



TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS IN ASIA

NETWORKS, STRUCTURE AND THREAT ASSESSMENT

REPORT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE JOINTLY ORGANIZED BY THE
INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM
RESEARCH (ICPVTR)

AT THE
INSTITUTE OF DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES
SINGAPORE
AND
CENTER FOR EURASIAN POLICY, THE HUDSON INSTITUTE
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**19–20 SEPTEMBER 2006
SENTOSA, SINGAPORE**

CONFERENCE REMARKS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Southeast Asian threat environment has significantly evolved over the past five years since September 11 and the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Increasingly, Southeast Asian terrorist groups are establishing greater linkages with Middle Eastern groups. Moreover, their actions are usually influenced by global events and developments within the global Muslim community.



Roban Gunaratna, Head, ICPVTR

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

While we should continue to search for the root causes of extremism, we should not be too optimistic that we could be able to completely remove all socio-economic inequalities. Instead, the best we can do is to try and reduce the perceived grievances and thereby minimize the motivation to turn to the path of extremism. More importantly, we need to think of ways of breaking down the romanticism associated with martyrdom.



Associate Professor Ho Peng Kee, Senior Minister of State for Law and Home Affairs, Singapore

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, and the Center for Eurasian Policy of the Hudson Institute jointly organized an international conference on “Transnational Islamist Movements in Asia: Networks, Structure, and Threat Assessment” at Sentosa Island, Singapore, on 19 and 20 September 2006. Prominent Islamic scholars, counter-terrorism experts, and regional security specialists from Australia, France, India, Indonesia, Japan, Singapore, Spain and the United States participated in the conference.

The key objective of the conference was to evaluate the evolving terrorist threat in Asia and to understand how global political and religious issues are transforming traditionally localized conflicts in many parts of the region. In this respect the influence of the events in the Middle East and developments within the global Muslim community on local Asian terrorist groups was also explored. Moreover, the conference examined the dynamic situations in the region that regional terrorists exploit to cope up with the constantly changing security environment. In the context of the September 11 attacks, the global war on terror as well as the U.S. invasion of Iraq, there is now a need to examine the issues of extremism and how to respond to the influence of the radical ideology which is spreading its tentacles in the hitherto moderate Muslim communities in the region. As the present conflict is about war of ideas, it is also necessary to deconstruct the radical ideology and work with moderate Muslims to reduce its appeal. The critical question addressed was whether violence is inherent within Islam, or whether it is just a misinterpretation and an abuse of the faith.

The conference covered three key issues:

- The history of Islam and conflicts in the Asia Pacific region to offer a better understanding of the history and the structure of transnational Islamist movements in Asia;
- The evolution and the dynamics of transnational terrorist movements in Asia
- The impact of transnational terrorist movements on the conflicts in some of the countries in the region such as India, China, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand.

With this background, the conference addressed the following strategic questions:

1. What are the short, medium and long-term threats posed by various transnational extremist groups?
2. What factors affect these groups’ behaviour? Have they made major tactical or strategic alliances with each other?
3. What factors affect Muslim attitudes towards these groups?
4. Can we win this “war” without countering Wahhabi/Salafi ideology? How does one detect a potential terrorist? How do we win Muslims’ hearts and minds?
5. What can be done to combat Islamist networks at the national and international levels? What policy tools exist? What new measures need to be created?

WELCOMING REMARKS

ZEYNO BARAN, DIRECTOR, CEP, HUDSON INSTITUTE



*Zeyno Baran, Director, CEP, Hudson Institute
delivering welcoming remarks*

Today Islamist extremism and terrorism are major concerns for many countries. While the ideological underpinnings of radical Islamism are the key to any counter-strategy, the ideological element is often ignored. Transnational Islamist movements are promoting a dangerous ideology that calls for a clash of civilizations. Since 9/11, and especially since the war in Iraq, this ideology has found numbers of adherents in Muslim communities throughout the world. Groups like Hizb ut-Tahrir, Jemaah Islamiyah, Muslim Brotherhood, and Tablighi Jamaat are engaged in a long-term social engineering project, whereby Muslims will reject Western norms of pluralism, individual rights, and the rule of law. While the West can respond to terrorist groups, responding effectively to threats posed by these more ideologically and socially-oriented groups is far more difficult—especially if they are not directly involved in violence (such as HT).

The goal of this conference is to understand the history, structure, networks and the evolution of the various transnational movements active in Asia, to identify the area of cooperation and competition among them, and then to assess the threat they pose.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ROHAN GUNARATNA

HEAD, INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM RESEARCH (ICPVTR), INSTITUTE OF DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES (IDSS), SINGAPORE

In his introductory remarks, Gunaratna commented that “traditional” terrorist groups in the Southeast Asian region have transformed and grown significantly in the past five years. Even before September 11, various groups operating in Asia established mutually beneficial links especially during the war of the mujahideen against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. However, after Al Qaeda and its training facilities was disrupted from Afghanistan and its state sponsor—Taliban- was overturned, these groups are increasingly developing ties with Middle Eastern groups and seeking financial support from Saudi Arabia especially from individual donors.

Post September 11, the Al Qaeda network in Southeast Asia has been significantly disrupted especially after the arrest of Omar Farooq and Hambali. However, the Southern Philippines remain a problem due to the infiltration of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) elements from Indonesia, notably Dul Matin—an expert bomb-maker and Umar Patek. With financial and logistical support from the JI, the local groups in the Philippines such as the Abu Shayaff Group (ASG), the Rajah Solaiman Movement (RSM) and some elements of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) continue to conduct trainings not only for their own members, but also for JI recruits being sent to the Philippines. Though there is no large physical training infrastructure, these groups have managed to exploit training opportunities in areas under the control of the MILF and ASG. There is also evidence of extensive cooperation between the elements of JI and the ASG and the RSM for planning and executing attacks

both in the Philippines and in Indonesia. There appears to be considerable transfer of expertise from the JI elements to the local groups. With financial and other logistical support, the local groups are getting more sophisticated in terms of use of arms and explosives. This has added new dimension to the threats of terrorism as ideologically ASG has always been close to Al Qaeda. Besides, in recent years ASG appears to be rapidly transforming itself from a criminal or banditry group to more of a politico-religious movement.

Gunaratna also discussed how the organizational structure of Jemaah Islamiyah has changed significantly in the last four years. Currently, JI appears to be made up of structured and unstructured factions. Abu Bakar Bashir leads the structured faction which includes mainstream JI members. This faction is more into politics and proselytization especially after the release of Abu Bakar Bashir. Noordin Mohammad Top heads the unstructured or the “pro-bombing” faction. This faction believes in political change through violent means. JI’s operations in the Philippines mirror this structure. The presence of the members of the structured faction in Central Mindanao in the Philippines is to avail the opportunities for training provided in the anonymity of MILF held territories. On the other hand, key JI leaders such as Dul Matin and Umar Patek are working with ASG and RSM to plan and conduct violent attacks both in the Philippines and in Indonesia.

With regards to Thailand, Gunaratna said that the conflict in the South is reaching a crisis

point. He emphasized that Southern Thailand might become the next “Mindanao,” especially in the context that the influence of pan-Islamism is increasing.

There is also evidence of Al Qaeda ideology of global jihad getting strongly imbedded in Muslim communities in many parts of Southeast Asia. This has begun to influence both the tactical and operational orientations of the Southeast Asian groups. Most Southeast Asian groups are no more driven by domestic issues alone. They are now being heavily influenced by global events such as the September 11 attacks, the invasion of Iraq and most recently the developments in

Lebanon. A small amount of Southeast Asians have travelled to the Middle East to participate in the Iraqi resistance movement. In this sense, the epicentre of terrorism has now shifted from Afghanistan to Iraq. Before his death, Abu Musab-al-Zarqawi was building a global operational network re-enforcing links among various groups in the region. The events in Iraq would continue to influence conflicts involving Muslims everywhere in the world. The strategies and the tactics employed by the resistance fighters in Iraq are being exported to other areas of conflict such as to Afghanistan. This is likely to get worse as trained and battled hardened fighters from Iraq begin to disperse.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR HO PENG KEE
SENIOR MINISTER OF STATE FOR LAW AND HOME AFFAIRS, SINGAPORE

Senior Minister of State, Professor Ho Peng Kee, noted that although five years have passed since the September 11 attacks, Islamist extremism remains an issue to be dealt with. Moreover, following the resurgence of conflict in the Middle East and the reactions of the Muslim communities the world over, there is an urgent necessity for “new thinking” in the bid to win the hearts and minds of Muslims. The recent foiled bomb plot at Heathrow Airport in London and the resulting arrests of over thirty people, all of whom were believed to be Muslims, by the United Kingdom authorities once again turned the “terror spotlight” on Muslims.

Professor Ho, however, emphasized that Islam is neither the problem nor a threat. He asserted that it is the exploitation of Islam by fanatics who proffer an extreme and perverse form of religious ideology that is threatening our existence. At the heart of the extremist threat, is the justification for violence, including glorification for martyrdom involving suicide bombings, based on the interpretation of jihad by terrorists, militants and extremists. Jihad is being interpreted in such a way that it is synonymous with war. As a result, jihad has become the mandate for terrorists, militants, and extremists to attack non-Muslims and even Muslims who are deemed to be insufficiently loyal.

According to Professor Ho, “law enforcement and security agencies can try to prevent terrorists and apprehend those who perpetrate terrorist acts. However, winning the struggle against jihadi terrorism requires “winning the hearts and minds” of the larger Muslim community. Terrorists, militants, and extremists, justify jihad based on their interpretation of the Quran. Hence, to overcome the influence of Islamist extremism, there is a need to explain what “Islam as a religion truly is” to both Muslims and non-Muslims. In addition, he asserted that countering extremism requires both community commitment and the “marginalization of extremism” through interfaith cooperation and understanding. A holistic approach towards countering extremism would require the “de-romanticizing” of the concept of martyrdom which appeals to some educated, well-to-do Muslim upper classes. There is also a need to “continue to search for the root causes of extremism”. He believed that through dialogues and proper understanding of the religion, “the motivation to turn to the path of extremism” could be effectively reduced.

UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS IN ASIA

THE HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY OF THE THREAT

Tracing the roots of radicalization and politicization of the Islamic world view, and understanding the history of Islamic movements in Asia is the first step towards comprehending the threats posed by various transnational extremist groups in the region.

According to Hussain Haqqani, contrary to common belief, Wahhabism is not a new phenomenon and as a concept has been in existence from as early as the 18th century. The concept was developed by Muhammad Ibn Abdul Al-Wahhab to:

- Identify the causes of Muslim decline in the 18th century; and
- Propose remedies to reverse the decline of Islam vis-à-vis “the West”.

Muhammad Ibn Abdul Al-Wahhab had also integrated Ahmed Ibn Taimiyah’s view, that Jihad is the sixth pillar of Islam, into his concept. The justifications for Jihad were based on Ibn An-Nahhas Al-Dumyati’s conceptualization of militant Jihad. The eight core justifications for militant Jihad are:

- The elimination of oppression and evil;
- The establishing of the supremacy of Islam;
- The humiliation of non-believers into paying tax;
- The assisting of the weak and dispossessed;
- The revenge for the spilled blood of believers;



Hussain Haqqani presenting on the history of Wahhabism in Asia

- The punishment for broken treaties;
- The defence of Muslim Lands; and
- The securing of occupied Muslim territories.

Examples of groups and movements in Asia that have been influenced by Wahhabism include:

- Darul Uloom Deoband
- Nadwatul Ulema
- Tableeghi Jamaat
- Jamaat-e-Islami
- Jemaah Islamiyah
- Gerakan Mujahideen Islam Pattani
- Abu Sayyaf Group

THE EVOLUTION OF TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS IN ASIA

WHAT FACTORS AFFECT THE EXTREMIST GROUPS' BEHAVIOUR AND HOW ARE THEY CHANGING?

The threats posed by various transnational terrorist groups in Asia were examined by Bilveer Singh and Rohaiza Ahmad Asi. Both speakers explored the profound importance of leadership and ideology on the activities of extremist groups. If terrorism is treated as a manifestation of extremism, then the threat posed by various transnational extremist groups is the perpetuation and propagation of extremist or deviant ideologies. The “popularity” of a group and its capability to inflict harm might dwindle and flow with each leadership change but essentially the concept of militant jihad, for example, will continue to evoke extremist behaviour.

Rohaiza Ahmad Asi speaking about the terrorist threat in Southeast Asia



The role of such ideology as “militant jihad” was evident in the two Bali bombings and served as a case study. Arabinda Acharya spoke at length on the jihad worldview of the Bali bombers and the significance of the attacks in the overall global jihad movement. In each case religion was used to justify and legitimize the use of violence. For example, in his book titled *Aku Melawan Teroris (I am Fighting for Terrorism)*, Imam Samundra, the mastermind of first Bali bombings, gives several justifications for choosing Bali as a target. The justifications are heavily couched with religious arguments and in keeping in line with Al Qaeda’s global jihad agenda. Imam Samundra observes that globalization has changed the nature of conflict between Muslims and the non-Muslims with America and Israel as the main protagonists. The attack on Islam is no more limited to specific area or zone of conflict. Islam is currently being attacked on a global scale everywhere. Therefore, the response of Muslims to the hostility should be similar and not restricted to the occupied territories only such as Palestine, Chechnya, Kashmir and now Iraq.

Similarly, the constitution and the operations of JI are heavily couched in religious terms. This is reflected in *PUPJI (Pedomannya Umum Perjuangan Jemaah Islamiyah)*, an 82-page handbook that is considered to be the operational, religious, strategic, and organizational manual of JI. The worldview of members of the JI, as described by the *PUPJI*, was “counter-society” in nature. Moreover, the *PUPJI* also provided critical clues to the motivation and perpetrators of the bombings at Bali.

It is important to note that, the organizations that began with distinct nationalist orientation

changed their world view after exposure to Al Qaeda brand of ideology especially during the Afghan jihad. For example, several JI members received military training in Afghanistan. JI members arrived as members of a nationally focused organization. After exposure to Al Qaeda's ideology, the JI terrorists returned with a broader Islamic, anti Western agenda. JI adopted not only the ideology, but also the manifestations of it, such as a commitment to martyrdom operations.

Mohamed Bin Ali explored the influence of ideology and the psychology of extremism in his presentation. Joydeep Nayak talked about the misuse of religious symbols and principles by extremist groups. Mohamed Bin Ali asserted that ideological responses are necessary to:

- Discredit the terrorists;
- Prevent further recruitment to extremist groups;
- Prevent the radicalization of Muslim communities;

- Prevent the indoctrination of Muslim youths; and
- Immunize the community at large.

He identified six phases in ideological indoctrination:

1. The search for meaning;
2. The presenting of the ideology;
3. The cultivation stage;
4. The control over JI members;
5. The facilitating of “moral disengagement”; and
6. The recruitment process

Hence, to prevent a “regeneration” of new JI recruits, steps and measures have to be taken to counter the extremist ideology of the JI. Essentially, a holistic counter terrorism approach would ideally include ideological responses.

Thus, ideology and the concept of a “common enemy” and the appeal of militant jihad continue to fuel jihadist movements. Moreover, the existence of such charismatic leaders as Noordin Mohammad Top, Dul Matin and Zulkifli meant that the fight against terrorism in the region is far from over.

Mohamed Bin Ali briefing on ideology



WHAT ARE THE THREATS POSED BY THE VARIOUS TRANSNATIONAL EXTREMIST GROUPS?

The concept of militant Jihad not only provides the justifications for waging terror attacks but it also binds transnational extremist groups together. Common beliefs, goals, and aims, helped to strengthen ties amongst different local, regional, and even global extremist groups. JI, for instance, has been actively sharing and “transferring” both operational and technical skills to such groups as the Rajah Solaiman Movement (RSM) and the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in the Philippines.



Arabinda Acharya presenting on the Bali Bombings

In addition, it was also highlighted that there were reports of Thai Muslim youths who had received military training from certain religious schools in Indonesia. There is also the risk of “copy cat” actions where extremist groups in the region mimic the attacks that occurred elsewhere and more specifically in the Middle East. Several trends were observed with regard to the threats posed by the JI. They were:

- There appears to be a renewed interests in focusing attacks on individuals;
- The choice of “soft targets” over “hard targets”. Increasingly, the group has concentrated their attacks on tourist spots instead of governmental installations and embassies; and
- The collaborating with terrorist and extremist groups operating beyond Indonesia.

COUNTRY ASSESSMENTS

Zachary Abuza and Greg Fealy presented on the influence of extremist Islamist ideology on individual extremist and terrorist groups in Southeast Asia. Greg Fealy traced the rise of transnational Islamist groups in Indonesia from the 1970s and provided his assessment of the threat posed by such groups as the Hizb-ut-Tahrir and Lashkar Jihad. Elena Pavlova provided valuable insights on the Jemaah Islamiyah and their Islamic worldview based on the *Pedoman Umum Perjuangan Jemaah Islamiyah (PUPJI)*. Joseph Liow offered an assessment on how Malaysia has dealt with the issues of Islam and modernity. Dru C. Gladney provided a rare glimpse into the socio-history and anthropology of Islam in China.

PHILIPPINES

Zachary Abuza covered the status of radical and extremist groups in the Philippines and Thailand. Some salient points of his presentation were as follows:

- The MILF split from the MNLF in 1978 following the Tripoli Accord;
- First generation MILF leaders-field commanders were veterans of the mujahideen and included 500–600 men.
- Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, the brother-in-law of Bin Laden, established a Rattan Furniture Export Company in the Philippines and maintained good relationships with senior Al Qaeda (AQ) supporters, Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) members. His personal ties with the MILF and ASG were expanded and strengthened when a major ASG supporter, Mahmud Abd Al-Jalil Afif, ran Khalifa's

International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO).

- Training opportunities in the Southern Philippines are abound. The arrest of members of a 12 men Darul Islam cell during March–April 2006 support the assessment that militant training camps are still in existence in Mindanao. The importance of these camps are underscored when one recalls the prominent alumni of the camps, which include Tawfiq Riefqi, Zulkifli, Mustaqim, Rohmat, and Abdullah Sonata who were also trained in MILF-run camps in Mindanao.
- The peace process continues to be plagued by disputes over such issues as ancestral land rights and disarmament.
- There is speculation that the MILF might be maintaining its relationship with the JI to ensure the MILF's presence in the international jihadist community.

THAILAND

Zachary Abuza highlighted that several religious schools in Southern Thailand had received funding from Saudi Arabian groups through the Pusaka Foundation.

- The main insurgent groups that are active in the Southern Thailand are Gerakan Mujiheddin Islamiya Pattani (GMIP), Barisan Revolusi Nasional Coordinate (BRN-C), New Pattani United Liberation Organization (New PULO) and Jemaah Salafi.
- Similar to their Islamist extremist and terrorist counterparts from Indonesia and the Philippines, GMIP leaders Jaekumae Kuteh & Masori Saeseng had fought with

and were exposed to the Al Qaeda's brand of terrorism in Afghanistan.

- However, there has been no evidence to prove that a clear and distinct operational relationship exists between the major Southern Thailand insurgent groups and the JI.

INDONESIA

Greg Fealy said that groups such as Gerakan Tarbiyah, Jemaat Tabligh, Jemaah Islamiyah, and Hizbut Tahrir took form during the 1970s as a reaction to globalization, to address the perceived repression of political Islam, and to seek an alternative to the "old style" Islamic activism in Indonesia.

- The Hizbut-Tahrir (Party of Liberation) was probably one of the fastest growing "radical" Islamic organizations in Indonesia.
- The Hizbut-Tahrir (HT), was founded in Jerusalem in 1953 by Sheikh Taqiuddin an-Nabhani (1909–1977), an al-Azhar-trained, Palestinian Islamic scholar, jurist and former Muslim Brother.
- The HT spread across Middle East and into South and Central Asia during 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.
- The HT (Indonesia) conducts rapid and mass recruitment of students on state campuses.
- The HT (Indonesia) maintains its stronghold in West Java.
- The group's objectives are based on the need to restore the Caliphate in Indonesia and on An-Nabhani's writings on the Islamic state.
- Greg Fealy asserted that in general there are no immediate grounds to consider the HT (Indonesia) as a threatening or "dangerous" organization as the group has mainly focus on educational, intellectual and predication activities.

- Moreover, there has been no history of HT (Indonesia) members being directly involved in terrorist attacks in Southeast Asia.

MALAYSIA

According to Joseph Liow, "Malaysia offers an interesting and to some extent unique conundrum for the study of political Islam". The usage and application of Islam as a political tool was explored in his presentation. He informed that, notwithstanding the guarantee of freedom of worship by the state, Islam is enshrined in the Malaysian Constitution as the sole official religion of the country. Moreover, in line with Article 121 1(A), Shari'ah law has an equal bearing on jurisprudential matters that involve Muslims.

As a political and legitimacy tool, Islam is branded rather differently by different political groups, state and non-state actors in the country.

- Dr Mahathir had blended Islam with his vision of modernity. Joseph Liow argued that Dr Mahathir had urged "Malay-Muslims to undergo a mental revolution and cultural transformation". This was akin to the "protestant ethic" and perhaps a "jihad" of the self.
- Essentially, Mahathir perceived that Islam is a progressive religion and could be embedded into notions of modernity, economic development, and knowledge economy.
- Parti Islam Se Malaysia (PAS) as advocated by Dr Mahathir held that a state modelled on Islamic principles, i.e. an Islamic State, is necessary to address the ills of modernization such as the erosion of traditional values, social injustices, and consumerism.
- For PAS, modernization, involves the fight against corruption and the push for justice and democracy for the masses.

CHINA

Dru Gladney provided a rare insight into the trans-national Islamist movements in China. During the presentation, he contested the view that Uyghur militants have killed or have threatened to kill other Chinese citizens in the name of radical Islam.

He said that as per 2000's census, there are approximately 20.3 million Muslims in China. The Muslim minorities include:

- Hui;
- Uyghur;
- Kazakh;
- Dongxiang;
- Kyrgyz;
- Salar;
- Tajik;
- Uzbek;
- Bonan; and
- Tatar

He added that there are three “modes” of Islamic reform for the Hui Muslims in China. According to Dru, the three modes are:

1. Gedimu (Qadîm in Arabic means “old”) traditional Chinese Islam

2. Sufi communities and national networks:
 - a. The Qadiriyya
 - b. The Naqshbandiyya
 - c. The Naqshbandi Khufiyya
 - d. The Naqshbandi Jahriyya
3. Scripturalist concerns and modernist reforms.

He suggested that given the increasing interest in Salafiyya in Northwest China, a fourth mode, i.e. the rise of Salafiyya, could be added to the list. He emphasized that in China, the identity of Muslims could be best described in ethno-religious terms. Moreover, it is an identity that has been influenced by historical events and national policies. Hence, discussions on Islam in China are usually tied to discourses on ethnic and national identities. In summary, he stated that the history of Chinese-Muslim relations in Xinjiang has been relatively peaceful. The Hui Muslims had resolved the issue of identity in the last century in a peaceful manner while the Uyghurs have not been so successful. He concluded that, whether they are Jihadists or secular nationalists, the harsh and forced integration policies of the Chinese authority would have evoked the same set of reactions from the Uyghurs and their Diaspora.



Delegates at Singapore's Khadijah Mosque where they were briefed about how Muslim community can help prevent the spread of radical ideology

RAPORTEURS
Ng Sue Chia
Lynn Antonette Lumayag

PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

19 September 2006, Tuesday

0745–0845 Buffet breakfast (Terrace Restaurant)

0900–0915 **Welcome and introduction**

Zeyno Baran
Hudson Institute

0915–0945 **Introductory remarks**

Rohan Gunaratna
Institute of Defence and Strategic
Studies
The Current Terrorist Threat in Asia

0945–1015 **Session I: Understanding the History
and Structure of Transnational Islamist
Movements in Asia**

Mateen Siddiqui
Islamic Supreme Council of America
Methodology of Transnational Islamist
Movements in Asia

1015–1030 Coffee break

1030–1115 **Keynote Address**

Associate Professor Ho Peng Kee
Senior Minister of State for Law and
Home Affairs

1115–1145 **Session I, Part II**

Husain Haqqani
Boston University
Wabbabism in South Asia and Beyond

1145–1245 **Session II: The Evolution of
Transnational Movements in Asia**

Mohamed Bin Ali
Institute of Defence and Strategic
Studies
*Religious Ideology of Jamaah
Islamiyah*

Bilveer Singh
National University of Singapore
*The Jamaah Islamiyah in Indonesia:
The State of Threat and Future
Prospects*

1245–1345 Lunch (Terrace Restaurant)

1345–1600 **Session II, Part 2**

Joydeep Nayak
DIG of Police, Tripura, India
*Religious Symbolism vs. Secular Motifs:
Study of Modern Day Terrorism*

Rohaiza Ahmad Asi
Institute of Defence and Strategic
Studies
*Networking, Structures and Threat of
Islamist Movements in Indonesia and
Southeast Asia*

Arabinda Acharya
Institute of Defence and Strategic
Studies
Impact of the Bali Bombings

1600–1630 Break

1630 Departure for the Khadijah Mosque

1700–1900 Visit of the Khadijah Mosque and meeting
with Ustaz Ali
Member of the MUIS Council Board
Dinner

PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

20 September 2006, Wednesday

0900–0930 Buffet breakfast (Terrace Restaurant)

0930–1045 Session III: Case Studies

Zachary Abuza
Simmons College
The Mindanao Conflict

Joseph Liow
Nanyang Technological University
*The Malaysian Approach to
Harmonizing Islam with Modernity*

Elena Pavlova
Nanyang Technological University
*Jemaah Islamiyah According to PUPJI:
From Counter-Society to Counter-State
Movement*

1045–1100 Coffee break

1100–1245 **Session III, Part 2: Case Studies**

Greg Fealy
Australian National University
*Hizb ut-Tabrir in Indonesia and
beyond*

Dru Gladney
Pomona College
*Transnational Islamist Movements in
China*

1245–1400 Lunch

1400–1515 **Session IV: Discussion—Implications
for the Future**

1515–1530 **Concluding remarks**

Zeyno Baran
Hudson Institute

ABOUT ICPVTR

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, (ICPVTR), is the first centre to be established at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore. The Centre seeks to integrate academic theory with practical knowledge, essential for a complete and comprehensive understanding of threats from politically motivated groups.

ICPVTR CORE OBJECTIVES

- Conduct sustained research and analyses into terrorist, guerrilla, militia, and extremist political groups, and their support bases.
- Identify the strengths and weaknesses of international, state, and societal responses in managing the threat of political violence.
- Provide high quality instruction and training for serving officers and future leaders engaged in combating terrorism and other forms of political violence.
- Advise governments and inform societies affected by political violence on how to manage the current and evolving threat.

ICPVTR CORE PROGRAMMES

Database

The ICPVTR terrorism database—Global Pathfinder—is a one-stop repository for information on the current and emerging terrorist threat. The database consists of terrorist attack, group, personality, and camp profiles,

as well as primary and secondary documents. The primary documents include the Al Qaeda registry papers from Afghanistan, the originals of which are preserved in the Centre.

Capacity Building

In addition to teaching the counter terrorism module at Masters level at IDSS, ICPVTR threat specialists conduct foundation, advanced, and specialized courses for Singaporean and foreign law-enforcement, military, and intelligence personnel through on-site training and attachment programs. Together with its partners, ICPVTR is developing an international counter terrorism course in 2007.

ICPVTR launched its off-shore counter terrorism capacity-building interventions in 2005. The Centre is assisting in the establishment and initial operation of the Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies in Kabul, Afghanistan, and in developing its capabilities in conflict analyses and management techniques.

Strategic Counter Terrorism

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

ABOUT CENTER FOR EURASIAN POLICY

The Center for Eurasian Policy focuses on strategies of preventing the spread of radical Islamist ideology and of promoting the processes of democratic transformation and energy reform across Europe and Eurasia.

Through briefings, seminars, and writings, the Center assists American policymakers and opinion-shapers to better understand the economic, political, and social dynamics of the Eurasian region, along with the critical U.S. interests served by effective partnerships with key regional allies.

The centre is led by Zeyno Baran, who joined the Hudson Institute in April 2006. Previously, Baran was director of the International Security and Energy Programs at The Nixon Center. The author of several monographs as well as numerous articles and policy studies, Baran frequently testifies before the U.S. Congress on issues ranging from U.S.-Turkey relations to political developments in the South Caucasus, to integration and radicalization issues of Muslims in Europe.

ABOUT HUDSON INSTITUTE

Hudson Institute is a non-partisan policy research organization headquartered in Washington D.C. It is dedicated to innovative research and analysis that promotes global security, prosperity, and freedom. Hudson Institute challenges conventional thinking and helps manage strategic transitions to the future through interdisciplinary and collaborative studies in defence, international relations, economics, culture, science, technology, and law. Through publications, conferences and policy recommendations, it seeks to guide global leaders in government and business.

Since its founding in 1961 by the brilliant futurist Herman Kahn, Hudson Institute's perspective has been uniquely future-oriented and guardedly optimistic. Its research has stood the test of time in a world dramatically transformed by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the rise of China, and the advent of radicalism within Islam. Because its scholars see the complexities within societies, they focus on the often-overlooked interplay among culture, demography, technology, markets, and political leadership.

Hudson Institute's broad-based approach has, for decades, allowed it to present well-timed recommendations to leaders in government and business. Thus, in the 1970s, Hudson's scholars helped turn the world away from the no-growth policies of the Club of Rome; in the early 1990s, they helped the newly-liberated Baltic nations become booming market economies; at home, they helped write the pioneering Wisconsin welfare reform law that became the model for successful national welfare reform in the mid-1990s. Today, as part of its research agenda, Hudson Institute is developing programs of political and economic reform to transform the Muslim world.

ABOUT IDSS

The Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) was established in July 1996 as an autonomous research institute within the Nanyang Technological University. Its objectives are to:

- Conduct research on security, strategic and international issues.
- Provide general and graduate education in strategic studies, international relations, defence management and defence technology.
- Promote joint and exchange programmes with similar regional and international institutions, and organize seminars/conferences on topics salient to the strategic and policy communities of the Asia-Pacific.

Constituents of IDSS include the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) and the Asian Programme for Negotiation and Conflict Management (APNCM).

RESEARCH

Through its Working Paper Series, *IDSS Commentaries* and other publications, the Institute seeks to share its research findings with the strategic studies and defence policy communities. The Institute's researchers are also encouraged to publish their writings in refereed journals. 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 Institute has also established the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies (named after Singapore's first Foreign Minister), to bring distinguished scholars to participate in the work of the Institute. Previous holders of the Chair include Professors Stephen Walt (Harvard University), Jack Snyder (Columbia University), Wang Jisi (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Alastair Iain Johnston (Harvard University) and John Mearsheimer (University of Chicago). A Visiting Research Fellow Programme also enables overseas scholars to carry out related research in the Institute.

TEACHING

The Institute provides educational opportunities at an advanced level to professionals from both the private and public sectors in Singapore as well as overseas through graduate programmes, namely, the Master of Science in Strategic Studies, the Master of Science in International Relations and the Master of Science in International Political Economy. These programmes are conducted fulltime and part-time by an international faculty. The Institute also has a Doctoral programme for research in these fields of study. In addition to these graduate programmes, the Institute also teaches various modules in courses conducted by the SAFTI Military Institute, SAF Warrant Officers' School, Civil Defence Academy, and the Defence and Home Affairs Ministries. The Institute also runs a one-semester course on "The International Relations of the Asia Pacific" for undergraduates in NTU.

NETWORKING

The Institute convenes workshops, seminars and colloquia on aspects of international relations and security development that are of contemporary and historical significance. Highlights of the Institute's activities include a regular Colloquium on Strategic Trends in the 21st Century, the annual Asia Pacific Programme for Senior Military Officers (APPSMO) and the biennial Asia Pacific Security Conference. IDSS staff participate in Track II security dialogues and scholarly conferences in the Asia-Pacific. IDSS has contacts and collaborations with many international think tanks and research institutes throughout Asia, Europe and the United States. The Institute has also participated in research projects funded by the Ford Foundation and the Sasakawa Peace Foundation. It also serves as the Secretariat for the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP), Singapore. Through these activities, the Institute aims to develop and nurture a network of researchers whose collaborative efforts will yield new insights into security issues of interest to Singapore and the region.

On 1 January 2007, the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies will be upgraded to become the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University.

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