

EAST ASIA SUMMIT

SYMPOSIUM ON RELIGIOUS REHABILITATION AND SOCIAL REINTEGRATION

BUILDING RESILIENCE – REINTEGRATING LIVES

16 – 17 APRIL 2015

THE RITZ-CARLTON MILLENIA SINGAPORE



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**S. RAJARATNAM
SCHOOL OF
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**16 – 17 APRIL 2015
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**REPORT ON A SYMPOSIUM ORGANISED BY
THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM RESEARCH
A SPECIALIST CENTRE OF THE S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY**

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This report summarises the proceedings of the Symposium as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editors of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this report.

This Symposium 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.

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Background and Aims of the Symposium



Participants at the East Asia Summit Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration included local and foreign panellists, participants and invited guests.

The East Asia Summit (EAS) Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration was convened by the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, a specialist centre of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. The EAS Symposium was supported by the Government of Singapore.

The two-day event brought together 33 distinguished local and foreign panellists and 560 participants and invited guests. The Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, Coordinating Minister for National Security and Minister for Home Affairs, Mr Teo Chee Hean, graced the event as the Guest of Honour and delivered the keynote address.

The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Hsien Loong, graced the closing ceremony at Khadijah Mosque as the Guest-of-Honour and delivered the closing address.

The EAS Symposium was a platform to discuss emergent key challenges that have impacted the terrorism landscape, as well as ongoing efforts

at rehabilitation and social reintegration. This Symposium also culminated with the launch of a network, a platform for the development of a global partnership of practitioners and moderate scholars to counter radicalisation and terrorism and to share best practices, with the aim of building resilience in societies across the globe in the face of terrorism.

Bringing together security and law enforcement officials, practitioners, psychologists, policymakers, academics, religious leaders and community partners, the Symposium focused on the following themes:

- The Terrorist Threat: Strategic Issues and Growing Challenges
- The Lure of Darkness: Recidivists and Returnees – Foreign Fighters
- Trends, Tactics and Technology
- Innovative Strategies to Reintegration
- Aftercare Programmes: Necessity and Impact
- Social Reintegration of Terrorist Detainees: Stakeholders, Strategies and Challenges
- The Way Forward: Building Resilience, Reintegrating Lives

FOREWORD

Mr Lee Hsien Loong
Prime Minister of Singapore



The international community has struggled with the problem of religiously motivated terrorism now for nearly two decades. 20,000 young men, and some women too, from many countries, have made their way to Syria and Iraq to fight in the civil war there. They are drawn by the call of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) for Muslims to engage in violence. Many others are being radicalised by the unremitting radical propaganda that ISIS pumps out through social media platforms. ISIS is a security threat to all countries.

Such radical ideology can divide societies, especially plural ones, through an “us-versus-them” mindset. They distort religious doctrines, glorify a violent agenda, and promote an intolerant, divisive, and destructive worldview. Their ideology is inimical to the values of mutual respect and tolerance between peoples of different cultures and faiths. We must prevent such ideas from taking root in our societies, by developing robust counters to their radical ideology.

One way is through religious rehabilitation of the terrorists. If we can convince them to reject the radical violence of groups like ISIS, and reintegrate themselves into mainstream society, then we can secure social stability and peace in the longer term.

We must also make our societies more resilient. After a terrorist attack, people must stand together and not turn on each other or blame an entire community for the crimes of small extremist groups. We need to sensitise our community to the dangers and falsehoods being purveyed by radical ideologues, and help the vulnerable to resist the lure of radical propaganda. Radical ideologues and terrorists groups must not find easy prey in the society.

No country or government can do this alone. Singapore is honoured to play a modest part by hosting this Symposium and sharing our limited experience in religious rehabilitation and social reintegration with our East Asia Symposium partners. I wish you all a successful Symposium.

FOREWORD

Mr Teo Chee Hean

Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore,
Coordinating Minister for National Security and Minister for Home Affairs

The global threat from jihadi terrorism has escalated since the watershed events of September 11, 2001. The conflict in Syria has attracted some 20,000 fighters from more than 80 countries. Apart from the threat posed by terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), there is also a growing threat posed by self-radicalised individuals who carry out “lone wolf attacks”. The self-radicalisation threat has worsened with the exhortation by ISIS to “erupt volcanoes of jihad everywhere”, which has found traction in Europe, North America and elsewhere.



At the core of ISIS’ appeal is its message of apocalyptic prophecies where victory has been foretold, redemption of an individual’s past sins, and the legitimacy of its self-declared caliphate. To counter ISIS therefore, we need to counter its ideological roots. A religious rehabilitation programme for terrorist detainees is needed.

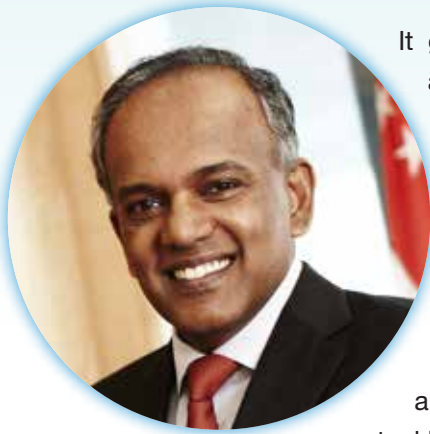
Rehabilitation needs to be complemented by assisting former terrorists to reintegrate into mainstream society. Social integration can help to neutralise the terrorism threat for the longer term. This is especially pertinent given the large number of foreigners who have gone to Syria and Iraq to fight, and who may later return to their home countries where they may pose a terrorism threat.

With the impending return of many radicalised former ISIS fighters to their home countries, there is unprecedented urgency for the international community to work together and share relevant experiences to counter the radical violence of ISIS. This Symposium on religious rehabilitation and social reintegration is therefore timely. There is no one-size-fits-all solution. Nevertheless, this Symposium provides a much needed platform for us to join hands to learn from one another and distil the lessons relevant to the context of our respective countries.

FOREWORD

Mr K. Shanmugam

Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Law, Singapore



It gives me great pleasure to extend a warm welcome to all the speakers and participants of the East Asia Summit (EAS) Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration.

Terrorism destabilises societies, disrupts our way of life and jeopardises economic and social development through fear. Terrorism is not localised to any particular region, nor does it respect geographical boundaries. The heinous acts of violence committed by terrorist groups such as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) have highlighted the urgency of a coordinated and comprehensive response from the international community to effectively tackle this threat.

There is growing recognition that a critical part of the fight against ISIS and other terrorist groups is ideological. We must counter the extremist ideology propagated by these groups to recruit individuals to terrorism and fuel their violent agenda.

At the 9th EAS in Naypyidaw, Myanmar, in November 2014, EAS Leaders underscored the need to address the threat of terrorism in a comprehensive manner by identifying the underlying factors that support terrorism and radicalisation. This Symposium is a timely opportunity for us to evaluate strategies and identify best practices to counter the evolving threat.

We are privileged to have such a diverse group of international experts speaking at the Symposium. I am confident that their wealth of different experiences and backgrounds will facilitate stimulating and enriching discussions. I hope that the discussions over the next two days will serve to catalyse further fruitful exchanges and cooperation long after the Symposium draws to a close.

I wish everyone a successful Symposium, and our foreign friends an enjoyable stay in Singapore.

WELCOME REMARKS

Ambassador Ong Keng Yong
Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS



*Ambassador Ong Keng Yong
Executive Deputy Chairman, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)*

Good morning, Mr Teo Chee Hean Deputy Prime Minister, Coordinating Minister for Security and Minister for Home Affairs, Mr K. Shanmugam, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Law, Mr Masagos Zulkifli bin Masagos Mohamad, Minister in the Prime Minister's Office and Second Minister for Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs, Ambassadors, High Commissioners, distinguished guests, friends, ladies and gentlemen.

Allow me to warmly welcome all of you to the East Asia Summit Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration.

At the outset, I would like to thank the Government of Singapore for supporting this important initiative. I should leave the keynote address to our Guest of Honour Deputy Prime Minister Teo Chee Hean, but allow me to say a few words about this particular event, so that my team and colleagues who have been working so hard; would be re-energised this morning.

This is a very special event for many of us in the organising committee. It is the first time the East Asia Summit countries - all these flags represent the East Asia Summit countries - come together to discuss

and exchange ideas on terrorism which threatens our peace and security. It is also the first time many of the speakers at this meeting have come together in such a purposeful and strategic way to talk about extremism, radicalism and how to reintegrate those individuals involved in these activities into our respective societies.

Most importantly, this is a special event because we are going to hear how each of the experts will talk about the threat to our well-being from a very personal perspective because they are bringing their various experiences in tackling the challenges of terrorism and sharing with all of us in order that we are all going to be better prepared for the worst situation in the years ahead.

Indeed the multifaceted nature of terrorism and the efforts that we have undertaken to deal with it must involve all layers of our government and society. Securing our respective nations is not to be relegated to just top down approach. Instead we must allow all of us individuals, communities, businesses and companies, local and national authorities to join in to deal with these challenges. Implementing appropriate security measures and policies, must be built into the daily activities of the general population. We need to explore innovative strategies to secure the future of our

people. To do the job effectively, it is crucial to bring together the best minds that we have and deliberate the different approaches to contain the threat not only from the people whom you read about every day in the newspapers but all terrorist groups.

We at the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, look forward to many useful ideas

and recommendations from the various discussions that will take place in the next two days. We hope that these ideas will contribute to advancing our respective efforts to deal with radicalism and more importantly to make rehabilitation and social reintegration successful in our respective homelands. Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to thank you all for making time to join us this morning, and I thank you for your kind attention.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Mr Teo Chee Hean

Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, Coordinating Minister for National Security
and Minister for Home Affairs



Mr Teo Chee Hean

Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, Coordinating Minister for National Security and Minister for Home Affairs

We are here today for the opening of the East Asia Summit (EAS) Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Integration, organised by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and supported by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Singapore.

TERRORISM TRENDS AND THREATS

The terrorism threat has grown more severe since the watershed events of September 11, 2001. Terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda and the Jemaah Islamiyah have been evolving and morphing in response to the enforcement measures. New groups have emerged. Old networks are revived. New alliances are formed. And even as terrorists are neutralised, new members are recruited to replace them.

In recent years, we have seen the rise of the group that calls itself the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). ISIS has raised the stakes with its brutal violence and exhortation to “erupt volcanoes of jihad everywhere”. It has exploited Islam, distorting religious tenets to serve its violent political agenda. Its declaration of a caliphate under ISIS leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi has also attracted many who deem it legitimate. ISIS has skilfully used the Internet and

social media to amplify its message internationally. It has drawn more than 20,000 foreign fighters to Syria and Iraq so far, and has instigated radicalised individuals to carry out lone-wolf attacks in their home countries.

ISIS has succeeded in radicalising not just adults but also teenagers as young as 13 years old, cleanskins and recidivists, men and women. Radicalised parents have brought their young children with them to Syria and Iraq, where they become radicalised at a tender age through their exposure to the violence around them. We have seen images of young children being trained with weapons to prepare them for a life of violence.

THE ‘RETURNEES’ THREAT

Like most countries, we are concerned that these foreign fighters may continue with ISIS’ violent agenda even after they leave Syria or Iraq. They could carry out attacks in their home countries, form their own terrorist groups or join local and regional terrorist groups, to carry out attacks at home or overseas. They could also radicalise and recruit their countrymen to fight in Syria and Iraq, or to join

their terrorist network. The security threat posed by returnees has already manifested in several incidents. One of them was Nemouche, a French national who had fought in Syria and later went to Brussels where he killed several people at the Jewish Museum of Belgium in May 2014. Nemouche is pertinent to us because en route from Syria to Belgium, he had travelled through Southeast Asia, including Singapore.

The threat of returnee fighters is not new to Singapore. Some members of the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) network had been involved in the earlier Afghan conflict, before they later engaged in terrorist activities in this region. For example, Singaporean JI members who were Afghan war veterans were involved in plotting terrorist attacks against US personnel on shore leave, Changi Airport, and water facilities in Singapore. A few of them even collaborated with an Al-Qaeda operative in the plot to mount suicide truck bomb attacks against the US and other embassies here. These plans were foiled when they were arrested in December 2001.

The emergence of Al-Qaeda from the Soviet-Afghan war and its subsequent spread of global jihad are instructive. A new generation of militants and terrorists will emerge from the large number of foreign fighters participating in the conflict in Syria and Iraq. They will pose an international security threat for decades to come.

THREAT OF LONE WOLF TERRORISTS

Another concern relates to individuals who fall under the influence of the violent ideology of ISIS and proceed to carry out lone wolf terrorist attacks on their own in their home countries. Such attacks have already occurred in countries like Australia, Canada, the US, France and Denmark.

ISIS has been especially successful in spreading its ideology through social media, reportedly with its own social media network called “5elafabook” in response to Facebook and Twitter shutting down thousands of ISIS-related accounts in recent months.

Many individuals worldwide, especially youths, have fallen prey to ISIS’ propaganda. The power of such propaganda cannot be underestimated. Many individuals developed from passive consumers of radical propaganda to becoming active actors in

armed violence in a short span of time. Some have travelled to Syria and Iraq to fight. But there are others who have not gone overseas, and instead pursue the violent cause by carrying out attacks at home. These lone wolf terrorists pose an equally grave terrorist threat. Being lone wolves, their identities may not be easily uncovered and they can strike at any time, using any means at their disposal, like knives or cars to mow down innocents.

Who are those who are potentially vulnerable to ISIS’ radical propaganda? There is no specific profile and reasons vary from individual to individual. But one common characteristic that has been observed among radicalised individuals that we have investigated in Singapore is that they possess weak religious grounding. This made them more susceptible to believing wholesale the radical exhortations that distort religious concepts to give their message of violence an aura of divine sanction.

That was why we embarked on a religious counselling programme after the arrests of the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) members in Singapore. Local religious teachers who had spoken with a few of the detainees realised that the JI group had taught its members a distorted version of Islam that justified the use of violence and hatred of ‘others’. ‘Others’ refers not only to non-Muslims, but anyone else, including Muslims, who do not share their beliefs. The religious teachers understood that there was a need for a religious counter ideology to debunk the radical ideas that underlie the Islamist radicalism and accompanying terrorism threat.

Traditional security operations disrupt terrorist plots and neutralise terrorist operatives, but terrorist organisations will simply recruit new radicals to replace those taken out of action. ISIS’ savvy use of technology to radicalise and recruit thousands to its political and violent cause have rendered such counter ideology efforts even more urgent today.

At the core of the ISIS appeal is its message of apocalyptic prophecies where victory has been foretold, redemption of an individual’s past sins, and the legitimacy of its self-declared caliphate. To counter and contain ISIS, we need to tackle its ideological roots. A purely military response is insufficient.

The counter ideology efforts will need to target not just the fighters themselves, but also their families who have accompanied them to Syria and Iraq. Unlike the Soviet-Afghan war, which had only involved the mujahideen fighters, we know that entire families have relocated to Syria to be part of the self-proclaimed Islamic state. The two Singaporeans who are known to have travelled to Syria to fight had brought their families, including young children. There have been disturbing reports of how children living under ISIS rule are being indoctrinated and inducted into ISIS' extreme beliefs and worldview. Minors have been enrolled into the ISIS army as "cubs of the Caliphate", with recent reports of a 10-year-old taking part in an execution and a 13-year-old French boy being the youngest to die fighting for ISIS in Syria. You may also have seen screenshots of families (including children) watching the execution of the Jordanian pilot from projection screens, and cheering as the execution was carried out.

Given their exposure to radical ideology and violence from a tender age, it is worrying what these children will grow up to be.

SINGAPORE'S TERRORIST REHABILITATION AND COUNTER IDEOLOGY STRATEGY

In Singapore, we were fortunate that there was a group of respected religious scholars and teachers who stepped forward to take on this challenge. They formed the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG). Formally set up in 2003, the RRG provides religious counselling to our terrorism-related detainees and their families, to correct the erroneous religious teachings they had imbibed. Over the years, the RRG has also brought its counter ideology message to the wider local Muslim community in an effort to prevent them from falling under the influence of jihadi terrorist ideology.

In addition to counter ideology, we also need to look into reintegrating rehabilitated terrorists into society. Social reintegration is an important component of a holistic effort to neutralise the terrorism threat for the longer term. This is especially pertinent given the large number of foreigners who have gone to Syria and Iraq to fight, and who may later return to their home countries where they may pose a terrorism threat.

In Singapore, the Inter-Agency Aftercare Group (ACG) provides a range of family care services like counselling, financial and other forms of support to the families of the detainees, leveraging on available community resources and existing public assistance schemes. The ACG helps to stabilise the families and helps them cope with the detention of the detainees. The assistance of the ACG does not cease with the release of the detainees from detention, but continues until the families are able to cope on their own. The work of the ACG has been valuable in facilitating the social integration of the former detainees and their families into mainstream society.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The fallout from the Syrian conflict goes beyond what any one country or government can deal with. This Symposium brings together experts and practitioners in the fields of terrorist rehabilitation and counter ideology from the academic, public and private sectors, from more than 30 countries in East Asia and beyond. It provides a much needed platform for us to pool our expertise on the subjects of religious rehabilitation and social integration. There is no one-size-fits-all solution. But there is definitely scope for us to learn from one another on what has worked under different circumstances. On this note, I wish you all a fruitful Symposium.

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THE TERRORIST THREAT: STRATEGIC ISSUES AND GROWING CHALLENGES

PANELISTS

Mr Richard Stengel

Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, US

Mr Rana Banerji

Former Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat of India and Distinguished Fellow, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, India

Professor Rohan Gunaratna

Professor Security Studies, Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), RSIS, Singapore

Chaired by Mr Yoshihiro Mukaiyama, Director, First International Affairs Department, Cabinet Intelligence and Research Office, Japan



Panel 1 (From left): Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Mr Richard Stengel, Mr Yoshihiro Mukaiyama, and Mr Rana Banerji

PANEL SYNOPSIS

Navigating emerging trends and developments in the landscape of terrorism is a challenge as the terrorist threat is now more diverse and complex. The terrorist threat is also changing in ways that make it more dangerous and difficult to counter. Terrorists are increasingly becoming more adept at responding to the environment within which they operate. Therefore, counter terrorism practitioners, academics and policymakers alike need to constantly reassess the threat of terrorism.

This session highlighted the key trends that have dominated the terrorism threat landscape over the last five years:

- (1) Emerging threat of ISIS and its implications to ASEAN and East Asian countries
- (2) The contours of the emerging threat landscape
- (3) Evolving role of the police and military in mitigating the terrorist threat

COMBATING TERRORISM: THE NEED FOR A MULTI-FACETED APPROACH

Mr Richard Stengel



Mr Richard Stengel

Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, US

Mr Richard Stengel discussed the struggles of dealing with extremism which required multi-faceted efforts, and the ways to combat the growing threat.

A GENERATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST VIOLENT EXTREMISM

The fight against violent extremism is a generational struggle which will require an enormous effort. Whilst it is a popular misconception that the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has managed to create a market of foreign fighters that would not have otherwise existed without the Internet, Mr Stengel elaborated that the group, with the help of social media, was merely exploiting an existing market of fighters comprising vulnerable young men and women who believed in the mythology of the caliphate and an attractive promise of a false paradise — that if they were willing to fight and sacrifice themselves in the name of Islam, paradise will be waiting for them.

COMBATING EXTREMISM ON THE INFORMATION BATTLEFIELD

Besides combatting the problem of extremism on the actual battlefield, Mr Stengel emphasised the importance of combating it on the information battlefield - social media. It is essential to enlist the voice of “real people” — mainstream Muslims who know that

violence and terrorism are neither what Islam stands for nor what they advocate. He added that we should search for ways to create a platform that would give the voices of these “real people” a greater resonance. The efforts from various countries and organisations should also be highlighted. Mr Stengel cited Singapore as a good example, paving and leading ways for religious counselling and rehabilitation. In addition, the help of technological companies can go a long way in helping to curb this growing concern. Social media sites like Facebook and Twitter have taken down hundreds of sites that spread ISIS’ propaganda.

Mr Stengel stated that the most important need at the moment is the need to create a cross-regional platform for these moderate voices. He offered to assist in the creation of such a communication platform, including helping connect governments to technology companies such as Twitter and Facebook.

Mr Stengel reiterated that the government was not always the best or most effective voice for propagating the moderate message. Mr Stengel concluded his address in the hope of working together with other Symposium participants in the many aspects of countering the extremist threat, and discussing the related opportunities and challenges.

THE RISE AND INFLUENCE OF ISIS

Mr Rana Banerji



Mr Rana Banerji

Former Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat of India and Distinguished Fellow, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, India

Mr Rana Banerji laid out the chronology of events leading up to the formation of ISIS and its ideology, and discussed the influence of ISIS in various countries.

THE RISE OF TERRORIST GROUPS

Mr Banerji emphasised that the global threat landscape against violent extremism, heightened the Abbottabad incident in May 2011 when Osama Bin Laden was killed in Operation Geronimo. Since then, new terrorists keep emerging. On top of ISIS, other extremists like Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram have been threatening and exercising their influence in Somalia and Nigeria respectively. These groups make sensational attacks on their targets to not only gain publicity, but to recruit new group members too.

Near India, the Tehriki Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and the Afghan Taliban have been splintering in the wake of military operations by the Pakistani Army and after the new Afghan president, Dr Ashraf Ghani, came to power. Mr Banerji drew attention to the fact that several new players have emerged and are attempting to compete for the loyalty of new recruits. One example is the formation of the Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent

(AQIS), announced by Ayman Al-Zawahiri in September 2014 and whose efforts have implications for the whole of South Asia.

Mr Banerji explained that ISIS emerged and developed from a group that Al-Zarqawi formed in 2003, the Jamaat Jaysh Ahli Sunnah wa Al-Jamaah. Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi was detained in Fallujah and remained in Camp Bucca for almost a year, after which he was released. After his release, he had actively participated in activities of the Mujahideen Shura Council in Iraq in 2006. He was made leader in May 2010 and then in August 2011, began his suicide bombing campaign targeted at the Umm Al-Qura Mosque and, subsequently, in Baghdad and Mosul.

Later, Al-Baghdadi's group joined the Jabhat Al-Nusra or the Nusra Front, led by Al-Julani, a Syrian from the Golan Heights. Early in 2014, there was a break with Al-Nusra and the Jabhat Al-Nusra was expelled from the Syrian city of Al-Raqqah, disregarding the orders of the Al-Qaeda leader, Ayman Al-Zawahiri.

Al-Baghdadi, who has a doctorate in Islamic Studies

from the University of Baghdad, formally announced the establishment of ISIS in 2013. In June 2014, the caliphate was announced and Al-Baghdadi made himself the eighth Caliph. On 5 July 2014, he gave the famous speech at the Al-Nouri Mosque on the idea of the caliphate.

Mr Banerji added that the extent of his influence on the group is not known, but it is said that he preferred to be known as an invisible sheikh leading the ISIS.

RECRUITMENT AND IDEOLOGY

There has been an increase in lone wolf jihadism - a form of terrorism with roots in social media. Videos and online doctrines have attracted many to join extremist groups. Personal problems such as depression, failed marriages, sense of fatalism and other setbacks are usually the motivating factors behind such violent acts. The impact of social media should not be disregarded due to the extensive penetration of the Internet. As a case study, with 17,000 followers on Twitter, Mehdi Masroor Biswas, a 24 year old Bengali Muslim, used the medium to spread ISIS' ideology and misinterpretations of the Quran. As an advocate of ISIS, Biswas encouraged his followers to join the militant group.

Mr Banerji shared with the audience the ideology ISIS hold is heavily influenced by Salafists. Among ISIS' beliefs are the use of genocide or other medieval or traditional Islamic methods of wars, beheading, and crucifixion. All these methods of killing are espoused

by ISIS. They too believe that the apocalypse is near and nobody but Muslims are worth living. The caliphate system is regarded as a vehicle of salvation for all Muslims as the apocalypse draws close.

Mr Banerji noted that ISIS, has an obsession over territorial control. Hence, focusing on shrinking the size of their territories, along with other measures, is one way of reducing the level of influence that ISIS has.

CREATING HARMONY

As there is a widespread perception that the Muslim community is at rift, Mr Banerji placed emphasis on the importance of creating harmony and peace to prevent extremism. Islamophobia has also grown exponentially. Hence, there needs to be more understanding of different cultures. Quoting US President Obama's speech at Countering Violent Extremism Summit in February 2015, Mr Banerji said that alienation within the community should not exist; countries should address political and economic grievances because terrorist ideologies are more likely to enter the minds of the oppressed and marginalised. Most importantly, he reiterated the need to respect all faiths. Mr Banerji stated that the main problem lay in finding the appropriate means to create harmony, foster better understanding, and positively engage and integrate communities with the state institutions so as to restore the dignity of individuals through creating a sense of involvement in the community.

THE EMERGING GLOBAL THREAT LANDSCAPE

Professor Rohan Gunaratna



Professor Rohan Gunaratna

Professor of Security Studies and Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), RSIS, Singapore

Professor Rohan Gunaratna shared his thoughts on developing a more strategic response to terrorism and the importance of rehabilitating returnees.

AL-QAEDA AND ISIS

Post 9/11, there have been two significant developments in the global landscape of terrorism. First, while Al-Qaeda has significantly diminished in size, strength, and influence, it has been supplanted by a relatively new terrorist group, ISIS. Since the latter's inception, it had been building close ties with Africa, Asia and the Middle East, similar to Al-Qaeda. However, ISIS has also managed to link with 30 to 40 different groups globally, and even has affiliations with non-terrorist social and political organisations. Professor Gunaratna highlighted that their ability to create affiliations with different groups was their greatest strength. Working with these groups enables them to politicise and radicalise the community.

Second, the rise of social media has effectively helped ISIS mobilise and galvanise communities around the world. The number of social media platforms used by ISIS is exponentially greater than those used by Al-Qaeda — an estimate of 46,000 Twitter accounts,

over 10,000 Facebook accounts and 9,000 websites in comparison to Al-Qaeda's fewer collective count of approximately 10,000 social media accounts.

ISIS currently operates in four theatres. The first theatre is the core areas in Iraq and Syria. In these core areas, ISIS must be dismantled militarily. Military force is key to isolating, containing and eliminating ISIS. The second theatre is the provinces within the core areas and outside, such as in Libya, Sinai, Dagestan, Khurasan - Afghanistan and Pakistan region, and probably, a fifth ISIS province in Southeast Asia. ISIS' greatest strength is its ability to link up with different groups. This represents a third theatre of conflict. In Southeast Asia itself, we have seen 21 groups, most of which are Indonesia-based. A few of them had been based in Malaysia, which the Malaysian authorities have since very effectively dismantled. In the Philippines, however, one group, the Abu Sayyaf group, is still their main faction. Hence, ISIS has been able to politicise, radicalise and mobilise communities by working with those associated groups. The fourth theatre of conflict is ISIS global which manifests itself through the radicalisation of an increasing number of youths, who are staging homegrown attacks.

BUILDING STRATEGIC RESPONSES

While the dominant western approach to combat violent extremism — catch, kill, and disrupt — has been proven effective in ousting various influential terrorist leaders, it is still unable to solve the growing terrorist threat. Since 9/11, the threat on global security has grown. Hence, it is important to develop a more strategic response. Professor Gunaratna noted that the East Asia Summit Symposium was a platform that had brought together some of the best minds to think of a solution to counter ISIS and its associated groups, especially in the virtual space.

Professor Gunaratna suggested three possible ways to counter violent extremism. The first is rehabilitation. He noted that, six countries have structured rehabilitation programmes for terrorists, while other countries have ad

hoc rehabilitation systems. Rehabilitation of returnees is important to prevent the following three outcomes: (a) released prisoners may influence others; (b) they may still pose a dire threat to global security; and (c) they may be hailed as heroes, especially by sympathisers.

The second way is to help returnees repent while in custody after they are being detained, ensuring that they express remorse and work towards peace henceforth.

Finally, the other way to counter violent extremism is through sustained efforts at community engagement. Today, ISIS seeks to radicalise communities. Thus, uniting communities is essential to fight terrorism. Building strategic capabilities, aside from the kinetic and lethal strategies, to combat terrorism is paramount, as one needs to blunt the sharp edge of terrorism.

PANEL 1 DISCUSSION

Chaired by Mr Yoshihiro Mukaiyama

CONFLICT ZONES AS HOTBEDS FOR EXTREMISM

Professor Rohan Gunaratna identified that the failure to stabilise the situations in conflict zones had contributed to producing terrorists and extremist ideologies. As such, there should be greater international commitment to stabilise conflict zones such as Iraq, Syria, Libya and Afghanistan. Unless these conflict zones are stabilised, they will be point of contention for the production of extremism, and internal displacements, refugee flows, and ungoverned spaces which may in turn lead to terrorism. Accordingly, there must be a greater commitment on the part of the international community towards stabilisation.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AL-QAEDA AND ISIS

Professor Gunaratna pointed out that the ideologies of Al-Qaeda and ISIS are similar but the main difference lies in their methodology. Compared to Al-Qaeda, ISIS consistently employs brutal tactics. With regard to the difference between Al-Qaeda and ISIS in terms of the groups' goals, unlike Al-Qaeda, ISIS is much more concrete in moving towards the idea of building a global Caliphate. He noted that while ISIS has huge capabilities it is a much more complicated group.

In many ways, he added that the genesis of ISIS is very closely linked to Al-Qaeda. It emerged from a group called Tawhid wal Jihad led by Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi who was later funded by Osama Bin Laden to create his own training camp in Herat, Afghanistan. Al-Zarqawi later moved to Iraq and fought the US following the American intervention

in Iraq in 2003. The group later evolved into the Islamic State of Iraq and then the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). While Osama Bin Laden was the first to advocate the idea of a caliphate but it is ISIS that is able to operationalise the idea of the caliphate, given its control of territories. However, the statehood it claims makes ISIS much easier to combat in conventional terms compared to combating the threat from Al-Qaeda.

Mr Richard Stengel opined that one way to look at the difference between Al-Qaeda and ISIS is to envision the two groups as two commercial enterprises competing in the economic space. ISIS has a much narrower product line; a much clearer message that the group can market its merchandise more clearly than Al-Qaeda. However, ISIS is in fact an enterprise that is much closer to a criminal than a religious one. While it holds out its ideals of the caliphate, the so-called Islamic State is in reality a place of misery. Therefore the greatest counter narrative to ISIS is to portray that the mythology it holds out is actually fake.

COUNTERING ISIS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Concerning the potential to effectively counter ISIS on social media, Mr Stengel recommended that the voice of those who firmly reject ISIS' online efforts should be given volume. This would imply creating hubs that could communicate with each other and also creating a platform to bring forward the voices of clerics. Mr Stengel recommended that this be done through collaboration between non-governmental bodies or individuals and social media companies.

2

THE LURE OF DARKNESS: RECIDIVISTS AND RETURNEES – FOREIGN FIGHTERS

PANELISTS

Miss Hu Weiyang

Psychologist, Ministry of Home Affairs, Singapore

Dato' Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay

Principal Assistant Director, Special Branch (Operations/Counter Terrorism Division), Malaysia

Inspector General Petrus Reinhard Golose

Deputy for International Cooperation, National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), Indonesia

Mr Peter Whowell

Manager, Counter Terrorism Engagement and Operations Support, Australian Federal Police, Australia

Chaired by Dr Douglas Stone, Senior Advisor, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), US



Panel 2 (From left): Dato' Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay, Dr Douglas Stone, Inspector General Petrus Reinhard Golose, and Mr Peter Whowell

PANEL SYNOPSIS

Terrorist recidivism is an increasing challenge. This session will explore the challenge of rising recidivism rates resulting from individuals returning to terrorist activities after having participated in terrorist rehabilitation programmes.

The returning foreign fighters from the ongoing conflict in Syria and Iraq over the last few years threaten to have a devastating impact on the security of states. Reminiscent of the returning foreign fighters in the aftermath of the Soviet-Afghan War of 1979, the current 'returnees' who might have been radicalised while fighting in Iraq and Syria have surfaced dilemmas vis-à-vis the acceptance and reintegration of foreign fighters into society. Thus, there is a growing necessity to send a strong deterrent message to those who are thinking of participating in the overseas conflict.

This session presented several case studies and explored different methods used by countries to deal with the rising challenge of terrorist recidivism.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE THREAT OF ISIS: A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY OF SINGAPORE CASE STUDIES

Miss Hu Weiyong

Miss Hu Weiyong discussed the current issues Singapore is facing with terrorism, and the underlying psychological drivers that account for the sympathy for ISIS.

CURRENTLY IN SINGAPORE

As ISIS expands its recruitment to the Southeast Asian region, vulnerable Singaporeans are not immune to the radical propaganda spread online by the group. Currently, two Singaporean citizens, along with their families are in Syria to fight for ISIS, while three Singaporeans with similar intentions were stopped before they were able to proceed with their plans; one was detained and the other two were placed on restriction order. These are not isolated cases; there are other Singaporeans who have been radicalised by online propaganda. Some toyed with the idea of travelling to Syria and Iraq, while others showed their support through online postings and purchasing jihadi-themed paraphernalia like apparels, flags, and stickers that contain connotations of militant jihad.

Miss Hu commented that most Singaporeans who were affected by the radical online propaganda advocated by ISIS do not have prior formal religious education, and rely mainly on the Internet for religious knowledge and information.

MISPLACED ACTIVISM AND 'CLICKTIVISM'

Miss Hu and a team of psychologists at the Ministry of Home Affairs who worked with the radicalised individuals found that there is no single profile that can be used to identify those who are pro-jihad, but there are five psychological factors that may have motivated these individuals to develop sympathy and join the militant group. These factors can help authorities identify individuals who may be in the process of being radicalised.

First, they justify the use of violence. These individuals typically develop a binary view of the world where they separate good people from bad people — those they believe to be responsible for the Syrian crisis. It was found that many believed that the Assad regime is the root of the problem, they therefore deemed it appropriate for ISIS to retaliate with violence in an act of self-defence for those who are oppressed.

Second, they hold a romanticised concept of the Islamic caliphate. Many Islamic states have been depicted as corrupt and inefficient by extremists. In their attempt to restore the caliphate, ISIS seeks to establish an Islamic state. Amidst their savagery and brutality, ISIS supporters believe that ISIS is capable of establishing the ideal Muslim community where Islamic values, governance and economic systems are emplaced.

Third, their desire to be 'good' Muslims. These individuals have existential anxiety, in which they contemplate about death and their level of religiosity. They begin to adopt a negative view of their past, become fatalistic and feel helpless about their present, hence believe that participating in the militant activities may help them atone for their past sins and lack of religiosity. ISIS attracts these individuals by enticing them with the false notion of redemption and reward after death. Engaging in wars is seen as a novel action that helps them manage their existential anxiety and find meaning in life.

Fourth, they face difficulties in managing what they perceived as an 'unbearable present'. Believing that an unpleasant situation or event in their life cannot be improved, one Singaporean said that running away is the only solution. Some claimed that crossing borders to partake in wars is a "migration from evil", as they feel most Singaporeans indulge in worldly pleasures that are against the religion. Finally, they suffer from an existential anxiety generated by end-of-time prophecies. ISIS capitalises on these individuals' anxieties that the end is near by encouraging them to participate in a so-called worthy cause to prepare for it.

Some felt that they are not ready to participate in armed jihad, hence they engage in 'clicktivism' (or armchair activism) — a form of activism that is achieved by clicking on an Internet connected device, such as liking or retweeting links or contents promoting ISIS. Early detection is essential to helping them before they manage to inflict harm to themselves and others. It is important to undermine ISIS' ideology and legitimacy of their cause to help individuals deviate from the group. Psychological and religious counselling hence play a big role in the cognitive reframing of these individuals.

THE CHALLENGE OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS: THE MALAYSIAN PERSPECTIVE

Dato' Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay



*Dato' Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay
Principal Assistant Director, Special Branch (Operations/Counter Terrorism Division), Malaysia*

Dato' Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay discussed the spread of ISIS propaganda in Malaysia and the country's experience in dealing with recidivists and returnees.

TREND OF RECIDIVISM

Malaysia is no stranger to rehabilitation of former militants due to its long history of dealing with citizens who were involved in militant groups, like Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Darul Islam, and Al-Qaeda. Out of a total of 239 former activists detained who were then counselled and rehabilitated, only seven suffered relapse and returned to their past activities of armed jihad. The remaining 97 per cent of detainees were successfully reintegrated into mainstream society, with a handful of leaders emerging as prominent businessmen and professionals.

Two developments have led to a rise in the number of individuals supporting armed jihadism in Malaysia. First, the repeal of the Internal Security Act (ISA) gave these militants the impression that the police are now powerless. Second, the Syrian conflict and emergence of ISIS occurred. These events are the key motivators in encouraging former militants to re-establish their outreach in the country. Following these developments, former Malaysian Muhajidin Group (KMM) and JI members gained confidence that the police do not have the power to obstruct their activities. Hence, they began to actively recruit Malaysians and former ISA detainees to perform jihad in Malaysia, ignoring the Security Offences (Special Measures) Act (SOSMA) that was enacted in 2012 after the repeal of the ISA. These recidivists insist that their acts do not pose any threat to Malaysian national security, but were adamant about performing jihad in Syria, for what they believe to be for the betterment of the Sunnis.

Most of the 63 Malaysians who are currently in Syria were swayed by the jihadist propaganda spread by recidivists, while others were exposed to ISIS' media propaganda. The role of the recidivists, according to Dato' Ayob, is to radicalise and disseminate radical messages.

REHABILITATION

Recidivists should be subjected to rehabilitation to prevent future armed movements, especially lone wolf attacks which are almost impossible to detect in comparison to large-scale operations.

Six returnees were arrested after their involvement with ISIS since the end of 2013 and are awaiting trial. Dato' Ayob explained that the threat posed by ISIS and the Malaysian returnees is moving into a different phase; the original phase was focused on recruitment, procurement of funds to travel to Syria, and commit jihadism, while the current phase is focused on launching domestic attacks. To counter these threats, the Royal Malaysian Police adopts firm and uncompromising actions of arresting and prosecuting returnees. Currently, under SOSMA legislation, there is no specific provision to

facilitate any form of rehabilitation programmes by the Royal Malaysian Police hence the six returnees awaiting trial will undergo normal rehabilitation by prison authorities if convicted.

Recently passed in parliament, the Malaysian Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) is providing provisions to enable the organisation of special rehabilitation programmes by the prison department and Royal Malaysian Police. Detainees will be placed in six special detention centres in Malaysia for rehabilitation. These rehabilitation programmes are not confined to the militants, but will also include counselling of family members who are exposed to radical ideologies. POTA detainees who have finished serving their probation period will then be monitored closely to ensure that they reintegrate well into the society and not return to their militant activities.

The rise of recidivism can be attributed to new conflict zones such as Syria. These conflict territories are considered by the militants as jihad battlefields, and as long as the conflict zones exist, recidivism among former militant members will not come to a rest.

ISIS THREAT AND RESPONSE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Inspector General Petrus Reinhard Golose



*Inspector General Petrus Reinhard Golose
Deputy for International Cooperation, National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), Indonesia*

Not a stranger in dealing with terrorism in Indonesia, Inspector General Petrus Reinhard Golose shared with the audience the current militant activities in Indonesia, their recruitment process, and Indonesia's strategies to curb the growing threat of terrorism.

OPERATIONS IN INDONESIA

Operations to apprehend terrorists since 2000 have led to the arrest of 1,029 terrorists, of which 246 of them are still in prison, 12 have committed suicide, 38 are under investigation and 37 cases are still being processed by the court. Indonesia has had many experiences in dealing with terrorists and recidivists from as early as 1949, when the Negara Islam Indonesia (NII) militant group was first established.

Based on Indonesia's experience in dealing with terrorists, Inspector General Golose said that there are seven steps to recruiting ISIS fighters in Indonesia — they undergo a training, selection, and placement process. First, ISIS recruits supporters who share the same ideology and train them to become foreign

fighters in Syria. Second, they send these candidates in groups to other cities in Indonesia or several transit points in other countries like Malaysia, Singapore and Pakistan. Third, these candidates adjust and adapt to new culture and environment at the temporary shelters located at the transit points provided by ISIS. Fourth, the foreign fighters undergo basic training where they learn how to handle weapons and firearms. Fifth, they undergo military training. Sixth, candidates go through placement tests; they learn new skills and experience in conducting terrorist attacks and are tested on different expertise such as medical skills and guarding vital infrastructure. And finally, after candidates have gone through all the aforementioned processes, they can choose to either return to their country of origin or to stay in Syria to continue in their service to ISIS. Inspector General Golose noted that those who chose to serve in Indonesia pose a prominent national threat, as they become recruiters for more prospective candidates, and get involved in developing other terrorist organisations hence prolonging the conflicts on Indonesian soil.

ISIS exploits several media platforms to attract potential fighters, such as printed and digital media, books, magazines, online forums and portals, social networking sites like Facebook, as well as the conventional face-to-face approach.

FIGHTING TERRORISM: THE INDONESIAN STRATEGY

Inspector General Golose proposed three ways to fight ISIS. First, halt departures to Syria. Second, identify suspects and sympathisers by government agencies. Third, enforce strict laws for returnees. Besides the militants, the involvement of their family members, especially children, is also a concern for the government. At a young age, children of militants have been brainwashed by ISIS propaganda and followed their parents to Syria. To protect these vulnerable children, some are now under close surveillance by authorities.

It is essential to combat the growing ISIS threat through these four suggested methods: Firstly, reduce the impact of ISIS propaganda. Authorities have banned several websites and religious textbooks spreading radical doctrines. Secondly, conduct rehabilitation programmes for terrorist detainees. The government has put together a group of experts to help counsel detainees in prison. Thirdly, protect children and youths from radical and extremist messages. This can be achieved by engaging students in public schools, religious schools and colleges with former terrorists who have repented, while the Ministry of Social Affairs reach out to children who are already exposed to ISIS ideologies. And lastly, monitor recidivists.

Based on prior experience, Inspector General Golose said that it is possible to fight against terrorist threats. And as the world faces more challenges, he hopes that with the help of international agencies, ISIS will cease to exist.

THE CHALLENGE OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS: THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

Mr Peter Whowell



Mr Peter Whowell

Manager, CT Engagement and Operations Support, Australian Federal Police, Australia

As the number of individuals participating in armed jihad movements in Australia increases, Mr Peter Whowell shared the approach the Australian Federal Police is taking to ensure the threat of terrorism is subdued in the future.

AUSTRALIAN HOMEGROWN TERRORISTS

Currently, there are 90 Australian citizens in Syria and Iraq, fighting alongside ISIS, while 30 have already returned. Although these figures are lower than many other countries, there is a significant increase in the number of citizens joining terrorist groups; there were less than 25 of such individuals who travelled overseas for jihad in the past two decades. Though some fighters have returned, they may still pose a risk to the community due to their increased skills and expertise in military fighting methods, such as the use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) and counter security measures, and they may also return with heightened

desire to participate in more terrorist activities. Most importantly, these individuals may come back with more networks, and they may still communicate with other like-minded individuals to plan militant activities globally.

Australia established a legislation of framework drawn upon by law enforcements to counter the risks posed by domestic terrorists in 2005 by observing the frameworks set by other countries, especially the United Kingdom. According to Mr Whowell, since the inception of the Australian Federal Police's (AFP) control order on radicalised individuals in 2005, it has only been used twice on returning foreign fighters. First, in August 2006, was Jack Thomas, dubbed "Jihad Jack" by the Australian media. He had been in Pakistan between November 2002 and January 2003. He had received funds and an airline ticket from an Al-Qaeda member. He was to allegedly return to Australia to carry out terrorist attacks. The Federal Magistrates Court

issued the second control order on David Hicks in 2007, who participated in activities relating to Pakistan and Afghanistan and trained with a listed terrorist organisation.

APPROACH BY AFP

The current approach developed by the AFP is mainly based on previous experience in dealing with terrorists. These approaches include implementing a legislative framework, building community awareness, issuing travel warnings and incepting the National Disruption Group (NDG).

AFP reformed their 2014 legislative framework. They made significant revision to the control order — after 2005, they were focused on preventing terrorist attacks on Australian soil, and last year, they made amendments to the response system to focus on returning foreign fighters. They also seek to work on countering violent extremism with the community and introduced a new offence, where they declare certain areas overseas as places Australians cannot travel to without a legitimate

excuse, warning the community about the threats they potentially face if they travel to conflict zones.

The AFP established and led NDGs — which includes a Diversion Team — whose role is to strengthen the diverse capabilities of different agencies involved in maintaining harmony in the country. By consolidating the power of these Australian agencies, AFP resolves to take on a holistic approach in preventing, disrupting, and prosecuting individuals who entertain the thoughts of travelling to conflict areas, and those who provide support and facilitate the organisation of terrorist activities in other countries. According to Mr Whowell, the AFP seeks community engagement, identification of individuals at risk of radicalisation, and reintegration of former extremists into the mainstream society and are focusing on developing alternative forms of prosecution, like rehabilitation. Working closely with returning foreign fighters also provide authorities with the opportunity to search for an advocate who can assist them with countering online propaganda, to prevent another cruel cycle of terrorism in the country.

PANEL 2 DISCUSSION

Chaired by Dr Douglas Stone

IMPORTANCE OF EARLY INTERVENTION AND REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES

Miss Hu Weiying shared that the relevant agencies in Singapore are fervently working towards the early detection of radicalised individuals. Intervention during the early stages of radicalisation is imperative in preventing these individuals from being psychologically prepared in conducting acts of violence. Counter ideology programmes organised by the community are also important in preventing radical ideas from taking root within the community.

In Indonesia, Inspector General Petrus Reinhard Golose shared that there is also a concerted effort by numerous agencies, coordinated by the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), vis-à-vis rehabilitation approaches for family members of returnees and recidivists. These agencies would include stakeholders of BNPT and the religious community.

The Australian government has also implemented a Countering Violent Extremism programme since 2009. Mr Peter Whowell shared that this programme also focuses on engaging the community particularly those sections which are deemed to be at risk. The Australian government is also focused on building communal resilience. Efforts would include engaging the community and developing counter-narratives.

CLARIFICATIONS ON CURRENT SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

Dato' Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay elaborated that most of the recruitment and communication by Malaysian recidivists in Syria was via Facebook. Such correspondences would include instructions to travel into Syria.

3

TRENDS, TACTICS AND TECHNOLOGY

PANELISTS

Mr Ali Soufan

CEO, The Soufan Group and Former FBI Supervisory Special Agent, US

Mr Chris Moraitis

Secretary, Attorney General Department, Australia

Mr Shuji Hosaka

Senior Research Fellow and Assistant Director of JIME Center – Institute of Energy Economics, Japan

Mr Ross Frenett

Director, Against Violent Extremism (AVE), Network, UK

Chaired by Associate Professor Panitan Wattanayagorn, Adviser to the Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister on Security Affairs, Thailand



Panel 3 (From left): Mr Ali Soufan, Mr Chris Moraitis, Associate Professor Panitan Wattanayagorn, Mr Shuji Hosaka, and Mr Ross Frenett

PANEL SYNOPSIS

Terrorist groups have turned to the virtual world amidst their threatened existence in the real world. Terrorist groups have been using the Internet to spread their often violent extremist ideologies and iterate an ideology of hatred and intolerance. The threat posed by the transnational reach of extremist media outlets, violent propaganda on the Internet and virtual connectivity between terrorists and those overseas cannot be underestimated.

This session expounded on the use of the Internet to recruit, radicalise and propagate messages of extremism and violence by terrorist groups.

THE ROLE OF THE INTERNET IN SPREADING EXTREMIST IDEOLOGIES

Mr Ali Soufan



Mr Ali Soufan

CEO, The Soufan Group and Former FBI Supervisory Special Agent, US

Mr Ali Soufan discussed the role of the Internet, particularly social media, in spreading extremist ideologies - the basis of the conflict in the Middle East.

ROLE OF THE INTERNET

Mr Soufan began by reminding the audience that even after many years of fighting terrorism, the trend has not been favourable. 14 years after 9/11, the number of people who gave their *bai'ah* to Osama Bin Laden has increased from mere hundreds to thousands.

Mr Soufan explained that fundamentally, the spread of violent extremism has always been relying on the media. Back then, it was magazines and fiery videotapes in Afghanistan and audiotapes in Iran. Intelligence and law enforcement agencies, however, are not prepared to deal with the invention of social media. Social media, he added, cannot be used for recruitment as it lacks the base for logical and reasonable arguments. Recruitment however, happens when these individuals become radicalised from meeting members of these terrorist groups in their own countries or after they travel to Syria, Yemen or other places where conflict zones create a vacuum which makes these places so appealing for the terrorist groups and their newly found members to operate in.

Additionally, ISIS has been successful in using social media, where they crowd source their propaganda and decentralise its distribution, while keeping a consistent message to be distributed more widely than ever before.

IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE CONFLICT

Mr Soufan then elaborated on the details of the formation of ISIS which was a consequence of the division between Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi and Ayman Al-Zawahiri. The exact point when Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi established the *khilafah* was when there was a division on whether Al-Nusra was part of ISIS. Hence, the conflict has very little to do with religion but has a lot to do with politics and personality. Religion however, is only used as a tool to ignite the fighting spirit of these jihadists and justify their expression of violence.

ROOTS OF CONFLICT

Although ideology is always used as an excuse to wage jihad, it is not really the root of the conflict. The conflict in Northern Nigeria for example is a combination of tribal, economic, cultural and educational issues. In Pakistan, where 100 million people are under the age of 25, half of these 100 million do not go to school, while only 5% of those eligible to go for higher education really pursue

it. So when a vacuum was created in Libya, Syria, Iraq, and many others caused by geopolitical tensions, internal problems, sectarianism, economic and political corruption, problems with education systems which suffocates critical thinking, rights issues and lack of state identity, the conflict was exacerbated.

To summarise, Mr Soufan recalled the previous conflicts which gave birth to so many returnees,

and questioned the preparations by states to deal with returnees from Syria. Even though many countries were able to deal with previous conflicts using intelligence and law enforcement agencies, he emphasised that there needs to be a change in strategy and that we need to stop this problem at its core which is the recruitment of members to Al-Qaeda and ISIS.

THE THREAT OF TERRORISM: THE AUSTRALIAN RESPONSE

Mr Chris Moraitis



*Mr Chris Moraitis
Secretary, Attorney General Department, Australia*

Mr Chris Moraitis spoke of the threats faced by Australia, the Australian response to those threats, and to the online space that is being used by extremist and terrorist groups today.

THREATS FACED BY AUSTRALIA

Mr Moraitis began with describing the current threat of terrorism, which is more dangerous, global and diversified than before. The regional conflict in Syria and Iraq has drawn unprecedented numbers of foreign fighters into joining the most radical and ruthless terrorist groups, and Australians have not been spared this time. Some of those who have returned were traumatised by this experience and distanced themselves from the other group of returnees who have more insidious intent. For the latter, the government of Australia is trying to contain them and ensure that they do not bring the fight back to Australia.

AUSTRALIA'S RESPONSE

In order to address these threats, in August 2014 the Australian government has introduced a package of measures to combat these threats in an unprecedented way. The first, to reform Australia's counter terrorism arrangements and review of the way of governance in

general. The second, to develop a series of legislative reforms that ensure intelligence and law enforcement agencies have the necessary tools and legislative powers to effectively counter the current threat faced. The third, to seek engagement with partner countries to increase regional cooperation so as to strengthen Australia's capacity to disrupt, prosecute and manage foreign fighters. The fourth, to improve the capacities and capabilities of Australia's intelligence agencies by strengthening their technical capabilities, enhancing engagement with international intelligence partners and funding additional counter terrorism intelligence officers and operatives. Fifth, to develop a biometrics matching capability - a very specific technical expertise which will provide Australian agencies with a secure, automated system to share and match facial imagery to help prevent the creation and use of fraudulent identities. Finally, to foster greater collaboration with regional partners to build regional counter terrorism frameworks including enhancing Australia's ability to prevent terrorism financing. The key component of this is investment in the CVE diversion programme to support Australians to disengage from violent extremism and a series of new measures to challenge terrorism propaganda online.

RESPONSE TO TERRORIST PROPAGANDA ONLINE

Mr Moraitis subsequently explained how Australia uses measures to specifically address extremist propaganda online. They are to firstly, build strength and diversity in social participation where all levels of government in Australia are investing in the strengths of families, communities and society. This tackles the causes of extremism at their roots, where attention is given on supporting individuals to participate in the community. Secondly, to focus on communities, sectors and institutions where there are specific clusters of individuals who are vulnerable to radicalisation. Those people who are closest to at risk individuals are the first to notice changes and potentially be in the best position to reach a vulnerable person. They are supported by Australia's larger programme of CVE work which works with communities to prevent at risk individuals from moving down that path of radicalisation and violence. Thirdly, to challenge extremist propaganda. An AUD\$22 million programme has been launched to enhance the work of communities, industries and international partners to undermine the underlying extremist propaganda. Fourthly, to intervene and divert radicalised individuals. The Australian Federal Government is working with state and territory governments to invest in helping individuals move away from ideologies of hatred and violence by developing assessment tools to help experts understand why they were drawn into extremism, and a case management plan which provides wide range of services or community based programmes ranging from mentoring to hands on support which is tailored to each individual.

Mr Moraitis added that the online propaganda by ISIS glorifies terrorist violence and young people are vulnerable to these lies. When these young people arrive at the conflict zones, they realise that instead of fighting a common enemy, they are fighting other groups even within ISIS itself. At the moment unfortunately much of this online propaganda goes uncontested, not because of lack of effort but because the efforts are being put at the wrong place.

Therefore, Australia has created an option for people to report adverse or criminal online content which will then be examined by security and law enforcement agencies to better understand the types of content that are of concern to Australians. The focus in general should be to contest online extremist propaganda and promote positive alternative views on the world.

Australia seeks to better understand the impact of the online terrorist propaganda on Australians, secondly reduce access where possible to propaganda information online and last but not least empower the community and civil society to be the voices for this purpose.

Mr Moraitis noted that engaging with the community is however not new in Australia; the government has been working with communities for about eight years to build resilience against violent extremism. The community engagement efforts include a website entitled *Living Safe Together* (www.livingsafetogether.gov.au) to promote a positive narrative of what it means to be an Australian.

Mr Chris Moraitis concluded by emphasising on four points: First, partnerships, success can only be achieved in challenging extremist narratives if governments, civil society, academia and the media industry work together. Second, citizens need to be encouraged to challenge the propaganda and social media companies based in Australia have already been engaged for this purpose. Those challenging the propaganda need to have access to the right tools, techniques and methodologies at the right time and know how to sell their messages in a way which will resonate with the recipients. Third, a cohesive message must be delivered about the positive aspects of countries, what we stand for and what we have to offer. Lastly, the pivotal role of social cohesion in any effort to counter this sort of extremism.

In conclusion, Mr Moraitis noted that Australia would be hosting a summit in June 2015 to continue the discussion on issues related to online extremism, radicalisation and regional cooperation. Mr Moraitis said that while he hopes that the East Asia Summit would deliver tangible outcomes to build the capacity of practitioners to counter extremist narratives, the two-day summit hosted by the Australian government would involve civil society organisations meeting together followed by a ministerial meeting. The Australian summit would also involve a number of capacity-building and training sessions. This is to incorporate a session led by industry experts to harness the power of the internet, including social media platforms, with a view to effectively respond to extremist narratives.

THE CRISIS AND BEYOND: JAPAN'S PERCEPTION OF "RADICAL ISLAM"

Mr Shuji Hosaka



Mr Shuji Hosaka

Senior Research Fellow and Assistant Director of JIME Center – Institute of Energy Economics, Japan

Mr Shuji Hosaka spoke about Japan's standing in the eyes of jihadists, the recent hostage crisis as well as what Japan should do to counter jihadist threats in the current age.

JAPAN IN THE EYES OF JIHADISTS

Mr Hosaka began by summarising the recent hostage crisis and informed the audience that most Japanese think that this is equivalent to a 9/11 incident for them, which according to him is not accurate, as more than 50 Japanese have been killed by jihadists since 1991. Most of these deaths however are considered to be collateral damage whereby they were at the worst place at the worst timing, with the exception of the Japanese professor who translated Salman Rushdie's "Satanic Verses" who was specifically targeted. Apart from that, Japan and Japanese are usually not within the jihadists' scope of targets. When Japan announced its involvement in the war led by the US, Osama Bin Laden claimed that Japan has nothing to do with their affairs. However, contrary to his claims, more than 20 innocent Japanese were killed in 9/11. As such, Japan joined in the fight against jihadists. For instance, Japan

sent their Self Defence Forces to Iraq in the 2003 war. Since then, Japan has been considered part of the "Crusader Coalition."

As reflected by ISIS' latest statement, Japan has been promoted from the status of indifference to the status of enemy after Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's speech in Cairo. After the speech of the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in Cairo, Egypt, in January 2015, Japan became a prime target for ISIS.

THE RECENT HOSTAGE CRISIS

On August 2014, a video clip showing ISIS' interrogation of a Japanese citizen, Haruna Yukawa, was released and shared on a myriad of social media platforms.

In the video, the ISIS member suspected that Mr Yukawa was a spy from rival groups despite claims that he was possibly either a photographer or a doctor. There were intensive discussions about his identity by jihadists on the Internet but ironically, Japanese Internet users gave him away by revealing that he was the CEO of the Private Military Company. His meetings with the

General of Japan's Air Self Defence Force was also heavily discussed online, further endangering his life. A new video was then released on the 20th of January 2015, in which ISIS declared that they had taken two Japanese hostages and demanded US\$ 200 million as ransom. This is the beginning of a series of the latest Japanese hostage crisis.

JAPAN'S RESPONSE TO CURRENT JIHADIST THREAT

Mr Shuji Hosaka explained that for the recent kidnappings done by ISIS, they announced their plans and involvement on social media and hence this further complicates government operations. This implies that security agencies have to be in close cooperation with social media companies to gather information. At the same time, public opinion in cyberspace is very volatile and often is very critical of the government. For instance, Japanese Twitter users mocked the hostage video using radical hashtags and photoshopped memes which further endangered the lives of Japanese hostages and fostered islamophobia in Japan. To contain such islamophobia, the Japanese government needs to work closely with academics, educational sectors and the media. Despite the tragic result of the hostage crisis, Japan will still continue its humanitarian and military aid in the Middle East. However, Mr Hosaka stated that he is not confident that Japan's Self Defense

Forces can protect the Japanese from jihadist threats as the battle against jihadists now mainly takes place in the media battlefield. This is ascertained by the letter from Al-Zawahiri to Al-Zarqawi dated 9 July 2005, "I say to you: that we are in a battle, and that more than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media, and that we are in a media battle in a race for the hearts and minds of our *ummah*".

As Japan is heavily dependent on Middle Eastern countries' oil for its economy, there are many Japanese who have to live in the Middle East. In order to protect them, we should introduce an early warning system which includes gathering information, analysing them, and issuing timely warnings and advice on potential Jihadist attacks. Unfortunately, Japan does not have the human resources to equip the system with the specialists and the expertise it requires.

In conclusion, Mr Shuji Hosaka quoted the saying by a Chinese strategist Sun Tzu, who said, "If you know your enemies and know yourself, you can win a hundred battles without a single loss", and ended his presentation by admitting that military power alone is insufficient, and the best way to strengthen Japan's Self Defense Forces and other security operators is to arm them with knowledge and information.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: TURNING THE TIDE AGAINST EXTREMISTS ONLINE

Mr Ross Frenett



*Mr Ross Frenett
Director, Against Violent Extremism (AVE) Network, UK*

Mr Ross Frenett shared the AVE Network initiatives in countering extremist narratives.

EDUCATION PROGRAMME

Mr Frenett stated that there is one assumption which underpins the work done by the AVE Network when they were starting to build an education programme: they will never be able to remove all extremist materials from the Internet. Young people are going to encounter extremist materials online and with that in mind, they need to be equipped with skills to engage with these materials critically. The AVE Network believes that the use of former terrorists and survivors from terrorist attacks allows people to engage with personal stories and hence learn from them. So they have built a platform called 'Extreme Dialogue' which is built around the testimony of former extremists and survivors of extremism and is equipped with a whole series of tools. The idea is to dehumanise extremism, encourage critical thinking skills and allow for a safe space for these issues to be discussed between students, curious and angry young people, teachers and social workers. This

effort has been rolled out in Canada and work is being done to do the same for the UK, Hungary, Germany and soon around the world.

COUNTER NARRATIVE PROGRAMME

Inoculating people against extremist narratives before they come across them could work most of the time, but now and then it will not. Hence the AVE Network decided that they need to contest for that space online. They reached out to members of the AVE Network asking for ideas and managed to get one particular former extremist to put together a video in his basement. He put it on YouTube but it garnered very few views due to its long duration and unattractive content. However, at the core of it was a very good idea, which the AVE Network later brought together a team of experts to harness this idea and turn it into something very engaging and also reach the right people which was later called the Abdullah X project. The 20-minute long and uninteresting video was turned into a short 2-minute engaging video which involved music and garnered more than 100,000 views online.

As extremism is a phenomenon of the minority, it is extremely vital to ensure that the video reaches the right audience. Thus, the AVE Network experts worked with Google to get these counter narrative videos targeted, so that for example, if someone searched for 'how to reach Syria for jihad' on YouTube, the targeted counter narrative video appeared. The AVE Network is presently attempting to replicate this process in Twitter and Facebook as well.

ONE-TO-ONE INTERVENTION

Mr Frenett pointed out that people do not go to Syria just after watching a single YouTube video. There is a complex process which involves direct one-to-one communication, grooming and more which we need to be aware of. When the AVE Network started, Mr Frenett found out that what was most talked about was the unexpected kindness of strangers and the unexpected outreach from someone they thought to be combative. That, combined with the knowledge that when a young person speaks out in favour of extremism, there are two groups of people watching them at that moment: (1) the security services who want to arrest them and (2) terrorist groups who want to recruit them. With all of this in mind, the AVE Network developed a one-to-one intervention programme involving a team of 10 former

extremists whom the AVE Network has worked with to identify the risk factors by primarily using Facebook. They pulled together profiles of hundreds of individuals they believe are at risk of carrying out acts of violence for neo-Nazi groups or groups like ISIS. These former extremists then just simply reach out and offer to speak and listen, and offer empathy. While the team expected a five percent response rate the actual response rate was an amazing 35 percent. Moreover, all the profiles which looked vulnerable to the extremist propaganda were referred to Channel, one of the United Kingdom's intervention programmes. Currently, efforts are afoot to expand the AVE Network's one-to-one intervention programme from a team of ten to a team of 100. The AVE Network also looked into turning this into a mobile application, and involving family members in the intervention.

Mr Ross Frenett concluded by noting that we can only know if the world has truly turned into a global village if after the day someone has liked an ISIS page or visited extremist material online, their family members would be prompted and this is the direction we should go towards.

PANEL 3 DISCUSSION

Chaired by Associate Professor Panitan Wattanayagorn

TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFER AMONG TERRORIST GROUPS

Mr Ross Frenett noted that the technology transfer among terrorist groups is not very advanced. As such, they are consumers of technology rather than producers.

THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Mr Ali Soufan opined that focusing only on technology and social media counter narratives without solving the root causes is ineffective. Without improvement in the broader geopolitical problems, these issues are not going away. Also, governments cannot effectively reduce extremism and radicalisation, and so civil society organisations, religious scholars and community organisations at the local, regional and global levels have to come forward to lead the way.

The right solutions will only come with the resolution of geopolitical issues.

STOPPING THE SPREAD OF RADICAL PROPAGANDA ONLINE

Mr Frenett emphasised that law enforcement and security agencies need to work with social media organisations to gather data and develop offline responses to what is happening online. The need is to have more focused and targeted responses rather than general ones. Despite the bombardment of social media by extremist and radical propaganda, it is still considered as a phenomenon of a minority. There is still a huge unoccupied space online that should be captured and utilised to propagate a peaceful message that will counter the message of hate and destruction.

4 INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES TO REINTEGRATION

PANELISTS

Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman

Minister for Home Affairs, Brunei Darussalam

Professor Azyumardi Azra

Professor of History and Director of Graduate School, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta, Indonesia

Professor Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi

Advisor, Prince Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Shaykh Dato' Dr Afif al-Akiti

Lecturer, Islamic Studies, Faculty of Theology at Oxford University, UK

Chaired by Associate Professor Bilveer Singh, National University of Singapore.



Panel 4 (From left): Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman, Professor Azyumardi Azra, Associate Professor Bilveer Singh, Professor Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi, and Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi al-Akiti

PANEL SYNOPSIS

This session examined strategies used by several countries in their terrorist rehabilitation programmes to accelerate the receptivity of detainees to terrorist rehabilitation and reintegration of reformed detainees into society. The areas explored by the panel included (a) the role of prominent ideologues to rehabilitate ideologically hardened detainees and (b) the role of the family in promoting positive change.

INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES TO REINTEGRATION: THE BRUNEIAN EXPERIENCE

Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman



*Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman
Minister for Home Affairs, Brunei Darussalam*

Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman explored the comprehensive definition of terrorism, its causes and effects, and ways to suppress the spread of terrorism through rehabilitation. Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman began by highlighting the unfortunate situation today which is the linking of terrorism to Islam especially by the media. Consequently, this has caused a threat to not only security and public order, but to the jihadists themselves, when they seek 'rewards' based on misleading beliefs.

TERRORISM DEFINITION, CAUSES AND EFFECTS

The Islamic Fiqh Council of the Muslim World League provided a comprehensive and inclusive definition of terrorism in 2002 which stated that terrorism is "the unlawful aggression perpetrated by individuals, groups, states, in acts of transgression on man, his religion, his blood, his intellect, his property and his honour. This includes all forms of intimidations, abuses, threats and unjustified killing. It includes any type of banditry, any violent or threatening action to conduct criminal schemes individually or collectively. These, aimed at causing terror and intimidation, harm people or put their lives, freedom, security and situation at risk. There are also additional forms of terrorism, such as harm to

the environment, or any damage to public and private properties; exposing any national or natural resources to danger". This definition entails root causes of terrorism which include religious, social, and economic related reasons. It also describes the possible negative impact of terrorism.

He also suggested that terrorism could affect not only the Muslim community but also the international community at large.

SUPPRESSING THE SPREAD OF TERRORISM THROUGH REHABILITATION

Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman expressed his joy in new laws enacted by countries to counter terrorism, but stressed that they would not be efficient without public education and rehabilitation of terrorists. He noted that the general public should be approached via various media and communication channels, to counter the spread of extremism as well as improve the image of Islam and Muslims in the age where their image has been tainted by a myriad of terrorist acts. At the same time, rehabilitation of terrorists is needed to help them reintegrate into mainstream society.

One aspect of the rehabilitation strategy is to protect the image of Islam and its community from being tainted.

In addition, re-education and involvement of detainees' families are also essential to reintegrate them into the society. Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman described the proposed rehabilitation programme which consists of five elements. First, rehabilitating via religious guidance, by refining and deepening of their knowledge of God. Second, giving guidance on understanding religious issues by applying the Sharia law. Third, providing guidance to analyse national, regional and international security issues with regards to harmonious relations between different religions as well as social and political systems. This step should then be complemented by social assistance programmes to improve their living conditions. Fourth, focusing on the community at large who have been exposed to extremist ideologies. And

finally, conducting a thorough dialogue to understand motivations in joining a militant group.

In conclusion, Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman stated that the international community should have already learned a lesson from its previous experience of the 'War on Terror' which began more than one decade ago. The strategy used in the War on Terror was hyper-militarised while other instruments like public diplomacy remained under invested. Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman added that it was time to change this narrow strategy, but that this required a paradigm shift in the campaign against terrorism and that it would demand more from the international community politically, economically and socially. He noted that as the international community stood united in countering terrorism in all its forms, its goal should be to defeat terrorism comprehensively.

HOLISTIC STRATEGIES TO ELIMINATE EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM

Professor Azyumardi Azra



Professor Azyumardi Azra

Professor of History and Director of Graduate School, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta, Indonesia

Professor Azyumardi Azra brought to light the notion of a comprehensive and strategic deradicalisation and reintegration of terrorists, the need to strengthen social integration, cohesion as well as resilience. He started by explaining the justifications for deradicalisation which are the continued spread of transnational extremist ideas through social media, the continued sectarian conflicts happening in a majority of Muslim countries in the Middle East and South Asia, the imprisonment of numerous suspected terrorists as well as recidivism of former terrorists.

COMPREHENSIVE DERADICALISATION AND REINTEGRATION

Deradicalisation and reintegration of terrorists cannot be handled only by law enforcement agencies as they require efforts to transform radical ideology into a mainstream understanding of religion. He added that deradicalisation should also involve preventive measures by providing counter discourse from the religious mainstream. Deradicalisation will then consist of three stages: preventive and pre-emptive, during imprisonment and post imprisonment - reintegration.

STRATEGIC DERADICALISATION AND REINTEGRATION

In order to deradicalise, government agencies should formulate strict laws for prevention, create state agencies to deal specifically with the prevention of the spread of extremist ideologies, and build comprehensive coordination among all related responsible state agencies. Law enforcement agencies and related bodies should refrain from making counter-productive moves as well as build workable communication and cooperation with religious leaders, Muslim organisations and NGOs. For reintegration, religious leaders should abandon defensive and attitudes that condone violence, speak out against any kind of violence and intolerance, provide comprehensive explanation on key terms used by the extremists such as *jihad*, *khilafah*, *dawlah Islamiyyah* and others, prevent religious institutions such as mosques, *musallas* (prayer halls) and Muslim organisations from radical infiltration and strengthen the Islamic version of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (mercy to the world) and *wasatiyyah* (moderation).

STRENGTHENING SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND COHESION

The community should be alert to the infiltration by extremists or 'new preachers' in the neighbourhood, local mosques and *musallas*, be watchful of preachers who provoke the congregation in mosques and religious gatherings, embrace the rehabilitated terrorists and not alienate them or refuse them. Schools and universities also have a part to play since they have been targets of infiltration and recruitment of the radicals. Hence, student bodies operating in or off schools or campuses need to be alert too. Religious sections of these student bodies should be put under a closer supervision by the principal or rector. Religious extra-curricular programmes should be oriented to a much wider substance on the integration of Islam and nationalism. Teachers and religious instructors should be trained in the wider and moderate understanding of religion to emphasise the revitalisation of moderate and tolerant paradigm of *wasatiyyah Islam*. Consolidation of organisations of *wasatiyyah* to address problems of radicalism, strengthening intrafaith and interfaith dialogues as well as the promotion of better communications and relations with related government agencies are needed.

STRENGTHENING RESILIENCE

Professor Azra emphasised that in order to strengthen resilience, the State needs to maintain political stabilisation as unstable politics would lead to social unrest and radicalisation, improve economic condition and welfare of the people at the grass roots level as well as improve access to more balanced education

particularly related to mandatory religious instruction. The society in turn needs to empower religious-based civil society organisations to strengthen commitment and loyalty to the nation. Moderate understanding and practice of religion through every level of education should be inculcated. To empower socio-cultural institutions to foster commitment to national cultural tradition and the family as the starting point of moderate religious understanding and practices.

In conclusion, Professor Azra asserted that in order to combat radical and extremist ideologies we need to address every level of society, from the government, to the community, to even students so we can completely and holistically eliminate extremism and terrorism from our societies.

Professor Azra concluded with the statement that as long as political stability was not ensured, achieving social integration and religious harmony would remain an uphill task in Indonesia. He underscored the critical need to bring improvement in the economic conditions and welfare of the people in this respect. Professor Azra stated that a more balanced and comprehensive educational curriculum was another area the policymakers needed to develop, particularly in relation to the mandatory religious education.

Additionally, Professor Azra said that the Indonesian security services should be watchful of activities in colleges and university campuses, as the campus environment in Indonesia is very free, and thus can become a source of radical recruitment.

INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES TO REINTEGRATION: PRINCE MOHAMMED BIN NAIF CENTER FOR COUNSELING AND CARE AS A ROLE MODEL

Professor Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi



*Professor Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi
Advisor, Prince Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*

Professor Hameed Bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi spoke about the three phases that Prince Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care underwent before it became what it is now, as well as the three stages of programmes offered by the Centre.

THREE PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

Professor Hameed Bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi began by stressing that extremists and terrorists are not regular criminals. In order to rehabilitate and reintegrate them to society, a number of measures need to be done, and that includes: preventive measures, religious and psychological counselling, holistic integrative rehabilitation, vocational training and an effective aftercare programme. He added that Saudi Arabia has an advanced model for the treatment, rehabilitation and reintegration of extremists and terrorists, and Prince

Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care is considered a role model in this area.

According to Professor Hameed Bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi, when the first phase began in 2005, the Centre started its counselling programme inside prisons, where former terrorists received religious and psychological counseling. The second phase began in 2007, where the Centre then became the Prince Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care, and the detainees started to have rehabilitation programmes after the end of the prison sentence itself, i.e. after they have been released from prison. The third phase began in 2011, when the Centre reached its ultimate level of presenting its services, by the establishment of the general directorate of Prince Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care.

THREE STAGES OF THE REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES

The rehabilitation programmes occur in three stages: (1) counselling, (2) rehabilitation and (3) aftercare. There are two types of counselling offered by the Centre. The first type, is for the general public which is preventive in nature and brings awareness to the younger generation to prevent them from falling into extremism. The preventive programme consists of awareness building, directed advice and electronic campaigns. The second type is for the detainees themselves which comes in the form of treatment. He noted that the Centre not only caters to the prisoners, beneficiaries (former terrorists) and their families, but also returnees from conflict zones and those seized, and their families. This programme consists of directed advice, religious classes (as they found that majority in this category are young men aged between 18 to 29 who have almost no knowledge of Islam, consequently becoming easy targets for Jihadist propaganda) and family advice where family members are engaged to change the mindset of the detainees.

The rehabilitation programme comprises a myriad of activities catered to different individuals and their needs. Among them are the training programme which offers a variety of activities which include esteem-building, vocational training, positive thinking, self-management and social skills courses which allow them to recuperate mentally and physically after they have been released. Also, detainees are allowed to visit their families and feedback will be taken from their family on their progress and also from the detainees on how they view the outside world. This is crucial to ensure their gradual reintegration into society. There will also be legal services provided for them especially if they need their important documents replaced, such as their

identity cards. Professor Hameed Bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi acknowledged that all these activities are engineered to help the detainees find solutions to their social problems and eventually reintegrate them into their communities.

Among the issues faced after release include difficulty in finding employment or being accepted into schools or universities. The Centre's aftercare programme is tailored to address those issues by introducing family care, education assistance, reintegration programmes and more. He noted that unfortunately, the majority of rehabilitation programmes in other countries, stop at the second stage, and did not have an aftercare or reintegration programme. An aftercare programme is essential as it ensures that the released individuals adjust and reintegrate into society well. The Centre has observed that when faced with social and economic problems the released individuals tended to move towards relapse. Thus, the Centre's aftercare programme focuses on providing assistance to the beneficiaries as well as their families after their release.

In conclusion, Professor Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi, compared the recidivism rates between the Prince Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care with the one in Guantanamo. 120 returnees from Guantanamo had a recidivism rate of 80% and a success rate of 20% while Prince Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care with 2,800 detainees had a recidivism rate of 13% and a success rate of 87%. He also shared that the Centre has produced several books, the most important of which is the *Encyclopaedia for Responding to Misconceptions of the Extremist Groups*, which sheds light into extremist ideology.

A CASE FOR REHABILITATING BAD THEOLOGY: THE LAW OF WAR IN ISLAM

Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi al-Akiti



Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi al-Akiti
Lecturer, Islamic Studies, Faculty of Theology at Oxford University, UK

Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi al-Akiti began his presentation by reiterating the importance of theological engagement, in particular rehabilitating bad theology. He explained that the common ground for militants and radicalised Muslims is their religious justification. As such, it is important for the *ulama* or Muslim religious scholars to assist in the rehabilitation of bad theology. He also shared briefly two approaches when engaging with these individuals theologically – scriptural approach, using religious literacy and rational approach.

THE LAW OF WAR IN ISLAM

Before discussing the law of war in Islam, Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi shared briefly the three types of Muslims that arise whenever the issue of *jihad* is raised. On one hand, there are Muslims who believe Islam is only about peace; this group tends to deny the history of war in Islam. On the other hand, there are Muslims who believe Islam and *jihad* is about war. Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi, noted that the truth, lies between the two.

He iterated that the tradition of *jihad* and war exists in Islam. In fact, the law of war, known as the Just War Theory, can also be found in the Christian tradition.

He shared a verse from the Quran in which the law of war is mentioned: "Fight in the name of God, those who fight you. But do not break the law, for God does not love those who break the law." (Al-Baqarah: 191)

Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi observed that the first part of the verse encapsulates the *jus ad bellum* which states when it is right to go to war while the second part of the verse encapsulates the *jus in bello* which defines the right conduct to follow through during war.

TWO WRONGS DO NOT MAKE ONE RIGHT

Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi expressed his opinions on the Muslims who go to conflict areas to fight as a form of "*jihad*" by sharing another Quranic verse: "Good and evil are never equal, they are not the same. They can

never be the same thing. Repel evil with what is better so that the enemy that you have will become like an old and true friend. But you cannot achieve that unless if you have patience, great goodness, great happiness and contentment. And should the devil come to you to whisper to do something that is bad, to break the law (in this case, the law of war), then seek refuge in God, for God is the one who hears the concerns that you have.” (Al-Fussilat: 34-36)

Shaykh Dato’ Dr Afifi then explained the message of this verse and stressed the importance of comprehending this verse. Muslims have to understand that *tawakkal* or having trust in God is not the same thing as submission. No one is saying do nothing, but nor can we do just anything, noted Shaykh Dato’ Dr Afifi. He reiterated, however, that the right to self-defence is not *carte*

blanche for Muslims to create their own rules, and in fact, quite the contrary, even if the enemy or the other side stoops to illegitimate means, Islam requires that every legitimate means to be pursued further.

Shaykh Dato’ Dr Afifi concluded by quoting the enlightening prologue to his fatwa from the Quran: “Praise be to God who sets the boundaries of war and who does not love those who break the law. Many blessings and peace be upon the great Messenger of the Muslims, Prophet Muhammad [Peace be Upon Him], who when he was confronted by the hounds and provocations, and the persecution convicted upon him by his enemies, was the most patient of all men, with perfect chivalry, complete gentlemanliness, and blessing upon his family, his companions and his true armies who are the peace-makers of this world”.

PANEL 4 DISCUSSION

Chaired by Associate Professor Bilveer Singh

IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GROUPS

Professor Azyumardi Azra opined that there are numerous differences between groups such as Al-Qaeda, JI and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI). These differences stem from their uncompromising views. From history, such views tend to lead to the factionalising of groups. Therefore, Professor Azra believes that such groups cannot survive in the long term. Conversely, Professor Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi opined that the root causes of old and new groups are the same. However, the new groups tend to be more violent and are more organised.

Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi al-Akiti shared that the lure of extremist ideology is due to religious illiteracy. He

believes that individuals who fall into this bracket can be rehabilitated by addressing their misconceptions. Simultaneously, they need to be engaged with common sense and reasoning. In other words, this entails a two-fold strategy: a theological approach coupled with a rational and philosophical approach.

REHABILITATION PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN IN THE PRINCE MOHAMMED BIN NAIF CENTER FOR COUNSELING AND CARE

Professor Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi shared that the Center has a separate counselling programme for women. In the past decade, there have only been 13 female beneficiaries. Occasionally, counselling is extended to the families of the detainees.

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AFTERCARE PROGRAMMES: NECESSITY AND IMPACT

PANELISTS

Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohd

Chief Facilitator for the Government of Malaysia in the Mindanao Peace Process, Malaysia

Mr Abdul Halim Abdul Kader

President, Taman Bacaan Pemuda Pemudi Melayu Singapura and Founding Member Inter-Agency Aftercare Group (ACG), Singapore

Dr Mohamed Bin Ali

Assistant Professor, Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme, RSIS, Singapore

Dr Douglas Stone

Senior Advisor, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), US

Chaired by Associate Professor David Capie, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand



Panel 5 (From left): Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohd, Mr Abdul Halim Abdul Kader, Associate Professor David Capie, Dr Mohamed Bin Ali and Dr Douglas Stone

PANEL SYNOPSIS

This session highlighted the impact of global aftercare programmes on the detainees and society. The role of aftercare programmes in terrorist rehabilitation, before, during and after the reintegration of rehabilitated terrorists into society.

THE MINDANAO PEACE PROCESS: LESSONS LEARNED

Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohd



*Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohd
Chief Facilitator for the Government of Malaysia in the Mindanao Peace Process, Malaysia*

Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar, elaborated on the lessons that can be drawn from his experience as a facilitator in the peace process between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in Mindanao.

Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar began his presentation by stating that recognising the root cause of a conflict is fundamental to the formulation of any aftercare programme. In the case of the Mindanao conflict, the MILF abandoned their armed struggle for a political dialogue as the Philippine government was able to acknowledge the plight of the Muslim community and their need for an identity. He then shared what he believes may be the root cause of terrorism and extremism – social injustice and the lack of economic development and opportunities, problems that are prevalent in conflict areas such as Algeria, Tunisia and Iraq.

ELEMENTS OF THE AFTERCARE PROGRAMME

Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar then highlighted some of the elements of the aftercare programme for the Mindanao conflict found in the basic law. Community development is one of the important elements of the aftercare as it acts as a strong foundation that will guarantee future peace in the region. He stated that aftercare should not be exclusive only to the combatant. The community, especially women, children and the older generation, should also be taken care of.

Furthermore he explained that the Muslims in Southern Philippines have been fighting to claim for the injustice that they have been suffering. As such, transitional justice is another important element of the aftercare.

Another element is socio-economic development which will help the people in Mindanao build a social, political and economic institution. He then discussed the most important element of the aftercare – the disarmament of the MILF. Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar explained that the MILF can easily raise the strength of their armed combatants from 10,000 to 100,000. Mindanao's existing gun culture also triggered the need for the government to disarm the MILF. Disarmament of the MILF will give the Philippine government greater control on the illegal arms flow in the region which will eventually disrupt the circle of violence in Mindanao. This can also be achieved by allowing the MILF to be involved in the political process.

LESSONS LEARNED

Before concluding his presentation, Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar touched on another area that can be learned from the Mindanao peace process – the risk exposed to women and children in conflict areas. Unless the conflict is resolved, children will continue to be exposed to armed violence, gun culture and the militancy. Instead of going to school, they are learning

how to handle a gun. It only takes an individual who is radicalised enough to influence other individuals to join the militancy.

On the other hand, the peace process in Mindanao, which involved the Consolidated Appeal Process (CAP) framework in 2014, considered the peace dividend for combatants as well as the peace dividend to the community – as former combatants cannot be taken care of if the communities which they come from are not take care of. In fact, community development is certainly a strong condition for a sustainable peace in the region. For example, in the areas controlled by Abu Sayyaf, the group distributes money among the people, and this cycle must be broken through community development.

Once the basic law is passed, the Muslims in Mindanao will be given a full political and financial autonomy. Along with the aftercare programmes, law can potentially break the circle of violence and subsequently resolve the conflict.

AFTERCARE PROGRAMMES: THE INTER-AGENCY AFTERCARE GROUP (ACG) EXPERIENCE

Mr Abdul Halim Abdul Kader



Mr Abdul Halim Abdul Kader

President, Taman Bacaan Pemuda Pemudi Melayu Singapura and Founding Member, Inter-Agency Aftercare Group (ACG), Singapore

Mr Abdul Halim Abdul Kader discussed Inter-Agency Aftercare Group's (ACG) initiatives and how the ACG have helped support the families of detainees. He also shared various community outreach programmes organised by ACG and its partners that have contributed in creating greater awareness of Singapore's fight against terrorism and radicalisation.

Mr Abdul Halim began his presentation by explaining the formation and the mission of the ACG. Established in 2003, the ACG is a network of local Muslim organisations that consists of Yayasan Mendaki, Association of Muslim Professionals (AMP), Khadijah Mosque, En-Naeem Mosque and Taman Bacaan. The ACG has since been providing aftercare to detainees and their family members.

The ACG provides a range of family care services to the families of the detainees. The aftercare programmes help reduce the resentment of the family members towards the detainees and prevent such sentiments

from spilling over into the Muslim community. Mr Abdul Halim also emphasised the importance of social reintegration and community support in facilitating the successful rehabilitation of the detainees. As such, the outreach programmes organised by the ACG are designed to build community resilience by combating the influence of extremism.

DURING DETENTION

ACG provides financial assistance as well as emotional and social support to the family members of detainees. Each family is assigned to a case worker who will help them. On top of that, the ACG offers counselling services and skill training to the detainees and their family members.

POST-DETENTION

Mr Abdul Halim shared that counselling is an important tool in ensuring that the detainees released under the restriction order is reintegrated into the community. The qualified counsellors from Yayasan Mendaki and

AMP have helped in the successful reintegration of the detainees with their family members. The ACG provides financial assistance to the families of the detainees. An initiative organised by the ACG to help these families is the monetary and public assistance programme where they arrange for financial assistance for the children of the detainees who are eligible for existing charity funds such as the Education Trust Fund administered by Yayasan Mendaki, the Straits Times School Pocket Money Fund and Tabung Amal Aidilfitri (TAA) Trust Fund.

The ACG also provides non-monetary aid and other forms of assistance. For example, the ACG helps families of detainees arrange the collection of second-hand textbooks under a scheme coordinated by NTUC FairPrice. Other schemes the ACG joined include AMP's Ready for School Pack and the Aidilfitri Cookies Project. Mr Abdul Halim pointed out that these schemes not only benefit the families of detainees, but also other underprivileged families in Singapore. He showed the

participants that these efforts do not have to incur a large amount of money. He noted that the ACG can make use of existing funds and programmes offered by its partners to help the families of the detainees.

Mr Abdul Halim stated that the work of the ACG has been highlighted in various newspapers in all the languages of Singapore – in Malay, Chinese, English, Tamil language newspapers – as it is important that the community is aware of and understands the work undertaken by the ACG. He stated that the organisations under the ACG came together with a single motivation – to provide holistic help to detainees and their families so that they are not left behind, which includes community initiatives to assist in the social reintegration of individuals and families. He said the ACG will continue this work with utmost resolve while also exploring new initiatives for the future by learning from best practices within and outside of Singapore.

COUNTERING TERRORIST IDEOLOGICAL NARRATIVES: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS REHABILITATION GROUP (RRG) IN SINGAPORE

Dr Mohamed Bin Ali



Dr Mohamed Bin Ali

Assistant Professor at Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme, RSIS, Singapore

In his presentation, Dr Mohamed Bin Ali shared the Religious Rehabilitation Group's (RRG) experience in countering terrorist ideological narratives and religious extremism, focusing on the fundamental issues revolving around the ideological makeup of the RRG's counselees. He began by providing the Symposium participants with a brief history of how the RRG was formed.

Dr Mohamed told the participants that the RRG, which comprises local *ulama* or Muslim scholars, was formed in 2003 as a result of the ideological threat posed by Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) whose network was discovered in Singapore in 2001. Since then, the RRG has been providing religious counselling and rehabilitation to JI detainees, their family members and radicalised individuals. In the long run, the RRG aims to facilitate successful reintegration of these individuals into the society. The RRG has also broadened its scope to

educate the masses, in particular the youths, from falling as victims to extremist ideologies.

Dr Mohamed then briefly explained an approach the RRG adopts in their counselling efforts in a three-step process. The first step is to correct misinterpreted extremist ideology. The second, to instil a rightful understanding of Islamic knowledge and values. Finally, to promote integration and harmonious living in a multi-racial, multi-religious society.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EXTREMIST IDEOLOGY

Dr Mohamed then spoke about five general characteristics of extremist ideology before sharing the Islamic concepts that form the basis of this ideology.

First, the extremists reject interpretations from the *ulama* as they believe that the Quran and the Sunnah

have to be understood literally. Second, they practise Islam on the strictest level without due consideration that Islam allows for various situations and contexts. Third, these individuals possess a very over-simplified worldview. Fourth, they are characterised by their narrow perception. Lastly, majority of these individuals fail to appreciate the Islamic history and tradition.

CONCEPTS THAT FORM THE BASIS OF EXTREMIST IDEOLOGY

Dr Mohamed then discussed the Islamic concepts found in JI's ideology. The foundational concept used by JI is the concept of *Al-Wala' Wal-Bara'* which generally refers to the doctrine of loyalty and disavowal. This explains why JI legitimises the creation of the group and stresses the need for Muslims to join the group. JI also believed that jihad is necessary in order to successfully establish the Islamic State. Dr Mohamed specified that the concept of jihad accepted by JI is restricted only to *jihad musallah* or armed jihad.

Dr Mohamed then turned his focus to the ideology used by ISIS. He added that while JI and Al-Qaeda are trying to establish *dawlah Islamiyyah* or Islamic caliphate, ISIS claimed that it has already formed the Islamic State. As such, its ultimate objective is to persuade Muslims around the world to perform *hijrah* or migration to areas governed under the caliphate. Dr Mohamed pointed out that in addition to using the concepts similar to those used by JI and Al-Qaeda, ISIS also used narratives, such as those regarding slavery and end of time prophecies, to reach out to a wider Muslim community.

PATTERNS OF THINKING OF RADICALISED INDIVIDUALS

Dr Mohamed stressed that it is important to understand the thoughts and patterns of radicalised individuals before deconstructing their ideology and incorporating healthier thinking patterns among them. These initiatives, according to Dr Mohamed, are fundamental for an effective religious rehabilitation programme.

The first pattern of thinking Dr Mohamed shared is their concept of all or nothing in which radicalised individuals adopt a dichotomous mode of thinking. The second pattern of thinking Dr Mohamed shared is over-generalisation. Third, he noted that these radicalised individuals practise the act of labelling. In other words, they categorise people into *kafir* or infidels, *murtad* or apostates and so on. Fourth, these radicalised individuals tend to disregard the positives. For instance, as a consequence to their overwhelming view that secularism discriminates religious practices, they refuse to acknowledge any good the system has to offer. Fifth, these radicalised individuals use emotional reasoning to make decisions in their daily lives. Lastly, these radicalised individuals are characterised by their absolutism. This can be seen from their claim that a good Muslim is one who lives under a caliphate system.

CHALLENGES

Before concluding his presentation, Dr Mohamed highlighted some of the challenges that the RRG face. The first issue raised was that the RRG were still working with the hardcore detainees who have not responded positively to the rehabilitation programme. Another concern is the potential radicalisation of youths. Lastly, Dr Mohamed stressed the importance of broadening the role of the *ulama* in countering extremist ideology as well as maintaining social cohesion and religious harmony.

Apart from the strategies Dr Mohamed mentioned earlier, he also believed that dedicated research is needed to look into the emerging trends of ideological extremism. In addition, there is a need for a structured repository of best practices for others to glean from.

Dr Mohamed then concluded by reminding the participants that the response to the ideological threat is not a one size fits all. Dr Mohamed suggested that a regional or global network of moderate scholars be formed to work as a single body to counter extremism.

THE ROME MEMORANDUM: GUIDELINES FOR REHABILITATION AND REINTEGRATION

Dr Douglas Stone



Dr Douglas Stone

Senior Advisor, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), US

Dr Douglas Stone shared that in the past, he along with some other members of the Symposium developed a list of 25 best practices in the form of the Global Counterterrorism Forum's Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders in 2012. Dr Douglas Stone discussed a selection of the 25 Best Practices found under the Rome Memorandum. These practices provide guidelines for rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremist offenders.

Before beginning his presentation, Dr Stone shared the lessons he learned from the prison system in Saudi Arabia where he realised that the reintegration of extremist offenders is extremely important. During his visit, he was given a chance to work with one of the extremist offenders to understand what is going on in the mind of the individual. He discovered that individuals alike do not share a common motivation. As such, Dr Stone encouraged the Symposium participants to understand the detainee population prior to designing a programme for them.

BEST PRACTICES

Dr Stone then continued his presentation by sharing his own experiences of how he incorporated some of the best practices into his rehabilitation programme. Best Practice Number 1 is to clearly define the goals and objectives of the rehabilitation programme. Dr Stone shared that his goal was simply to stop the acts of violence in the conflict zone he was in charge of - Iraq. It is also important to identify indicators of the success of the programme.

The next best practice Dr Stone talked about, Best Practice Number 3, states the importance of developing an effective assessment and classification system of the inmates before the formation of a rehabilitation programme. This can be done just by simply interacting with the inmates to understand who they are. Best Practice Number 5 is to ensure that all staff are professionally trained and educated. Dr Stone highlighted a training course he and his team taught in the Philippines in which staff learned

about the Rome Memorandum and the process of an effective rehabilitation and reintegration programme. Best Practice Number 7 requires a broad range of cross-disciplinary experts to be incorporated into a rehabilitation programme.

Dr Stone then explained Best Practices Number 15 and 16 by reiterating the importance of working with each individual to understand their motivations before subsequently rehabilitating their extremist ideology. Best Practice Number 17 states that rehabilitation programmes should provide skills training and employment assistance to the inmates so that they are ready to be employed upon their release. Dr Stone shared that when he was in Iraq, the training programmes developed for the inmates were consistent with the jobs they had before their arrest. In California, prisons worked with businesses that offer employment services to help these individuals find jobs that matched the skills that they have acquired.

Best Practice Number 19 is having incentives for inmates going through the rehabilitation programme to help ease their transition into the society. Offering incentives will help them realise their potential and help them gain the confidence to successfully reintegrate into the society. An example of an incentive that Dr Stone shared was simply to organise visits with family members and friends. Best Practice Number 20 is developing an aftercare programme by working in close partnership with the civil societies. Dr Stone noted that they are a dedicated group of people whose contributions are necessary in countering extremism. Best Practice Number 21 is providing protection to inmates who may face threats to their own lives as well as the lives of their family members either during their

time in prison or after their release. Dr Stone shared with the participants his experience in Iraq where US army and marines built camps to protect the families.

Best Practice Number 22 is formal or informal, parole-like monitoring of inmates after their release. Dr Stone stressed on the importance of maintaining connection with these individuals. He then provided an example on how this practice is being applied in the prison system in California. Just by using ankle bracelets, authorities are able to monitor an individual without disrupting his or her daily activities. Best Practice Number 23 discusses the importance of family involvement in any kind of rehabilitation programme. Dr Stone stressed that the inmates can never be fully reintegrated into the society without the support from their family members. He also explained that in Iraq, family members of inmates received proper care from the authorities as part of the programme.

Best Practice Number 24 is fostering a welcoming and positive community environment which is as important as engaging family members of inmates in the rehabilitation programme. Lastly, Best Practice Number 25 encourages States to look for organisations from other relevant fields in the process of designing a rehabilitation programme.

In conclusion, Dr Stone urged the participants to take on their responsibility and do their part in countering extremism. He reminded them that their efforts in applying any of the best practices will have an effect on the global population. He also assured them that if everyone combined their efforts and work together as one, defeating extremism will not be a problem.

PANEL 5 DISCUSSION

Chaired by Associate Professor David Capie

THE NEED FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN MINDANAO

Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar asserted that the ideology of ISIS is spreading not just within the Abu Sayyaf Group but to the fighters in Mindanao who have formed a new organisation called the Islamic Justice Movement. They have declared their allegiance to ISIS and are housing an external military group from Malaysia. As such, there is urgent need to solve the conflict in Mindanao as the delay would have an adverse impact in the region.

SECURING FUNDS FOR REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES

With regard to budgetary policy and securing funds for rehabilitation programmes, Dr Douglas Stone argued that based on the experience of the US as well as other countries, rehabilitation and reintegration programmes are not expensive and do not require huge expenditures. The solutions to issues of funding require creativity, professionalism

and engaging people instead of securing hefty funds. More importantly, professionals need to dedicate their time and energy to create programmes that would eventually lead to the release of individuals thus reducing prison costs in the long run. The recidivism rate will also go down in the long-term with effective rehabilitation programmes, so the overall cost to the society is reduced as well.

ASSESSING THE RISK OF RECIDIVISM

Dr Stone stated that the risk of recidivism is not worth taking and the key to convincing governments of this is via risk assessments. Professionals involved in creating rehabilitation and reintegration programmes must develop their own tools and processes to determine whether an individual is ready to be released back into society. In conclusion, a sound assessment upfront is needed before the risk can be taken.

6 SOCIAL REINTEGRATION OF TERRORIST DETAINEES: STAKEHOLDERS, STRATEGIES AND CHALLENGES

PANELISTS

Dr Min Zaw Oo

Director of Ceasefire Negotiation and Implementation, Myanmar Peace Center, Myanmar

Ms Amina Rasul-Bernardo

President, Philippines Council for Islam and Democracy (PCID), Philippines

Mr Prem Kumar

Director, Singapore After-Care Association (SACA), Singapore

Dr Elaine Pressman

Senior Fellow, Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies, Carleton University, Canada

Chaired by Datin Paduka Rashidah Binti Ramli, Director General, Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter Terrorism (SEARCCT), Malaysia



Panel 6 (From left): Dr Min Zaw Oo, Ms Amina Rasul-Bernardo, Datin Paduka Rashidah Binti Ramli, Mr Prem Kumar and Dr Elaine Pressman

PANEL SYNOPSIS

The panel explored the roles played by various stakeholders involved in social reintegration strategies, including but not limited to the business community, social enterprise sectors and the government. A multi-pronged whole-of-government approach remains a quintessential element in successful strategies globally. The panel additionally highlighted challenges faced by violent extremists and stakeholders involved in reintegration strategies in the hope of surfacing best practices in the reintegration of violent extremist offenders.

REINTEGRATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF NON-STATE ARMED GROUPS IN MYANMAR - LESSONS LEARNED

Dr Min Zaw Oo



*Dr Min Zaw Oo
Director of Ceasefire Negotiation and Implementation at Myanmar Peace Center, Myanmar*

Dr Oo elaborated on the lessons learned from past reintegration efforts; and how it has shaped the current approaches to reintegrate former extremists. In addition, he noted that Myanmar faces communal strife, both religious and ethnic, as well as between Buddhist and Muslim communities in some parts of Myanmar. Dr Oo added that the country has implemented various reintegration efforts.

MYANMAR'S SECURITY CHALLENGES

Dr Oo first introduced some of the threats to Myanmar's security. Myanmar has the longest running civil war which consists of more than 20 armed groups, numbering close to 100,000 militants. It also has a thriving war economy that cost as much as USD13 billion a year. Recently, there has been the emerging communal strife between the Buddhist and Muslim communities.

REINTEGRATION EFFORTS

Based on reintegration efforts from past government bodies, Dr Oo gave the following examples. Approximately 35 of the 40 armed groups who joined the ceasefire process at the end of the military government were transformed into one of the following three categories: The first category was total disarmament. In 1996, the government demobilised and disarmed approximately 1500 insurgents. However, as there were no reintegration efforts, 75% of them re-joined the insurgency. The second category was the transformation of the insurgent group into government-affiliated military, and the final category was the creation of Bordhurga forces – a paramilitary unit.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM REINTEGRATION EFFORTS

Dr Oo listed six main lessons learned from past reintegration efforts.

He first stressed the key role that the economy plays in the effectiveness of reintegration efforts undertaken. An intra-group economic stratum exists within these insurgent groups where wealth is accumulated according to ranks. When these groups are disarmed, the wealth disparity becomes a cause for grievances among ex-combatants who are not benefitting from the wealth accumulation. Secondly, Dr Oo explained that the stronger the political legitimacy of their cause, the higher the possibility of the insurgents returning to fight. Next, he added that previous governments only implemented a ceasefire without reaching a political solution. Hence, he proposed a political dialogue to be put in place in order to reintegrate ex-combatants successfully into the society.

Dr Oo then emphasised the importance of managing inter-group and intra-group factionalism. Disarmament and demobilisation usually creates dissonance among fighters; they used to consider themselves revolutionary but once disarmed, they feel as though they have lost their identity. To prevent them from joining the remaining military groups to re-instate their identity, the government had to disconnect them from the remaining factions. Dr Oo explained that once a group is disarmed in one area, a power vacuum is created which has to be filled in by the government promptly lest it be filled by neighbouring armed groups, citing Iraq and Afghanistan as examples. In inter-ethnic conflict, he

added, the disarmed group may feel vulnerable hence it is essential for the government to protect them lest they seek to rearm themselves.

Lastly, Dr Oo mentioned that greed often prolongs fighting, even after the government has disarmed and demobilised the combatants as well as addressed their grievances. The government, hence, needs to change greed into peace dividends.

PEACE PROCESS

Dr Oo highlighted Myanmar's experience with the Violence Monitoring Project. Through this project, the government was able to judge the effectiveness of the peace process and ceasefire based on the Township Conflict Index the government was able to observe and predict the onset of violence in every township. He shared that in 2014 while only 28 townships were affected by armed clashes. However in comparison, 93 additional townships were not affected by unlawful activities such as extortions, arbitrary arrests, arbitrary executions and illegal possession of weapons within populated areas. The results of the Township Conflict Index revealed that the peace process and ceasefire had, in fact, created a spillover effect.

In a protracted peace process, Dr Oo proposed that a partial reintegration is required before other solutions take place. This ensures that the combatants are no longer harmful and do not threaten the general population. He noted that once total disarmament, destabilisation and political solutions have taken place, a full reintegration process can be put in place.

ACTION FOR MADRASAH-BASED ADVOCACIES AND LEARNING

Ms Amina Rasul-Bernardo



*Ms Amina Rasul-Bernardo
President, Philippines Council for Islam and Democracy (PCID), Philippines*

Ms Amina presented on the programmes done by government and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) in the Philippines to train and rehabilitate detainees.

ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

Ms Amina noted that while the government focuses on social reintegration and rehabilitation, most of the training provided were catered towards prison wardens and officers dealing with detainees rather than the detainees themselves. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), she elaborated, initiated the Salam Project which operates in conflict areas. The Philippines National Police also has a Salam Project to train Muslim police officers to interact with the Muslim communities in Christian-dominated areas and the national capital region. Hence, she reiterated, the Philippines government is not directly involved in the deradicalisation of terrorists compared to other nations' governments.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

In a study done by the Philippines Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research, Ms Amina shared that interviews were done with 136 Muslim detainees in high-risk detention cells who were involved in Abu Sayyaf operations or kidnap-for-ransom activities. While it was initially thought that they committed these crimes due to extremist ideologies, researchers found that most of them were involved due to circumstantial or behavioural reasons rather than ideological conviction. Only a few, she noted, actually waged *jihad* against the government and they expressed no remorse. She added that understanding the mindsets of detainees is crucial in preventing them from being engaged in terrorist activities.

THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

In 2001, PCID began collaborating with Muslim religious leaders and over time a national network was created

with the support from Britain and the Netherlands. PCID conducted the first National Ulama Conference of the Philippines (NUCP). During the second Summit of this conference in 2009, this national network formally organised themselves and elected their representatives. The NUCP's vision was to serve as the principal moral and Islamic force, a source for Islamic guidance, and to establish itself as a highly credible and internationally recognised *ulema* organisation in the service of the Muslim people. PICD also works closely with the Muhammadiyah Association and receives inputs from Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt.

Ms Amina highlighted the importance of the role of religious leaders in the deradicalisation process. In order to gain more in-depth knowledge of the societal dynamics, a study was carried out with 4000 respondents in the Muslim region of Mindanao in 2012. The study revealed that almost 90% of the respondents viewed the *ulema* (religious scholar) as the most highly trusted individual in the community.

Ms Amina emphasised the second mission of the NUCP which is 'To achieve high standards in good governance within the organisation in the service of the Muslim *ummah*'. She said that good governance was crucial especially in solving clan wars. Clan wars, Ms Amina explained, occur when ordinary citizens cannot find justice and they seek their clans to solve their problems.

The Noorus Salam (light of peace) was also an established network which consists of solely female religious teachers. Similar to NUCP, Noorus Salam also focuses on moral values, peace advocacy, socioeconomic and cultural development as well as a just and harmonious society.

STRENGTHENING COMMUNITIES

Ms Amina stressed that a strong community acts as a defence mechanism that can resist foreign extremist

ideologies. Hence, the concept of AMAL (Action for Madrasah-Based Advocacies and Learning) was formed. Since religion is extremely important in villages and almost everyone attends *Madrasahs* (Islamic religious schools), the *Madrasahs* were the best centres for community outreach. Ms Amina added that the role of religious leaders should not be restricted to teaching religion and Arabic; their capacity should be strengthened to handle issues such as human rights protection and peace advocacy, especially in explaining why it is un-Islamic to join terrorist activities.

CONCLUSION

As the Muslim leader is seen as an influential religious individual, AMAL's aims are to place the *madrassa* at the centre of community outreach. AMAL has been implemented in Mindanao, Zamboanga City. In addition, AMAL aims to strengthen the capacity of Muslim religious leaders in other capacities apart from teaching of religion, so as to provide Muslim religious leaders with the capacity and training in every aspect of ensuring peace. She said that they are particularly valuable as a partner in the advocacy efforts against joining extremist terrorist organisations. Since they are based in the village, they will be a particularly strong ally for former terrorist detainees who have been released into society. Ms Amina concluded that government agencies must work together to implement a stronger programme which mobilises and builds on the capacities of Muslim religious leaders in the efforts to facilitate the reintegration of former terrorist detainees to ensure they are successfully reintegrated into society.

Ms Amina concluded by suggesting a collaboration between the RSIS and the Philippines government to create a model that can develop the capacity of religious leaders, using the *Madrasah* as a base to implement a stronger programme for rehabilitation and reintegration of detainees.

EX-OFFENDER AFTERCARE – THE ROAD TO REINTEGRATION IN SINGAPORE

Mr Prem Kumar



Mr Prem Kumar

Director, Singapore After-Care Association (SACA), Singapore

Mr Prem Kumar focused on the efforts made by community programmes to reintegrate ex-offenders into the society. The efforts, can shed light on finding effective measures to reintegrate ex-terrorists back into the community.

CARE NETWORK

In 2000, the Community Action for Rehabilitation of Ex-Offenders network was formed which consisted of major government organisations such as the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Social and Family Development as well as the Singapore After-Care Association (SACA) and Singapore Anti-Narcotics Association. The network was formed to ensure that the ex-offender is fully rehabilitated by reintegrating him into the society once he leaves prison. Mr Kumar then elaborated on the three key pillars of the network.

The first key pillar was individual responsibility. He emphasised that it was a challenge to change offenders' mindsets. The second pillar was community engagement, where Mr Kumar felt that the biggest challenge was to engage the community in accepting

the ex-offender. In 2004, the Yellow Ribbon Project was launched to mobilise community support for the cause of reintegrating ex-offenders. The third pillar of the network was the role of the family as first line of support to these offenders.

PRIOR TO INCARCERATION

Mr Kumar mentioned that there are Family Resource Centres available for families of offenders to get help. This however, he added, is dependent on people coming forward, be it the families or the inmates themselves. The Yellow Ribbon Community Project is a more proactive approach where upon the inmates' consent, volunteers were able to contact their family members to render help if needed.

The initiative for Incarcerated Mothers and Affected Children (IIMAC) for instance was catered towards children under 16 years old to assess the safety and care of these children whose mothers have been incarcerated as well as assess the level of support that their caregivers have.

IN-CARE PROGRAMME

In prison, Mr Kumar mentioned that practical programmes are available to prepare inmates for their release. For example, the Singapore Corporation of Rehabilitative Enterprises solely focuses on in-prison employment and aftercare employment, and function as employment agencies for ex-offenders. He added that the availability of a full-fledged Prison School to prepare students for national examinations. The challenge, he said, was whether these ex-offenders could get jobs that commensurate with their degrees.

AFTER-CARE PROGRAMME

Prior to the After-Care Programme, there were Case Management Programmes that helped inmates and

their families re-establish family bonds. The After-Care programme lasts between 6 - 12 months after release, or longer if needed.

As most of these programmes require the help of volunteers, the government has prepared a comprehensive training package for them which are fully sponsored by the prison service.

CONCLUSION

Mr Kumar noted that ex-offenders sometimes were not integrated into the society even before their arrest. Hence, he opined that it is a much harder duty to integrate these ex-offenders into the community that they never felt belonged to, than to reintegrate them.

USING THE VERA STRUCTURED PROFESSIONAL JUDGEMENT METHODOLOGY FOR EVALUATING SOCIAL REINTEGRATION OUTCOMES OF TERRORIST DETAINEES

Dr Elaine Pressman



Dr Elaine Pressman

Senior Fellow, Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies, Carleton University, Canada

Dr Elaine Pressman expounded on the role of risk assessment in the rehabilitation and social reintegration of terrorist detainees.

ROLE OF RISK ASSESSMENT

Dr Pressman began by stating that risk assessment tools assist human judgment and do not replace it; individual drivers and motivations for extremism are too complex for automated or actuarial tools. It also provides important guidelines and a structure for consistent and reliable evaluation.

Quoting the Deputy Prime Minister Mr Teo Chee Hean, Dr Pressman reiterated that “there is no one-size-fits-all solution.” These risk assessment tools cannot fit every situation; they needed to be adapted to make them relevant. The adapted tools, she said, are advantageous in rehabilitation as they generate information that would then assist with decisions pertaining to the

progress or outcomes of participants engaged in the rehabilitation programmes; decisions pertaining to the risks of detainees, exit decisions mandated by respective agencies, and production of reports that identify changes in risk indicators and overall risk of the detainees.

Dr Pressman explained that risk assessment is the foundation upon which rehabilitation is built because it would show if the rehabilitation strategies undertaken were making a difference. Risk assessment, she added, provided structure and information that aid in revising or adapting rehabilitation programmes to improve their effectiveness. The above, among others, are important to improve and refine interaction with detainees. It also facilitated classification of detainees (high-risk, medium-risk or low-risk), their placement in terms of facilities, programme interventions, and decisions regarding the progressions from one risk level to another.

VIOLENT EXTREMIST RISK ASSESSMENT

Dr Pressman introduced the Violent Extremist Risk Assessment (VERA) which was developed in 2009 in Canada. VERA documents why general criminal violence is different from violent extremism and terrorism. Dr Pressman stated that VERA was developed to address the need for an offense-specific and utilitarian-relevant risk assessment tool. Subsequent revisions gave rise to VERA 2 which is used currently on four continents and in multiple applications, such as in Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) initiatives, rehabilitation and reintegration programmes; and by national security agencies, forensic psychiatrists and psychologists amongst others.

VERA 2 was developed to be generic in order to cater to all cases of violent extremists regardless of their social, political or religious motivations. Dr Pressman

explained that at the individual level, an evidence base was required for each case.

VERA 2 has two main objectives. The first objective is to evaluate an individual in terms of risk of future acts. The second objective is to use the information collected to design appropriate interventions. Dr Pressman mentioned that this tool could be used together with other self-assessment tools for more robust and valid results.

In conclusion, Dr Pressman noted that VERA 2 has reliability, content validity, construct validity, deductive validity and has been supported by many international experts in violent extremism and terrorism. Risk assessment tools, essentially, provided knowledge that was vital in reintegrating and rehabilitating extremists effectively.

PANEL 6 DISCUSSION

Chaired by Datin Paduka Rashidah Binti Ramli

IMPORTANCE OF REINTEGRATION PROGRAMME

Sharing some lessons learned, a participant highlighted the importance of reintegration programmes, particularly for former extremists who are senior in age. Additionally, he highlighted that it is essential for such programmes to receive the support of local religious leaders. Such holistic programmes would thus require coordination from multiple agencies.

Mr Kumar also highlighted the importance of extending reintegration programmes to those imprisoned for criminal activities. This is because there is a tendency for individuals who faced issues reintegrating into society to be highly susceptible to extremist ideologies. Therefore, social initiatives have to be implemented to protect and prevent offenders from being recruited by terrorist organisations.

7

THE WAY FORWARD: BUILDING RESILIENCE, REINTEGRATING LIVES

PANELISTS

Dr Mohamed Fatris Bakaram

Mufti, Islamic Religious Council, Singapore

Professor Arie W. Kruglanski

Distinguished Professor of Psychology, University of Maryland, US

Professor Rohan Gunaratna

Professor of Security Studies and Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), RSIS, Singapore

Chaired by Dr Zunyou Zhou, Head, China Section, Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Germany



Panel 7 (From left): Ambassador Ong Keng Yong together with the panellists; Dr Mohamed Fatris Bakaram, Professor Arie W. Kruglanski, Dr Zunyou Zhou, and Professor Rohan Gunaratna

PANEL SYNOPSIS

The session summarised the developments of all the proceedings that have taken place on both days of the Symposium and identified strategies that could be undertaken in renewed efforts at a calibrated response to emerging terrorist threats.

GOVERNMENT AND RELIGIOUS BODIES: THE NEED FOR COLLABORATION

Dr Mohamed Fatris Bakaram



*Dr Mohamed Fatris Bakaram
Mufti, Islamic Religious Council, Singapore*

Dr Mohamed Fatris Bakaram expressed the importance of collaboration between the government and religious bodies in combating extremism.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

Dr Mohamed Fatris commented that ISIS was markedly different from previous terrorist groups due to its use of social media in spreading ideologies and propaganda. This medium significantly increased the group's outreach, hence making the problem much more complex and of a larger scale. Quoting a recent speech by Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, Dr Mohamed Fatris reminded the audience that "while ISIS may be operating thousands of miles away, they are only a click away on the Internet." Hence, he added, it is essential to keep this propaganda in check lest they become pervasive.

THE ROLE OF FAITH COMMUNITIES

Dr Mohamed Fatris asserted that faith communities and local governments cannot afford to be reactive. Their main aim should be to create a resilient and well-integrated community, and to facilitate the reintegration

of former terrorists into this community through various strategies. The core of these strategies in combating radicalisation was the battle for a constructive religious ideology.

MOTIVATIONS FOR EXTREMISM

Dr Mohamed Fatris was positive that there is a better understanding today on what motivates extremism, based on collective international experience. Yet, there are new trends that raise new questions. Bringing in Iraq and Syria as cases in point, Dr Mohamed Fatris questioned why younger and successful individuals as well as families with young children have chosen to migrate to ISIS-controlled areas. Many agencies are carefully studying these trends and he added that it was often not helpful to offer singular explanation.

Among the reasons Dr Mohamed Fatris posited were the misinterpretation of texts, dissatisfaction with the state and the world, rejection of secular culture, and a political agenda that appropriates religion. These reasons, he added, were as multifarious as they are interlinked.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION

Dr Mohamed Fatris explained that religion sits paradoxically amidst all the above-mentioned reasons. While religion has been used by perpetrators to gain the support of sympathisers, it also has the capacity to solve extremism as it preaches peace.

To build a resilient community, Dr Mohamed Fatris commented that there has to be rigorous efforts in constructing religious ideologies that connect people and welcome intellectual engagement with the modern world. He added that the credibility of religious authority needed to be earned and cannot be taken for granted. This was especially important in the face of an increasingly interconnected online world where the boundaries of religious authorities are becoming blurred.

Dr Mohamed Fatris was optimistic that there are resources past and present within the Muslim tradition that can sustain constructive ideology, and stressed the importance of being critically and intellectually engaged in issues that concern the society.

LAYING THE CONSTRUCTIVE IDEOLOGY

Dr Mohamed Fatris then laid out three important factors needed in effectively instilling a constructive ideology.

First, he mentioned the importance of creating constructive content. Dr Mohamed Fatris noted the need for a balance of critical thought and simplicity in presentation of religious ideas. Thus, he called for a reform of the religious curricula and stressed that the misinterpretation of texts, as had been done and propagated by extremists, was only possible where an intellectual vacuum exists. The next factor was the need

for effective methods in engaging the community. He noted that the younger generation is a highly interactive one; religious teachers needed to facilitate their learning process and allow them to speak their minds instead of imposing the right and wrong on them. Dr Mohamed Fatris mentioned the *aLIVE* programme as an example where young children were taught religious practices teachings in an engaging way, as well as equipped with knowledge, skills and values that would make them positive Muslims contributing to the society. Another example he cited was the introduction of Adult Islamic Learning (ADIL) programme which envisioned the development of religiously resilient adults with sound moral principles and profound religious knowledge and contributes actively to the well-being of the family, society and the world.

Lastly, Dr Mohamed Fatris mentioned the importance of leveraging institutions such as mosques and *madrasahs*. Constant engagement with these institutions helped religious authorities relay relevant and important content to the wider community. As an example, Dr Mohamed Fatris mentioned the use of sermons during Friday prayers, where conflicts and criminal acts have been discussed. These sermons have been broadcast on radios as well as YouTube to reach a wider audience.

Dr Mohamed Fatris drew his presentation to a close by stating that along with the increasing spiritual thirst around the world there is a need to build resilient communities. There was a need to leverage on this rising spiritual desire and guide communities in positive ways. As images of violence and destruction continue to grab headlines, so should societies nurture the desire for peace and compassion. Communities influenced by destructive ideologies need to come together to share in their experiences, and to use constructive ideologies to overcome threats faced by radicalisation and terrorism.

FIGHTING AND ASSESSING EXTREMISM: A BLUEPRINT FOR ACTION RESEARCH

Professor Arie W. Kruglanski



*Professor Arie W. Kruglanski
Distinguished Professor of Psychology, University of Maryland, US*

Professor Arie W. Kruglanski began by stressing the threat that extremism poses to the stability and security of a peaceful society. He urged nations to co-operate and combat this problem.

Extremism, he said, is a state of mind that needed to be prevented using strategies that are based on an understanding of the root problem. Such strategies come in the form of treatment, prevention; and a conceptual model that allows the assessment of the risk and effectiveness of government interventions. Professor Kruglanski commented that despite the different cases of extremism, there is an underlying commonality. He reinforced this by stating how strategies from various countries such as Saudi Arabia, Canada and Singapore can be exported and applied elsewhere.

DEFINITION OF RADICALISATION

Radicalisation, according to Professor Kruglanski, is the implementation of extreme means to attain a goal. Extreme means, in this context, are contrary to accepted norms and include the killing of lives and destruction of property. Professor Kruglanski

considered extremism a socio-psychological problem and introduced the '3N Model' that shows the underlying commonalities of extremism which, he felt, were in line with the suggestions that have been raised by previous speakers.

THE '3N MODEL'

The first 'N' refers to Needs, which pertain to individual motivation. Professor Kruglanski suggested that the underlying common motivation for extremism is the quest of being significant and recognised; extremists tend to seek this validation through their leaders or the rewards of paradise in the afterlife.

Professor Kruglanski then explored the second 'N' – Narratives – the extremist ideologies that teach radicals how to attain significance. Some of these ideologies include the need to kill others or sacrifice one's life. He added that Needs and Narratives cannot be separated because the ideology serves the motivation.

The third 'N' refers to Networks. Professor Kruglanski explained that individuals are social creatures who act according to their social networks. Therefore, just as

how extremists tended to join radical groups through the influence of their affiliations, a social network is also required to pull them out of these groups. Professor Kruglanski commended Saudi Arabia and Singapore which used family as one of the social networks to deradicalise extremists.

STRATEGIES FOR REINTEGRATION

Professor Kruglanski noted that the 3N Model has implications for intervention methods. Detainees require help in finding their identity and significance in the society. If this need is not addressed, he warned that ex-terrorists may be tempted into extremism again, especially with the glamour of violence and terrorism.

To address the extremist ideologies, Professor Kruglanski suggested providing counter narratives, which, he added, was currently done by the RRG. He emphasised moderation and the correct interpretation of Islam to counter these extremist ideologies. He also stressed the importance of strong social network support by family and moderate religious groups, as

well as breaking the ties between the individual and his extremist group, for effective reintegration.

MEASURING RADICALISATION

Professor Kruglanski identified two basic types of methods of collecting data on radicalisation. The first was subject-based where detainees provided information about themselves. The second was observer-based where people who know the detainees provide information about them. These two types of data will help support the validity of conclusions researchers have made regarding the extremists' motivations in engaging in acts of radicalism.

In conclusion, Professor Kruglanski reinforced that the psychological state was at the core of extremism and that extremism can exist even in the absence of geopolitical conflict and injustice. In order to carry the work further, Professor Kruglanski stressed the importance of a whole of society approach to combat extremism.

CRAFTING A REHABILITATION AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT ENTERPRISE

Professor Rohan Gunaratna



Professor Rohan Gunaratna

Professor of Security Studies and Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), RSIS, Singapore

Professor Rohan Gunaratna raised three main themes in his presentation.

THE NATURE OF TERRORIST GROUPS

First, he addressed the oft-raised question of whether terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS are religious or political movements. Professor Gunaratna explained that almost all major religions have been hijacked by terrorist groups. He cited examples such as the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka who are Hindus as well as the Aum Shinrikyo in Japan who are Buddhists. Religion, he added, has often been abused and misused to reach out to people because it is close to their hearts. Hence, Professor Gunaratna emphasised the need to work with religious leaders, educators and even the media personnel in order to combat extremism more effectively.

FROM CO-OPERATION TO COLLABORATION

Professor Gunaratna then urged nations to move from co-operation to collaboration in countering terrorism. He

proposed five strategies in which collaboration can take place. First, countries could build common databases, such as the databases that European countries created. Second, countries can exchange personnel from law enforcement, military and intelligence services. Third, joint training can be done which would lead thereafter fourth, joint operations. Finally, Professor Gunaratna encouraged sharing of best practices and expertise.

IMPORTANT AREAS OF FOCUS

Professor Gunaratna identified three important areas to focus on, namely, countering of terrorism and extremism online; the implementation of community engagement and lastly for each country to build structured rehabilitation programmes instead of ad hoc ones. Structured programmes, he explained, delivers comprehensive rehabilitation that encompasses religious, psychological, education, creative arts, recreational, family and social rehabilitation. Professor Gunaratna was confident that doing so would increase the chance of deradicalising detainees.

8

THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

PANELIST

General John Allen

Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL, US

Chaired by Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Professor of Security Studies and Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), RSIS, Singapore



Panel 8 (From left): General John Allen and Professor Rohan Gunaratna

PANEL SYNOPSIS

The challenge of a new global threat landscape iterated the need for a paradigm shift from inter-government cooperation to international collaboration. Building resilience remains a critical strategy in the fight against terrorist ideologies. This session discussed the importance of partnership and the synergy derived from such collaboration for any international response to be successful. The establishment of a seamless cooperation between international partners is central to the success of a multi-national and multi-jurisdictional response to the contemporary threat posed by terrorists.

THE GLOBAL FIGHT AGAINST ISIS

General John Allen



General John Allen
Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL, US

General John Allen began his presentation by commending Singapore's effort to de-radicalise and reintegrate extremist offenders back into the society. The trust and mutual respect among the government officials, civil society and Muslim leaders served as a model for General Allen of what was needed in a multicultural and multi-faith community. Singapore has also succeeded in showcasing what President Obama has emphasised – the need to diversify the approach in counter terrorism.

General Allen then shared that the US has developed a series of good practices to facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremist offenders. Singapore has contributed immensely to help other countries establish programmes based on the good practices.

RETURNING FOREIGN FIGHTERS THREAT

General Allen then turned his focus to the strategies in dealing with the potential threats that returning

foreign fighters may pose to their home countries. It was essential to understand the threat of each of these individuals through a rigorous risk assessment process. The threat posed by an individual will determine the type of treatment they will receive, from close monitoring by law enforcement entities and intelligence resources to receiving social services and family and community engagement. Individuals evaluated as amenable to genuine reintegration should receive the necessary support and assistance while those assessed as posing a continuing threat will require intensive monitoring.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM SINGAPORE

General Allen then discussed some of the critical insights that Singapore has offered in countering ISIS extremist ideology by sharing an example on how Singapore has made use of its technological and analytical capability in its fight against ISIS. A strategic analysis of social media sites related to ISIS revealed that potential foreign fighters in the region are particularly enamoured to ISIS end-time narratives. In their effort to delegitimise

extremist ideology, Singapore is working to understand the different appeal that ISIS uses to reach out to potential foreign fighters.

GLOBAL COALITION

In the past seven months, General Allen noted that he had visited 24 partner capitals, including Singapore, to meet with national leaders to assemble the global coalition which includes more than 60 nations and international organisations.

Currently, the global coalition has achieved the first phase of its campaign – blunting ISIS strategic operational and tactical momentum in Iraq. As the coalition undertakes efforts to help Iraq restore its territorial integrity and sovereignty, Iraq is also making vital reforms for a sustainable restoration and working its way towards a more inclusive government. However, efforts to reconcile Iraq divisions and revitalise the economy remain an enormous undertaking. As such, a sustained effort from the coalition is required to support and secure Iraq. He then sent out a clear and unambiguous message that the coalition would not waiver in its fight against ISIS nor will it tolerate any acts of savagery and barbarism by ISIS.

General Allen also shared the progress of the campaign in Syria. He noted that a military programme was being developed to train and equip approximately 5,000 Syrian opposition elements for the next three years.

FIVE LINES OF EFFORT

General Allen then introduced participants to the five lines of effort of the coalition's work. The first line of effort focused on supporting military operations and providing security assistance. Second, disrupting the flow of foreign fighters. Nations under the coalition have changed their customs laws to deter individuals from travelling to Syria and Iraq to pursue their fight. In

addition, it was important to rehabilitate and reintegrate these individuals. The coordinated efforts of coalition members was essential in countering the foreign fighter threat.

Third, constraining ISIS' access to financial resources. General Allen told the participants that the collaboration of the right intelligence and partners has the potential to completely cut off ISIS spending options and disrupt its operations. Currently, nations have come together to block ISIS' access to banks around the globe. However, he noted that ISIS financial resource goes beyond the oil enterprise. ISIS gets funds from criminal extortion, ransoms from their kidnappings, and their human trafficking and slave trade. Another source of their finance comes from sale of historical artefacts and antiques, which at the same time eliminates Iraq's rich history.

Fourth, providing humanitarian relief and support to victims. As Iraq takes back its territories, the coalition must gather efforts to assist and support the return of refugees and displaced persons. The coalition and its partners, particularly the Arab states, were working with the Iraqis to help them develop recovery plans. Lastly, counter-messaging or defeating ISIS ideology by contesting ISIS narratives across various platforms and languages which are used to recruit potential foreign fighters.

DEFINING SUCCESS

In conclusion, General Allen spoke on the need to define success in the fight against ISIS and in the struggle against violent extremism. He urged participants to keep in mind that if the current generation fails to degrade and defeat ISIS and confront the threats of extremism, future generations will be resigned to the same, if not more serious threat.

PANEL 8 DISCUSSION

Chaired by Professor Rohan Gunaratna

ISIS NETWORKS BEYOND THE LEVANT AND THE NEED TO PRIORITISE THE THREAT

General John Allen shared that ISIS had presented an intense threat not only in the core areas of Iraq and Syria by declaring 24 provinces, but also in Libya, Sinai, Dagestan and the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. He noted that in addition, it was building regional networks in Asia, Africa and in the Middle East. ISIS' reach in the global theatres is also seen in the creation of a number of homegrown cells and individuals. Since ISIS has crossed the Syrian border into Iraq, coalition forces have come together gradually to counter the threat using multiple lines of effort. Hence there was a precedent for the coalition to deal with the threat along these multiple lines of effort. The assertion made was that the coalition is strongly united to deal with ISIS in the Iraqi and Syrian theatres. Nonetheless, the troubling issue with regard to ISIS concerns its capacity to create a global network which could create global command and control, leading to control centres across the world and the command centre in Syria and Iraq.

General Allen highlighted that there was a need to define what a global expansion of network entails in terms of its implications and ramifications, as well as defining the affiliates and their respective roles in the global network if, indeed, ISIS is globally expanding its networks. However, this should not discount the potential for lethality already evidenced in some regional groups, such as the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), Boko Haram, and Ansar Al Sharia. Some of these groups have real capacity for lethality to not just disrupt this region, but also to contribute materially to core-ISIS to strengthen their perceived caliphate. There is a need to identify which ones pose a regional, existential threat, which ones contribute to the core ISIS and which ones pose no threat to ISIS. It is therefore, important to prioritise the threat and to bring to bear these assets. There is also a need to counter the finance and resources of these fighters, counter the messaging of ISIS and

bring forward the capacity of the global coalition and to recover Islam from exploitation by groups like ISIS or Jabhat Al Nusra (JN). In short, the global coalition can be brought to disrupt these regional networks. However, it was imperative to determine whether these regional networks indeed pose a credible threat. The coalition then has to consider its capabilities and whether it was going in after the finances of these groups, stemming their movement of foreign fighters or eliminating their eminence in the information sphere.

THE 'DIVIDE AND RULE' CONSPIRACY

ISIS, having emerged out of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, is a long-term but not a new threat. Its leaders have been active in this field for a period of time, although its numbers are diminishing as the US and its coalition members are in the process of dismantling the network. When looking at an organisation or a movement such as ISIS, there was a need to diagnose whether it was an inherently religious movement with a political context, or a political movement embedded within a religious context. If there was a conspiracy theory that the US or its coalition members was attempting to perpetuate the sectarian crisis in the region, the work that the US is doing with the majority Shia population in Iraq, would be to work towards strengthening the capacity of the Iraqi government to recover the territorial integrity of the country. It is also assisting the Iraqis to do that with a process of reconciliation to bring the Sunni minority and the Kurdish minority into the mainstream of the governance of Iraq. The US and its coalition partners are also seeking to diminish the sectarian divide through a whole series of governmental reforms that embraced the Sunni and the Kurdish minorities in a manner that reduces the impact of sectarianism as a political weapon. While these conspiracy theories exist, he noted that it was assuring that the US as well as its coalition members were doing their best to reduce or even eliminate the issues of sectarianism.

ISIS STATEHOOD

In many regards ISIS has taken on the trappings of a state, even producing its own currency. General John Allen stated that one of the current trends is the radicalisation and recruitment of young men and women over the Internet and social media. There is a need to understand the full network of radicalisation and recruitment, and return to the battlespace in order to understand the process of countering the threat of foreign fighters. There was also a need to understand these critical nodes to make it difficult for these individuals to travel to the battlespace and even to keep tabs on those returning foreign fighters. Above all, this will be important for the deradicalisation and rehabilitation of these returnee fighters. Due to the sovereign views of each country, it was difficult for countries to impose their views on what should or should not be done in the bid to counter these fighters. This is where the importance of the coalition comes into practice. The members of the coalition were seeking as much as they can to exchange best practices. Belgium has the largest per capita contribution to the fight against ISIS. Its role as a member of the coalition means it can harness best practices from other members. This applies to Tunisia, the US or even Canada. Countries from outside the coalition could also benefit from what members of the coalition are saying or doing. The coalition members also seek to address the underlying social, economic and political causes of those that create conditions for radicalisation and extremism to occur.

US MILITARY STRATEGY AND OPERATIONS AGAINST ISIS

General Allen shared that the response against ISIS could be divided into three parts: assessment, military strategy and how the US and its coalition members are dealing with ISIS' leadership. In terms of assessment, the strategic, operational and tactical momentum of ISIS has been halted. This means that while ISIS may expand its territory in Syria and Iraq, it is not able to do so significantly. Moving forward, there will be a fight along the margins which may bring about tactical gains. At this point, it was noted that ISIS has lost 25% of its holdings on population areas in Iraq. It has expanded slightly in Syria but its shrinkage overall is a positive outcome.

In terms of the military campaign, there were several parts to it. The first is the bombing campaign and counter-offensive capabilities, which is building partner capabilities to train Iraqi ground forces to be the counter-offensive, and training the counter forces to be the National Guard elements, which will primarily and initially be Sunni. It was pointed out that the Iraqis have taken back Tikrit and the efforts are done ultimately to liberate the Sunni population in Al Anbar and prepare the counter-offensives to take back Ninawa Province and finally the city of Mosul, where heavy fighting is set to occur. In Syria, the coalition was supporting the modern opposition elements in the field and is recruiting Syrians in training camps where 15,000 people will be trained to defend against ISIS. The military strategy is to give the Iraqis the capacity ultimately to defeat ISIS on the ground to recover territorial integrity. As such, there has been reluctance to introduce ground forces, given that bombing campaigns have been extraordinarily effective, with pinpoint accuracy, very low collateral damage and virtually no civilian casualties. Introducing foreign forces introduces social instability that can work against the campaign objectives. Within the coalition, there were trainers, advisors, but no large scale foreign forces into Iraq, which would create additional political difficulties for the central government and exacerbate sectarian problems.

With regard to how the global coalition was dealing with neutralising ISIS' leadership, the operational details were kept confidential, although the coalition is continuing to monitor ISIS' activity in Iraq and Syria. ISIS has made a number of bad operational and strategic decisions, which has enabled the coalition to successfully remove some of their leaders from their command structure. A number of young leaders have gone to assume these leadership posts but have executed poor decisions. The more the coalition is able to eliminate the leaders, the easier it will be to eliminate the command and control structure of ISIS' core as well as globally.

ISIS AS A SYMPTOM

General Allen highlighted that ISIS, as well as the instability in Syria, is only a symptom of a much larger problem. The issue of ISIS was only addressed when it became stronger. Nevertheless, the US and its coalition partners have no intent to put tens of thousands of ground forces to conduct ground operations in Syria and Iraq. The US has learned during the time of Desert Shield and Desert Storm operations whereby support from Saudi Arabia was strong, was that while there was a need to put forces on the ground, there was also a need to pull them out fast. This is because foreign forces create instability. The rise of Al-Qaeda and its expansion can be traced back to a long term presence of foreign forces in the region. Facilitating the capacity of Iraqis to take back Iraq through support, primarily through airpower and advisory support is much more viable. Most Iraqis,

however, want to mobilise ground forces, whether in a Sunni tribe in Anbar, or from the Shia popular mobilisation forces that came up from the south to help stabilise the country or the Peshmergas. In terms of humanitarian aid, Saudi Arabia had provided financial assistance in supporting the US and its coalition partners to provide humanitarian assistance in Iraq.

Understanding what the underlying factors of instability in the Middle East are that have given rise to the current problems in the region and taking concerted actions to deal with those issues is the only way to deal with the problems. There is also a need to understand both the religious and political dimensions of this issue. It was emphasised that the solution of the problem must be led by the Arab countries; the words spoken and the solutions given must also be a Muslim voice. As countries across the region have articulated these same ideas, there is reasonable room for optimism.

LAUNCH OF STRATEGIES ON AFTERCARE AND REINTEGRATION (SOAR) NETWORK



Ambassador Ong Keng Yong (left) and Professor Rohan Gunaratna (right) launching the SOAR Network.

The Strategies on Aftercare and Rehabilitation Network was launched at the East Asia Summit Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration on 17 April 2015 with the aim of exploring emergent key challenges that have impacted the terrorism landscape, as well as on-going efforts at rehabilitation and social reintegration.

The Network would be a platform for the development of a global partnership of practitioners and moderate scholars to counter radicalism and terrorism and to share best practices, with the aim of building resilience in societies across the globe in the face of terrorism.

This platform will develop a repository of information, resources, ideas and strategies with the aim of creating a database for efforts in terrorist rehabilitation and social reintegration. The SOAR Network Facebook page will be the link to this Network.

The SOAR Network will be managed by the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies a specialist Centre at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore.

CLOSING REMARKS

Ambassador Ong Keng Yong,
Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS



*Ambassador Ong Keng Yong
Executive Deputy Chairman, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)*

Bringing the two-day Symposium to a close and noting the enthusiasm of the speakers on the themes deliberated during the Symposium, Ambassador Ong shared three key take-aways that he felt were essential. Naming them the three 'C's, Ambassador Ong highlighted the importance of Communication, Community and Collaboration in achieving the aim of building resilience and reintegrating lives.

Ambassador Ong concurred with General John Allen that the threat from terrorism and extremism was not a passing danger and as such states would need to work towards ensuring the security of the civilised society that has been built over time. He added that the best thing to do was to build our resilience and where we need to, reintegrate the lives of those whom we have returned back to society.

Therefore going forward, the importance of communication amongst all parties working on this important mission was critical.

Second, he reiterated the importance of the community as raised by Professor Gunratna where Professor Gunaratna stressed the need to communicate with the community to engage the community and that community ultimately refers to everyone including those in the audience. He noted that community engagement was critical and vital in the reintegration of detainees.

Third, the role of collaboration where Ambassador Ong stressed that the challenges discussed in the Symposium can never be resolved by a single individual or country, therefore emphasizing on the importance to search for partners and work together to counter these challenges.

Ambassador Ong concluded his remarks by expressing his sincere gratitude and appreciation on behalf of the organising committee to the Symposium participants for their time and active participation.

CLOSING ADDRESS

Mr Lee Hsien Loong,
Prime Minister of Singapore



*Mr Lee Hsien Loong
Prime Minister of Singapore*

Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy
Chairman, RSIS

Ustaz Ali and Ustaz Hasbi, Co-chairmen of the Religious
Rehabilitation Group

Distinguished guests from many countries around the
world, friends, ladies and gentlemen.

I am very happy to join you this evening at Khadijah Mosque to mark the close of the East Asia Summit (EAS) Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration. All of us, from different countries, face one common problem of jihadi terrorism. Its latest manifestation is ISIS, which claims to be fighting to establish a Islamic caliphate in Syria and Iraq.

And Syria and Iraq are far away from most of us, but even so, we are all affected. We are affected because quite a number of people from all over the world have been taken in by the slick propaganda of ISIS, and have gone to Syria and Iraq to fight for this misguided cause. Others have, in the name of ISIS, perpetrated terrorist acts in their own home countries. Some are returnees from Syria and Iraq. Others have been brainwashed without going there, and persuaded to do heinous deeds. So it is naïve for any country to think that we can keep our heads low and the threat will pass us by on the other side. Therefore, we are all grappling with this same problem.

The circumstances in each one of our countries will be different therefore every society has its own values, social structure, religious mix, location, demographic and geographic distribution of the population. For example, some societies are highly integrated while others live apart in a very segregated way. But there is one important feature of this problem that we all share in common. And that is while we need security actions and operational capabilities to counter the threat directly, we also know these are not enough. We must go beyond that, to the religious dimension: to rehabilitate apprehended terrorists so that they understand the error of their ways and can be safely released from prison or detention, and they do not fall prey again to a warped version of Islam. We also need the social dimension: to reintegrate the former extremists back into society, so that they have family, friends and support, they have a job, they have a home, their next meal is seen to and are not ostracised or left at their wits' ends, and therefore vulnerable.

So we have to deal with the religious and social dimensions in dealing with terrorism. And we also have to deal with the religious and social dimensions in our broader approach to this problem. Muslim communities need to be guided and work has to be done to prevent perverted and dangerous ideas from catching on. We have to work to build an integrated, harmonious, multi-religious society so that we avoid problems of

marginalisation, religious enclaves, misperceptions and resentments, which can feed on themselves and generate religious extremism and terrorism.

That is why we organised this Symposium in Singapore to bring together international experts, policymakers and religious leaders from many fields and I am heartened that 600 participants from more than 30 countries, including 18 East Asian nations, have taken part. We have shared our experiences and expertise with one another, we have picked up each other's ideas, and hopefully will adapt and apply what we have learned when we go back home.

Singapore is especially honoured to host this Symposium because while the jihadi terrorism threat affects all countries, here in Singapore we take it especially seriously. We have been sensitive about race and religion for a very long time, because of our history. We are a multi-racial society, we have experienced racial tensions, religious riots in the past, and as a country, we are founded on the fundamental principle of multi-racialism – which is one of the cardinal ideals of the republic. In any multi-racial and multi-religious nation, race and religion are natural fault lines. According to Pew research, Singapore is the most religiously diverse country in the world, and they surveyed 224 and they came to that. In particular, we have a substantial minority of Muslims in our midst, living peacefully with other races and religions. So any terrorist attack invoking the name of Islam in vain will have grave consequences for us. Not just that there will be physical casualties, people maimed or killed, but that it will create anger and mistrust between Muslims and non-Muslims, raise social tensions and quite possibly break apart our society.

Fortunately, for nearly 50 years, our different races and religions have lived in peace and harmony. It is the result of a conscious and sustained effort to build trust and mutual understanding, to foster accommodation and give and take, to create extensive and strong personal links across racial and religious lines. So that should a terrorist attack ever occur, our society will hold together, and people will stand united. We have worked hard to build trust between our ethnic and religious groups.

We require, for example, our public housing estates, where 80% of our population live, to be ethnically integrated. Every block of flats, every neighbourhood has a dozen blocks, must have a certain minimum proportion of Chinese, Indians, Malays, which are the main racial groups in Singapore. Thus we do not have ghettos, milieus which are mono-racial, we do not have communities living separate from another, generating a sense of siege and neglect, of us against them, we all live together, work together.

After 9/11, when we discovered and broke up the Jemaah Islamiyah group (an offshoot of Al-Qaeda) which was planning a major attack in Singapore, multiple suicide bombs, we brought community and religious leaders together from all the different groups, spoke candidly, explained the facts, discussed the problem so that everyone knew “We are in this together”. Everybody could understand where everybody else stood, built trust and dispel any misunderstandings.

We also celebrate happy events together, in an ecumenical fashion. Few days ago I attended the Taoist Federation's Silver Jubilee, Taoists make up 10 percent of our population in Singapore. On my table, and it was a very big table, there were representatives of all the world's major religions – ten different faiths in Singapore. So I posted some pictures on my Facebook page. One showed the Rabbi of Singapore sitting next to the Mufti of Singapore, sitting next to the Sikh leader who is chairing the Inter-Religious Organisation. They were sharing a meal, sitting side by side. Each had food which met his religious requirements, but that did not stop them from breaking bread together. Another cuter photo was of the Mufti taking a selfie with the Rabbi! Smiling broadly, both of them, if you go to my webpage you will see it. It is a most unusual and remarkable state of affairs!

It is not just our leaders that get together, but also our youths. Recently I had lunch with some young religious leaders, I was looking for the next generation, making contact with them and they told me that their youth groups in the religious organisations participated in the Harmony Games every year. It has been going on for eight years; each group takes turns to organise it.

It is an occasion for youths of different faiths to come together, play sports and make friends. I asked one leader whether when the young people play sports together, they played in religious teams or mixed teams. He said, well so far we have played in religious teams. So you could have the Catholics playing against the Taoists. But I suggested that next year, perhaps we can do better and have mixed teams, more fun.

One important reason we have been able to achieve peace and harmony here is because our Muslim community and Muslim leaders have supported this endeavour.

This is an absolute requirement if we are to make any headway in the fight against jihadist terrorism. But it is not easy to achieve, because it depends on trust having already been established and where the trust is not yet strong enough, it is hard to get into a virtuous circle and to start building it especially when under stress.

You have met the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG) over the past two days, Ustaz Ali and Ustaz Hasbi and their people and they have been doing sterling work since 2002. When we uncovered the JI in 2001, the Asatizahs the religious leaders came forward with no certainty of success, put their reputations on the line, worked closely with Government, and took the risk of being seen as doing the Government's bidding. But they persevered and have done good work and they have established themselves and the community. And the proof is in the outcomes, when you lock somebody up for terrorism, you have to ask yourself – are you going to lock them up forever? It is not a punishment for a crime, it is a prevention against a future terrorist act. How are we going to let them out? You have to rehabilitate him, make him safe for release. Since 2003 when the RRG was established, we have released from detention 57 extremists who have been rehabilitated and who, at the point of release, no longer pose a security threat. That it was safe to release them. Of these 57, who have been released over a dozen years now, so far we have only one case of recidivism, where we had to bring the man back in. So I would count that a resounding success.

Besides rehabilitating extremists, the RRG have reached out to the broader public through talks and the Internet to sensitise Muslims to the erroneous teachings of radical ideologues. The extremists the Jihadists, they have become skillful in using the Internet, using social media to put out their poisonous propaganda, to mislead people and to bring in new recruits. On the side of the good people, we also have to be as skillful and efficient in using social media and the Internet to reach out to people to counter the lies and make sure the truth prevails.

Here in Khadijah Mosque, they have set up a Resource and Counselling Centre, upstairs, which some of you may have visited just now, which provides information and advice and resources for anyone who needs clarification on radical rhetoric or material. And if you also want to study the radical material, it is also available here because you must also understand the opponents and the threat in order to be able to neutralise it.

Other groups in Singapore have also played an important role in this effort - MUIS (the Islamic Council of Singapore) has implemented an accreditation scheme for religious teachers and scholars, the Asatizah Recognition Scheme (ARS), to reduce the likelihood of Singaporeans engaging in radical religious teaching. Also to reduce the likelihood of Singaporean parents engaging radical teachers for their children unbeknownst. The Mufti, the Islamic scholars and religious teachers association (PERGAS) have worked together with youths to counter extremist ideology through conferences and outreach efforts. We also have an Aftercare Group (ACG), a network of Malay/Muslim organisations, which provide support services to detainees' families to help them cope with the detention, and also to help the families and the detainees find jobs and re-integrate back into society when they are released.

So I think we have been very fortunate in Singapore that our Malay Muslim community have come together and worked hard to prevent radical ideologies from taking root and spreading here, and for that, I give them my heartfelt thanks.

We can count our blessings in Singapore that we have not been successfully attacked, that the ties between our different communities are strong and that our Malay /Muslim community has taken responsibility and acted to counter radical ideology and to sensitise the wider public, Muslim and non-Muslim to this problem. It took a long time for us to get here. In the 1950s and 1960s we experienced quite nasty racial and religious riots.

But since then, we have enjoyed peace and harmony between the different faiths here. Every year, on 21 July, our schools celebrate Racial Harmony Day, our students come to school in ethnic dress and learn about our history and learn about each others' practices, customs and beliefs. During the year, we have exhibitions and activities to help them understand what this is about. This is not a fancy dress day but there is a deeper meaning to it. One day, I visited such an exhibition in a school and the kids showed me around. They have been trained as docents, to understand what the panels were, what the exhibits were, what the photographs

showed and which events happened which year and so on. They took me around and explained the exhibits most professionally. After that, I chatted with them and one student asked me "Sir, when you were a school boy, did you celebrate Racial Harmony Day too?" I said no, when I was in school, we had no racial harmony day. In fact, on that date one year, there were racial riots! That is why, you now celebrate Racial Harmony Day, so that you will learn why racial harmony is important, and so that we will never forget. I think we should count it as a blessing that young people have to learn these things by being taught, which is a hard way to learn it rather than by experiencing it, God forbid, which leaves an indelible impression on you. So we are enjoying a very special and unusual state of affairs in Singapore, we have racial and religious harmony.

I hope this Symposium, and our collective efforts, we will make a small contribution to countering jihadi terrorism and keeping our people safe. Thank you very much.

PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY, 15 APRIL 2015

6.00 p.m. – 6.30 p.m.	REGISTRATION AND WELCOME RECEPTION (BY INVITATION ONLY)
6.30 p.m. – 8.30 p.m.	WELCOME ADDRESS AND DINNER Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS

THURSDAY, 16 APRIL 2015

8.00 a.m. – 8.50 a.m.	REGISTRATION
8.50 a.m. – 9.00 a.m.	RSIS CORPORATE VIDEO
9.00 a.m. – 9.30 a.m.	WELCOME REMARKS Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY GUEST OF HONOUR Mr Teo Chee Hean, Deputy Prime Minister, Coordinating Minister for National Security and Minister for Home Affairs
9.30 a.m. – 10.45 a.m.	PANEL 1: TERRORIST THREAT: STRATEGIC ISSUES AND GROWING CHALLENGES CHAIRPERSON Mr Yoshihiro Mukaiyama, Director, First International Affairs Department, CIRO, Japan SPEAKERS <i>Combating Terrorism: The Need for a Multifaceted Approach</i> Mr Richard Stengel, Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, US <i>The Rise and Influence of ISIS</i> Mr Rana Banerji, Former Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat of India and Distinguished Fellow, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, India <i>The Emerging Global Threat Landscape</i> Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Professor Security Studies, Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), Singapore
10.45 a.m. – 11.15 a.m.	TEA BREAK
11.15 a.m. – 12.30 p.m.	PANEL 2: THE LURE OF DARKNESS: RECIDIVISTS AND RETURNEES - FOREIGN FIGHTERS CHAIRPERSON Dr Douglas Stone, Senior Advisor, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), US SPEAKERS <i>The Psychological Effects of the Threat of ISIS: A Preliminary Inquiry of Singapore Case Studies</i> Miss Hu Weiying, Psychologist, Ministry of Home Affairs, Singapore <i>Challenge of Foreign Fighters: Malaysian Perspective</i> Dato' Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay, Principal Assistant Director, Special Branch (Operations/Counter Terrorism Division), Malaysia <i>ISIS Threat and Response in Southeast Asia</i> Inspector General Petrus Reinhard Golose, Deputy for International Cooperation, National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), Indonesia <i>The Challenge of Foreign Fighters: The Australian Experience</i> Mr Peter Whowell, Manager, CT Engagement and Operations Support, Australian Federal Police, Australia
12.30 p.m. – 2.00 p.m.	LUNCH

2.00 p.m. – 3.15 p.m.

PANEL 3: TRENDS, TACTICS AND TECHNOLOGY

CHAIRPERSON

Associate Professor Panitan Wattanayagorn, Adviser to the Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister on Security Affairs, Thailand

SPEAKERS

The Role of the Internet in Spreading Extremist Ideologies

Mr Ali Soufan, CEO, The Soufan Group and Former FBI Supervisory Special Agent, US

The Threat of Terrorism: The Australian Response

Mr Chris Moraitis, Secretary, Attorney General Department, Australia

The Crisis and Beyond: Japan's Perception of "Radical Islam"

Mr Shuji Hosaka, Senior Research Fellow and Assistant Director of JIME Center - Institute of Energy Economics, Japan

From Theory to Practice: Turning The Tide Against Extremists Online

Mr Ross Frenett, Director, Against Violent Extremism Network (AVE), UK

3.15 p.m. – 4.30 p.m.

PANEL 4: INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES TO REINTEGRATION

CHAIRPERSON

Associate Professor Bilveer Singh, Associate Professor, National University of Singapore, Singapore

SPEAKERS

Innovative Strategies to Reintegration: The Bruneian Experience

Pehin Dato Badaruddin Othman, Minister for Home Affairs, Brunei Darussalam

Holistic Strategies to Eliminate Extremism and Terrorism

Professor Azyumardi Azra, Professor of History and Director of Graduate School, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta, Indonesia

Innovative Strategies to Reintegration: Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care as Role Model

Professor Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi, Advisor, Prince Mohammed bin Naif Center for Counseling and Care, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

A Case for Rehabilitating Bad Theology: The Law of War in Islam

Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi al-Akiti, Lecturer, Islamic Studies, Faculty of Theology at Oxford University, UK

4.30 p.m. – 4.45 p.m.

TEA BREAK

4.45 p.m. – 6.00 p.m.

PANEL 5: AFTERCARE PROGRAMMES: NECESSITY AND IMPACT

CHAIRPERSON

Associate Professor David Capie, Associate Professor, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

SPEAKERS

The Mindanao Peace Process: Lessons Learned

Dato' Tengku Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohd, Chief Facilitator for the Government of Malaysia in the Mindanao Peace Process, Malaysia

Aftercare Programmes: The Inter-Agency Aftercare Group (ACG) Experience

Mr Abdul Halim Abdul Kader, President, Taman Bacaan Pemuda Pemudi Melayu Singapura and Founding Member Inter-Agency Aftercare Group (ACG), Singapore

Countering Terrorist Ideological Narratives: The Experience of the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG) in Singapore

Dr Mohamed Bin Ali, Assistant Professor at Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme, RSIS, Singapore

The Rome Memorandum: Guidelines for Rehabilitation and Reintegration

Dr Douglas Stone, Senior Advisor, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), US

END OF PROGRAMME FOR DAY 1

FRIDAY, 17 APRIL 2015

8.30 a.m. – 9.30 a.m.	MORNING TEA AND NETWORKING
10.00 a.m. – 11.05 a.m.	<p>PANEL 6: SOCIAL REINTEGRATION OF TERRORIST DETAINEES: STAKEHOLDERS, STRATEGIES AND CHALLENGES</p> <p>CHAIRPERSON Datin Paduka Rashidah Binti Ramli, Director General, Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter Terrorism (SEARCCT), Malaysia</p> <p>SPEAKERS <i>Reintegration and Transformation of Non-State Armed Groups in Myanmar – Lessons Learned</i> Dr Min Zaw Oo, Director of Ceasefire Negotiation and Implementation at Myanmar Peace Center, Myanmar</p> <p><i>Action for Madrasah-based Advocacies and Learning (AMAL)</i> Ms Amina Rasul-Bernardo, President, Philippines Council for Islam and Democracy (PCID), Philippines</p> <p><i>Ex-Offender Aftercare – The Road to Reintegration in Singapore</i> Mr Prem Kumar, Director, Singapore After-Care Association (SACA), Singapore</p> <p><i>Using the VERA Structured Professional Judgement Methodology for Evaluating Social Re-Integration Outcomes of Terrorist Detainees</i> Dr Elaine Pressman, Senior Fellow, Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies, Carleton University, Canada</p>
11.05 a.m. – 12.05 p.m.	<p>PANEL 7: THE WAY FORWARD: BUILDING RESILIENCE, REINTEGRATING LIVES</p> <p>CHAIRPERSON Dr Zunyou Zhou, Head, China Section, Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Germany</p> <p>SPEAKERS <i>Government and Religious Bodies: The Need for Collaboration</i> Dr Mohamed Fatris Bakaram, Mufti, Islamic Religious Council, Singapore</p> <p><i>Fighting and Assessing Extremism: A Blueprint for Action Research</i> Professor Arie W. Kruglanski, Distinguished Professor of Psychology, University of Maryland, US</p> <p><i>Crafting a Rehabilitation and Community Engagement Enterprise</i> Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Professor Security Studies, Head, ICPVTR, Singapore</p>
12.10 p.m. – 12.40p.m.	<p>PANEL 8: THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE</p> <p>CHAIRPERSON Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Professor Security Studies, Head, ICPVTR, Singapore</p> <p>SPEAKER <i>The Global Fight Against ISIS</i> General John Allen, Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL, US</p>
12.40 p.m. – 1.00 p.m.	<p>LAUNCH OF STRATEGIES ON AFTERCARE AND REINTEGRATION (SOAR) NETWORK</p> <p>CLOSING REMARKS Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS</p>
1.00 p.m. – 1.30 p.m.	LUNCH
END OF DAY 2 SYMPOSIUM	
5.00 p.m. – 5.45 p.m.	RECEPTION AT THE KHADIJAH MOSQUE (BY INVITATION ONLY)
5.45 p.m. – 7.20 p.m.	<p>CLOSING CEREMONY Ustaz Ali Haji Mohamed, Co-Founder and Co-Chairman of the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG)</p> <p>CLOSING ADDRESS Mr Lee Hsien Loong, Prime Minister of Singapore</p>
	DINNER

ABOUT RSIS

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) was established in January 2007 as an autonomous School within the Nanyang Technological University. Known earlier as the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies when it was established in July 1996, 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, it will:

- Provide a rigorous professional graduate education with a strong practical emphasis;
- Conduct policy-relevant research in defence, national security, international relations, strategic studies and diplomacy;
- Foster a global network of like-minded professional schools.

GRADUATE EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RSIS offers a challenging graduate education in international affairs, taught by an international faculty of leading thinkers and practitioners. The Master of Science (MSc) degree programmes in Strategic Studies, International Relations, Asian Studies, and International Political Economy are distinguished by their focus on the Asia Pacific, the professional practice of international affairs, and the cultivation of academic depth. Thus far, students from more than 50 countries have successfully completed one of these programmes. In 2010, a Double Masters Programme with Warwick University was also launched, with students required to spend the first year at Warwick and the second year at RSIS.

A small but select PhD programme caters to advanced students who are supervised by faculty members with matching interests.

RESEARCH

Research takes place within RSIS' five components: the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS, 1996), the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR, 2004), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS, 2006), the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (Centre for NTS Studies, 2008); and the Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS, 2011). 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 five professorships that bring distinguished scholars and practitioners to teach and to conduct research at the school. They are the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies, the Ngee Ann Kongsi Professorship in International Relations, the NTUC Professorship in International Economic Relations, the Bakrie Professorship in Southeast Asia Policy, and the Peter Lim Professorship in Peace Studies.

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Collaboration with other professional schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence is a RSIS priority. RSIS maintains 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 RSIS, <http://www.rsis.edu.sg>

ABOUT ICPVTR

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) is a specialist centre within the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. The Centre seeks to integrate academic theory with practical knowledge, which is essential for a complete and comprehensive understanding of threats from politically motivated groups. 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.

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 analyses of terrorist, guerrilla, militia, and extremist political groups and their support bases. To this end, the Centre collects and analyses literature seeking to politicise, radicalise and mobilise 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 governments and inform societies affected by political violence on how best to manage the current and evolving threat.

CORE PROJECTS

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.

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.

For more information on ICPVTR, <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/research/icpvtr/>



From left: Prof Rohan Gunaratna and Dr Douglas Stone



From left: Dr Elaine Pressman, Prof Arie Kruglanski, Mr Rana Banerji, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong and Prof Azyumardi Azra



From left: Assoc Prof Bilveer Singh, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong and Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi Al-Akiti



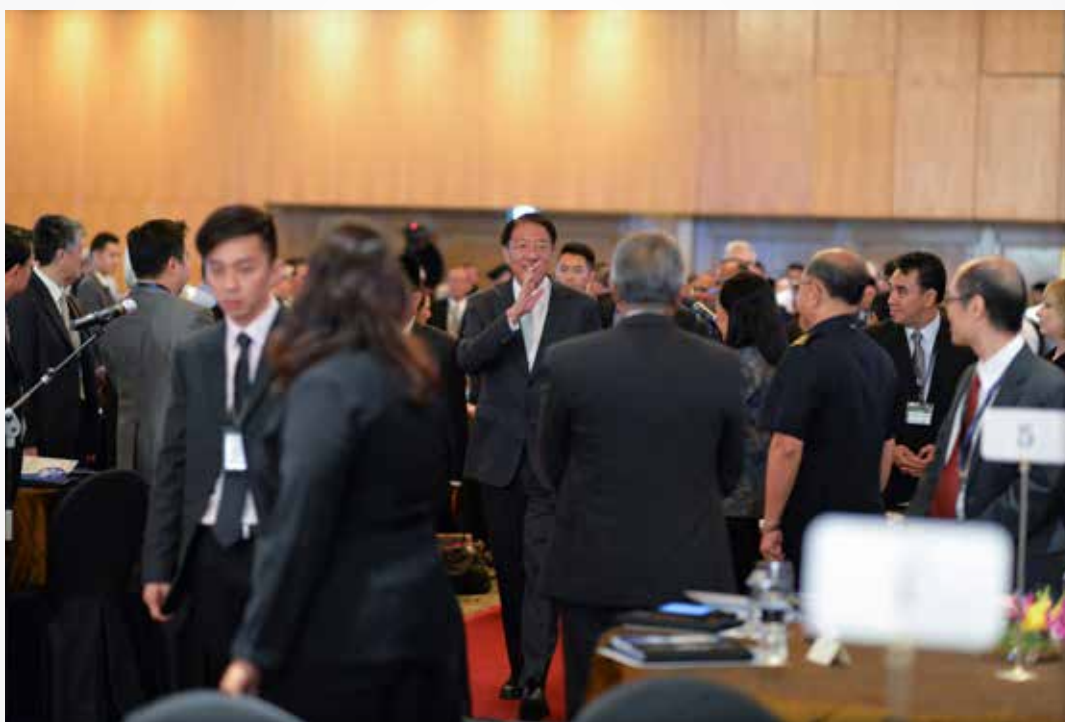
From left: Prof Arie Kruglanski and Prof Hameed bin Khalil Ibrahim Al-Shaygi at the Welcome Dinner



From left: Assoc Prof Bilveer Singh and Ustaz Mohamad Hasbi Hassan



Representation from religious groups at the EAS Symposium



Arrival of Guest of Honour DPM Teo Chee Hean



Mr Yoshihiro Mukaiyama (centre) poses a question to Mr Richard Stengel (left)



From left: Ambassador Ong Keng Yong and DPM Teo Chee Hean



From left: Superintendent Wallace Haumaha and Ms Aliya Danzeisen, an international participant from New Zealand



From left: Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohamed, Assoc Prof Bilveer Singh and Datin Paduka Rashidah Binti Ramli



Networking among EAS Symposium participants during tea break



Shaykh Dato' Dr Afifi Al-Akiti (centre) with EAS Symposium participants



Brunei's Minister for Home Affairs Pehin Dato' Badaruddin Othman, a distinguished speaker at the EAS Symposium



Venerable Seck Kwan Phing, President of the Singapore Buddhist Federation at the Symposium



Dr Tito Karnavian, Jakarta Police Chief sharing his insights at the Symposium



From left: Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, General John Allen and Prof Rohan Gunaratna



From left: Ambassador Ong Keng Yong and Prof Rohan Gunaratna (right) at the launching of SOAR Network



From left: Ustaz Ali Haji Mohamed, Ustaz Mohamad Hasbi Hassan and DPM Teo Chee Hean



From left: Dr Mohamed Bin Ali, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, DPM Teo Chee Hean, Dr Yaacob Ibrahim, Ustaz Mohamad Hasbi Hassan and Ustaz Ali Haji Mohamed



PM Lee Hsien Loong at the interactive section of the RRG Resource and Counselling Centre (RCC)



PM Lee Hsien Loong at the RRG Resource and Counselling Centre (RCC)



PM Lee Hsien Loong being given a tour at the RRG Resource and Counselling Centre (RCC). From left: Ustaz Ali Haji Mohamed, Mr Salim Mohamed Nasir, Dr Mohamed Bin Ali, DPM Teo Chee Hean, PM Lee Hsien Loong, Ustaz Mohamad Hasbi Hassan, Pehin Dato' Badaruddin Othman and Dr Yaacob Ibrahim



Arrival of PM Lee Hsien Loong at the Closing Dinner



PM Lee Hsien Loong presented with a token of appreciation by the Co-Chairmen of the RRG



EAS Symposium speakers at the Khadijah Mosque

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research would like to thank:

- Mr Lee Hsien Loong, Prime Minister of Singapore, for being the Guest of Honour at the closing ceremony of the EAS Symposium.
- Mr Teo Chee Hean, Deputy Prime Minister, Coordinating Minister for National Security and Minister for Home Affairs, for being the Guest of Honour at the opening ceremony of the EAS Symposium.
- Mr K Shanmugam, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Law.
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- The Ministry of Home Affairs.
- All our distinguished speakers and guests.

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