

# INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TERRORIST REHABILITATION

24-26 FEBRUARY 2009  
SINGAPORE



**S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL  
OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**  
A Graduate School of Nanyang Technological University



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# INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TERRORIST REHABILITATION (ICTR)

REPORT ON A CONFERENCE ORGANISED BY  
THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM  
RESEARCH (ICPVTR)  
OF THE S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (RSIS),  
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY, SINGAPORE  
AND  
THE RELIGIOUS REHABILITATION GROUP (RRG)

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2009

<b>1. Background &amp; Aims of the Conference</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2. Welcome Remarks</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>3. Inaugural Address</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>4. Special Address</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>5. Panel Discussion I</b>	
<b>Session I : Terrorist Rehabilitation: A Global Imperative</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Session II : Terrorist Rehabilitation: Iraq’s Experience</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Session III: Guantanamo Bay: Lessons Learnt,                     Case Studies and Operations</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>6. Panel Discussion II:</b>	
<b>Session I : Terrorist Rehabilitation: Egypt’s Experience</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Session II : Terrorist Rehabilitation: Yemen’s Experience</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>7. Panel Discussion III: Terrorist Rehabilitation: Saudi Arabia’s Experience</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>8. Panel Discussion IV:</b>	
<b>Session I : Terrorist Rehabilitation: Legal Governance Challenges</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Session II : Terrorist Rehabilitation: Challenges Facing the United Kingdom</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Session III: Terrorist Rehabilitation: Challenges Facing Spain</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>9. Panel Discussion V:</b>	
<b>Session I : Detainee Rehabilitation: Uzbekistan’s Experience</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Session II : Countering Extremism in Uzbekistan</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Session III : Pakistani Jihadist Mindset</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>10. Panel Discussion VI:</b>	
<b>Session I : Challenges of Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme                     in Pakistan</b>	<b>24</b>

<b>Session II : Challenges of Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in Bangladesh</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>11. Panel Discussion VII:</b>	
<b>Session I : Key Islamic Concepts Misinterpreted by Terrorists</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Session II : The Radicalization and De-Radicalization Index</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>12. Panel Discussion VIII:</b>	
<b>Session I : Terrorist Rehabilitation: Singapore’s Experience</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Session II : Singapore’s Aftercare Programmes</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>13. Panel Discussion IX:</b>	
<b>Session I : Terrorist Rehabilitation: Malaysia’s Experience</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Session II : Terrorist Rehabilitation: Indonesia’s Experience</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>14. Panel Discussion X:</b>	
<b>Session I : Vision for Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in Thailand</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Session II : Vision for Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in the Philippines</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>15. Panel Discussion XI:</b>	
<b>The Way Forward: Recommendations and Actions</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation Programme</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>About The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR)</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>About The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>About The Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG)</b>	<b>47</b>

*This report summarizes the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editor of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this report.*

*This conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House Rule. Accordingly, beyond the speakers and paper presenters cited, no other attributions have been included in this report.*



*Guests and Participants of the  
International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation*

## Background & Aims of the Conference

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, and the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG) of Singapore organized the first International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation from 24 to 26 February 2009.

The programme was designed to provide a platform where participants could share expertise on terrorist rehabilitation. Through the conference, participants could determine the best practices to adopt by tailoring the programmes to suit their needs. Distinguished speakers from Singapore and around the world were invited to share their expertise on terrorist rehabilitation. The speakers comprised security specialists, psychologists and counsellors active in both

research and in the operational process of rehabilitating extremists and terrorists. Together, they tackled the conference's aims of drawing from global best practices on terrorist rehabilitation and creating a working model; providing a better understanding of the processes of de-radicalization; creating guidelines that would assist governments to put in place terrorist rehabilitation centres in their home countries; and providing a crucial network for governments and institutions that are presently involved in or would be involved in the process of de-radicalization in the future.

ICPVTR believes these to be an equally potent strategic response that needs to be initiated and implemented globally.



*Guests of Honour at the Inauguration of the First International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation (from right): Ustaz Hasbi Hassan, Co-Chairman, Religious Rehabilitation Group; Ambassador Barry Desker, Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies; Mr. K. Shanmugam, Minister for Law and Second Minister for Home Affairs; and Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies.*

## Welcome Remarks



**Ambassador Barry Desker**, Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, welcomed all the delegates and speakers to the first International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation. Addressing the audience, Ambassador Desker said that today there was recognition that terrorism is a vicious by-product of ideological extremism. And hence to win the fight against terrorism, direct action as well as engagement is needed. He added that although the military, law enforcement and intelligence services play a role, the community is what ultimately mattered. Ambassador Desker then commented on the need to be strategic in both vision and mission.

Ambassador Desker said that alongside proactive measures aimed at the prevention of the formation of extremists, it is also necessary to counter the ideology of terrorism. This entails that those who have fallen prey to extremism must be rehabilitated. Rehabilitation is required in order to stop the vicious cycle of the spread of extremism from an extremist to his friends and family.

Ambassador Desker then elaborated on the strategies that would be effective in preventing radicalization. He said that, for an effective, multi-pronged approach towards preventing radicalization, the government, policy-oriented scholars and the community need to work hand-in-hand. The government needs to set clear goals towards the importance of curtailing radicalization. Ambassador Desker

added that curtailing radicalization must be a national movement focused on enforcing policies, strengthening security and increasing public awareness. Policy-oriented scholars play an important role, as they are involved in research and intellectual engagement. Their research will provide models, updates, reports, formulas and databases for counter-radicalization practitioners to receive inputs and chart future directions. Lastly, Ambassador Desker added that the community needs to be actively involved in countering radicalization. He mentioned that religious scholars must be engaged in both preventive and reactive counter-radicalization efforts.

Ambassador Desker identified terrorism and political violence as a global phenomenon. Therefore, he continued, counter and preventive work must continue through timely initiatives, better ideas and results at a global level. To manage the threat of radicalization, communities and institutions must join hands to curtail ideological extremism.

Ambassador Desker then briefly outlined Singapore's counter radicalization efforts. He identified the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) as the government's lead agency to counter radicalization through enforcement. He added that the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG) and the Aftercare Group are present at the community level. Supporting these efforts, he continued, is the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, a specialist centre at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), dedicated to reducing the threat through research, education and training. He highlighted that by forging a partnership between the government, the community and academics, Singapore has laid out a practical approach to counter radicalization.

Ambassador Desker thanked all the participants for their presence. He then concluded his address by saying that the conference would surely pave the way towards building a community of dedicated practitioners and scholars in order to make terrorist rehabilitation a global imperative.

## Inaugural Address



The Minister for Law and Second Minister for Home Affairs, **Mr. K. Shanmugam**, delivered the inaugural speech. Addressing an audience of 200 participants from 20 countries, Mr. Shanmugam praised Singapore's holistic rehabilitation efforts that incorporate the psychological, social and religious aspects of rehabilitation. Since its implementation, two-thirds of Singapore's terrorist detainees who were arrested since 2001 have been reportedly released after rehabilitation. So far, none have strayed back into terrorism. Mr. Shanmugam noted that those who have been released have re-integrated well into society.

Mr. Shanmugam described the conference as timely since rehabilitation is a critical part of counter-terrorism. However, he believed that it is an area that has not received the necessary attention. Mr. Shanmugam highlighted that one major challenge to current rehabilitation efforts is the lack of foolproof measures to assess if a terrorist has been

truly reformed. That is why in Singapore, Mr. Shanmugam said, released detainees continue to attend a rehabilitation programme that aims to inoculate them against radical ideas.

Mr. Shanmugam noted that the authorities in Singapore would continue to remain alert to the threat. Mr. Shanmugam also stressed that there could be no one-size-fits-all solution that would be effective across the globe, thus the need for closer cooperation and coordination. Mr. Shanmugam expressed hope that the conference will facilitate such cooperation in an arena of combating terrorism that holds much promise. He hoped that the ideas and strategies shared at the conference would germinate in time into effective and practical solutions that would assist in challenges of the future.

Mr. Shanmugam thanked the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG) for co-organizing the conference. He said that this cooperation was an example of how different segments of society can and must collaborate in countering terrorism.

Mr. Shanmugam further added that ICPVTR is an international academic hub that provides cutting-edge, action-oriented research on terrorism and security issues. The RRG, on the other hand, is a group of volunteer religious teachers and scholars involved in counselling terrorist detainees in Singapore and

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

educating the community about the dangers of terrorist ideas and how they contradict true Islamic principles. He continued to say that forged by a common mission, the ICPVTR and the RRG had built on each other's capabilities to make this conference a reality.

Following his brief address, Mr. Shanmugam proceeded to launch the p4peace web portal ([www.p4peace.com](http://www.p4peace.com)). The portal aims to promote peace and to combat extremism, as well as facilitate the sharing of materials among like-minded individuals.



*Mr. K. Shanmugam, Minister for Law and Second Minister for Home Affairs, launching the p4peace.com web portal*

## Special Address



On behalf of **Vice Admiral Eric Olson**, Commander of the United States Special Operations Command, **Colonel Fred T. Krawchuk** of the U.S. Special Operations Command, expressed his appreciation for the opportunity to participate at the ICTR 2009. Col. Krawchuk said that the U.S. Special Operations Command had been assisting security partners globally to provide safe and secure environments and that it is looking forward to learning from

the best practices from around the world and to further build a network of practitioners dedicated to mitigate the effects of violent extremism on our societies.

Col. Krawchuk acknowledged that security is an important component in combating violent extremist organizations but that killing or capturing a terrorist alone does not solve the problem. To have a long-lasting impact on violent extremist organizations, Col. Krawchuk noted that diverse capabilities must be applied to address all aspects of the terrorist's life cycle to include the radicalization process. Col. Krawchuk believed that what security practitioners do to terrorist suspects in detention is crucial since prisons provide opportunities for further radicalization and hardening of violent extremists. Col. Krawchuk commended the ICPVTR and the RRG for their cutting-edge initiatives in addressing the spiritual aspect of rehabilitation in the life cycle of a terrorist. Col. Krawchuk said that through collaboration, the U.S. Special Operations Command and the participants of this conference would become stronger partners for peace.



*Ambassador Barry Desker, Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, presenting tokens of appreciation to (left) Mr. K. Shanmugam, Minister for Law and Second Minister for Home Affairs, and (right) Colonel Fred Krawchuk, U.S. Special Operations Command*

## Session I Terrorist Rehabilitation: A Global Imperative



**Professor Rohan Gunaratna**, Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, began by highlighting that the aim of the conference was for participants to learn from one another and identify global best practices in order to maximize success and minimize failure. While he acknowledged that not all detainees across the world could be released, Professor Gunaratna felt that policymakers and security forces need to ensure that every prison and detention centre adopts the practice of religious rehabilitation. In his analysis, Professor Gunaratna noted that under President George W. Bush, the U.S. missed a golden opportunity to develop a credible detainee rehabilitation programme at Guantanamo Bay. He argued that some of the released detainees became radicalized while detained in Guantanamo Bay. The failure to pay attention to the battle of the minds resulted in more than a hundred Guantanamo Bay detainees returning to their terrorist ways after they had been released. This was further aggravated by the fact that many countries that have received the detainees who were released from Guantanamo Bay do not have rehabilitation programmes, something Professor Gunaratna deemed to be dangerous.

### The Importance of Strategic Counter-Terrorism

Professor Gunaratna asserted that many countries have mastered operational counter-terrorism but not strategic counter-terrorism. To be successful, Professor Gunaratna stressed that the operational hunt for terrorists must be complemented with the correction of their misled ideologies. In his explanation, Professor Gunaratna pointed out that there is a need to think beyond security enforcement, as Al Qaeda has been able to radicalize organizations and communities through new media technologies. To tip the scales in the favour of counter terrorism efforts, there is still much to be done through community engagement. Professor Gunaratna maintained that partnerships should be built between governments, academia and the Muslim communities. In this regard, governments need to address the terrorists' environment, not merely invest in rehabilitation. There must be recognition that a theologian is just as important as an operational officer.

### Four Modes of Rehabilitation

Professor Gunaratna then discussed the four modes of rehabilitation: religious, psychological, social and vocational. He considered religious rehabilitation to be the most important because with it came the unlocking of the terrorist mind. Professor Gunaratna, while convinced of the importance of terrorist rehabilitation, also pointed out several parameters within which rehabilitation could be optimally used. It should be used as a complementary strategic tool to fight extremism and terrorism, and its approach should not be symptomatic. Every rehabilitation programme should be accompanied by a community education programme. In his conclusion, Professor Gunaratna cautioned that without vision and strategic direction, as well as long-term investment, such rehabilitation programmes would fail. To overcome this, he suggested that countries and governments improve their understanding of rehabilitation programmes and allocate more resources to them.

## Session II

### Terrorist Rehabilitation: Iraq's Experience



**Major General Douglas Stone** of the U.S. Marine Corps spearheaded the initiation of a terrorist rehabilitation programme in Iraq. He opined that at the core of all terrorism is social grievance. Sacred texts are used to legitimize the killing of innocents. In Iraq, detainees are not looked upon as prisoners as they are detained on the grounds of being a security risk. While their detention isolated them physically, they were far from being mentally isolated. The detainees became radicalized when their central grievance of wanting change was not addressed but was used as a basis for their detention.

#### **The Challenge, Concepts, Motivations, Programmes and Objectives**

According to Sun Tzu, "The strategist should be able to subdue the enemy's army without engaging it, to take his cities without laying siege to them and to overthrow his state without bloodying swords." Major General Stone emphasized that the enemy must be isolated and demoralized in the shortest possible time and with the least loss of lives on both sides. The way forward, according to Major General Stone, is to establish an alliance with moderate Iraqis. These moderates should then be empowered to effectively marginalize violent extremists and provide the necessary momentum for the process of reconciliation with Iraqi society.

The long-term need of the detainees is to be rehabilitated and reintegrated into Iraqi society. While Major General Stone was aware of the rehabilitation models offered by Saudi Arabia and Singapore, he pointed out that the emphasis has generally shifted towards understanding and dealing with the reasons why people become radicalized and resort to terrorism. There are new concerns about people being radicalized in prisons. The doctrine emphasizing care and custody has now evolved to include population engagement. The concept of detention, assessment, reconciliation and transition has also successfully transformed into a strategic advantage.

Major General Stone listed the motivations that directed individuals on the path of radicalization as follows: economics, nationalism, religious conviction and confusion; personal and family honour; and, for the male youth, the need to be a man. In its simplest form, many of these men believed that the West, led by the U.S., is engaged in a war against Islam. The detainees feel that Muslims are obligated to defend their religion and violence is a necessary means to achieve this end.

Referring to the ICPVTR team in Baghdad that advised Detainee Task Force 134, Major General Stone said that the Iraqi rehabilitation Programme was modelled on the Singapore and the Saudi Programmes. Major General Stone highlighted several key components of the rehabilitation programme in Iraq, including psychological treatment, formal education and a religious de-radicalization programme as part of the process. Tools that are used in these programmes include mental assessments, observed behaviour with others, counselling, basic civic and religious education, community engagement and support groups, material employment, job training and skills, role modelling, and medical treatment. Additionally, to moderate the violent Islamists' ideology, counter-*fatwas* are disseminated and dialogues with well-known imams and muftis are initiated. To avoid recidivism, continued

monitoring is implemented. Repentant terrorists are also invited to play an active role in reinforcing the message of non-violence. To further strengthen their resolve, social measures that facilitate economic and social reintegration are put in place.

For Major General Stone, the objective of the programme in Iraq is to separate violent Islamists from non-violent ones; to assess the degree of radicalization; to engage in a plan that surrounds the detainee with support options while allowing for individual choice; and to create an atmosphere of cultural understanding, clarity of mission, respect and hope.

### **Engagement Process**

The Coalition Forces are dedicated to the welfare of the detainees. The detainees are allowed to receive visitors and to send and receive mails. In addition, the International Committee of the Red Cross carries out unannounced visits to check on the detainees. Detainees in Iraq also receive round-the-clock medical attention, as with the Coalition Forces. Detainees who are identified as enduring security risks are confined to Modified Detainee Housing Units at Camp Bucca. This is in line with the objective to separate violent Islamists from non-violent Islamists.

### **Results to Date**

Major General Stone noticed that presently, detention camps have become calmer, less violent and with greater levels of cooperation. More than 25,000 cases have been reviewed for release and the rate of recapture is very low. There have been strategic releases of detained foreign fighters who speak out publicly against jihad in the Arab media after they have returned to their home countries.

### **The Future**

Major General Stone emphasized the need to develop programmes to reduce the risk of religious radicalization. He recommended the creation of a global council. This global council will advise world governments on the threat of extremism and will act as a central site for resources. Major General Stone posited the need for international funding to be sought. In addition, support from the international community for the expansion of successful programmes will result in an exponential improvement. These programmes address the underlying sources for any grievances, empower the moderate *ummah* to address the violent Islamists and tend to the matter of religious radicalization.

Major General Stone concluded by emphasizing the importance of the ongoing situation in Iraq. Iraq, as a geographical and historical centre of Islam, has an impact on more than one billion people in the Muslim world. He therefore underscored the need for Muslims and non-Muslims to reach out to one another and cooperate.

## Session III

### Guantanamo Bay: Lessons Learnt, Case Studies and Operations



**Mr. Mike Marks**, Special Agent Northwest Field Office, NCIS, delivered a presentation on the benefits of rapport-based interviews of terrorist detainees. These interviews were based on traditional law enforcement techniques and universal human traits. In his assessment, the interview techniques were not country-specific, but were time-proven, experience-based and effective, and followed strict law-enforcement guidelines.

To establish a human-to-human connection with the detainee, Mr. Marks suggested exchanging basic courtesies, such as asking the suspect about his health, his family and to tell him about the purpose of the interview. This, he added, would confound the suspect's stereotyped pictures of interrogators, and serve as the foundation for further questioning.

#### What Questions to Ask?

To build a picture of the entire person, Mr. Marks pointed out the need to ask questions relating to the suspect's childhood, family background, education, employment, tribal affiliation and marital status. Next is the need to ask the suspect how he ended up in detention in order to establish the recruitment process.

To find out about the training process, Mr. Marks recommended asking the suspect about his training experiences. This should include information about

special schools he attended, the duration of the training, the weapons and explosives used or available, the specialized missions he was sent on and whether he was kept in isolation. This could help determine the difference between a foot soldier and a leader.

To determine if the suspect had been telling the truth, Mr. Marks stressed the need to ask about circumstances that led to the suspect's capture.

In the final attempt to build a complete picture of the suspect, Mr. Marks recommended asking the suspect how he feels about his decision, his recruiter, as well as his parents' influence and advice at the time. He also recommended asking the suspect what he would do if he were released.

#### Establishing a Profile

Mr. Marks noted that it was possible to build a picture of the suspect. It was also possible to provide evaluation for rehabilitation programmes by allowing the authorities to separate hardcore members from foot soldiers. Additionally, this can help countries in developing preventative measures.

#### Common Traits Among Detainees

Some common traits of the detainees that Mr. Marks noted were: they were held in Afghanistan; they were usually the younger siblings, with less direction in life and whose future prospects lacked excitement; they were unmarried and therefore had fewer ties to their home countries and families; they came from stable families that were opposed to fighting and this left them with feelings of guilt. He also noted the role of an active recruiter who operated between the detainees' home countries and the battlefield. Many of these detainees had only partial or incomplete education. Neither were they top performers at school. They had a desire for a higher social standing and were influenced by Internet websites such as Al-Sahab.

## Session I Terrorist Rehabilitation: Egypt's Experience



**Dr. Omar Ashour** is a lecturer at the Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, U.K. defined de-radicalization as a process of transformation to non-violence, which involves a decision at one point to abandon the struggle. It is primarily concerned with changing the attitudes of these movements towards violence, specifically violence against civilians.

In the case of the Islamic Group (IG), it began by a declaration to stop violence, which finally led to its practical abandonment of violence. The ideological component that brought about this change was the Islamic theological arguments that de-legitimized the use of violence against the state and society. In support of their new ideology, IG leaders have written 25 volumes that provide theological and rational arguments to it. Two of the volumes were critiques of al-Qaeda's behaviour and a third argued for cultural dialogue.

In 2007, another group, named al-Jihad, the second largest armed Islamist organization in Egypt with strong ties to al-Qaeda, followed IG's lead. Its de-radicalization process was led by its former emir and al-Qaeda's ideologue, Dr. Sayyid Imam al-Sharif. Al-Sharif authored a book entitled *Document for Guiding Jihad in Egypt and the World* and, together with other al-Jihad commanders, toured Egyptian prisons to meet with their followers. It started off with small initial meetings with the commanders of al-Jihad factions in an effort to arrive at a common stance before reaching out to the other members.

Dr. Ashour argued that a combination of charismatic leadership, state repression interactions with selective inducements from the state and other actors are common causes of de-radicalization. State repression and interaction between imprisoned liberals and human-rights activists and leaders and grassroots members of Egypt's al-Jihad and IG have affected the leadership of the radical organization. De-radicalized groups often interact with other violent groups and, in some cases, they influence each other. The interactions between al-Jihad and the IG is one example of how a de-radicalized group can influence both the behaviour and the ideology of a radical Salafi-Jihadi group.

Dr. Ashour highlighted the general causes behind the successful de-radicalization process of the two groups. He mentioned that developments that took place were at the behavioural, organizational and ideological levels. On the behavioural aspect, IG and the al-Jihad shunned the path of political violence. Ideology supporting violence was de-legitimized and their leaderships were able to unite the respective organizations. For the IG, however, the organizational dimension of the process is incomplete because some factions within the group refused to uphold de-radicalization. Dr. Ashour concluded that Egypt's experience was relevant and should be considered by policymakers when making policy decisions.



**Mr. Lawrence Rubin**, Associate Editor, *Terrorism and Political Violence Journal*, UCLA, and from the Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University, U.S.A., spoke on the same topic. He looked at the issue of de-radicalization from a broader perspective. Referring to research that he had

conducted with a colleague, Mr. Rubin posed two critical questions: (i) How can states facilitate de-radicalization? (ii) What lessons could be drawn from the Egyptian case on the use of non-kinetic approaches to counter-terrorism? Mr. Rubin shared two key findings behind the success of Egypt's de-radicalization programmes. The first was ideological reorientation as a counter-terrorism tool and the second was religious rehabilitation that assisted the transition from disengagement to de-radicalization.

Mr. Rubin highlighted that the IG case yielded some important results. The reinterpretation of the sacred text by the group of such size and scale, coupled with Egypt's relative size, has a strong influence throughout

the Arab world. To date, there has been no official report of recidivism recorded. Mr. Rubin maintained that although earlier attempts on de-radicalization were unsuccessful, subsequent responses were productive. These included the maintenance of leadership structure, re-education for leaders and members, improvement of prison conditions, and publication of books.

Mr. Rubin emphasized that the Egyptian experience demonstrated that rehabilitation could facilitate the transition from disengagement to de-radicalization. Mr. Rubin argued that its success could be traced to a legitimate and authoritative source of rehabilitation that was implemented through the state's involvement.

## Session II Terrorist Rehabilitation: Yemen's Experience



**Ustaz Mohamed Redzuan Salleh**, Research Analyst, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, RSIS, spoke on Yemen's experience on behalf of **Judge Hamoud Abdulhameed Al-Hittar**, Minister of Islamic Affairs, Yemen who had written a paper on the Yemeni experience. There were four main points raised in Al-Hittar's paper. First, the paper dealt on the milestones from the early 1990s that led to the formation of the Intellectual Dialogue Committee (Lajnah al-Hiwar al-Fikri) in 2002 headed by himself. Second, the paper provided justifications on why dialogue is the best possible solution to counter radicalization. Third, it outlined the processes involved in the conduct of dialogues. Finally, the paper showcased achievements arising from dialogues conducted from 2002 to 2005. Ustaz M. Redzuan noted that Al-Hittar defined dialogue as a process by which two equal parties revise and discuss matters that need to be

resolved. In this regard, Ustaz M. Redzuan highlighted that Al-Hittar wanted to convey that Islam recognizes the importance of conducting dialogues.

Al-Hittar recommended a four-point policy in countering terrorism and extremism: (i) to initiate an intellectual dialogue to treat the roots of terrorism and extremism; (ii) to institute procedures to prevent a crime before it happens, and control it afterwards by tracking the criminals and bringing them to justice; (iii) to address economic problems that might be a cause of terrorism, and to swiftly dismantle terrorism financing; and (iv) to forge the necessary cooperation at the regional and international levels.

Ustaz M. Redzuan noted that the steps undertaken by the Intellectual Dialogue Committee (IDC) have produced positive results. Al-Hittar reported that the programmes opened the door for those who want to join the mainstream. It has effectively diminished acts of terrorism since 2002, and has secured the release of 364 detainees, accounting for 40 per cent of all the detainees. They have since reintegrated back into the society.

In Ustaz M. Redzuan's assessment, Yemen's rehabilitation programme is unique. Apart from its dialogue-based approach, Yemen emphasized the role of the ulama or the religious scholars in countering terrorism, especially in terms of providing counter-ideological responses.

## Terrorist Rehabilitation: Saudi Arabia's Experience



**Dr. Christopher Boucek**, Associate, Middle East Programme, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, U.S.A., began by highlighting the unique characteristics of the rehabilitation programmes of both the Yemeni and the Saudi governments. Dr. Boucek refuted the common notion that the participants of the rehabilitation programmes in Saudi Arabia did so to secure their release.

Dr. Boucek explained that the de-radicalization programme in Saudi Arabia has two objectives: (i) changing perceptions and views, and (ii) behaviour modification. Saudi Arabia's de-radicalization programme is aimed at shaping an environment that encourages detainees not to commit violence again. It is also directed at drawing the detainee into narrating why or how his beliefs have led him to do the things that he has done. The programme thus considers vital the involvement of the detainee's family—immediate and extended—along with a six-week study with a religious scholar and a counsellor. The programme has been successful thus far. It essentially involves ways through which the state used soft power such as religious officials, who participated in interrogations, and sheikhs meeting with detainees to ensure that inmates are not subjected to human-rights abuses. Dr. Boucek further pointed out the role of the Saudi government in the process—by providing income to the detainee's family or sending the detainee's children to school. He believed the Saudi government's pro-active approach is effective in foiling attempts at radicalizing others in one's social network as a direct result of having someone detained in one's family.



**Dr. Abdulrahman Al Hadlaq**, General Director, Ideological Security Directorate, Ministry of Interior, Saudi Arabia, spoke of the need to truly understand the problem. He began by sharing his recent study on radicalization in Saudi Arabia. Most of the radicals reported in the study were young. They were mostly single Saudis who were high school graduates and who were frustrated and angry with issues both nationally and internationally. Dr. Al Hadlaq noted that most of them had also been recruited through social networks but mostly through the Internet. They were shown videotapes of violence and were then asked to perform jihad. Dr. Al Hadlaq said that it is important to note that these people harboured the kind of anger that prompted them to immediately want to enact a change. These people, Dr. Al Hadlaq noted, cannot be easily subdued within a short period of time.

Dr. Al Hadlaq noted that recent developments had prompted the Saudi government to come up with a strategy to counter radicalization in 2000. It consists of prevention, rehabilitation and after-care programmes (PRAC). The prevention programmes seek to support all efforts to rectify radical misunderstanding about Islam and propagate moderate Islam. The rehabilitation programmes, on the other hand, involve conducting dialogues with detainees about Islam and holding religious study sessions. The newest mechanism under the rehabilitation programmes is the halfway house, which is focused on preparing newly released detainees for normal life.

Dr. Al Hadlaq highlighted that in all the processes, it is always emphasized that the programmes are not linked to one's release. In the assessment of the government, financial and moral support for the detainees' families is vital for the programmes to succeed. There were several major challenges faced during the implementation of the de-radicalization programmes, such as the effect of international conflicts, the lack of comprehensive

research and risk assessment tools, and the need for more cooperation and coordination. Maintaining professionals who were involved in the process and in running rehabilitation facilities also incurred a high cost. Nonetheless, the Saudi government recognized the importance of the process and decided on building a multi-million dollar rehabilitation centre. The construction of the centre is presently ongoing.



## Session I Terrorist Rehabilitation: Legal Governance Challenges



**Mr. Richard Magnus**, Senior Research Fellow, RSIS, began his presentation by stating the need to fully understand the dynamic face, nature, content, reach, organization and agenda of terrorism and the threat that it poses. Mr. Magnus noted that a whole-of-government approach should be undertaken, especially in multicultural societies like Singapore. More importantly, he emphasized the need to respect the rule of law in efforts to counter terrorism.

Mr. Magnus then shared his views on the Philippines' anti-terrorism law of 2007, which the liberal Western media thought to be too weak because it laid out 22 penalties for law enforcement and only four for terrorists. Some have recommended that the law be repealed.

On rehabilitation programmes, Mr. Magnus urged secular governments not to dictate religious preachers. Instead, rehabilitation by Islamic scholars and counsellors, when

properly grounded, will give the Muslim community a sense of ownership, and the ability to conduct self-policing. In Mr. Magnus' analysis, the Community Engagement Programme in Singapore, which provided an avenue for the government to engage in dialogue with grassroots leaders of all ethnic groups and religions, is vital.

In his discussion on the various legal instruments of countering terrorism in Singapore, the key ones are the various laws that seek to counter terrorism and its various forms in the Singapore Constitution, which is complemented by the country's membership in regional and international institutions. Such laws include the Monetary Act of Singapore, the Arms and Explosives Act, the Extradition Act, the Banishment Act, the Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters, and the Immigration Act. Singapore also counts among its legal instruments in countering terrorism its adherence to various UN treaties and conventions as well as various Declarations and Plans of Action of regional and intra-regional institutions. These, along with constant dialogue with Muslim countries, the signing of free-trade agreements with Muslim-dominant countries in the Middle East, and the country's maximum exposure among predominantly Islamic states through grants and scholarship, help Singapore's fight against terrorism in the legal front. At the same time, Mr. Magnus noted, such legal instruments also underscore the need for any de-radicalization programmes such as detainee rehabilitation to adhere to the rule of law if it is to succeed.

## Session II

### Terrorist Rehabilitation: Challenges Facing the United Kingdom



**Mr. Tony Heal**, Deputy Head of the PREVENT Section Office of Security and Counter Terrorism, The Home Office, United Kingdom (U.K.), presented on Britain's CONTEST strategy. Mr. Heal said the strategy consists of four pillars: PURSUE, PREPARE, PROTECT and PREVENT. They aim to reduce the risk of terrorism and extremism to the U.K. and its interests overseas from international terrorism. Mr. Heal noted that many of the counter-terrorism measures and activities under PURSUE, PREPARE and PROTECT focus on disrupting terrorist attacks. On the other hand, de-radicalization as a counter-terrorism tool would include programmes such as detainee rehabilitation, which constituted the PREVENT aspect of Britain's CONTEST strategy.

Mr. Heal pointed out that in the U.K., Muslims constitute a diverse minority and numbered about two million out of a population of 61 million. Muslims in the U.K. are multi-generational, multi-denominational, multi-cultural and multi-lingual, and are mostly concentrated in the inner circles. It is important to consider these facts when embarking on de-radicalization programmes and ensuring that the programmes are directed at this aspect while seeking to rehabilitate detained extremists or radicals.

Mr. Heal then elaborated on the PREVENT aspect of the U.K.'s CONTEST strategy. PREVENT aims to undermine extremist ideology, disrupt violent extremist activity, support vulnerable individuals and/or create mechanisms for supporting them. It also aims to increase the resilience of communities to resist violent extremists, and to effectively address grievances by developing research, intelligence and analysis capabilities, as well as by improving strategic communications. Mr. Heal noted that most of the objectives are directed at the societal, institutional and community levels. Most of the objectives are also mainly delivered through administrative and civil measures like engagement and challenge.

In conclusion, Mr. Heal gave everyone a glimpse of what he thought would work and matter when one embarks on a disengagement campaign. First, the results would be judged by what individuals do or do not do, and not what the practitioners and facilitators think they think. Second, disengagement from extremism covers several modes of behaviour. Third, there is no reliable data as yet about what works. Finally, all intervention projects are being evaluated and disengagement indicators are being developed. Quoting former Prime Minister Tony Blair, "What matter is what works," Mr. Heal noted that the disengagement programmes would be judged by this criterion. But he emphasized that in the prevention paradigm, symbolism matters as much as instrumentality. This includes doing what is morally right even if we are not sure that it would be effective; upholding civilized values against barbaric behaviour; and giving citizens who have gone astray a chance to rejoin the fold. Mr. Heal said that the most effective counter to the single narrative may not be to point out its historical and theological errors but to contrast against our values and their application, like freedom, the rule of law, respect for human life, decency and civilized behaviour.

### Session III

## Terrorist Rehabilitation: Challenges Facing Spain



**Professor Fernando Reinares**, King Juan Carlos University, Director of Programme on Global Terrorism at Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid, noted that, as of 31 December 2008, there were 104 individuals imprisoned in Spain for terrorist activities related to Al Qaeda. The majority of them were incarcerated after the Madrid bombings in 2000.

Following *Operacion Nova*, which revealed that prisons were used for radicalization and recruitment, Professor Reinares noted that a decision was made to disperse inmates sharing similar sets of traits across Spain's 25 penitentiaries.

All individuals imprisoned for participation in terrorist activities are under strict surveillance and control mechanisms, derived from inclusion in the *Fichero FIES*. Professor Reinares said that the *Fichero FIES* was created in 1996 and designed to have extensive information on criminal trajectories and the conduct of inmates considered to be especially dangerous. The *Fichero FIES*, according to Professor Reinares, also applies to imprisoned terrorists and other inmates perceived to be undergoing violent radicalization.

Penitentiary treatment of terrorists was not differentiated from penitentiary treatment of those incarcerated for other offenses. Activities in penitentiary institutions have long included formative, educational and social programmes. Although these programmes are available, they are optional.

Since April 2004, imprisoned Muslims have been encouraged to integrate with other inmates through language learning, vocational studies and social-skills programmes. Religious assistance, provided to Muslims in Spanish penitentiaries, should be a critical tool in preventing radicalization and favouring terrorist reinsertion. However, Professor Reinares said that competition within and between the two main entities that articulate the interests of Muslims living in Spain often impact negatively.

In conclusion, Professor Reinares noted that prisons in Spain could be considered actual and potential sites for violent radicalization and terrorist recruitment for Al Qaeda. He acknowledged that deficiencies in surveillance and control of terrorist inmates, as well as inadequate institutional knowledge of their characteristics and behavioural patterns, might facilitate such radicalization further. Lack of evidence on the successful reinsertion of terrorists related to or inspired by Al Qaeda also poses a problem.

Professor Reinares then put forward the view that, in a pluralistic and tolerant society based on principles and procedures, penitentiary treatment of terrorists should aim at changing both attitudes and action. In the case of terrorists who invoke Islam when justifying their acts, the role of respected religious figures in penitentiary treatment seems crucial. However, Professor Reinares noted that challenging or countering the worldview of imprisoned terrorists and their frame of reference requires the participation of educators, intellectuals, psychologists and victims of terrorism.

## Session I

### Detainee Rehabilitation: Uzbekistan's Experience



**Dr. Tolibjon A. Umarov**, Head of Research of Prosecutor General's Office, Uzbekistan, opined that gaining state independence was a turning point for Uzbekistan. He elaborated, saying that since then, the formation of the legal state had been a priority for Uzbekistan. He acknowledged that it is necessary to address terrorism, especially in light of the large number of terrorist attacks in Uzbekistan. He noted that the main tasks in fighting terrorism are the prevention, revelation and elimination of conditions that spawn the crime. He went on to state that the main reasons for the increase of terrorism are social, political, ideological, ethno-national and legal, and thus the problem of terrorism is on a state scale.

Dr. Umarov stated that the main directions of state antagonism to terrorism should be legal measures and the consolidation of efforts of all branches of governmental bodies to form a common preventive counter-terrorism mechanism. This includes working out the system and methods of joint anti-terrorist actions and the formation

of a system of inter-agency sharing of information. He pointed out that the programmes used to fight terrorism are four-pronged and includes: legal, common preventive, operational and administrative measures.

Dr. Umarov explained that terrorists are divided into terrorist fanatics, terrorist criminals, insane terrorists and terrorist mercenaries. The motives for committing terrorist acts can be divided into political, revenge and profit. The creation of the most acceptable model of the system of prevention of terrorism can be presented as a three-level structure: political, social and the individual.

Dr. Umarov suggested that there should be a development of methodological recommendations in line with international standards and practices for specialists of the judiciary and those in the preventive system. There should also be capacity building for judges, prosecutors, police and defence lawyers through service training. Some of the achievements in the case of Uzbekistan have been the improved custodial conditions for convicted offenders by the introduction of documentation, filing system and enhanced education programmes.

Dr. Umarov suggested that more service training should be introduced for professionals working with convicted offenders and training programmes should be developed by studying international experience. Additionally, the professions of the social worker should be introduced in the rehabilitation system and efficient monitoring of statistical data should be introduced.

## Session II Countering Extremism in Uzbekistan



**Lieutenant Colonel D. Babajanov**, Deputy Head of Antiterrorism Department, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Uzbekistan, emphasized the previous speaker's point by stating that terrorism is a big threat for political and developing systems. Since the damage of terrorist activities to society is huge, counter terrorism (CT) is very important.

### General Remarks

Lt.Col. Babajanov stated that the events of last year in Uzbekistan points out the real threat of terrorism. At present, the threat is coming from religious extremist organizations such as the Islamic Jihad, Al Akrami and

Hibut Tahrir, which used suicide bombers for first time in Uzbekistan. Lt.Col. Babajanov acknowledged that terrorist activities since 1999 have driven the necessity of implementing effective CT measures in Uzbekistan.

Regarding effective CT measures, Lt.Col. Babajanov mentioned that no solution is possible without state and societal support. Since the causes of terrorism are legal, social and economic, counter-terrorism programmes should include not just the legal aspects but also social, economic, political and ideological measures. Thus, the mass media, as well as religious, social and political organizations all have a stake. He mentioned that the Uzbek Republic has empowered the freedom of religious organizations from 1 May 1998. Also in 2004, the law against the financing of terrorism was initiated in the country. Members of the clergy who interact directly with members of religious extremist organizations have likewise been involved in the fight against terrorism. Great steps have also been taken so that students can officially study in religious institutions. Lt.Col. Babajanov shared that perhaps the most important step by far would be the president's signing of a law in September 2000, which authorized the release from punishment of 469 individuals who had mistakenly joined terror organizations.

## Session III

### Pakistani Jihadist Mindset



**Dr. Sohail Abbas**, psychologist and the author of *Probing the Jihadi Mindset*, began his presentation by describing the development of a glorified jihadist mindset from 1979 onwards in Pakistan. The mindset began to develop when General Zia-ul-Haq used Islam to mobilize state power. At that point in time, there was a substantial amount of money being invested, coupled with the involvement of a large number of people, giving rise to a jihadist industry. Zia's rule enhanced religious forces and curbed liberals. Jihadists were proud of fighting the second superpower in the world—the Soviet Union. To give incentive to the religious motivation of these fighters, a number of books were published in this regard. This slowly gave rise to the Deobandi sect and led to a corresponding increase in what Dr. Abbas termed as mosque religion as opposed to a shrine religion.

The former is a more masculine, chauvinistic process while the latter refers mainly to Sufi Islam, which involves the collective family going to the shrine and praying. With the rise of mosque culture and with more people gathering collectively in mosques in both urban and rural settings,

the *mullah* gradually rose in prominence. With the influence of the Arabs and the Deobandi sect, the *mullah* became predominant in Pakistan at that time.

With the events of September 11 and the fall of the Taliban in Afghanistan, thousands of fighters have crossed the border from Pakistan to Afghanistan and returned to their hometown after the jihad in Afghanistan, where they spoke about the atrocities of war.

Dr. Abbas detailed the profile of the jihadi by explaining the various aspects of it, such as the personal, family, educational and psychological motivation for jihad and its attitudes.

On the present problem of rehabilitation, Dr. Abbas revealed that there are a small number of suicide bombers under detention. He felt that it would be beneficial to study them extensively in order to initiate meaningful rehabilitation programmes. The idea of a regular rehabilitation centre was also proposed, with reference to keeping detainees for a few weeks during which the entire family should be involved to receive counselling and guidance as well. It was also proposed that the government should keep them at least in touch with a police station in their region for six months.

While charting Pakistan's future course, Dr. Abbas explained that a large number of Pakistanis are relatively moderate. However, extremists are more active on the scene and can create more waves to attract youngsters looking for action. At the same time, the majority of Muslims lack strong leadership while the minority has leadership and is in close contact with their followers.

## Session I

### Challenges of Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in Pakistan



**Mr. Tariq Pervez**, Chairman, National Counter Terrorism Authority, Pakistan, former Director General, Federal Investigation Agency, Pakistan, began his presentation with a video footage depicting the plight of the victims of suicide bombings in Pakistan. The video was prepared by the Interior Ministry of Pakistan as part of its terrorist rehabilitation programmes. When it was shown to three detained would-be suicide bombers in Pakistan they burst into tears, changed their minds, expressed their willingness to give up violence and said that they were ready to face stern punishment for the crime they were going to commit.

Mr. Pervez said that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent launch of jihad by Muslims all over the world—which at the time was fully endorsed by the international community—transformed Pakistani society radically. He noted that the dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir also served as a catalyst for further radicalization, which engulfed not just the individuals but the families and communities as well. Apart from political and geo-strategic issues, domestic social factors also contributed to the dangerous trend of radicalization in Pakistani society. High levels of poverty, unemployment,

low literacy rates and lack of good governance facilitated the rise of radicalization. Unemployed youths were shown to be more susceptible to undertake jihad. The social prestige enjoyed by jihadis is an important motivating factor for youth to join jihadi outfits. The aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks in the U.S., and the subsequent war in Afghanistan and Iraq, witnessed another phase of radicalization in Pakistan.

The government of Pakistan realizes the intensity of the threat of extremism and its vicious by-product, terrorism. Hence, several steps have been taken to curb extremist and radical ideologies in Pakistani society. Prisons where terrorists are detained are regularly visited by religious clerics. This is done in order to provide inmates with the true preaching of Islam based on peace and harmony. A number of NGOs have also been engaged by the government to work at the community level. The government has also introduced *madrassah* reforms to bring *madrassah* students into mainstream society. Above all, the government has set up the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) as the focal institution on counter-extremism and counter-terrorism. He said that NACTA is aimed at developing, monitoring and implementing a national strategy to combat terrorism and extremism. Extensive research would be carried out to understand the phenomenon of extremism and terrorism. He said that NACTA would form an International liaison to share best practices on de-radicalization.

Mr. Pervez concluded that Pakistan is fully committed to fight against terrorism. Being a frontline state in the war against terror and the worst victim of terrorism and extremism, Pakistan needs to be supported by the international community in its efforts to combat terrorism and extremism.

## Session II

### Challenges of Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in Bangladesh



**Mr. Monowar Hossain Akhand**, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Bangladesh, asserted that terrorism and political violence is a man-made disaster that is paralysing the peace-loving country of Bangladesh. The notion of Islam and jihad has been distorted by terrorist groups. Islam as a peaceful religion does not preach terrorism and violence. The true meaning of jihad is about self-development and self-control against any crime, and yet extremists misinterpreted it to justify their acts of violence and killing. Mr. Akhand noted that rehabilitating terrorists needed to involve the ideological aspect of correcting their misconception and motivation.

#### Crisis Management

Bangladesh managed political atrocities in two ways in order to achieve the minimal casualties and damages: critical decision-making and optimum utilization of resources due to limitations in available resources. Mr. Akhand noted that the media, both print and electronic, play a crucial role in raising awareness and involving the community in the fight against terrorism.

He emphasized that a sense of misguided religious conception and political alienation, when added to social injustices, deprivation, loss of moral values and corruption, have all led to the creation of a religious fanatic group. Mr. Akhand said there are two main militant/extremist organizations established under the name of Islam in Bangladesh—Jamatul Mujahidin Bangladesh (JMB) and Hurkatul Jihad Bangladesh (HUJI-B). He said that the primary objective of these groups is to establish Islamic rule. Knowing that they would not gain power through public support and through democratic fashion, they deliberately resorted to creating panic through violence. Mr. Akhand assessed that these groups motivate the young and the pious and train them for destructive activities.

Mr. Akhand noted that beyond the kinetic approach of the disruption of activities and arrests, a nationwide motivational and de-radicalization programme that covers several facets has been initiated. First, a wide publicity of negative images of terrorist activities is disseminated through print and electronic media. This includes the arrangement of a TV talk show by renowned Islamic personalities such as *imams*—credible figures of authority—to explain the mainstream interpretation of Islam. Monthly discussions and motivational programmes are offered to the high school teachers, local union chairmen, community ward members and local elites. Vocational training programmes for youth are also being introduced.

## Future Plan & Vision

Mr. Akhand noted that the prime minister of Bangladesh declared in February 2009 that the government would place further emphasis on stricter controls on militant and terrorist activities. This would be done by analysing their origins, funding sources and objectives, with the aim to create a database profile of criminals for more centralized information at the government level. Moreover, the de-radicalization or rehabilitation programmes and vocational training programmes must be initiated. International best practices need to be sought from governments and specialist organizations. This would ensure better quality and better-sustained programmes for terrorist detainees. At the community level, more must be done to increase public awareness and modernize the education syllabi at *madrasahs*.

Mr. Akhand stressed the importance of terrorist rehabilitation and vocational programmes. He also said that Bangladesh faces many obstacles in its attempts to

achieve the desired outcome. Currently, programmes for detainees, criminals and prisoners are limited, and facilities to rehabilitate the children and wives of detainees are limited. Moreover, there should be more support from various ends in order to improve their current status quo. Therefore, he called for more public support, concept sharing at the government level, and both inter and intra government coordination. Capacity building (resources and knowledge) in this regard is absolutely necessary, especially from nations that already have ample experience and success in terrorist rehabilitation programmes.

In realizing these objectives, Mr. Akhand foresaw several issues that have to be overcome socially. There may be possible protests by groups of civil societies or citizens who may misunderstand the rehabilitation process as patronizing or supporting the criminals. Moreover, the detainees themselves may not be willing to change their attitude or mindset, which can hinder the rehabilitation process.

## Session I

### Key Islamic Concepts Misinterpreted by Terrorists



**Ustaz Mohamed Ali**, Associate Research Fellow, ICPVTR, RSIS, RRG, Ph.D. Candidate, Exeter University, spoke on some key Islamic concepts that have been misinterpreted by terrorists. As a member of the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG), he spoke on his personal experiences of dealing with terrorist detainees in Singapore and abroad.

Ustaz Mohamed noted that he had seen the overarching importance of ideology in terrorist organizations. Ideology is linked to religion and has a broader appeal through the use of the skilful installation of Islamic doctrines and concepts. Conflicts in Muslim communities have also fostered the ideological perspective on the need of Muslims to defend their cause or faith.

Ustaz Mohamed emphasized that ideology is seen as one of the ways a person can be motivated to get involved in acts of terrorism. Ideology allows them to share common goals as well as a sense of exclusiveness and brotherhood. Ideology provides justification for their struggle. Ustaz Mohamed noted that since its formation is in the mind of the individual, to fight this mindset by imprisonment would not be enough because it is almost impossible to imprison the mind. Thus, a de-programming process or rehabilitation is needed to successfully counter terrorism.

According to Ustaz Mohamed, there are at least four characteristics of the terrorist ideology. The first is literalism, a way of understanding the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* in the literal meaning of the words. The second is rigidity, the manifestation of Islamic practices in its strictest understanding. Rigidity rejects other facts that show the flexibility of Islamic practices applied to Islam in different or special contexts. The third characteristic is generalization. Extremists and terrorists see the world in a simplified manner without considering the certain circumstances of the present world. The fourth is the pathway to absolutism and rejection, where they see their own views as the ultimate truth and tend to reject the views of others.

In his presentation, he mentioned 18 key Islamic concepts that have been misinterpreted, such as jihad and *qital*. While these concepts exist in Islam and the *Qur'an*, the perspectives in which they are understood differ between the extremist and the non-extremist. Non-extremists give broader meaning to them by giving due consideration on the different opinions. Ustaz Mohamed noted that although there are diverse opinions within the non-extremists over these key concepts, they would never make a judgment over different ideas. This is their main difference from extremists.

Ustaz Mohamed noted that ideology is not the only factor that influences the extremists' views and ideas, but it is the basic concept for terrorists to act on. Thus, in countering terrorism, one needs to deconstruct the underlying concepts and ideologies through the understanding of the surrounding milieu where the ideologies have taken root. He also believes that the Islamic tradition holds plenty of resources to refute the extremist's ideas. Terrorists have invoked religious concepts to legitimize their struggle. Thus, it is important for us to be involved in the ideological or intellectual battle, which should be addressed by ulamas or Islamic scholars.

## Session II The Radicalization and De-Radicalization Index



**Professor Arie Kruglanski**, START, University of Maryland, U.S.A., addressed the notion on the concept of de-radicalization and psychological process as a way to measure radicalization. The two are interconnected because the measurement of the outcome in the psychological process depends on understanding the radicalization process that has taken place. De-radicalization is the abandonment of ideological elements that justify violence and terrorism. It has various degrees for each case on how a person has been radicalized. Professor Kruglanski stressed the importance of determining the dimension of de-radicalization in each degree under certain conditions if one wants to complete the ideological makeover. The de-radicalization dimensions will include the ability to respond to challenges and questions from adversaries.

Professor Kruglanski said that the operational and strategic levels in the struggle against terrorism have succeeded in thwarting the operational capability of terrorists. He emphasized, however, that the ideological aspects as part of motivation for terrorists in launching attacks have also become important and that the psychological aspect marks the distinction between capability and motivation of militants.

Professor Kruglanski went on to say that the acknowledgement of the importance of ideology has facilitated the rise of several programmes in Muslims nations, including what is called de-radicalization programmes. Although it has been criticized for being passive, Professor Kruglanski said that the programmes have succeeded in releasing several suspected militants and terrorists. For instance, in Yemen, around 364 prisoners have been released and there have been success in convincing several former militants to work as informants. Professor Kruglanski said that the next question would be to explore the effectiveness of these programmes. He said that there is no specific theoretically grounded empirical research that would identify the indicators of success, and the impact and differences of the success. Professor Kruglanski then spoke about the ongoing research that he is conducting with fellow University of Maryland Professor Michele Gelfand. In that research they used psychological basics to examine the success indicators in de-radicalization processes as part of counter-terrorism. The research proposed the use of the Longitudinal Quasi Experiment based on the before-and-after control group design. The research is conducted through in-depth interviews with detainees' leaders and informed by structured interviews of leading representatives of de-radicalization programmes.

In his research, Professor Kruglanski defined ideology as a potentially actionable belief system. Ideology is important because it identifies a goal and a means. It is only by the conjunction of motivational factors and ideological legitimization that terrorism is likely to exist. Thus, Professor Kruglanski said that in terrorist ideology, the goal is defined as the removal of grievances and terrorism is used for the removal of the identified culprits of grievances.

Professor Kruglanski said that the psychological aspect in counter-terrorism could be done through the conduct of more research on persuasion and de-radicalization, which would focus on what has been identified as the battle for the hearts and minds. The battle for the minds is the theological aspect that de-legitimize the means of terrorism and identifying alternative means to remove the grievance or to change the policy of the presumptive culprit. This could only be done through the involvement of the epistemic authority of the source, such as government officials or clerics.

According to Professor Kruglanski, the hearts aspect is the implicit motivation prompting recipients to accept the arguments. Thus, it is important to know the motivation, which could only be provided from the psychological aspect. This psychological aspect would reveal the relevant motivations, such as escape from suffering, isolation and hopelessness of imprisonment potentially motivating acceptance of de-radicalization arguments. It also projects the material and spiritual support for family, the potential rejection and threat of potential loss of status, and the sense of personal significance accorded to one in a terrorist organization motivating resistance.



**Professor Michele Gelfand**, START, University of Maryland, U.S.A., reinforced what Kruglanski said about the importance of the use of the psychological parameter to identify the factors for success in de-radicalization programmes. Professor Gelfand said that it aims to firstly forge a useful partnership and discussion between practitioners of de-radicalization and academic researchers with theoretical and methodological know how. Second, it aims to foster the encouragement and improvement of the all-important de-radicalization process.

## Session I Terrorist Rehabilitation: Singapore's Experience

### **(A) Closed Door Session with the Internal Security Department, Singapore Singapore's Terrorist Rehabilitation Programme**

Director of the Internal Security Department, Singapore, noted that it was not the intention of the Singapore government to keep detainees for an extended period of time. The government could not release detainees if they still pose a security threat. However, he said that the government had a chance to rehabilitate them since a good number of them had initially wanted to know more about Islam but then they took to learning religion from wrong teachers. He also added that the ISD does not believe that the rehabilitation programmes could work for all detainees. Some detainees had been known to reject the rehabilitation programmes. He added that it should not also be expected that all terrorists would be released after rehabilitation.

He noted that when the rehabilitation programmes had been initiated, the ISD had sought help from the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG). The RRG had the necessary credentials, expertise and authority to provide religious counselling for the detainees. A major concern was that the family of detainees had been exposed to JI's ideology. Some of the wives participated actively in JI programmes and some children of the JI detainees had attended JI's camps and classes. Thus, there was concern that Singapore could have a second generation of terrorists. The detainees' families suffered socially and financially when their breadwinners were in detention. If there was no help given during the detention, resentment might grow and contribute to a second generation of JI. To overcome this challenge, the RRG counselled the family through the aftercare group, which also provided social and financial assistance to the family.

He said that the Muslim community in Singapore has largely accepted this rehabilitation programme in the same way that they have accepted rehabilitation of Malay Muslim drug addicts in the 1970s to 1990s. There

were some who had been sceptical about the idea and doubted that detainees could be rehabilitated even though there are counsellors who are qualified to carry out this work. However, he believed that support would grow and would eventually diminish such scepticism. He believed that seminars and public discussions organized by the community on the importance of rehabilitation programmes would help ease the scepticism. He emphasized the fact that the rehabilitation is carried out by the community rather than by the government could make the programmes more acceptable.

In examining the detainees, he noted that ISD receives input from many sources, such as from case officers, religious counsellors, prison wardens, psychologists and research analysts. The history of the detainees, level of indoctrination and depth of their involvement are also examined to get an overall perspective on whether the detainees have been sufficiently rehabilitated before they are released. After detainees are released, ISD ensures that they will continue to be counselled by the RRG. It should also be recognized that religious counselling alone might not be able to turn a person away from radical beliefs.

Another concern was how to prevent the community from falling prey to radical ideology. Individuals in the Muslim community in Singapore have stepped forward to explain the fallacies of terrorist ideology and espouse the correct interpretation and teaching of the religion. The government has also organized seminars to explain the correct interpretation of religion. Such community work on counter-ideology is very important to create a domestic environment that is unequivocally against terrorism.

He said that the rehabilitation and release of detainees must not be ISD's ultimate goal. ISD's goal is to neutralize the terrorist threat posed by the detainees and rehabilitation is just one possible means of achieving this goal. He said that the ultimate goal is to keep Singapore safe. However, Singapore will continue to rehabilitate its detainees and improve its programmes along the way.

## Internal Security Department's Experience in Rehabilitating Terrorist Operatives

An Officer from the Internal Security Department (ISD), Singapore, spoke about the components of ISD rehabilitation. The components consist of psychological rehabilitation, social rehabilitation and religious rehabilitation. Detainees and those under Restriction Order (RO) supervision have to undergo a holistic rehabilitation programme. He said that ISD ensures that detainees who have been released do not engage in terrorist activities. He noted that in psychological rehabilitation, the detainees are regularly assessed by ISD psychologists on their vulnerability towards radical influence. The detainees are then given counselling based on psychological needs. Social rehabilitation in the form of social support is also given to enable the detainee to reintegrate with society upon release. He added that family also plays a significant role in this regard. Detainees are granted family visits to preserve the family unit as much as possible. He said that an officer from ISD, other than those from the aftercare group, is assigned to each detainee family to provide social and financial support for the detainees. This policy is aimed at alleviating emotional trauma and anxiety, social and financial difficulties, and consequently lessening the detainee's concern over the family. As such, the detainees could focus on cooperating with the investigation and rehabilitation.

He noted that regular interaction with ISD case officers provide the detainees with another source of social affiliation and support. Over time, trust develops between the detainees and their case officers. Regular assessment, monitoring and guidance by the case officers are also conducted. He noted that ISD also undertakes efforts in helping detainees to improve their academic and vocational skills. This would help the detainees in finding employment upon release, thus preventing re-involvement in terrorist activities. He added that the religious rehabilitation aspect of the programmes is done by RRG members, who conduct regular counselling sessions with the detainees.

He discussed the stages of change that detainees undergo under the rehabilitation programmes. The first is re-evaluation, when they begin to reflect on their past actions and their consequences. The second is a re-evaluation of their environment when radicalized individuals realize that they wrongly have assumed that their actions are supported by the community at large. During detention, religious counsellors and family members would try to debunk these assumptions. The third step would be to develop a path of awareness of radicalization. In all of these stages, there is cognitive restructuring, where the detainees are made to gradually learn—from psychologists—how to manage emotion and develop the capacity to objectively frame global events.

He added that there are also cases where a number of detainees still choose to maintain their radical beliefs, using defence mechanisms or psychological strategies to protect the radical belief system from being challenged. One defence mechanism is the idea that rehabilitation is not relevant to them as the values of peace and inter-religious tolerance are conceived by infidels. They see the visits of case officers, psychologists and family as an opportunity to preach their version of Islam. Another defence mechanism is the refusal to open up to case officers and psychologists. Some feel that detention is a form of prosecution and is against Islamic law.

In conclusion, he emphasized that ISD reviews every case annually to determine if the detainees still pose a security threat. After the detainees are released, the authorities still ensure that they are re-integrated into society and are immune to terrorist ideology. He added that the results of ISD's rehabilitation programmes have so far been encouraging. A good number of detainees have been released and so far they have not returned to terrorism. They continue to keep in contact with case officers, psychologists and religious counsellors. They also appear to have been re-integrated well into society. He noted that for ISD, rehabilitation is not an end in itself. Rehabilitation is one way to neutralize the terrorist threat, whereby released detainees are no longer a security threat.

## (B) Experience of Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG)



**Ustaz Mohamed Feisal Mohamed Hassan**, Research Analyst, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, RSIS, and Secretary of RRG, spoke on the RRG, how it began and its functions. Ustaz M. Feisal said that the RRG was created to assist in rehabilitating JI detainees, particularly those under restriction orders and their family members. Ustaz M. Feisal noted that religious counselling is an inherent part of the rehabilitation process. He added that the founding members of the RRG, Ustaz H. Ali and Ustaz H. M. Hasbi, were approached by ISD officers in late 2001 to discuss JI's thinking and ideology. At that time, there was some consideration as to whether JI was a conspiracy or whether it actually existed, and whether it was possible for JI members to contemplate suicide attacks. ISD officers were also contemplating how the community would, as a whole, think and react if there was an attack.

Ustaz M. Feisal said that several observations were made from initial meetings of the founding members with the detainees. The detainees had a distorted ideology, where they promoted violence as a means, possessed a simplistic paradigm that was full of hatred and anger. There was also a sense of exclusiveness as they felt that they were the chosen ones. Ustaz M. Feisal said that from these initial findings, there was recognition of a need to change the detainees' ideology; promote activism among the religious fraternity to engage the detainees; and forge an understanding between religious scholars, government and other experts to engage in detainee rehabilitation.

A resource panel was formed among senior and respected religious scholars. A secretariat was also created to assist

in administrative, research and logistical matters. Ustaz H. Ali and Ustaz H. M. Hasbi also approached religious teachers to join and volunteer as religious counsellors. The total number of counsellors was 38, comprising young and old, male and female. The counsellors graduated from local *madrassahs* and Islamic universities such as Al-Azhar University, Madinah University and the International Islamic University, Malaysia. Many had pursued higher degrees leading to Master's and doctorates in various fields of Islamic Studies.

Several knowledge-based initiatives were pursued, such as the creation of a religious counselling manual and guidelines. The counselling manual is an important and necessary guide to structured counselling. There are also guidelines for counsellors on how to utilize the manual. This facilitated the optimization of the manual by the counsellor. The manual covers reading, analysing and planning for counselling sessions. For a quality counselling, each counsellor needs to expand beyond the manual. Counsellors are encouraged to continuously complement their usage of the manual with references to the *Qur'an* and *Hadith* of the Prophet. This links the counselling process to the continuous historical legacy of Islam, and highlights implications to current times, answering questions such as how one can be a good Muslim in Singapore.

RRG has conducted more than 1,200 sessions towards those under detention and RO. Meanwhile, more than 130 counselling sessions have been conducted for the families of detainees.

Ustaz M. Feisal said that JI's ideology is like a cancer and that it had emerged without notice. The detainees have been misled in their search and pursuit of spiritual renewal, guidance and true leadership. The ideology possessed by JI members has a political motivation, which was the establishment of an Islamic state. Their view includes impermissibility of living with non-Muslims, with no necessity for religious harmony and tolerance. They also fail to return to Islamic intellectual tradition and heritage and see jihad as a perpetual warfare against non-Muslims. There is also hostility against the West and its allies. From RRG's counselling sessions, several Islamic concepts such as *al-Wala wal Bara* (loyalty and disloyalty), *jamaah* (community), *bai'ah* (pledge of allegiance), and others have been misconstrued by the extremist groups. The

detainees are counselled on their thoughts and minds by extricating their negatively imbibed ideology, replacing negative ideology with positive ones, imbuing rightful

understanding of Islamic knowledge, and exemplifying the fulfilling ways of living in a multi-racial and multi-religious society.

## Session II Singapore's Aftercare Programmes



### Overview on Singapore's Aftercare Programmes

**Mr. Abdul Halim Kader** said the concept of aftercare was introduced in December 2001 and the Aftercare Group (ACG) was formed in February 2002. The ACG comprised of Taman Bacaan, Yayasan Mendaki, Association of Muslim Professionals (AMP), Khadijah Mosque and En-Naeem Mosque. Thereafter, the group met and decided on a joint strategy that would see them providing a range of services, from giving food, to paying school fees, to offering religious counselling. The objective of this effort is to ease any problems that the families might experience with the detention of their husbands and fathers, who were often the sole breadwinner. Social workers and counsellors from these voluntary organizations are attached to the detainees' families to provide emotional and social support, for example, to link the spouses of detainees to the relevant agencies that could find them jobs.

Hence, the aftercare effort serves to ease the resentment of the families over their husbands' and fathers' detentions and prevents any such resentment from spilling over into the Muslim community. Involvement in the JI's recruitment efforts, socialization with the JI members and resentment over their husbands' and fathers' detention experience would make the family members vulnerable to terrorist influence. This might entail future involvement in terrorist

activities, especially if these family members share JI's radical beliefs. The aftercare support is thus also a means for ISD and the community to manage the susceptibilities of vulnerable families and ensure that a second generation of JI does not develop.

The efforts by Taman Bacaan range from arranging for eligible detainees' families to collect free used textbooks, provide financial assistance for eligible JI children, the distribution of Hari Raya cookies and providing motivational DVDs.

Counter-ideology initiatives by Taman Bacaan include youth seminars and conventions on fighting terrorism and radicalization in 2007 and 2008. Taman Bacaan has also published three books on fighting terrorism and countering radicalization.



### Yayasan Mendaki's Programmes and Assistance Schemes

**Mdm. Sharifah Sakinah Ali Alkaff** spoke about Yayasan Mendaki's (YM) focus on assisting disadvantaged Malay-Muslims to level up through education. She gave two examples of successful aftercare programmes. One example was "Family A", where the father was detained. The father was married to a GCE 'O' level holder (Madame A) and who had five children. The family's concern was money

to pay household bills and their children's educational expenses. Assistance rendered by YM was an education trust fund subsidy in the form of book vouchers for the school-going children; computer and access to the Internet for the school-going children; tuition-fee waiver for her children; payment for examination and registration fees for the GCE 'O' Levels; and certificate in office skills for Madame A in skills upgrading. Referrals to national and other agencies were also done. It covered tuition for her school-going children (by AMP), school pocket money fund for her fourth and fifth children (Family Service Centre-FSC), cash and fidyah voucher (Islamic Religious Council of Singapore, Lee Foundation and Tabung Amal Aidilfitri), and work assistance programmes (Community Development Council, CDC).

The progress included the acquisition of new skills by Madame A. Madame A also now works as an administrative clerk earning \$1,600 per month. Her first and second children have completed 10 years of basic education, and are currently working and helping to support the family. Her three younger children are still in school. Her third child has made remarkable progress and proceeded to post-secondary education. Madame A's family appears to be coping well on its own, with the YM continuing to provide educational assistance to her school-going children. The process also entails YM to closely coordinate with partners by the dissemination of programmes to partners and sharing the best practices among case management officers.



### **Family Counselling Approach Toward Families**

**Mdm. Zaleha Ahmad** from the Association of Muslim Professionals (AMP) noted that the group is presently handling 20 cases. Fourteen are active cases and are

being managed by six counsellors. The counselling has a holistic family-based approach. Mdm. Ahmad said that AMP's counselling offers a complete range of services to the family based on their specific needs, which covers financial assistance, educational development, economic empowerment and other assistance such as counselling. It also provides home visits and counselling, bonding with clients, trust-building and emotional support.

Mdm. Ahmad then went on to narrate details of a case study, that of Madam Hani, who is 38 years old and whom the AMP took into its care in 2002. Madam Hani had seven children and was the sole breadwinner of the family. She was initially unwilling to receive help, as the ones who wanted to assist her were the ones who arrested her husband. AMP visited her at home and provided counselling and emotional support, including advice on how to cope as a single parent. The services provided her included fulfilling her children's educational and development needs (tuition programmes, enrichment workshops for both children and parents, ready-for-school packs and free refurbished PCs), financial assistance (cash assistance from MUIS, school pocket money fund, educational trust fund) and skills upgrading (home-based business programmes).

After seven years, Mdm. Ahmad said that Madam Hani appears to be doing well, having gone through skills upgrading and having found employment. Mdm. Ahmad said that Madam Hani's four children are going to school. Madam Hani also appears emotionally stable. However, Mdm. Ahmad said that not all cases are as successful as Madam Hani's. Nonetheless, Mdm. Ahmad said that they hope to produce more successful cases in the future.

## Session I Terrorist Rehabilitation: Malaysia's Experience



**Ustaz Iszam Padil**, JAKIM, noted that the first experience that Malaysia had in dealing with terrorists was in the mid-1940s, during the communist insurgency. Intermittently, from the 1960s to the 1980s, there had been threats arising from religious extremists. According to Iszam Padil, Assistant Director, Dakwah Section JAKIM, Malaysia, this was due to misinterpretation of the Islamic faith, which was connected to each group's interests and struggle. After the communists had laid down their arms in 1989, Malaysia faced security threats that emanated from the revival of religious extremist and terrorist groups. Towards the end of the 1990s, security threats came from religious-based extremist and terrorists groups, notably the Al Maunah in 2000, the Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia in 2001 and the Jemaah Islamiyah from 2000 until now.

Though it has never been promoted openly, the rehabilitation programmes were implemented in tandem with other programmes under the Preventive Law ISA 1960. ISA 1960 provides powers to stop and prevent any action taken and end the threats. It also provides powers for preventive detention in the name of national security. Section 73(3) of ISA 1960 empowers the police to detain a person for a maximum of 60 days. The rehabilitation programmes conducted by the Department of Islamic Development (JAKIM) started after the filing of a case that was sent to the Ministry of Internal Security in order to obtain an Order of Detention (OD) or a Restriction Order (RO). ISA detainees are housed in at the Kamunting

Detention Camp under the purview of the Prisons Department. The programme is then formulated and conducted in collaboration with the Prisons Department and JAKIM.

The rehabilitation programmes aim to rehabilitate the detainees by deepening and correcting their understanding about Islamic teachings. It aims to rehabilitate detainees by identifying the detainees' levels of awareness based on an evaluation of their understanding and approach towards Islamic teachings. It also aims to instil awareness of the roles and responsibilities of a Malaysian citizen regardless of religion or race, and their responsibility to obey the ruler. Lastly, it aims to explain to the detainees that their activities prior to their detention were a threat to the security of the country and were against Islamic teaching.

Approaches for rehabilitation programmes are divided into four. The Tafaqquh Fiddin programme is a monthly meeting in the detention camp and it offers Islamic studies. The Special Rehabilitation programme is an intensive programme that lasts for about four to seven days and is catered towards five to 10 detainees. It focuses on detainees who have shown positive response towards rehabilitation programmes and have renounced their religious-militant struggle and ideology. The Evaluating and Monitoring programme, on the other hand, ensures that the programmes have been done completely, and is continuously done by the police. JAKIM is also responsible for bi-annual evaluations and monitoring of those who have gone through the programmes. This procedure includes visits to their houses and the distribution of JAKIM publications.

There is also a special programme for the detainees' wives. This programme was created as a channel to discuss Islamic issues with regard to the detention of their husbands.

Ustaz I. Padil concluded that while the rehabilitation programmes in Malaysia are well structured and organized, there is still room for improvement.

## Session II Terrorist Rehabilitation: Indonesia's Experience



**Colonel Tito Karnavian**, Head of Intelligence, Detachment 88, Indonesia, and Associate Research Fellow, RSIS, Singapore, said that there is a general preference in Indonesia for the use of the term dealing with terrorists instead of rehabilitation. Suspected terrorists in Indonesia have responded unfavourably to the terms rehabilitation and radicalization. The main aim of the process that has been undertaken by the Indonesian police is to get information to further investigate terrorists cells.

These unique strategies have been modified because one of the weaknesses of the law enforcement strategies in Indonesia is that they have been unable to address the underlying causes of terrorism. The cooperation of some ex-terrorists like Nasir Abbas and Ali Imron has also played a key role in the formation of these strategies.

Another key issue that forced the establishment of these strategies is the findings from 438 terrorists that have been detained. There are certain norms and cultures that play within their secretive and exclusive network. The police have also been able to detect the kinship, friendship, discipleship, worship and motives that foster the terrorist network in Indonesia. These factors have become the basis for the Indonesian police to build a systematic approach in dealing with terrorists.

The first stage in their strategy is to study the target. This stage has three variables that need to be determined. First, there is a study to identify the dominant motive behind

the individual terrorist's actions, whether it is spiritual, emotional or material. This motive reflects the degree of their radicalism. The second is a study of the individual's role in the networks. The categories in this role reflect their degree of radicalization in descending order as follows: the hardcore member, the operative, the supporter and the sympathizer. The last variable relates to personal problems. It determines the individual problems that may develop in detention, such as meals and illness. It also determines individual psychological aspects such as boredom, nerves, sexual issues and the future. This variable also looks into the economic, psychological and physical aspects of the family and relatives of an individual terrorist.

After studying the target, the appointed officer determines how difficult it would be to approach an individual terrorist. This is based on a comparison between the motive and role in the network, which would show the level of radicalism. Only then can the type of therapy or approach be designed and applied. The therapy or approach stage is divided into three steps: the designation of an appropriate officer, the building of trust, and influencing or intervention.

In four years that these strategies have been applied, about half of the 200 approached individual terrorists have been cooperative. The results are seen through the actions undertaken by the individual to repent publicly. Results are also seen when the detainees provide information about their network that has led to arrests or, in some cases, taken the offer of police assistance and become more willing to talk openly. Another interesting fact behind these successful approaches is that no major attack has occurred in Indonesia in the past four years. It is credited to the simultaneous application of hard and soft approaches.

However, in the future, there is a need to propose and conduct more systematic studies on the causes of radicalization. There is also a need to convince politicians and stakeholders so as to enhance the implementation of these strategies. There are also other factors that need to be developed, such as the provision of a legal basis for the programmes, financial support and inter-agency approaches.

## Session I

### Vision for Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in Thailand



**Mr. Charnchao Chaiyanukit**, Deputy Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Justice, Thailand, said that, since 2004, more than 4,000 civilians and government officers had been targeted by insurgents in the southern border province of Thailand. The insurgency has had a negative political, social and economic impact at both the provincial and national levels. As terrorism is a political crime, it should be overcome in a sustainable way by rehabilitating the accused and integrating them within the society in line with human-rights protection and decentralization as stipulated in the Thai Constitution.

The southern border province of Thailand has witnessed conflicts for more than four and a half centuries. In early 2004, insurgents attacked a military camp in a southern province in Thailand. The government attempted to solve the problem by establishing mechanisms to deal with terrorism in an integrated manner. A national security agency was assigned to administer the new government unit in cooperation with the Royal Thai Army and the Royal Thai Police in southern Thailand. The King's guidelines of understanding and reaching out for the goal of national conciliation are the cornerstones of any approach undertaken. In practice, the government has employed rigid law enforcement in parallel with political activities and a social economic development initiative, which was introduced to the southern border region. Martial law was enforced in the area. The law on public administration in an emergency situation was also enacted to allow the prime minister to exercise full power. In addition, internal security law was also in place in the southern provinces of Thailand.

So far, 500 individuals have been accused and detained in southern border prisons, including those pending trial and those whose cases have been finalized. At present, Thailand's Ministry of Justice is in the process of conducting a study to identify the detainees' motivation and collect their personal information to be used as rehabilitation guidelines. The final goal is to enable the detainees to reintegrate themselves back into society. If the situation in southern Thailand remains unchanged, the number of detainees may rise.

The conceptual framework for addressing conflicts in southern Thailand through peaceful means is as follows:

1. Adopting conflict transformation as an approach to solve the existing conflict. This is done through the promotion of mutual recognition between pro-government and anti-government groups, and particularly between Buddhist and Muslim Thai people across the country.
2. Employing social activities and rehabilitation to reintegrate the accused back into society. The majority of the accused have been imbued with misguided religious teaching and ethno-nationalist ideology. Consequently, criminal prosecution as measures against such conditions is not a sustainable solution to the problem.
3. Implementing preventive measurement concepts based on community development projects, encouraging people to be self-reliant. If successful, this would bring about effective crime prevention through people's participation in the criminal justice system, and through community engagement after detainees have been rehabilitated and released. The conflict in the southern province is a political one and the use of violence poses a serious threat to both individuals and the public at large. Therefore, the rehabilitation of the accused must be different from that of people who have committed other types of crimes. Imprisonment alone would not be enough to solve the problem.

The prospects of religious programmes in Thailand are meant to address the root cause of the conflict in southern Thailand. It is part of the government's policy to emphasize politics before military approach. It comprises of the following:

The first is conflict transformation, where the rehabilitation process should be based on the concept of bringing back friendship and harmony. This can be achieved by enabling the accused to recognize the damage inflicted by their violence and repent from such terrorist acts. Thai society should believe that these accused can be reintegrated into society and their wrongdoing forgiven.

The second is community engagement. Apart from rehabilitation programmes, community engagement is indispensable. The community can play a role in rehabilitation, either directly or indirectly.

The third is human-rights education. It must be a process that respects human dignity as its fundamental principal. Rehabilitation programmes therefore should have a rights-based approach, especially in serving the social and cultural rights as well as civil and political rights.

The fourth is human empowerment, which is designed to improve the quality of life of the accused and their families. The concept is focused on building the economic and social capacity by forming a link between the individuals accused, their families and the communities with the social and cultural context as a key element.

In conclusion, Mr. Chaiyanukit acknowledged that a rehabilitation programme needs time and coordination from all concerned parties in an integrated and disciplined manner and, so far, it is controlled by the military. It might be difficult to identify success indicators due to the fact that the programme requires a high level of expertise and experience. In addition, the process might not conform to Thailand's existing concept. Thailand still needs a legal basis for a rehabilitation programme. However, Thailand, through its Ministry of Justice, has launched the first phase of its rehabilitation programme by initiating a research study to classify the terrorists based on their motivations.

## Session II

### Vision for Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in the Philippines



**Mr. Milo Ibrado**, Undersecretary, Office of the National Security Advisor, Philippines, acknowledged that Mindanao has provided an attractive environment for terrorists. It has its training in southern Philippines. The area is a major training ground for the insurgency and terrorism linked to other parts of Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia. The Philippines also suffers an ongoing armed rebellion with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), a splinter group of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), and established terrorist groups like the Abu Sayyaf. The Philippines also has the Raja Sulaiman terrorist group, whose members comprise former Christians who have converted to Islam. The Philippines has also suffered from communist insurgency for more than 40 years, which probably makes it the longest communist insurgency in the world.

The Philippines' comprehensive strategy in countering terrorism includes both hard and soft components. The soft approach is to build bridges between Christian and Muslim communities, including building inter-faith dialogue by organizing bishop-*ulema* conferences, particularly in the area of southern Mindanao. The bishop-*ulema* conference has been held on a quarterly basis since 1996. Today, inter-faith dialogue is largely popular as a means of introducing peace.

Currently, the Philippine government faces 11,000 armed rebels of the MILF, with thousands of its supporters. The government also deals with five million Muslims in southern Mindanao. The government believes that it should not only deal with armed rebels but with the community as well. Dialogue with the communities is a new paradigm in the peace process with the MILF. Mr. Ibrado said that such consultations and dialogues were very important during the ceasefire with the MILF last year, even though a peace agreement had yet to be forged. The government has also organized intra-faith dialogues within Muslim communities towards this end.

Another important measure was the introduction of peace into the educational system as mandated by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo in 2008. The Philippine government will also integrate *madaris* (*madrasahs*) into the mainstream education system to protect them from extremist interpretations of Islam. Public schools, as well as *madaris*, has been the source of the recruitment group of extremist. Government support for *madaris* has improved.

The Philippines is still in the early stages of terrorist rehabilitation and is in the pre-emptive part of addressing terrorists. The government fully recognizes the importance of implementing a terrorist rehabilitation programme. Mr. Ibrado said that the Muslim community would be entreated to spearhead the rehabilitation with the support of the government. The government will also bring the police, military, intelligence sector and the justice system (including its correctional system) into the rehabilitation initiative. Learning from the lessons of other countries is also important as the country tackles not only the problem of terrorism but other equally important political, economic and social concerns as well.

## The Way Forward: Recommendations and Actions



**Professor Rohan Gunaratna** began his concluding remarks by highlighting the importance of having such a significant international conference, which progressed very successfully over the three days.

The exchange of ideas and experiences from different countries on the various types of rehabilitation programmes—both structured and non-structured—has helped to identifying avenues for improvement. Some efforts in the past did not succeed. Egypt, for example, did not have enough resources and thus, their rehabilitation programmes were closed. Professor Gunaratna noted that the present climate makes it possible to create new programmes. With the initiation of a critical number of programmes, a global regime on rehabilitation can begin to take shape. Professor Gunaratna emphasized that a mandate ought to be made for every country to establish rehabilitation programmes. The most important lesson is to recognize the programmes that have been discussed in a very country-specific manner, and to identify and draw lessons. The conference, Professor Gunaratna opined, would be an ideal platform to create understanding and initiate change.

Professor Gunaratna emphasized that the recently launched web portal, [p4peace.com](http://p4peace.com), aims to attract the public and engage them. The web portal is also meant for

practitioners. All conference participants were invited to become partners of the portal by sharing their experiences and writings. A dedicated section for rehabilitation has been added to the portal. Professor Gunaratna noted that a movement from cooperation to collaboration is needed. Professor Gunaratna further elaborated that in the counter-terrorism domain, rehabilitation is the main component. The p4peace Portal would act as a common database. Professor Gunaratna noted that in terms of joint training, Singapore would be glad to extend courses to facilitate the learning process. This would include clerics and social workers. Professor Gunaratna noted that it is imperative that scholars and clerics be trained in counselling. Among others to be trained are prison officials.

Professor Gunaratna noted that the second area of collaboration would be training. While human capacity is present on the training side, there is a lack of financial resources. The third consideration would be the need for a national advisory council for international rehabilitation.

Professor Gunaratna noted that the conference was not meant only as a lesson to be learned. The momentum of this conference needs to be maintained via database and programmes. Every presentation was very special, rich in content and useful.

**Mr. Tony Heal** extended his credit to Professor Gunaratna and his colleagues at the RRG for organizing such an excellent conference.

Mr. Heal said that Professor Gunaratna and his colleagues in the RRG are in a better position to deal with the issue of rehabilitation as they are inside the programmes and they would be able to see what issues need to be raised. Mr. Heal noted that there is a necessity for change. Quoting Karl Marx, Mr. Heal emphasized that “the problem is to change it”. Mr. Heal called for a plan of action to be sought and undertaken.

Mr. Heal proposed the following:

1. To produce a high quality conference report
2. To put a commitment in principle to have another conference in one to two years.
3. To evaluate a means to build a living network. The network should be continued via an online avenue
4. To arrange workshops that address the number of areas that require problem solving.

Mr. Heal noted that the target of rehabilitation needed to be clarified, i.e. whether it was the people in detention, or the community or the process of rehabilitation itself?

Mr. Heal added that there is a need to determine the way to solve the problem: either by the individual approach (e.g. by focusing on leading figures of extremist groups) or by using collective methods.

Mr. Heal noted that partnerships between the different nations would be ideal as some countries are very advanced in the field of terrorist rehabilitation. As such, the countries that can work together ought to be placed in a group. This would ensure good prospects, with a potential for initiating change.

**Dr. Abdulrahman Al Hadlaq** pointed out that the main problem was the lack of communication. By raising problems and challenges at an international forum of this calibre, cooperation and collaboration can be initiated.

Dr. Al Hadlaq went on to suggest the necessity to train, especially for the sheikhs. He noted that there are potential sheikhs in Saudi Arabia that can deal with terrorists. He acknowledged, however, that they might not be well-versed in Islamic jurisprudence—for example, details about prayer rules—but they would be very much knowledgeable in the issues of jihad and other related issues.

As a concluding remark, Dr. Al Hadlaq said that a meeting of this calibre ought to take place from time to time. He noted that the subject of rehabilitation is broad and needs to be explored.

**Mr. Haji Salim Mohd Nasir**, Religious Rehabilitation Group Singapore, gave his remarks on the three-day conference, which he aptly summarized.

A- A for Attitude. A positive mental attitude would be the key to this issue. Terrorism is a tactic. The varied views exchanged would provide for a shared database.

B- B is for Basics. Mr. Haji S. Nasir noted that the basics of rehabilitation need to be mastered to near-perfection. While different models are present internationally, the challenge would be to formulate them and customize them to suit the individual practice for all countries in order to mitigate the threat of terrorism.

C- C is communication. Mr. Haji S. Nasir noted that the conference dealt with the necessity to communicate and to counter the ideological threat. However, communication, Mr. Haji Salim pointed out, belongs to the greater mass and population. Communication is the tool to determine which group they belong to. The tall order would be to manage this communication process and to prevent a small minority from taking over a large majority of the world.



*Children from the Orkid Choir performing a song titled “Wings of Peace”, composed by Nur Azlin, Research Analyst, ICPVTR, RSIS, at the closing ceremony of the First International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation, 26 February 2009*

## International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation Programme

**Tuesday, 24 February 2008**

09:00 – 11:00	<p>Welcome Remarks Ambassador Barry Desker Dean, RSIS</p> <p>Inaugural Address Mr. K. Shanmugam Minister for Law, Second Minister for Home Affairs</p> <p>Launch of p4peace.com Web Portal</p> <p>Special Address Colonel Fred Krawchuk United States, Special Operations Command</p>	14:30 – 16:30	<p><u>Panel Discussion II</u></p> <p>Chair: Ustaz Mohamed Ali Associate Research Fellow, ICPVTR, RSIS, Ph.D. Candidate, Exeter University Secretariat/Counselor, RRG</p> <p>Speakers: Dr. Omar Ashour Lecturer, Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies University of Exeter, U.K. “Terrorist Rehabilitation: Egypt’s Experience”</p> <p>Mr. Lawrence Rubin Associate Editor, Terrorism and Political Violence Journal, UCLA, Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University, U.S. “Terrorist Rehabilitation: Egypt’s Experience”</p> <p>Mohamed Redzuan Bin Salleh Research Analyst, ICPVTR, RSIS “Terrorist Rehabilitation: Yemen’s Experience”</p>
11:15 – 13:30	<p><u>Panel Discussion I</u></p> <p>Chair: Ustaz Mohamed Feisal Mohamed Hassan Research Analyst, ICPVTR, RSIS Secretariat/Counselor RRG</p> <p>Speakers: Professor Rohan Gunaratna Head, ICPVTR, RSIS “Terrorist Rehabilitation: A Global Imperative”</p> <p>Major General Douglas Stone Marine Corps, U.S. “Terrorist Rehabilitation: Iraq’s Experience”</p> <p>Mr. Mike Marks Special Agent Northwest Field Office, NCIS “Guantanamo Bay: Lessons Learnt, Case Studies and Operations”</p>	16:45 – 18:00	<p><u>Panel Discussion III</u></p> <p>Chair: Professor Rohan Gunaratna Head, ICPVTR, RSIS</p> <p>Speakers: Dr. Christopher Boucek Associate, Middle East Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, U.S. “Terrorist Rehabilitation: Saudi Arabia’s Experience”</p> <p>Dr. Abdulrahman Al Hadlaq General Director, Ideological Security Directorate Ministry of the Interior, Saudi Arabia “Terrorist Rehabilitation: Saudi Arabia’s Experience”</p>
13:30	<p>Lunch</p>		

**Wednesday, 25 February 2009**

09:00 – 10:30	<p><u>Panel Discussion IV</u> Chair: Professor Michele Gelfand START, University of Maryland, U.S.</p> <p>Speakers: Mr. Richard R. Magnus Senior Research Fellow, RSIS "Terrorist Rehabilitation: Legal and Governance Challenges"</p> <p>Mr. Tony Heal Deputy Head of PREVENT Section Office of Security and Counter Terrorism The Home Office, U.K. "Terrorist Rehabilitation: Challenges Facing the U.K."</p> <p>Professor Fernando Reinares King Juan Carlos University Director of Program on Global Terrorism at Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid "Terrorist Rehabilitation: Challenges Facing Spain"</p>	13:15	<p>Lunch</p>	<p>Dr. Sohail Abbas Psychologist, Pakistan Author of Probing the Jihadi Mindset "Pakistani Jihadist Mindset"</p>
10:45 – 13:15	<p><u>Panel Discussion V</u> Chair: Ustaz Haniff Hassan, Associate Research Fellow, ICPVTR, RSIS</p> <p>Speakers: Dr. Tolibjon A. Umarov Head of Research of Prosecutor General's Office "Detainee Rehabilitation: Uzbekistan's Experience"</p> <p>Lieutenant Colonel D. Babajanov Deputy Head of Antiterrorism Department Ministry of Internal Affairs of Uzbekistan "Countering Extremism in Uzbekistan"</p>	15:45 – 17:45	<p><u>Panel Discussion VII</u> Chair: Dr. Abdulrahman Al Hadlaq General Director, Ideological Security Directorate Ministry of the Interior, Saudi Arabia</p> <p>Speakers: Ustaz Mohamed Ali Associate Research Fellow, ICPVTR, RSIS, RRG, Ph.D. Candidate Exeter University "Key Islamic Concepts Misinterpreted by Terrorists"</p> <p>Professor Arie Kruglanski &amp; Professor Michele Gelfand START, University of Maryland, U.S. "The Radicalization and De-Radicalization Index"</p>	<p><u>Panel Discussion VI</u> Chair: Professor Arie Kruglanski START, University of Maryland, U.S.</p> <p>Speakers: Mr. Tariq Pervez Chairman, National Counter Terrorism Authority, Pakistan, Former Director General Federal Investigation Agency, Pakistan "Challenges of Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in Pakistan"</p> <p>Mr. AKM. Monowar Hossain Akhand Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Bangladesh "Challenges of Establishing a Rehabilitation Programme in Bangladesh"</p>

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TERRORIST REHABILITATION

Thursday, 26 February 2009

12:30 Lunch

09:00 – 11:00 Panel Discussion VIII  
Chair:  
Director, Internal Security Department of  
Singapore

Speakers:  
Officer,  
Internal Security Department of Singapore,  
“Terrorist Rehabilitation:  
Singapore’s Experience”

Ustaz Mohamed Feisal Mohamed Hassan  
ICPVTR/RRG, Singapore  
“Terrorist Rehabilitation:  
Singapore’s Experience”

“Singapore’s Aftercare Programme”  
Mr. Halim Kader  
TAMAN BACAAN

Mdm. Sharifah Sakinah Ali Alkaff  
Yayasan Mendaki

Mdm. Zaleha Ahmad  
Association of Muslim Professionals

11:15 – 12:30 Panel Discussion IX  
Chair:  
Ustaz Abdul Jalil Razak,  
Religious Rehabilitation Group,  
Singapore

Speakers:  
Ustaz Iszam Padil  
Assistant Director, Dakwah Section  
JAKIM, Malaysia  
“Terrorist Rehabilitation:  
Malaysia’s Experience”

Colonel Tito Karnavian  
Head of Intelligence  
Detachment 88, Indonesia  
RSIS, Singapore  
“Terrorist Rehabilitation:  
Indonesia’s Experience”

13:30 – 15:00 Panel Discussion X  
Chair:  
Ms. Jolene Jerard,  
Manager, ICPVTR, RSIS

Speakers:  
Mr. Charnchao Chaiyanukit  
Deputy Permanent Secretary,  
Ministry of Justice, Thailand  
“Vision for Rehabilitation Programme  
in Thailand”

Undersecretary Milo Ibrado  
Office of the National Security Advisor,  
Philippines  
“Vision for Rehabilitation Programme  
in the Philippines”

15:00 – 16:00 Panel Discussion XI  
The Way Forward:  
Recommendations & Actions  
Professor Rohan Gunaratna  
Head, ICPVTR, RSIS

Mr. Tony Heal  
Deputy Head of PREVENT Section Office  
of Security and  
Counter Terrorism, The Home Office,  
United Kingdom

Dr. Abdulrahman Al Hadlaq  
General Director,  
Ideological Security Directorate  
Ministry of the Interior, Saudi Arabia

Haji Salim Mohd Nasir,  
Religious Rehabilitation Group, Singapore

16:00 – 16:30 Closing Ceremony

## About The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR)

The **International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR)** is a specialist centre within S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. The Centre seeks to integrate academic theory with practical knowledge, essential for complete and comprehensive understanding of threats from politically motivated groups. Its research staff comprises functional and regional analysts from South Asia, Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, Oceania, Africa, Europe, North America and the Middle East. The research staff is drawn from academia and government agencies and also includes Muslim religious scholars. The Centre seeks to maintain its unique cultural and linguistic diversity. More than fifty percent of ICPVTR staff is Muslim.

### **Mission**

ICPVTR conducts research, training and outreach programmes aimed at reducing the threat of politically motivated violence and at mitigating its effects on the international system.

### **Core Objectives**

To conduct sustained research and analysis of terrorist, guerilla, militia and extremist political groups and their support bases. To this end, the Centre collects and analyses literature seeking to politicize, radicalize and mobilize the public into supporting extremism and participating in violence.

To identify the strengths and weaknesses of international, state and societal responses in managing the threat of political violence.

To provide high quality instruction and training for officials and future leaders engaged in combating terrorism and other forms of political violence.

To advise government and inform societies affected by political violence on how best to manage the current and evolving threat.

### **Core Projects**

#### **A. Database**

The ICPVTR terrorism database – the Global Pathfinder – is a one-stop repository for information on current and emerging threats. The database consists of profiles of terrorists and terrorist groups, significant incidents, as well as profiles of training camps and individuals and institutions involved in terrorist financing. It also hosts primary and secondary documents including original documents collected from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Bosnia, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines amongst others. Our special collection includes more than 250 videos recovered from Al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan, videos and training manuals from various conflict zones and over 400 jihadi websites.

#### **B. Capacity Building**

In addition to teaching courses at the Masters level, ICPVTR threat specialists conduct various levels of specialized courses for Singaporean and foreign law enforcement personnel from agencies like the military and police forces. The ICPVTR capacity building programme is geared towards providing world-class education and training for serving and future leaders in counter-terrorism.

#### **C. Strategic Counter-Terrorism Projects**

ICPVTR's strategic counter-terrorism projects include ideological, legislative, educational, financial, media, informatics and developmental initiatives. These strategic projects seek to create an environment hostile to terrorist groups and unfriendly to their supporters and sympathizers. ICPVTR seeks to build a norm and an ethic against politically motivated violence, especially terrorism.

As terrorists and extremists emerge from the community in which they live, the ICPVTR popularized the phrase "Communities Defeat Terrorism" in Singapore. Our staff actively participates in the work of the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG), which is engaged in counseling and rehabilitation of Jemaah Islamiyah detainees in Singapore.

For more information on ICPVTR, visit

**[www.pvtr.org](http://www.pvtr.org)**

## About The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

The **S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)** was established in January 2007 as an autonomous School within the Nanyang Technological University. RSIS' mission is to be a leading research and graduate teaching institution in strategic and international affairs in the Asia-Pacific. To accomplish this mission, RSIS will:

- Provide a rigorous professional graduate education in international affairs with a strong practical and area emphasis
- Conduct policy-relevant research in national security, defence and strategic studies, diplomacy and international relations
- Collaborate with like-minded schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence

### Graduate Training in International Affairs

RSIS offers an exacting graduate education in international affairs, taught by an international faculty of leading thinkers and practitioners. The teaching programme consists of the Master of Science (MSc) degrees in Strategic Studies, International Relations, International Political Economy and Asian Studies as well as The Nanyang MBA (International Studies) offered jointly with the Nanyang Business School. The graduate teaching is distinguished by their focus on the Asia-Pacific region, the professional practice of international affairs and the cultivation of academic depth. Over 150 students, the majority from abroad, are enrolled with the School. A small and select Ph.D. programme caters to students whose interests match those of specific faculty members.

### Research

Research at RSIS is conducted by five constituent Institutes and Centres: the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, and the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN). The focus of research is on issues relating to the security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and their implications for Singapore and other countries in the region. The School has three professorships that bring distinguished scholars and practitioners to teach and do research at the School. They are the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies, the Ngee Ann Kongsi Professorship in International Relations, and the NTUC Professorship in International Economic Relations.

### International Collaboration

Collaboration with other Professional Schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence is a RSIS priority. RSIS will initiate links with other like-minded schools so as to enrich its research and teaching activities as well as adopt the best practices of successful schools.

For more information on the School, visit [www.rsis.edu.sg](http://www.rsis.edu.sg)

## About The Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG)

The **RRG** is a voluntary group formed by individual ulama and asatizah (Islamic scholars and teachers) community in Singapore, primarily towards performing counselling works on the detained Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) members. The main objective of the RRG is towards countering the ideological misunderstanding of the JI members through counselling.

Since 2003, the RRG has performed more than 1200 sessions of counselling. RRG's main and primary focus is towards rehabilitating the JI detainees and their families. For the JI detainees, rehabilitation takes on particular importance, as rehabilitation seeks to correct the offender's misinterpretation of religious concepts and way of thinking. This will not only prevent future criminal acts, but will also convince them, that such behaviour and interpretation is inappropriate and undesirable.

In other words, the rehabilitated detainee is expected, not only to refrain from committing criminal acts, but also recognize and accept that their understanding of Islam has been misled. In addition, since the JI's ideology have affected their family members, their family need to be guided, so as to avoid and disrupt such a violent cycle.

Another important feature of the rehabilitation program is to stimulate the minds of the detainees to understand Islam in the Singapore context. The program aims to show that living Islam rightfully in Singapore is practicable and fulfilling.

For more information on the RRG, visit **[www.rrg.sg](http://www.rrg.sg)**

**For enquiries please contact:**

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**Coordinator, International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation**



## **S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

A Graduate School of Nanyang Technological University