPHETICALLY THAT

HOME-GROWN TERRORISM WOULD BE AS GREAT A THREAT AS THE MORE ORGANIZED INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS.

THE INDIVIDUALS AND SMALL GROUPS THAT ORGANIZE THESE ATTACKS ACT LARGELY ON THEIR OWN, BUT USUALLY WITH SOME TRAINING OR ENCOURAGEMENT FROM MORE ORGANIZED OR ESTABLISHED FOREIGN TERRORIST GROUPS. THESE SMALLER PLOTTERS ADOPT, ON THEIR OWN, SOME OR ALL OF THE ISLAMIC EXTREMIST JIHADIST MESSAGE OF THE LARGER GROUPS, SOMETIMES WITH OUTSIDE ENCOURAGEMENT OR SUPPORT FROM THE LARGER GROUPS. INDEED, OSAMA BIN LADEN AND OTHERS URGED ON THESE SMALLER, LOCALLY-PLANNED ATTACKS AND THEY CONTINUE TO BE PROMOTED BY OTHER EXTREMISTS. AND EACH TIME THEY ACT THEY REVEAL JUST HOW VULNERABLE AN OPEN AND FREE SOCIETY CAN BE.

THESE SELF-GENERATED TERRORISTS OPERATE IN WAYS THAT MAKE THEM BOTH HARD TO DETECT AND, SOMETIMES, JUST AS DANGEROUS AS THE MORE HIGHLY-ORGANIZED AND ESTABLISHED GROUPS. THEY ARE MORE DIFFICULT TO DETECT BECAUSE THEY ENGAGE IN FEWER ELECTRONIC AND WIRE COMMUNICATIONS WITH PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS WHOM WE MAY HAVE UNDER PHYSICAL OR TECHNOLOGICAL SURVEILLANCE OR THAT WE MAY HAVE INFILTRATED BY INFORMANTS OR UNDERCOVER AGENTS. IF A LARGER INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATION SETS OUT TO LAUNCH AN ATTACK IN THE UNITED STATES, THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE THAT THEY WILL TRIP A PROVERBIAL WIRE OR APPEAR ON A RADAR SCREEN THAT HAS BEEN SET UP TO DETECT THEM AND

PREVENT THEM FOR COMPLETING THEIR TWISTED GOAL. IT CAN HAPPEN BY HAVING CONTACT WITH AN INFORMANT OR UNDERCOVER AGENT OR BY MONITORING THEIR ELECTRONIC OR WIRE COMMUNICATIONS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, ONE OR TWO PEOPLE WHO ARE MOTIVATED ON THEIR OWN BY READING *INSPIRE MAGAZINE*, FOLLOWING JIHADIST WEBSITES, OR ATTENDING MOSQUES THAT ENCOURAGE VIOLENT JIHADISM, ARE *MUCH* HARDER TO DETECT. IT IS TRUE THAT THE SELF-STARTING, SELF-MOTIVATED JIHADISTS SOMETIMES MAKE CONTACT WITH ESTABLISHED GROUPS, BUT IT IS USUALLY INFREQUENT, AND THE CONTACTS CAN BE BURIED AND IMPOSSIBLE TO SINGLE OUT IN THE MASSIVE VOLUME OF DATA THAT WE COLLECT.

AND AS WE HAVE SEEN, THESE INDIVIDUALS, ACTING ALONE OR WITH ONE OR TWO OTHERS, CAN BE *EXTREMELY* DANGEROUS BECAUSE, ALTHOUGH THEY OPERATE INDEPENDENT OF ONE ANOTHER, THEY ARE UNITED BY A COMMON CAUSE – ISLAMIC EXTREMISM OR JIHADISM. EVEN IF NO SINGLE ACT OF THEIRS CAN DO ANYWHERE NEAR THE DAMAGE OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, THE SMALLER, MORE FREQUENT ATTACKS MOTIVATED BY THE SAME CAUSE – JIHADISM – CAN KILL AND CAN INDUCE THE KIND OF WIDESPREAD FEAR THAT IS THE GOAL OF A TERRORIST ATTACK IN THE FIRST PLACE.

SO HOW DO WE COMBAT THESE SPORADIC, DISORGANIZED, BUT HIGHLY DANGEROUS ATTACKS ON OUR HOMELAND? IN MY VIEW, WHAT IS REQUIRED IS *NOT* A CHANGE IN OUR PLAN TO PROTECT AGAINST TERRORISM, BUT *AN EXPANSION* OF IT.

AS A THRESHHOLD MATTER, THERE SHOULD BE NO REDUCTION IN THE EFFORT AGAINST THE ORGANIZED TERRORIST GROUPS LIKE AL QAEDA AND ITS BRANCHES AND AFFILIATES. THEY STILL POSE A MORTAL THREAT AND OFTEN PLAY A ROLE IN INFLUENCING OR ASSISTING THE SELF-GENERATED JIHADISTS. SURVEILLANCE OF THESE ORGANIZED AND ESTABLISHED TERRORIST GROUPS CAN HELP US IDENTIFY THE SELF-GENERATED JIHADISTS AND PREVENT ATTACKS, SO WE MUST KEEP THE PRESSURE ON THE LARGER GROUPS.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THE THREAT POSED BY SMALLER GROUPS AND IDENTIFY IT WITH PRECISION. VIOLENT JIHADISM IS AN IDEOLOGICAL SERIAL KILLER, AND THE WAY TO CATCH A SERIAL KILLER IS TO RECOGNIZE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN MURDERS, FIND THE COMMON THREADS, AND THE SHARED MOTIVATIONS IN THE DEVIOUS ACTS. THE SAME IS TRUE OF THE SELF-GENERATED JIHADISTS WHO SEEK TO ATTACK US AT HOME. THEIRS ARE NOT THE ISOLATED, UNRELATED ACTS OF VIOLENT INDIVIDUALS. THEY ARE RELATED BY A COMMON CAUSE, A SIMILAR MOTIVATION, AND A SINGULAR PURPOSE: TO ADVANCE THE GOALS OF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM. ACKNOWLEDGING THE

CONNECTION MAKES IT EASIER TO IDENTIFY SUSPECTS AND STOP ATTACKS IN ADVANCE.

THE ATTACKS ON OUR HOMELAND, AND OTHERS SUCH AS THE 2005 LONDON BOMBING, HAVE BEEN CONNECTED BY A COMMON MOTIVATION AND A SINGULAR PURPOSE. THE UNDERWEAR BOMBER, THE TIMES SQUARE ATTEMPT, THE TSARNAEV BROTHERS, AND MAJOR HASAN - WHO ANNOUNCED AT FORT HOOD THAT HE WAS KILLING IN THE NAME OF "ALLAH" - WERE ALL ADHERENTS TO THE JIHADIST GOAL OF ISLAMIC DOMINATION AND THE MURDER OF FREE AND INNOCENT PEOPLE WHOM THEY REGARD AS INFIDELS. FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THESE COMMON THREADS LEADS TO A GREAT DEAL OF WASTED EFFORT IN ANALYZING THE AVALANCHE OF DATA PRESENTED TO INTELLIGENCE ANALYSTS. EVERY DAY THEY ARE LOOKING FOR A NEEDLE IN A HAYSTACK AND IT'S NOT JUST ANY NEEDLE, IT'S A NEEDLE WITH VERY CLEAR, IDENTIFIABLE CHARACTERISTICS.

SO, IN ORDER TO CONFRONT THIS THREAT EFFECTIVELY, WE MUST PURGE OURSELVES OF THE PRACTICE OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS WHEN IT INTERFERES WITH OUR RATIONAL AND INTELLECTUALLY HONEST ANALYSIS OF IDENTIFYING CHARACTERISTICS THAT HELP US TO DISCOVER THESE KILLERS IN ADVANCE.

FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN A GREATER CHANCE OF PREVENTING FORT HOOD AND MAYBE THE BOSTON BOMBINGS IF

THE RELEVANT BUREAUCRACIES HAD BEEN LESS RELUCTANT TO IDENTIFY THE EVENTUAL KILLERS AS POTENTIAL ISLAMIC EXTREMIST TERRORISTS. BUREAUCRACIES RESPOND TO THE MESSAGE THEY ARE GETTING FROM THE TOP. LEADERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT REQUIRES UNDERSTANDING THAT THE SIGNALS SENT BY A CHIEF EXECUTIVE, A PRESIDENT, A GOVERNOR, OR A MAYOR AFFECT THE BEHAVIOR OF BUREAUCRACIES, EVEN ONES SUCH AS THE MILITARY AND THE FBI. IN THE PRESENT CLIMATE, THE MESSAGE BEING CONVEYED FROM THE TOP IS THAT IT IS INAPPROPRIATE TO LABEL SOMEONE AN “ISLAMIC EXTREMIST” NO MATTER HOW COMPELLING THE SUSPICIONS. *BUT YOU CAN’T FIGHT AN ENEMY YOU DON’T ACKNOWLEDGE.* IF THE PARTY LINE IS TO NEVER UTTER THE WORDS “ISLAMIC EXTREMIST TERRORIST,” IF THERE IS RELUCTANCE TO LABEL CLEAR ACTS OF TERROR MOTIVATED BY JIHADISM AS PART OF A RADICAL GLOBAL MOVEMENT, THEN THE RESULT IS A BUREAUCRACY PARALYZED BY THE FEAR OF INCORRECTLY IDENTIFYING SOMEONE AS AN ISLAMIC EXTREMIST TERRORIST.

THIS ELEVATION OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS OVER SOUND, INVESTIGATIVE JUDGMENT AND DATA COLLECTION CERTAINLY EXPLAINS THE FAILURE TO IDENTIFY MAJOR HASAN AS A TERRORIST DESPITE *REPEATED* INDICATIONS OF HIS JIHADIST VIEWS. NOT ONLY DID POLITICAL CORRECTNESS LEAD TO A FAILURE TO IDENTIFY HIM AS A SUSPECTED TERRORIST, BUT IT WENT SO FAR AS TO CAUSE HIS SUPERIORS TO PROMOTE HIM FROM CAPTAIN TO MAJOR. INDEED, THE TYRANNY OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS HAS

BEEN EXTENDED SO FAR THAT MAJOR HASAN'S ACTIONS HAVE BEEN LABELED AS "WORKPLACE VIOLENCE." THAT IS NOT JUST PREPOSTEROUS, IT IS DANGEROUS. EVEN AT THIS LATE DATE, IT WOULD SURELY SEND A MESSAGE IF THE FORT HOOD ATTACK WERE DESIGNATED AS AN ACT OF TERRORISM, WHICH IT WAS, AND THERE WAS A CLEAR STATEMENT FROM OUR LEADERS THAT INVESTIGATORS SHOULD WORRY MORE ABOUT PREVENTING TERRORIST ATTACKS THAN THE CONSEQUENCES OF BEING ACCUSED OF PROFILING.

THE APPLICATION OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS TO THE INVESTIGATION OF TAMERLAN TSARNAEV PRIOR TO THE BOSTON BOMBING IS NOT AS CLEAR, BUT ITS IMPACT MAY HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN THE FAILURE TO IDENTIFY TSARNAEV AS A SUSPECTED TERRORIST EVEN AFTER WARNINGS BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT. IT IS CERTAINLY WORTH ASKING THE QUESTION WHETHER THE FEAR OF INCORRECTLY IDENTIFYING TSARNAEV AS A SUSPECTED MUSLIM EXTREMIST MIGHT HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN NOT TAKING ALL THE STEPS THAT SEEMED PRUDENT GIVEN HIS SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOR AND DETERMINING WHETHER THE RUSSIAN WARNINGS ABOUT HIM HAD ANY MERIT.

EXPANDING OUR DEFENSES ALSO MEANS MUCH GREATER INVOLVEMENT BY LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT. IF THE GENESIS OF THIS TERRORISM IS DOMESTIC, THEN OUR ONLY CHANCE TO DETECT IT IS IF THE FBI AND OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES USE LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AS ITS "EYES AND EARS." THERE ARE ONLY ABOUT 12,000 AGENTS IN THE FBI RIGHT NOW – AND WE MAY LOSE SOME OF

THOSE MEN AND WOMEN IF SEQUESTRATION DOES NOT END. NEW YORK CITY ALONE HAS 35,000 POLICE OFFICERS. THERE ARE OVER 800,000 OTHER STATE AND LOCAL POLICE OFFICERS NATIONWIDE. LARGE NUMBERS OF THESE OFFICERS MUST BE TRAINED TO DETECT WHAT FORMER NEW YORK AND LOS ANGELES POLICE COMMISSIONER BILL BRATTON HAS DESCRIBED AS “THE PRECURSORS OF TERRORIST ACTS.”

OVER THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS, THE FBI HAS MADE GREAT STRIDES IN INVOLVING LOCAL POLICE THROUGH JOINT TERRORISM TASK FORCES AND OTHER COLLABORATIVE EFFORTS. BUT THIS PROCESS MUST CONTINUE IN ORDER TO BREAK DOWN ANY REMAINING RELUCTANCE TO SHARE AND INVOLVE THE “LOCALS.” WE GIVE OURSELVES A MUCH GREATER CHANCE OF IDENTIFYING FUTURE ATTACKS IF THE FBI AND OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES INCLUDE THE LOCAL POLICE AS AN EXTENSION OF THEIR INVESTIGATORY REACH.

SOME BELIEVE THAT THE THREAT OF SELF-INDUCED JIHADISM ON OUR SHORES REDUCES THE NEED FOR TECHNOLOGICAL SURVEILLANCE. ACTUALLY, JUST THE OPPOSITE IS TRUE. WE NEED EVERY TOOL AT OUR DISPOSAL. IT IS TRUE THAT THE SMALLER JIHADI GROUPS DO NOT COMMUNICATE INTERNATIONALLY WITH THE FREQUENCY OF THE ESTABLISHED TERRORIST GROUPS. NOR DO THEY LEAVE INTERNATIONAL MONEY TRAILS OR TRAVEL RECORDS. BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEY NEVER COMMUNICATE. MAJOR HASAN SOUGHT ADVICE FROM ANWAR AW-ALAKI. THE



OLDER TSARNAEV BROTHER MADE A VERY SUSPICIOUS TRIP TO RUSSIA. THESE ACTS SHOULD HAVE RAISED MAJOR CONCERNS. IN TSARNAEV'S CASE, HE AND HIS FAMILY WERE GRANTED POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE UNITED STATES BY CONVINCING AMERICAN AUTHORITIES THAT IF THEY WERE RETURNED TO RUSSIA THEY WERE IN DANGER OF POLITICAL PERSECUTION. BUT ALL OF A SUDDEN, TAMERLAN TSARNAEV RETURNED TO THE PLACE HE CLAIMED WOULD PERSECUTE HIM. THIS SHOULD HAVE IMMEDIATELY RAISED A RED FLAG AND LED TO INCREASED SURVEILLANCE UPON HIS RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES.

NO MATTER HOW NEW, OR HOW DIFFERENT, THIS THREAT OF HOMELAND TERRORISM IS, THE MOST IMPORTANT THING FOR US TO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AT HOME AND ABROAD IS HUMAN INTELLIGENCE. ONE OF THE RISKS OF GATHERING SO MUCH INFORMATION THROUGH ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY IS THAT IT TENDS TO GIVES US A FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY. THE LARGE VOLUME OF ELECTRONIC DATA COLLECTED EVERY DAY IS OF NO USE IF THE FEW ITEMS OF RELEVANT INFORMATION CAN'T BE SEPARATED FROM THE MUCH LARGER VOLUME OF IRRELEVANT INFORMATION. THE MOST USEFUL SOURCE OF INFORMATION THAT ALLOWS OUR ANALYSTS TO DEVELOP THE KEY WORDS AND PHRASES AND NUMBERS TO HIGHLIGHT AND FOCUS ON IS THE INFORMATION GATHERED THROUGH HUMAN INTELLIGENCE – INFORMANTS AND UNDERCOVER AGENTS. WE MUST CONSTANTLY DEVELOP HUMAN INTELLIGENCE SOURCES.

IN ASSESSING OUR LEVEL OF DANGER FROM, AND OUR DEFENSES AGAINST, TERRORISM, BOTH PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH AND PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA HAVE CONTINUALLY WARNED US THAT NO MATTER HOW EFFECTIVE WE ARE, WE HAVE TO SUCCEED 100% OF THE TIME, AND THE TERRORISTS ONLY HAVE TO SUCCEED ONE TIME. BOTH PRESIDENTS ARE CORRECT, AND BECAUSE OF THAT, OUR RESPONSE TO TERRORISM IN AMERICA MUST BE SUBJECTED TO CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM AND EXCRUCIATING ANALYSIS, MUST BE FREE OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS, AND MUST BE CONSTANTLY RE-EVALUATED TO REDUCE OUR PERCENTAGE OF FAILURE AND THE TERRORISTS' PERCENTAGE OF SUCCESS, TO ZERO.

THANK YOU.