Counter-Terrorism Strategies in Indonesia, Algeria and Saudi Arabia

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Contents

Foreword

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Introduction

This report is the result of a year-long study, conducted from March 2010 to March 2011, of the counter-terrorist strategies of three countries: Indonesia; Algeria; and Saudi Arabia. The aim of the research was to acquire insight into the counter-terrorist strategies of these three countries, to analyse them, and to compare them. The main question focused on how the combination of counter-narratives, deradicalization programmes and political changes (democratization, amnesty, etc.) in these countries interacted. We were asked to determine the *main characteristics* of the counter-terrorism strategies in these countries and to analyse the (historical) *context* in which the counter-terrorism measures were taken. More concretely, we were asked to find the *specific measures* that had been adopted, how these programmes were *organized*, which *specific institutions* were involved, and how the policies were executed. Finally, we were asked to say something about the *results* of these programmes and their *effectiveness.* A comparison between the three countries would have the benefit of showing which combination of measures would be more effective and in what way the three countries contributed to countering terrorism and radicalization.

We adopted the very straightforward definition of terrorism, as used by the United Nations: 'Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them'.[1] Counter-terrorism strategies aim to prevent terrorism from developing and taking place. But as non-specialist temporary terrorism 'experts' we did not want to be caught in the definitional bind of starting out by defining who the terrorists are and narrowing the topic of research down before even starting the research. We therefore asked ourselves general and 'naive' questions. In this process we quickly encountered several problems.

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1   See http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/49/a49r060.htm.

Research Problems

One of the problems was to develop an adequate methodological approach for the three cases. We started out by analysing counter-terrorism strategies with the so-called 3PR matrix method, which stands for *prevent* (individuals from turning to terrorism), *protect* (citizens and infrastructure by reducing vulnerability to attack), *pursue* (investigate terrorists and disrupt support networks) and *respond* (manage and minimize the consequences of an attack). This framework was introduced by the EU in 2005 as a means to analyse in a more systematic manner the counter-terrorism strategies of its member countries. It was a means of collecting empirical data in its 'entirety'.[2] It had the advantage of giving guidelines and arguing that government policies have clearly defined 'aims' and mobilize specific 'resources' with regard to counter-terrorism policies. It stated that a policy is 'always the result of at least one analysis, however scant, of the problem and a conscious choice regarding the resources to solve it'.[3] It furthermore argued that 'states make their choices for particular policy measures on the basis of assumptions about the characteristics and the causes of the problem'.[4] The problem was that such a research framework, developed in a European or Western context, makes certain basic assumptions: policy measures have to be traced to specific government documents, they have to be 'indivisible', 'unequivocal', 'comparable', and 'focused on terrorism', and contain a 'feasible level of detail'. In order to pursue this type of research one has to be able to obtain hard evidence and categorize it 'unequivocally'.

During our research it proved to be difficult to meet these preconditions. We were immediately confronted with the problems that official information poses to finding reliable data. Counter-terrorism has a highly secretive side as well as a highly publicized side, which are usually at odds with each other. Given the problematic nature of counter-terrorism policies and measures of the three countries that we studied, it turned out to be difficult to trace in detail the counter-terrorism measures that their governments took.

Counter-Terrorism Policies and Politics

To be sure, we found *specific measures* such as the amnesty for terrorists in Algeria, or specific policies towards Al-Qaeda in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) in Algeria, or the rehabilitation programmes and counter-terrorism narratives in Saudi Arabia, or the police measures in Indonesia, but in most cases it was difficult to trace where and when *specific decisions* were taken, by whom and with what purposes in mind. Moreover, it proved difficult to distinguish counter-terrorism measures from other more general political measures. For instance, in Algeria most counter-terrorism strategies and policies are tied up with more

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2   'Mapping Counterterrorism: A Categorization of Policies and the Promise of Empirically-based, Systematic Comparisons', published on 17 June 2008 in the series *Transnational Terrorism, Security and the Rule of Law*.

3   'Mapping Counterterrorism', p. 7.

4   'Mapping Counterterrorism', p. 8.

complex political measures to buttress the state and legitimate its policies. In Saudi Arabia, it appeared that counter-terrorism measures are closely connected to the religious doctrine of the state and the official religious establishment. Questions relating to how these policies are devised, which agencies were responsible for them and which measures were taken were difficult to answer. For instance, in Saudi Arabia it was not possible to discover more than the assumptions that the authorities held about the origins of terrorism, or to trace the state's counter-terrorism strategies in detail. No information was given on the agencies involved, or on the specific policies that they pursue.

Only in Indonesia, where the state agencies were more open, was it easier to trace in greater detail the *specific policy measures* of the state, the changes that had taken place during the past twenty years and the specific measures that had been adopted after the Bali bombings in 2002.

Fortunately, we were also asked to investigate the general (historical) *context* of counter-terrorism measures. The difficulties we encountered in finding specific measures and their interrelation with general politics led us to make the decision to investigate in greater depth the *background of counter-terrorism policies* and raise the question of how these have evolved over a longer frame of time. For instance, in Indonesia, the term terrorism has denoted broader forms of violence, such as insurgency, guerrilla, and low-key violence, most of which are not aimed at terrorizing innocent civilians but are directed against the state itself. In Saudi Arabia, modern counter-terrorism is closely related to historical efforts to combat religious contentious movements. By broadening the scope of research and including the larger picture of the state's effort to acquire hegemony over its challengers, we were able to analyse the *main characteristics* of counter-terrorism policies and to include a broader history of violence in these countries.

In this way, Noorhaidi has included the history of insurgency that Indonesia has encountered in the past and the different tactics that the struggle against the state has adopted over the years. He demonstrates that only during the past decade have terrorists chosen to target innocent civilians in bomb attacks on hotels and holiday resorts. Likewise, Algeria has a past of violence of the war of independence. The main struggle against the military after the cancelled elections of 1991 has been a guerrilla war, a resistance (*maquis*), and not just attacks on innocent victims. In Saudi Arabia, meanwhile, violence perpetrated by independent groups was mainly directed against foreigners, either in foreign countries such as Afghanistan, or inside Saudi Arabia in 2003, but it was clearly also directed against the state, which failed to meet the demands of the terrorists. Saudi Arabia's violence also has a longer history. These histories show that violence constantly adopts different forms and is directed at other targets. For instance, after recently learning the lesson that targeting innocent victims in their own countries does not make them popular with the indigenous population, terrorist organizations in all three countries have reverted to their previous strategy of targeting the state.

We discovered that an important influence on the background of the history of violence and policy measures is related to the nature of the state. Where the state is dominated by the military, as is the case in Algeria, counter-terrorism strategies will be different from a civilian and democratic state such as Indonesia since Suharto was toppled in 1996, or Saudi Arabia, a monarchy based on royal patronage as well as religious, social and ideological control.

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What helps in acquiring more information is some form of internal control or supervision of the government, either by a parliament, a relatively free press, or an independent civil society, which act as independent sources of information. Where these exist, it is easier to trace, analyse and evaluate state policies. This has proven much easier in Indonesia, where a parliamentary system exists, as well as a strong civil society and a free press. In Saudi Arabia, the existence of a liberal press has helped us to follow the debates on Saudi Arabian counter-terrorism strategies and acquire a lot of information that otherwise would not have been available. But there are severe limitations to acquiring information. In Algeria, interviews with members of human rights organizations, leaders of organizations of victims of violence, and journalists, in addition to officials, have greatly contributed to our better understanding of counter-terrorism strategies, but the restrictions are ample there as well. Indonesia was the only country where it was possible to obtain direct information from agencies involved in counter-terrorism policies.

The Sensitivity of Counter-Terrorism Policies and the Lack of Data

Closely tied up with the problem of acquiring insight into the background and nature of governmental counter-terrorism policies is the second problem: the lack of data. This was especially the case for Saudi Arabia and Algeria. It has been very difficult to find hard data for these countries and when we did find them, to analyse and verify them. Much of the data we gathered is partial, vague, or too general. Statistics are very hard to come by and are usually unreliable, often being contradicted by the authorities themselves. For this reason, for instance, the number of terrorists who have benefited from the amnesty laws in Algeria is unknown. In Saudi Arabia, the same problem occurs with the number of terrorists arrested, put through the rehabilitation centres, or killed in battle. Given this state of affairs, it stands to reason that the conditions for 3PR (prevent, protect, pursue and respond)—that information must be 'indivisible', 'unequivocal', 'comparable', or that policies must be 'focused on terrorism' and contain a 'feasible level of detail'—were only met to a certain extent in Indonesia. Noorhaidi was therefore much more successful in being able to trace with greater detail the development of specific state counter-terrorism strategies and measures. In Saudi Arabia and Algeria, meanwhile, a lot of research has gone into trying to find out which government measures have been taken, by whom and with what aim.

Definition of Terrorism

But the lack of data is not only the result of the sensitive nature of the information on intelligence forces that are involved in counter-terrorism. It can also be ascribed to the specific, often culturally, religiously and politically determined and constantly changing definition of terrorism itself in the three countries studied. In contrast to what the 3PR matrix or other Western models assume, counter-terrorism strategies in most countries are not a police exercise of rounding up a certain number of terrorists who committed violence against innocent victims. It is often a highly ideologically charged matter that sometimes threatens the very heart of the

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state's legitimacy. This is especially the case with Saudi Arabia, where terrorism is regarded as a direct challenge to the core values of the state, as the terrorists contest the very claim of the state to represent and defend the pure and only form of Islam. Terrorism in Saudi Arabia is therefore part of a larger movement of contention and interpretation of Islam and touches upon the issue of religious 'deviation'. Once terrorism itself is politically and religiously defined by the state itself, it becomes an ideological construct that is highly specific to a certain country and closely tied up with the interests of the state. As a result, in the worst case, counter-terrorism policies can be completely disconnected from terrorism as it is defined in the more neutral terms that we used above. In its crudest form, all critique of the government is regarded as 'extremist' and is regarded as 'terroristic', turning all political opponents into 'terrorists'. This is not to say that terrorism does not exist. Violence against innocent civilians does take place, but often the state itself is the main target, and the state will then often define itself as the defender of the general welfare, smearing all opponents with the brush of terrorism.

We have found that the way that terrorism is combated and the strategies that are developed in the three different countries are closely tied up with the specific, local definition of terrorism. In Indonesia it seems that after the transition to democracy and combating terrorism shifted away from the military to the police, counter-terrorism has been scaled down to normal proportions and counter-terrorism measures can be demarcated as 'policy measures' that can be defined, set down in documents, implemented, monitored, debated and evaluated. Terrorism perhaps poses, as everywhere else, a direct challenge to the state, but the state does not feel threatened in its core values, institutions and legitimacy, and violence is seen as containable. The state can therefore target terrorism specifically. Police are also forced to be more careful, not only because they realize that blanket repression in the past has backfired, creating more 'terrorism', but because they are also closely monitored by human rights organizations and other critical institutions.

The situation in Algeria is completely different from that in Saudi Arabia or Indonesia, as Floor Janssen and Bertus Hendriks make clear. In Algeria, counter-terrorism was for the major part of the 1990s part of a much larger struggle of survival of the state against armed units of the Islamic movement. Terrorism was not an act by small groups but a collective threat to the survival of the state and the republic and therefore had to be 'eradicated'. From 1991 until 1997, the Algerian state fought what looked like a civil war. A policy of non-recognition and non-negotiation was initiated until the state felt that it had won the war with the Islamists and had gained control over the problem at the end of the 1990s.

This change in counter-terrorism strategies in Algeria is reflected in the definition of terrorism. Whereas in 1992 terrorism was defined as 'any offence targeting state security, territorial integrity or the stability or normal functioning of institutions' by a) not only 'spreading panic or creating a climate of insecurity', but b) also 'impeding the activities of public authorities', since the election of Bouteflika in 1999 and the democratic opening, terrorism became submerged under the general term of *la tragédie nationale*, which was meant to hide the atrocities of both the state and the Islamist movement under the obfuscating term of the 'dark decade'. When it

was necessary in 2007 to downscale the threat of terrorism further, violence by AQIM was regarded as '*le terrorisme résiduel*' (residual terrorism).

As the local, contextualized definition of terrorism is so crucial for understanding the counter-terrorism policies (and the lack or spinning of data), we have spent some time analysing it, especially in Saudi Arabia. The slippery definition of terrorism also makes clear why it is so difficult to make comparisons between the three countries. The religiously defined terrorism in Saudi Arabia, a country that to a large extent defines itself in religious terms and finds its legitimation in religion and the patronage of the king, will lead to different strategies than in Indonesia or Algeria, where the state is based on other forms of legitimation. From these examples it is clear that terrorism, as the 3PR matrix mistakenly suggests, is not an objective category. Neither can the measures or 'policies' against it be easily compared by simply aggregating them and categorizing them, even if we had enough data. Terrorism and counter-terrorism strategies are closely tied up with a country's political culture, the type of violence, the manner in which violence is formulated, and the manner and ideological terms in which the state responds to the violence.

Proposed Research

Broad Approach

To catch the broader *contexts* (historical, political and social) that are crucial for understanding the *main characteristics* of counter-terrorism measures, as well as their *specific* forms, we have adopted a broad and in-depth approach, as suggested by the tender. For instance, Saudi Arabia's counter-terrorism policy is incomprehensible if its political culture, the power structures and the historical roles of the religious establishment and the monarchy are not taken into account. Terrorism and counter-terrorism are part of a political process of contestation and delegitimization on the one hand, and deradicalization and legitimation on the other. In our view, the only way to understand the current counter-terrorism policies is not by regarding the state as a neutral actor and the terrorist as simply a culprit, but by addressing the history of violence and state involvement and responses to violence. In that respect, the amnesty laws for 'terrorists' in Algeria that were announced after 1999 are as much part of a general strategy to counter the Algerian state's violent opponents as they are general political instruments of the state to legitimize itself, gain political hegemony and deal with its non-violent political opponents. We have analysed the specific measures that the state has taken in the three countries by paying attention to the broader political picture, and the historical background of violence is crucial for understanding these specific counter-terrorism policies.

This does not mean that we adhere to the view that Islamist movements are simply victims of state policies. Certain Islamist currents are intolerant, promote isolation and sectarian attitudes that are conducive to violence, and can be used and manipulated for violent and terrorist purposes (see the definition above). During the past fifteen years, jihadi-Salafism has been the most common current that combines the rigid, strict, intolerant tendencies in

Salafism/Wahhabism, as it has developed in Saudi Arabia, with political action and the violence of the Muslim Brotherhood, as represented by the thinker Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966). The Saudi state seems to be aware of these tendencies within Wahhabism itself—although it will not admit this—and has tried to create a tolerant Wahhabism based on *wasatiyya* (the middle ground) in its struggle against terrorism. But we suggest that the contentious movements must be analysed together with the state measures that counter them, for, in the end, both feed on each other in a dialectical process, with state policies influencing violence, leading to a vicious cycle. This implies that the state often uses the term 'terrorism' not as an objective category, but as a means to disqualify its opponents.

'Soft' versus 'Hard' Approach

In order to distinguish the types of policies that have been pursued, a distinction has been made between 'soft' and 'hard' anti-terrorism measures. These categories have the advantage of distinguishing between the repressive measures of the police and the military on the one hand, and political non-violent measures (counter-narratives and rehabilitation programmes) by the respective governments and prevention of violence by civilian authorities and civil society on the other. These broad categories have been applied in the Algerian case to separate, for instance, the 'hard' approach of isolating and combating AQIM after 2007 and the 'soft' policy of reconciliation with former terrorists, or, in the case of Saudi Arabia, between the rehabilitation and civilian 'intellectual security' programmes and the 'hard' military repression of al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula after 2007.

The distinction is also an important means of measuring the shift in the policy measures of the three states. Increasingly, states realize the value of 'soft' approaches, not just because it is important that the population is persuaded to leave violence behind but also because many states regard this renunciation of violence as acceptance of the legitimacy of the rulers and government. In the three countries studied here, the 'soft' approach has gained in importance over recent years. However, the emphasis on the soft approach also poses problems for research: states will try to give as pleasant a picture of themselves as possible by emphasizing the success of the 'soft' approach in the form of an amnesty (as in Algeria and Saudi Arabia), or rehabilitation programmes as in Saudi Arabia and Indonesia. These have the added advantage of being visible to the public (as rehabilitation programmes can be visited, revisionist terrorists televised, and former terrorists can expound on their revisionist ideas). In the meantime they hide from view the 'hard' military side of counter-terrorism.

An important element in the 'soft' counter-terrorism approach is the role of civil society. In all three countries, the function and extent of civil society has been studied. Especially important is the level of trust between civil society and the state, and the independent role of civil society in promoting non-violence. These differ markedly from one country to another. If the historical analysis of counter-terrorism measures is part of the broader historical context and democratization is part of the political context, the analysis of civil society has been included as part of the broader social context in which counter-terrorism measures have been taken.

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Results and Effectiveness

Given the sensitivity of the research, the lack of data in two of the three countries analysed, the highly cultural, political and religious *specificity* of the definitions of terrorism, and the historical specificity of its *general characteristics*, it is difficult to measure the *results* and *effectiveness* of counter-terrorism policies, let alone compare them.

The problem with measuring policy effectiveness—as mentioned above—is that most states have obstructed a more objective evaluation of their policy measures. A very broad definition of terrorism leaves it very difficult to make an evaluation of policy measures. In this sense, again, Indonesia, because it is more open to analysis, is easier to analyse and evaluate; Algeria is more difficult; and Saudi Arabia is almost impossible on account of its imprecise definition of terrorism and the opaqueness of the Saudi state's policies. The broad category of 'soft' and 'hard' measures is used as an analytical tool, although the preponderance of soft over hard measures seems to suggest some measure of success.

Nevertheless, even within this broad distinction it is difficult to draw conclusions. Like the definition of terrorism itself, the 'soft' approach will also differ from country to country depending on the political culture, traditions, and the nature of society. For instance, in Saudi Arabia, the soft approach consists of a combination of royal patronage and religious indoctrination of the *ulama*. Does one include in the analysis the 'soft' approach of the expansion of the security apparatus as a way of creating jobs for the population, the tremendous expansion of the religious establishment, or should an evaluation be limited to the rehabilitation programmes? As part of the 'soft' approach, even the intellectual security programmes are difficult to evaluate. In Indonesia it is easier to analyse the measures and policies that civil society has adopted to counter radical ideas and members of radical groups to infiltrate their own non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and religious institutions. Meanwhile, in Algeria the 'soft' approach is promoted by state authorities in prisons, but is also part of the general political agreements that are made with the opposition and *jihadis*. In both these cases it is difficult to measure their effectiveness.

With regard to the balance between the 'hard' and 'soft' approaches, the term 'comprehensive approach' has been used in the chapters on Algeria and Indonesia. This assumes that there is a well-conceived policy in which hard and soft measures are carefully interlinked, implemented, analysed and evaluated. However, lack of data makes it difficult to determine the balance between the two. Besides, how should one measure whether the 'soft' approach is more effective than the 'hard' approach when we do not have enough data on released prisoners, their treatment, the type of deradicalization programmes and their social reintegration? What does it mean when inmates of prisons follow religious courses by religious scholars who are paid by the government? Are these more effective than social reintegration that is generally supported by financial means, as seems to be the case in Saudi Arabia?

A sub-issue of the 'soft' approach is whether the state's counter-terrorism policy is directed towards deradicalization (change of ideas) or disengagement (social reintegration) of former contestants. This leads to more specific questions relating to the deradicalization and

rehabilitation programmes and their effectiveness. Even more difficult to address are the wider programmes for deradicalization of the population as a whole in education, religion and the media.

Finding the right combination between 'hard' and 'soft' approaches is often regarded as the key to success. We agree that this is the case. Despite all of the problems to determine the balance between the two, we have made some effort to determine whether 'soft' approaches are expanding at the expense of 'hard' approaches and whether there is a comprehensive policy.

Research Questions

This report is to a large extent the result of coping with the limitations described above. We have made the research firmer by including ideologies, political structures, and power relations and their histories.

Based on the above, our research questions are:

- What are the main *general characteristics* of counter-terrorism measures in Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia?

- What *specific* counter-measures have been adopted by the three specific countries?

- What is the *historical background* and *context* of violence and violent contestation in these countries?

- What is the *political context* in which these measures have been developed?

- In relation to the *cultural and religious context* of these measures, what are the specific *definitions* of terrorism in Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia?

- How has the recent *combination* of counter-narratives, deradicalization programmes and political changes (democratization, amnesty, etc.) in these countries interacted in the light of the above-mentioned questions?

- What is the *balance* between 'soft' and 'hard' measures, and is it possible to trace the development of this balance and what does it mean?

- Has there been a 'comprehensive strategy' and what does this mean?

- Finally, given the difficulties of research, we have raised the question of whether it is possible to measure the *results and effectiveness* of the counter-terrorism policies of these countries.

Sources and Methodology

We have used a diversity of sources. Noorhaidi has used extensive personal interviews with police generals, members of civil society, religious scholars, newspapers and reports. Floor Janssen and Bertus Hendriks have used important interviews with policy-makers, journalists and human rights activists in Algeria, as well as specific publications and books on the history of Algeria. For Saudi Arabia, Roel Meijer has used interviews published in Saudi newspapers by people connected with the Saudi counter-terrorism strategies, articles by Saudis on the issue, and crucial Saudi Arabian compilations on extremism in Arabic. In this way he has been able to reconstruct the basic elements of the Saudi counter-terrorist discourse and to analyse the central civil institutions involved in spreading awareness of terrorism and 'extremism'. In addition, one full day of exchanging ideas with the Saudi team responsible for the Saudi counter-terrorism strategy was most fruitful.

Based on the methodology, research questions and resources that are mentioned above, Noorhaidi has been given a great deal of access to people and sources that are crucial for analysing and evaluating the counter-terrorism strategies of Indonesian governments over the last two decades. He has been one of the few of us to have been able to map the history of the institutions and policies that are related to counter-terrorism over the past two decades and has analysed the tremendous changes that have taken place. In addition, Floor Jansen and Bertus Hendriks have provided an extensive history of the role of violence in Algerian history and how the Algerian state has been part of that history. They show that counter-terrorism is essentially a political affair and not just a technical matter of combating violent groups. Meanwhile, Roel Meijer analyses the history of counter-terrorism strategies in Saudi Arabia and the role of the state and the religious establishment in it.

1. Towards a Population-Centric Strategy:

The Indonesian Experience

Noorhaidi Hasan[5]

1.1 Introduction

The explosion of violent and terrorist actions in the name of *jihad* after the demise of Indonesia's New Order regime in May 1998 marked the expansion of, and an increase in, the influence of Islamist radicalism and terrorism in the contemporary Indonesian political landscape. In contrast to the major narrative that dominated the global discourse after 9/11, the issue of Islamist radicalism that ignites the fire of violence and terrorism is extremely complex. It is inherently and intimately related to the fast current of modernization, which entails the growing interdependence of national economies and cultures, as well as cross-cultural intervention, or what is largely coined as globalization. Indeed, the extent of radicalism and terrorism's impact runs parallel to the outreach of globalization. Not only does it give it room and, in various respects, force the emergence of violence-clad parochial identities and political expressions. It also provides the necessary technological tools that help to facilitate the destructive acts of terrorism across the world.

That said, Islamist radicalism in itself is not a phenomenon that is isolated from ideological and theological aspects of Islam. Certain Islamic doctrines from the Holy Book, when interpreted narrowly, may even provide the legitimization and the framing resource for violent actions that are in fact replete with elements of power struggle. More importantly, radicalism and terrorism also cannot be entirely separated from the political elements surrounding the contestation

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between the state and society. Efforts to understand radicalism therefore require holistic and interdisciplinary research. Clearly, to present radicalism as a homogeneous social entity that can only be identified based on its ideological horizon merely obfuscates the roots of the problem.

The jihadist discourse that radical Islamists have propagandized should, therefore, not be regarded as mere expressions of religious fanaticism or exclusively be related to the irrational actions of individual groups instigated by their blind following of specific doctrines in Islam. Although partly accurate, this kind of perception fails to disclose the more profound understanding of *jihad*. *Jihad* is also an expression of protest for individuals who feel marginalized by the strong currents of modernization and globalization used in order to construct their own identity and to offer them a place in the public domain. For these people, the message of *jihad* was delivered in order to transform them and to empower their position, while at the same time to eliminate the frustrations they have that cloud their futures. Subsequently, in the next stage, when groups are formed by these like-minded individuals in their effort to 'express their identity' openly, political discourse and nuances begin to take shape as their contestation with the state increases.

Even in the face of such a multifaceted phenomenon, Indonesia simply does not have a systematic, well-thought-out grand strategy. As the Head of the Indonesian National Police's Special Detachment 88 (*Densus 88*) Brigadier-General Tito Karnavian said, 'any "soft" and "hard" measures we have successfully conducted thus far were actually personal and ad-hoc initiatives—things that we thought would work best [operationally] under the circumstances'.[6] This argument underlines one of the biggest challenges confronting Indonesia in its 'war against terror' after the 2002 Bali bombings that killed hundreds of innocent victims.

While the absence of a unified 'grand strategy' in dealing with the threat of terrorism underpins the heart of the matter, this research paper suggests that we need to take a step back in history in order to discern a complex of political, ideological and identity factors that lie at its root. Of particular concern here is the nature of the responses of the Indonesian state and government. Specifically, this paper argues that in nearly all of the state's responses, 'neutralizing the enemy' has been the key guiding principle. In other words, state responses to radicalism and terrorism have been guided by an 'enemy-centric' strategy. This is in large part because of the dominance of the security apparatus (primarily the Indonesian military for the better part of the country's history) in shaping state responses to radicalism and terrorism.

This chapter argues that this strategy and mindset of targeting the enemy remains in place in responding to the threats posed by Islamist terrorism (most notably by *Jemaah Islamiyah* or JI, and its offspring, or related violent radical groups), after the fall of Suharto's regime in 1998. Implying that the target is the enemy ('the terrorists') suggests that security approaches and tactical measures predominate. This 'enemy-centric' strategy also implies that when 'terrorism' is defined as nothing more than the 'method or tactic of the "terrorists"', the focus is on their

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6   Private conversation with Brigadier-General Tito Karnavian, then the Head of Special Detachment 88, Jakarta, 9 July 2010.

operational behaviour—not the understanding and tackling of its reasons for existence and its strategy. The weakness of this point of view is that it does not truly meet the need to minimize and contain the threat of terrorism in the long run.

In order to frame Indonesia's current counter-terrorism efforts effectively, it is important to look at how Indonesia has gradually shifted from an 'enemy-centric' towards a 'population-centric' strategy. This paper suggests that Indonesia's attempt to combine both 'hard' and 'soft' approaches in countering radicalism and terrorism has emerged as the best approach in the long run. In dealing with terrorism and radicalism, the 'hard' approach is defined as measures that are employed by the state that focus on the function and role of the security apparatus (primarily the National Police and Military) and their use of force, which includes, among other things, tactical raids, arrests, infiltration and killings. The 'soft' approach, on the other hand, is seen as the function, role and activities of the non-security state apparatus (such as the Ministry of Education, as well as non-state actors (such as Islamic mass organizations), which do not resort to force. This chapter will subsequently show that such a strategy also follows several best practices in handling radicalism and terrorism that have been developed throughout Indonesia's history.

In the case of Indonesia's present terror threats, and perhaps elsewhere in South-East Asia, the 'prize' for Islamist radicalism and terrorism remains the support of the indigenous populations—the larger society—while the obstacle is the existing political order. The chosen method is extreme violence. From the perspective of the Indonesian government, the problem of 'Islamist terrorism' is therefore better understood as an insurgency: a struggle for, or resistance against, established government structures by a small number of individuals who offer an alternative rule through mobilizing popular support and using various political, informational, psychological and military means. However, such a perspective has been criticized not only because insurgencies conjure up the image of a band of guerrilla fighters carrying arms and attacking state targets. It also puts too much emphasis on the security aspects of Islamist terrorism, at the expense of its political and historical aspects. Like many other movements against the government, Islamist terrorism is in fact not always correctly described as rebellion. The Aceh Freedom Movement and the Papua Freedom Movement, for instance, emerged as legitimate reactions to economic, social and political injustice as well as state violence.

In spite of this criticism, classifying Islamist terrorism as insurgency appears to be a tactical choice for the Indonesian government in order to ensure the effectiveness of its efforts in countering Islamist radicalism and terrorism. Insurgency is essentially a struggle to control a contested political space between a state and one or more popularity-based non-state challengers.[7] It often only needs a small number of people and by nature is an organized, protracted politico–military struggle that is designed to weaken the control and legitimacy of an established government or political authority, to replace them with one that conforms to their

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7   David Kilcullen, 'Counter-Insurgency *Redux*', in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds), *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 7th edition 2009), p. 487.

political, economic, ideological, or religious vision.[8] In this regard, terrorism (as an indiscriminate violent tactic) and religious radicalism (as a form of socio-political vision vis-à-vis the state), can also be embedded in and subordinated to the insurgency. After all, violence can foster an identity, create a cause, outpace rivals, attract outside support and, most importantly, lead states to overreact.[9] The dividing line between 'pure' terrorist groups and insurgents is their alternative political, socio-economic vision.

Based on this understanding, Indonesia has developed a new strategic framework to counter terrorism, Counter-Insurgency (COIN). From the perspective of COIN, the key to defeating an insurgency not only lies in defeating the insurgency militarily, but also in maintaining a monopoly over governmental legitimacy, which requires attention to the political, economic, social and psychological factors affecting the population. The key role of the civilian population in this strategy has increased attention to the position of civilians in the process of conflict stabilization and counter-terrorism. In other words, counter-insurgency is 'an all-encompassing approach to counter irregular insurgent warfare—an approach which recognizes that a military solution to a conflict is not feasible; only a combined military, political, and civilian solution is possible'.[10] In contrast to the repressive militaristic approach promoted by the military regime of the New Order, which considerably worsened violent resistances and claimed thousands of lives across Indonesia, COIN, as discussed in recent literature on counter-terrorism, necessitates both a deeper understanding of the terrorism problem and the participation of, and dialogue involving, civil society. Using COIN as a strategic framework, Indonesia's counter-terrorism has therefore increasingly focused on how to strengthen the ability of the local population not to be 'infected' with radical ideologies, while simultaneously reducing the individual's or group's capability to 'infect' them or execute terror acts. In this strategy, the role of civil society is decisive in strengthening social resilience and disseminating a peaceful, moderate Islam at the grass roots level. This, of course, does not in any way suggest that the state is irrelevant in the contest to win over society from radical groups and violent elements.

The first section of this chapter will outline the history of Islamist radicalism in Indonesia in order to draw out several key trends—both in terms of the evolution of threats and the state's responses. This will provide us with a more extensive background to the post-Suharto threat of radicalism and terrorism, while understating the role and place of the state and civil society. The second section will assess the threat of terrorism and radicalism in the post-Suharto era. The third section will then outline how the Indonesian state has responded thus far to this threat—

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8   See Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism Versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p. 2; The US Army Marine Corps, *Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 2; and David C. Gompert and John Gordon IV, 'War by Other Means: Building Complete and Balanced Capabilities for Counterinsurgency', *RAND Counterinsurgency Study* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008), p. 23.

9   Daniel Byman, 'Understanding Proto-Insurgencies', *RAND Counterinsurgency Study Paper 3* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2007), p. 7.

10   See Jason Rineheart, 'Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency', *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *vol.* 4, no. 5 (2010).

especially from the perspective of security. This section will also highlight the gaps and deficiencies of these 'hard' approaches and argue in favour of an increased role for civil society. This will then be the main theme of the fourth section, which will consider how Islamist mass organizations and civil society organizations can provide the additional 'soft' approach in dealing with radicalism and terrorism. Finally, this chapter will conclude with several key observations and will draw lessons from Indonesia's experiences in counter-terrorism, which might be useful in other countries.

1.2   Shades of Islamist Radicalism in Indonesia and the 'Enemy-Centric' Approach

Indonesia has a long history in tackling the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. The story began when S.M. Kartosuwirjo proclaimed an independent Islamic state in 1949 in West Java. This dramatic event sparked the *Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* (DI/TII) movement in West Java.[11] The Indonesian government framed the movement as an insurgency and swiftly ordered the army to suppress the movement and recapture the province and other areas under the DI/TII control. Yet it took more than a decade (from 1949–1962) for the Indonesian government to eliminate the rebellion successfully, leading to thousands of deaths. This was partly because of simultaneous rebellions in South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi and Aceh, and partly because of the lack of experience in counter-insurgency.[12]

It is worth noting that the history of the DI/TII was inseparable from heated debates about the foundation for the would-be Indonesian state in the run-up to independence in 1945. Islamist leaders in the *Majelis Syura Muslimin Indonesia* (Indonesian Muslim Consultative Assembly, *Masyumi*) proposed what was later known as the Jakarta Charter, in which there is a stipulation that requires Muslims to conform to the *shari'a,* a requirement that would place the state unequivocally behind Islam. But their struggle ended in failure, defeated by the opposition of secular nationalists and like-minded leaders who preferred a secular republican model based on the *Pancasila* and the Constitution of 1945. As a result, many Islamist leaders felt betrayed.[13] The Masyumi, which had transformed itself into a political party in the early years of independence, participated in the first general election in 1955, winning the second largest number of votes after the *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian Nationalist Party, PNI).[14] With this result, the

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11   See, for instance, Hiroko Horikoshi, 'The Dar-ul-Islam Movement of West Java (1942–1962): An Experience in the Historical Process', *Indonesia*, vol. 20 (October 1975), pp. 59–86; C. van Dijk, *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981); June Chandra Santosa, 'Modernization, Utopia, and the Rise of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia' (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1996); and Quinton Temby, 'Imagining an Islamic State in Indonesia: From Darul Islam to Jemaah Islamiyah,' *Indonesia*, vol. 89 (2010), pp. 1–36.

12   Pusat Sejarah dan Tradisi TNI, *Sejarah TNI Jilid II (1950–1959)* (Jakarta: Mabes TNI, undated), pp. 84 and 86.

13   B.J. Bolland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982).

14   For more information, see Herbert Feith, *The Indonesian Politics of 1955* (Ithaca, NY: CMIP, Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1971).

Masyumi again tried to propose the *shari'a* as the fundamental law of the state, but this attempt also failed because of the resolute rejection by secular nationalists, army technocrats and socialists, who were all united in their opposition to any form of Islamic governance.

Inspired by the zest of the DI/TII's struggle to establish an Islamic state, the so-called *Negara Islam Indonesia* (NII) movement arose in the 1970s. This underground movement appeared to draw disaffected radicals into its orbit, forming small quietist groups named *usrah* (literally 'family' in Arabic) in various cities under different names, such as the *Jama'ah Islamiyah* (Muslim community) in Solo, *Generasi 554* in Jakarta, and *NII Cirebon* in Cirebon. As a permutation of the DI/TII, these movements especially struggled for the installation of an Islamic state by means of revolutionary and militant political strategies. Because its supporters came into contact with the ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood, NII's activities also followed transnational Islamist movement patterns. As in other movements, its members labelled their peaceful activities *tarbiyah islamiyah* (Islamic education).[15] Initially, the NII developed amid a small group of students in Yogyakarta.[16] Irfan S. Awwas, the leader of the Coordinating Body for Mosque Youth (*Badan Koordinasi Pemuda Masjid*, BKPM), played an important role in accelerating the growth of the movement through his publication titled *Arrisalah* (The Message).[17]

The *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) called *al-Mukmin Ngruki* in Solo, central Java, was an important exponent of the NII movement. It was recently discovered that it had ties to militants who were responsible for the Bali bombings and even should be considered the hub of the JI network in South-East Asia, which was founded by Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Although both were newcomers, with little contact with the DI/TII, they emerged as the movement's main ideologues, writing manuals calling for resistance against the secular government. Ideologically, both were strongly influenced by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Their success in implanting the transnational ideology of the Brotherhood into the home-grown DI/TII battle-cry of fighting for greater regional autonomy from the central government led to the proliferation of violent Islamist groups that were actively involved in terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s.

Among the terrorist acts that were organized by these groups during this period are bomb attacks in Java and Sumatra, which were committed by a group called *Komando Jihad* (*Jihad* Commando), led by Ismail Pranoto. Abdul Qadir Djaelani led another group calling itself the *Pola Perjuangan Revolusioner Islam* (the Model of Revolutionary Islamic Struggle). They stormed the

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15 One important manual that the NII used was Imaduddin al-Mustaqim's *Risalah Tarbiyah Islamiyah: Menuju Generasi yang Diridhoi Allah* (no publisher or date).

16 Irfan S. Awwas, the leader of the Coordinating Body for Mosque Youth (*Badan Koordinasi Pemuda Masjid*, BKPM), played an important role in accelerating the growth of the movement through his publication *Arrisalah.*

17 For a more detailed discussion on the NII, see Santosa, 'Modernization, Utopia, and the Rise of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia', pp. 451–454. See also Martin van Bruinessen, 'Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia', *Southeast Asian Research*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2002); and Sidney Jones, 'Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The Case of the "Ngruki Network" in Indonesia', *Asia Report*, no. 42 (Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2002).

building of the People's Consultative Council's Assembly during its general session in March 1978. No less conspicuous was a series of murders and robberies committed by a band of radicals led by M. Warman, known as the 'Terror Warman'. Attacks organized by a group led by Imran M. Zein, aiming at a number of government facilities, culminated in the hijacking of a Garuda Indonesia airplane on 28 March 1981. DI/TII veterans, who had initially been employed by Ali Moertopo's intelligence operators to destroy communism, became leaders of the groups with the same cause: to revolt against Suharto and establish an Islamic state.[18] Despite the threat, the Suharto regime remained undeterred and wiped them out quickly. In these operations, Suharto's New Order extensively used the Operational Command to Restore Order and Security (*Kopkamtib*).

The *Kopkamtib* was set up by Suharto in the aftermath of the communist coup on 30 September 1965 to help crush what was left of the Indonesian Communist Party. These members were regarded as 'insurgents'. Based on Presidential Decision No. 179/KOTI/1965, the agency had extra-judicial authority to exercise both military and non-military operations to uphold and restore the government's authority.[19] Its position was further enhanced by the draconian Anti-Subversion Act of 1963, which allowed the *Kopkamtib* to suppress any subversive activities to safeguard the state ideology of '*Pancasila*', five principles that form the base of the secular republican model of the Indonesian government and the State Constitution (UUD) of 1945.[20] Gradually, however, *Kopkamtib* became President Suharto's personal praetorian guard. Indeed, for more than twenty years, the Indonesian Army-dominated *Kopkamtib* arrested 'subversive elements', including student activists, journalists, and radical Islamist leaders. The agency epitomizes Indonesia's 'hard approach' in dealing with internal security issues, especially with regard to Islamist radicalism and terrorism.

Two of the NII's key figures, Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, became the *Kopkamtib*'s main target, and thus victims of Suharto's repressive measures. Both were regarded as responsible for the dissemination of radical Islamist ideologies and the promotion of Islamic violence in the 1970s. Although they were arrested in 1978, they escaped to Malaysia in 1985. In their absence the NII was left undisturbed and was able to recruit new members in cities all over Java, including Karanganyar, Boyolali, Klaten, Yogyakarta, Temanggung, Brebes, Cirebon, Bandung, Jakarta and Lampung.[21] Later, NII activists and members of various other fundamentalist Islamic movements managed to give new direction to their *jihad* when the war in Afghanistan broke out. In the mid 1990s, Sungkar and Ba'asyir, who had also been involved in mobilizing jihadists to fight in Afghanistan, co-founded the infamous *Jamaah Islamiyah* (JI).

Although the *Kopkamtib* was liquidated in September 1988, the Suharto regime continued to rely on military repressive measures in handling security issues. A few months after the

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18   Jones, 'Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia'.

19   Pusat Sejarah dan Tradisi TNI, *Sejarah TNI Jilid IV (1966–1983)* (Jakarta: Mabes TNI, undated), pp. 91, 97 and 98.

20   Jun Honna, *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 91.

21   Santosa, 'Modernization, Utopia, and the Rise of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia', pp. 451–454.

liquidation of the agency, a detachment of the Army's Korem 043/Black Eagle attacked an alleged militant Islamic sect, which was known as *Mujahidin Fisabilillah* (Fighters in the way of Allah), killing 27 people in the village of Talangsari, Lampung.[22] According to one assessment, this action had the intention of making the military response indispensable by conveying the impression that Islamic extremism was a continuous and mortal threat to national security.[23]

In addition to this Islamist-related violence, Indonesia also witnessed numerous other acts of domestic security disturbances, rebellions and incidental violence. While they had different backgrounds, the government was inclined to categorize them as insurgencies that used irregular warfare to propagate an ideology or political system.[24] From the government's perspective, during this period an evolution took place in the types of violence that these groups employed, transmuting from a more 'open' guerrilla warfare to more 'covert' terroristic methods, such as bombings. In other words, the internal security threat over the last 60 years shows a major shift from guerrilla insurgency to terrorism and covert operations (see Appendix 1). Despite this shift in the nature of violent strategies, the Indonesian state has persisted in the use of the repressive security approach, thereby overlooking the root causes of the problem and potentially abusing human rights. This is because the dominant security approach in dealing with all forms of resistance fails to understand sufficiently their different political, social and historical backgrounds.

The fact that out of the 249 military operations that Indonesia conducted between 1945 and 2004, 67 per cent were related to internal security threats (Appendix 2) indicates that repressive 'hard' approaches indeed dominated. During the period of the New Order of Suharto, the Indonesian government often applied excessive force and abused human rights when it perceived that 'national stability' was at stake. Several factors lay at its origins. First, the existence of communist and regional rebellions automatically called for a military and police response. Second, the institutionalization of the 'culture of violence' within the security establishment made it seem 'natural' to tackle violence with more violence and repressive measures. How effective these have been is questionable. Research has shown that blunt repressive instruments have often set a spiral of violence in motion.

1.3   The War against Terrorism after Suharto

1.3.1   Background

The collapse of the New Order in May 1998 heralded the *reformasi* and democratization. This development not only led to the abrupt end of the repressive security measures that had been

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22   Pusat Sejarah dan Tradisi TNI, *Sejarah TNI Jilid IV (1966–1983)*, pp. 39 and 41–43.

23   Honna, Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia, p. 91.

24   David J. Kulcullen, *The Political Consequences of Military Operations in Indonesia 1945–1999*, dissertation, (Sydney, NSW: School of Politics, University College, University of New South Wales, 2000), p. 10.

employed by the state in dealing with radicalism, but it also created opportunities for suppressed ethnic identities and religious ideologies to come to the surface. Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists and indigenous people in various Indonesian provinces organized themselves to claim spaces and negotiate their political positions in the public sphere. Within the context of regime transition and the chaos that they unleashed, a number of militant Islamist groups eventually achieved notoriety by taking to the streets to demand the comprehensive implementation of the *shari'a* (Islamic law), and raiding cafes, discotheques, casinos, brothels and other dens of vice. The most prominent was the *Front Pembela Islam* (Front of the Defenders of Islam, FPI), which was led by Muhammad Rizieq Shihab. As a response to the bloody communal conflicts erupting in Ambon and Poso, other militant Islamist groups—such as the Ja'far Umar Thalib-led *Laskar Jihad* (*Jihad* Force) and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir-led *Laskar Mujahidin* (Holy Warrior Force)—even stated their determination to fight *jihad* in those troubled spots.

It is also in this climate of regime transition that *Jamaah Islamiyah* thrived and possibly attained its height of influence.[25] During the first phase leading up to the *reformasi* (January 1993 to May 1998), Sungkar and Ba'asyir operated freely out of Malaysia and developed JI's organizational capacity, focusing on recruitment and building operational bases. By the late 1990s, six *wakalah*, or subdivisions, had been set up in Malaysia, as well as a seventh in Singapore.[26] At the same time they maintained their network in Indonesia.[27] During the second phase (May 1998 to December 2000), following Sungkar's and Ba'asyir's return from Malaysia to Indonesia, they further developed, expanded and consolidated their network, organizing the first attacks in 2000 (see Appendix 3). The communal conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Maluku and Central Sulawesi helped to facilitate this process.[28]

There is no doubt that the weakness and ambiguity of the Indonesian transitional governments contributed to the growing tide of Islamist radicalism and marked an upsurge in terrorist violence. In addition, Indonesia's counter-terrorism policy was disoriented after the military's political role had been scaled back. As a result of the demands for reform, the military lost their prominent role in combating internal security threats and terrorism. In the new democratic climate, the task of countering terrorism was assigned to the National Police. Unfortunately, however, the police were incapable of playing this role as they did not have a well-organized database and were not equipped with the instruments and experience to deal with terrorism. Moreover, in contrast to the military force during the New Order, police powers were circumscribed when the broad Anti-Subversion Act of 1963 was revoked as a result of the new

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25   The following discussion on the organizational evolution through four, (possibly) five, different phases is based on Gillian S. Oak, 'Jemaah Islamiyah's Fifth Phase: The Many Faces of a Terrorist Group,' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism,* vol. 33, no. 11 (2010), pp. 989–1018.

26   Sidney Jones, 'The Changing Nature of Jemaah Islamiyah', *Australian Journal of International Affairs,* vol. 59, no. 2, June 2005, p. 172.

27   Peter Chalk, Angel Rabasa, William Rosenau and Leanne Piggott, *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia: A Net Assessment* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009), p. 6.

28   International Crisis Group, 'Indonesia Backgrounder: Jihad in Central Sulawesi', *ICG Asia Report*, no. 74, 3 February 2004, p. 2.

democratic movements that demanded respect for human rights. Reflecting regret by the status quo of the transitional situation towards electoral democracy occurring after the fall of Suharto, the police claimed that, heavily restricted, they could only fall back on the Criminal Code as a legal basis of investigations into terrorist attacks.[29] Several major terrorist attacks occurred during this period, as though they confirmed the anxiety expressed by the status quo of the negative consequences of the transition and the new democratic situation. These attacks included the bombings at the Philippine ambassador's residence and at a dozen churches across Indonesia on Christmas Eve in 2000.

1.3.2   9/11, the Bali Bombings and the Rebuilding of the Internal Counter-Terrorism Capacity

Following 9/11, Jakarta came under increasing international pressure to act swiftly against these radical Islamist groups. The Indonesian government was initially hesitant. Traumatized by the New Order's repressive security measures, Indonesian civil society reminded President Megawati's administration of the danger of employing the enemy-centric model of repression. Faced with intricate political problems concerning President Wahid's impeachment, Megawati attempted not to 'hurt' Islamist groups and remained 'idle' in countering the threats that were posed by Islamist radicalism. Islamist leaders, such as Muhammad Rizieq Shihab, Ja'far Umar Thalib and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, took advantage of this reticence to disseminate the accusation that her administration had been co-opted by the US–Zionist global conspiracy.[30]

All of this changed dramatically after the 2002 Bali bombings, which demonstrated the grave threat that radical groups posed to Indonesia. In spite of Vice-President Hamzah Haz's initial denial of the information provided by Singapore, Malaysia and the US authorities about the JI cells that had masterminded a series of bombing attacks in Indonesia, including those on Bali, the police investigation quickly punctured the idealistic bubble. It appeared that JI had a total of 2,000 members and a wider support network of about 5,000 people.[31] The police also uncovered the strong ties that JI had with al-Qaeda. Indonesia now had a home-ground Islamist terrorist group linked to transnational groups in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and elsewhere.

After the first Bali bombing, the Indonesian government became seriously concerned with the radical Islamist threats and allocated a bulk of its resources to act against terrorism. In practical terms, while the Indonesian military and the National Police—officially separated in 1999—have

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29   Tito Karnavian, 'The Soft Approach Strategy in Coping with Islamist Terrorism in Indonesia', paper presented at the National Symposium titled 'Cutting up the Circle of Radicalism and Terrorism', Lazuardi Birru, Universitas Indonesia, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatulah and Polri, Jakarta 27–28 July 2010; also a private conversation with Tito Karnavian on 9 July 2010 in Jakarta.

30   Noorhaidi Hasan, 'September 11 and Islamic Militancy in Indonesia', in K.S. Nathan and Mohammad Hashim Kamali (eds), *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21st Century* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), pp. 301–324.

31   Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau and Piggott, *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia*, p. 93.

the capacity to carry out counter-terror missions, democratic good governance principles demand that terrorism should be combated by law enforcement rather than the military counter-insurgency strategy. In response to the Bali bombing, the Indonesian parliament passed two anti-terrorism laws: Law No. 15/2003 provides the legal basis for the police to detain terrorist suspects for up to six months before an indictment is drawn up, while it gives to prosecutors and judges the authority to block bank accounts belonging to individuals or organizations believed to be funding terrorist activities; and Law No. 16/2003 aims specifically at retroactively prosecuting the Bali bombers.

In addition, President Megawati issued Presidential Instruction No. 4 on 22 October 2002, which sanctions the creation of the Terrorism Eradication Coordinating Desk (TECD) under the auspices of the Office of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs. This body was assigned the task to boost further cooperation among the police, military and intelligence communities, and to ensure closer coordination among other government agencies that are involved in counter-terrorism.[32] The establishment of TECD was a means to counter the widely spread perception that the National Police and the National Intelligence Agency (*Badan Intelijen Nasional*, BIN) had failed to anticipate the series of dramatic bomb attacks.[33]

At the same time, Jakarta made substantial efforts to improve and boost the counter-terrorism capacity of law enforcement agencies. In June 2003, the National Police (*POLRI*), with the help of the American Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) programme, established an elite counter-terror force, the Special Detachment 88, which combined investigation, intelligence, hostage rescue and tactical assault capabilities.[34] The unit would enjoy considerable success in breaking and disrupting terrorist cells in Indonesia, and became a highly proficient and capable institution among law enforcement agencies. Prior to 2002, *POLRI*'s counter-terrorism resources and expertise were mainly housed in Gegana Regiment II of the Brigade Mobil (BRIMOB), which consisted of four detachments: intelligence; bomb disposal; tactical operations; and training.[35] After the 2002 Bali bombing, however, an ad hoc national bomb task force was formed to assist in the investigation. Many of the key JI arrests that occurred in 2002 and 2003 were ascribed to this team, which has evolved into an adept police explosives intelligence wing.[36]

The establishment of the Special Detachment 88 as a premier anti-terror unit brought the military's domination of Indonesia's counter-terrorism to an end as the Indonesian Defence

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32   Leonard Sebastian, 'The Indonesia Dilemma: How to Participate in the War on Terror without Becoming a National Security State', in Kumar Ramakrishna and See Seng Tan (eds), *After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 2003), p. 381.

33   Wawan H. Purwanto, *Terorisme Undercover: Memberantas Terorisme Hingga ke Akar-Akarnta, Mungkinkah?* (Jakarta: Citra Mandiri Bangsa Press, 2007), pp. 207–208.

34   Ken Conboy, *Elite: The Special Forces of Indonesia, 1950–2008* (Jakarta: Equinox, 2008), p. 141.

35   Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau and Piggott, *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia*, pp. 153–154.

36   For an account of how the 2002 Bali bombings were uncovered by the police, see for example Greg Barton, *Jemaah Islamiyah: Radical Islamism in Indonesia* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005).

Forces (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*, TNI) and BIN became supplementary units. This decision was part of the Indonesian government's strategy both to participate in the global campaign against terrorism and to gain considerable support from Western countries. It should be noted that since 1994 the TNI have faced embargoes on weapons and education cooperation for military officers from Western countries because of human rights' abuses in East Timor, Aceh and Papua.[37] When the Special Detachment 88 was set up, some of the TNI's bomb squad's members were re-assigned into that body. In 2004, provincial-level teams were established and have since spearheaded the bulk of counter-terrorism operations carried out across Indonesia.[38] The unit has also been highly active in detaining or killing JI's 'foot soldiers', as well as their key commanders across Indonesia (see Appendix 6 and 7), with some hundreds of militants captured since 2005 (see Appendix 8 and 9).

It should be noted, however, that behind the Special Detachment 88's success in destroying terrorist networks, questions are being raised by human rights organizations and society at large. Between 2004 and 2009, the unit arrested 464 individuals and killed 40. Even worse, based on the data collected by KontraS, an influential NGO that is active in dealing with the issues of human rights' abuses by the security apparatus, in only thirteen anti-terror operations launched during the period from January 2010 until June 2011, 33 terrorist suspects and some innocents were killed and nine others wounded. This unit also arrested some 30 people without sufficient legal procedure. Before being freed, they had to face intimidation and torture from the unit's apparatus. This kind of human rights' abuses will apparently remain and even increase if the unit continues to stand as a premier counter-terrorism unit receiving insufficient support from other state law-enforcement agencies.

In fact, the Indonesian government has long urged other state law-enforcement agencies to participate in building a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy for Indonesia. In 2006 the Attorney General's Office established the Terrorism and Transnational Crime Task Force (TTCTF). This body consists of well-trained prosecutors who have expertise in the legal dimensions of combating terrorism and have the authority to oversee the execution of trials.[39] The power of these counter-terrorism agencies was augmented by a tremendous increase in their budgets (see Appendix 4). However, this budgetary increase was in itself insufficient to support the wide range of counter-terrorism measures and efforts needed to tackle the problem. Furthermore, without a clear, specific, well-thought-out national counter-terrorism policy, the lack of budgetary support from the government can lead to an over-reliance by security officials on extra or off-budget resources provided by what are known as 'nationalist entrepreneurs',[40] with the unintended consequences of possible conflicts of interest.

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37 Muradi, 'The 88th Densus AT: The Role and the Problem of Coordination on Counter-Terrorism in Indonesia', *Journal of Politics and Law*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2009), pp. 85–91.

38 Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau and Piggott, *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia*, p. 154.

39 Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau and Piggott, *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia*, p. 153.

40 Confidential interview with a mid-ranking police officer involved in counter-terrorism operations, Jakarta, 10 August 2010.

Moreover, the Indonesian government substantially increased the annual budget for the National Intelligence Agency (BIN) and enhanced its authority to oversee national covert surveillance operations (see Appendix 5). The government also set up two intelligence schools to enhance the analytical skills of serving officers. In particular, 'case officers' were trained in critical thinking and strategic forecasting.[41] To support the police, a long-term counter-radicalization programme was developed. One method was to establish the so-called 'special penetration team', or Directorate 43, which infiltrates jihadist organizations. BIN also adopted a more systematic matrix-based monitoring system of Islamist groups and their social networks in order to be able to identify religious extremists quickly and to track their internal relations. The agency hoped to pre-empt violent attacks through this system.[42]

1.3.3   International and Regional Cooperation

Aside from the developments on the domestic front, the Indonesian government also made progress on the regional and international fronts to strengthen ties and deepen cooperation. One concrete example is the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC). Located at the Indonesian National Police Academy in Semarang, Central Java, JCLEC was created in 2004 with seed money from the Australian government (A$36.8 million over five years)—and the Dutch government also made a substantial contribution. The centre aims to provide a comprehensive curriculum in investigation techniques, information analysis, and specific courses on litigation, such as international criminal law.[43]

There are also other regional joint operations, intelligence exchanges, and extradition agreements with Malaysia and Singapore to hunt down suspected terrorists and safeguard the Malacca Straits. With this purpose, Jakarta has signed various accords with regional states, including a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on combating terrorism with Australia, a mutual legal assistance treaty with South Korea, and an agreement on information exchange with Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Cambodia.[44] Indonesia is also a party to the ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crimes.[45] This cooperation has strengthened various counter-terrorism efforts initiated by the government, which altogether have contributed to Detachment 88's success in destroying the JI-linked terrorist cells and arresting hundreds of actors behind a series of terror attacks in Indonesia. As a result, JI's four regional divisions, *mantiqis*, have been broken up and have been subdivided into smaller operational companies

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41   Damien Kingsbury, *Power Politics and the Indonesian Military* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 132–133.

42   Kingsbury, Power Politics and the Indonesian Military, p. 159.

43   On the website of the Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperation, www.jclec.com

44   See Carlyle A. Thayer, 'Internal Conflict and Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Regional Response and US Leadership', paper presented at the 46th International Studies Association Annual Convention, Honolulu, 1–5 March 2005.

45   For more detail, see Jonathan T. Chow, 'ASEAN Counterterrorism Cooperation Since 9/11,' *Asian Survey*, vol. 45, no. 2 (2005), pp. 302–321.

(*khatibah*), platoons (*qirdas*) and squads (*fiah*). This fragmentation characterized JI's strategic shift and signalled the decline in its operational capacity.

1.3.4 Finance

Another important part of counter-terrorism policy is the countering of insurgent or terrorist financing—mainly the regulation of monetary flows from outside into radical and violent groups within the country. In this regard, the police have cooperated with the Financial Transaction Analysis Centre (PPATK) to help track the funding of suspected terrorists. However, terrorist groups often do not utilize electronically recorded financial mechanisms or institutions and prefer to do everything by personal courier. Another problem is the co-mingling of funds from legitimate businesses (such as JI's publishing company), or even religious charitable foundations, that often finds its way into the hands of the radical violent groups.

It has been reported that Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, the leader of *Jamaat Ansyarud Tauhid* (JAT) played a greater role in arranging fund-raising terrorist movements in Indonesia. Ba'asyir had given the money to Ubaid directly on four occasions, paying him IDR 5 Million, US$ 5,000, IDR 120 million and IDR 50 million. On the other hand, the police also found that on four occasions Ba'asyir had channelled money through Toyib, the JAT Surakarta branch treasurer, totalling IDR 200 million, IDR 10 million, IDR 25 million and IDR 75 million. In building Aceh's training centre, Ba'asyir had also donated IDR 997.5 million and US$ 5,100.[46]

1.3.5 Organizational Problems

Despite these impressive achievements, there are numerous problems that undermine Indonesia's fight against terror. Geographically, Indonesia's porous land and sea borders, endemic criminality and residual radical views continue to provide an attractive logistical and operational theatre for terrorist networks. Other weaknesses derive from the sub-optimal inter-agency cooperation, especially between the police and military. While the National Police has constituted the leading agency in dealing with the threat of terrorism, especially since the creation of the Special Detachment 88, the Indonesian Defence Forces (TNI) are keen to retain a certain role in counter-terrorism. This seems to be sanctioned by Law No. 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian Defence Forces (Chapter 17), which stipulates that key duties (*tugas pokok*) include to 'eradicate terrorism'. On the other hand, the explanatory section of law states that the TNI are supposed to deal with 'high-risk international terrorism networks working together with domestic terrorist groups that could threaten the national integrity and sovereignty'. In other words, purely domestic groups are not the TNI's responsibilities.

To add to the confusion, the TNI can be assigned non-conventional functions, including counter-terrorism, on the basis of what they call 'Military Operations Other Than War'. This seems to

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46 'Police Detail Funding for Alleged Terrorist Group,' *Jakarta Post,* 19 August 2010.

contradict Law No. 2 of 2002 on the Indonesian National Police, which argues that the police can 'request the assistance of the TNI in dealing with security issues that are regulated by a Presidential Decree' (Chapter 41)—that is, the TNI can only become involved in counter-terrorism if the police request assistance.

In the debate on the division of labour between the police and military, military officers and defence officials have advocated a greater contribution from the TNI to fight terrorism. The TNI's tremendous experience and well-developed intelligence network, based on its territorial command structure, can be a tremendous asset. On the other hand, observers and civil society groups have warned against involving the TNI directly in countering terrorism, as it would not only open the door for possible human rights' abuses and a military 'return' to a security style of Suharto's New Order, but also diminish the TNI's overall readiness and effectiveness as a professional defence force.

At present, TNI units still retain counter-terrorism capabilities, especially those under the purview of the Army's Special Forces Command (*Kopassus*). The bulk of their capability, however, is directed either at deep-cover infiltration of organizations that are considered to represent a threat to national security (the responsibility of Group IV, commonly known as Unit 81 Counter-Terrorism) or at anti-hijacking and special recovery missions (the responsibility of Group V, which works closely with the Special Detachment 88's crisis response team).[47] In addition, both the Navy and Air Force also have their own Special Forces that are tasked with counter-terrorism. The former has the *Jala Mengkara* Detachment of the *Komando Pasukan Katak* (Frog Command or SEAL equivalent), while Bravo 90 Detachment (*Den-Bravo*) is part of the Air Force's *Komando Pasukan Khas* (Special Forces Command). Each of these units is supposed to handle marine, maritime, water and air-related hijackings or terrorist acts.

The rivalries between TNI and the police are to some extent reflected in the attempts made by BIN, which also has an anti-terror desk, to set up the Directorate 43, as mentioned earlier, in order for it to play more significant roles in tackling the issue of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. Although BIN constitutes a state civilian agency that is responsible directly to the Indonesian president, it is always led by ex-military, until 2009 when ex-police chief Sutanto took over. Apparently, BIN was hesitant about giving up its pre-existing dominant role in dealing with any national security issues together with the TNI, either because of a sense of superiority over the police or indeed because of its rich experiences and capabilities. During the New Order, a number of BIN's high-ranking personalities—at that time still named BAKIN (National Coordinating Intelligence Board)—including Ali Murtopo and Pitut Suharto, were involved in engineering the case of *Komando Jihad* (*Jihad* Command), leading to arrests and even the killing of hundreds of its activists and members without due process of law.[48]

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47 Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau and Piggott, *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia*, p. 155.

48 M. Busyro Muqaddas, Hegemoni Rezim Intelijen: Sisi Gelap Peradilan Kasus Komando Jihad (Yogyakarta: Puskumham UII, 2011).

Another problem derives from the different policies that different security agencies have adopted towards radical groups. The National Police's Home Security Intelligence Agency (BIK), for instance, has been trying to disband *Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI), accusing it of intending to establish an Islamic caliphate. The TNI's Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS) does not agree with this strategy, arguing that the dissolution of HTI will force its proponents to go underground, making their activities harder to detect.[49] The Terrorism Eradication Coordination Desk has been founded to decide these issues. In the end, however, it is the responsibility of the Indonesian president and the yet-to-be-formed National Security Council to assign the police, the military and other agencies to their specific roles in tackling terrorism.

1.4   From 'Hard' to 'Soft' Approaches

1.4.1   The 'Soft' Approach

We have seen how the role of the National Police has become central in Indonesia's counter-terrorism strategy. Aside from the tactical assaults and arrests of suspected terrorists, the Indonesian government has also authorized various agencies to complement the 'hard' approaches with 'soft' ones, mainly through the so-called deradicalization programmes. Indeed, according to Brigadier-General (ret.) Suryadharma Salim, former Head of the Special Detachment 88, extremism cannot be ended only by force; the emphasis should be on deradicalization programmes.[50] The application of the 'soft' approach is highlighted by Brigadier-General Tito Karnavian, Salim's successor at the Special Detachment 88. He believes that a major effort should be made to tackle the emergence of a new phenomenon called 'new terrorism', which, he believes, is chiefly religiously or ideologically motivated.[51]

The 'soft' approach emphasizes the importance of persuasive methods. The enemy is not regarded as an entity that should be destroyed, but should become convinced of his errant ways. For this reason, the detainee is categorized on a personal basis. The role of each individual in the terrorist network, as well as his dominant motivation and level of radicalism, are carefully investigated and mapped. Based on this assessment, a persuasive therapy is chosen to induce the detainee to cooperate and even to change his radical mindset. In order to ensure the best results, each target is handled by a designated small team of two or three officers.

By adopting the persuasive method, the police use unconventional interrogation techniques that are based on patron–client relationships. These include allowing the detainees to meet with their families, providing their families with financial assistance, and establishing close contacts between senior police officers and detainees, by, for instance, eating meals together, etc. This

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49   Confidential interview with a counter-terrorism police officer, Jakarta, 12 August 2010.

50   Salim's statement during the Q&A session of the 'National Symposium: Cutting up the Circle of Radicalism and Terrorism', Lazuardi Birru, Universitas Indonesia, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatulah and Polri, Jakarta 27–28 July 2010.

51   Karnavian, 'The Soft Approach Strategy,' pp. 1–2.

approach serves a threefold goal: persuading the imprisoned militants to abandon violence will lead the detainee to disengage from his former social surroundings and will lead to ideological deradicalization; encouraging them to provide intelligence on their terrorist networks and activities; using 'converts' as agents to influence other inmates and militants to cooperate with the authorities. According to an assessment drawn up by International Crisis Group (ICG), this approach is highly effective in persuading many militants to turn away from terrorism and work together with the authorities.[52]

1.4.2 Revisionism

In this context, special attention should be given to the police's success in persuading selected 'high-profile' terrorist detainees to revise their ideas and cooperate with the police. The chief examples are Nasir Abbas, former commander of JI's Mantiki III (territorial division within JI that covers the southern Philippines, Kalimantan and Sulawesi), and Ali Imron, one of the main actors in the first Bali bombing. Through personal ties and emotional bonds built up by certain officers during the investigation, Abbas became the key informant in the disclosure of information on JI cells scattered across Indonesia. The abundance of critical information on the JI network has led to other arrests and the seizure of illegal firearms, ammunitions and explosives.[53] Similar to the role played by Abbas, Imron provided crucial information concerning the JI network that was responsible for the Bali bombing. He was even willing to testify against his own brothers, Amrozi and Muchlas (aka Ali Ghufron), who were believed to be the masterminds behind the attacks.[54]

More importantly, perhaps, Abbas published a book entitled *Membongkar Jamaah Islamiyah: Pengakuan Mantan Anggota JI* (Discovering the *Jamaah Islamiyah*: Testimony of Ex-JI Member).[55] In this book, Abbas explains JI's history, ideology and network and explores the way that al-Qaeda—especially through Bin Laden's pseudo *fatwa* on the compulsion for every Muslim (*fard 'ayn*) to fight *jihad* against infidels—has inspired the shift of JI's direction from internal attacks towards joining the total war against the Americans and their allies. Furthermore, Abbas insists that terrorism is not JI's original mission and that this misunderstanding is rooted in its false interpretation of the essence of *jihad* as prescribed in the Koran. Some pages of his book are also directed to counter Imam Samudra's claims—the mastermind behind the first Bali bombing—posited in his book *Aku Melawan Teroris* (I Am Against Terrorists).[56] In this sort of plea, he asserts that he is the only truly jihadist committed to fight *jihad* to defend Islam from the attacks

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52 International Crisis Group, '"Deradicalization" and Indonesian Prisons', *ICG Asia Report*, no. 142 (19 November 2007), pp. 3–5.

53 Karnavian , 'The Soft Approach Strategy', p. 7.

54 Purwanto, *Terorisme Undercover*, pp. 84–100.

55 Nasir Abbas, *Membongkar Jamaah Islamiyah: Pengakuan Mantan Anggota JI* [Unveiling Jamaah Islamiyah: Confessions of an Ex-JI Member] (Jakarta: Grafindo, 2005).

56 Imam Samudra, *Aku Melawan Teroris* [I Fight Terrorists] (Solo: Jazera, 2004).

of what he calls 'the real international terrorist, America', perpetrating terror against Muslims across the world.

In his book, Abbas has pioneered the ideological 'soft' campaign against JI and its *jihadi* teachings by those identified as Islamist 'radicals'. Shortly after its publication, other militant Islamist leaders joined in a collective criticism of al-Qaeda, JI and other terrorist groups. For instance, Ja'far Umar Thalib, *Laskar Jihad*'s commander during its jihad operation in Maluku, stridently criticizes Bin Laden's interpretation of jihad as well as JI's adoption of Bin Laden's interpretation. He insists that Bin Laden is not qualified as a *mufti* so that his *fatwa* should be abandoned. In his opinion, jihad is only legitimate under certain conditions. Among them is the permission of the authorities to wage jihad and the precondition that it can only be waged for defensive purposes.[57] Another militant leader, Abu Hamzah Yusuf, wrote a pamphlet called *Membongkar Pemikiran Sang Begawan Teroris* (Uncover the Thoughts of the Terrorist Mastermind), in which he criticized Imam Samudra for having dishonoured the truly Salafi authorities and idolized dubious figures, such as Safar al-Hawali, Salman al-Awdah, Osama Bin Laden, Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir.[58] Lukman Ba'abduh, the vice-commander of *Laskar Jihad* during its operation in Maluku, took a step further by publishing a book entitled *Mereka Adalah Teroris* (They Are Indeed Terrorists).[59] In this book he condemns Bin Laden as a *khariji*,[60] who destroyed Islam by spreading the doctrine of *takfir* and instilling terror. He also criticizes Imam Samudra and his cohort as deviant Muslims who too easily applied the *takfir* doctrine to legitimate rulers and even to Muslims with whom they differ. As a result, not only does he promote widespread animosity against non-Muslims and Muslims alike, but he also disseminated violence and terror in the name of *jihad*. As Karnavian has pointed out, this ideological battle has been extremely important in the war against terrorism. It is the only means to counter the terrorists' success in spreading their *jihadi* ideology and action framed as legitimacy for their acts of terror. Self-critique has been the most effective means of combating terrorism by the government as part of the 'soft' approach.[61]

On the material side of the 'soft' approach is the provision of financial assistance to a detainee's family, which covers school fees, housing costs and medical bills. This could act as a powerful lever of control and persuasion—not least because it releases assets that immediate relatives can send to help make life in jail tolerable. Given the limited budget allocated to carry out this programme, however, its impact until now has been insignificant and helped only a few detainees, provoking jealousy among other detainees' families.

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57 Interview with Ja'far Umar Thalib, available online at www.alghuroba.org, accessed on 19 March 2009.

58 Abu Hamzah Yusuf, 'Membongkar Pemikiran Sang Begawan Teroris,' available online at www.salafy.or.id/print.php?id_artikel=878.

59 Lukman Ba'abduh, Sebuah Tinjauan Syari'at Mereka Adalah Teroris, Bantahan terhadap Buku 'Aku Melawan Teroris' (Malang: Pustaka Qaulan Sadida, 2005).

60 Radical sect that killed the fourth rightly guided caliph, Ali in 661.

61 Private conversation with Karnavian, Jakarta, 9 July 2010.

1.4.3   Community Policing Programme

The fourth pillar of counter-terrorism's 'soft' approach is the police's community policing programme. This programme urged the police in each unit to communicate intensively with local communities with the aim of building trust and mutual understanding between them and society at the grass roots' level. Based on trust and mutual understanding, societies can be actively involved in maintaining security and order in their respective environments, especially in building social resilience in the face of the spread of Islamist radical ideologies and the infiltration of terrorist organizations. Despite the achievements claimed by the police, the community policing programme apparently remains more a discursive strategy developed by the police to improve their image in society than their genuine efforts to involve society in tackling terrorism. Society's involvement in counter-terrorism has yet to be maximized given its remaining suspicions of the police, who appear to behave as a military force when launching operations to destroy terrorist networks and uncover their hideouts.[62]

Indeed, the community policing programme aims to humanize the police, who are often regarded by grass roots society as a common enemy because of their abuses of power. As a consequence of their subordination to the TNI during the New Order, the police could not easily remove their militaristic character and behaviour when officially separated from the TNI in 1999. With the community policing programme, however, the police are encouraged to behave as civilians who run their professional function as law enforcers, thus applying humanistic approaches in dealing with security problems in society, including those related to terrorism.[63] Within this context, as recommended by the International Organization for Migration, the Indonesian police organized a programme that aims to familiarize officers with the principles of human rights, public outreach, and grass roots confidence-building. Between November 2003 and November 2006, the International Organization for Migration trained 8,280 National Police members: 3,545 on the principles of community policing; and 4,735 on human rights' awareness. An additional 2,555 officers participated in the organization's Police and Community Partnership Forum.[64]

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[62]   Muradi, 'Community Policing *dalam Pencegahan dan Pemberantasan Terorisme*', available online at http//muradi.wordpress.com, accessed 15 July 2011; see also Muradi, '*Upaya Mereduksi Budaya Militeristik dalam Pendidikan Polri*', available online at http//muradi.wordpress.com, accessed 15 July 2011.

[63]   See Polri, 'Penyusunan Program Pendidikan Masyarakat Patuh Hukum Renstra Polri, 2010–2014', Laporan Simposium (Jakarta: Selapa Polri, 2008); see also Muradi, 'Community Policing sebagai Upaya Mewujudkan Polri yang Profesional dan Demokratik', in Reformasi Kepolisian Indonesia (Jakarta: INFID–The Ridep Institute, 2007).

[64]   Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau and Piggott, *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia*, p. 158.

1.4.4.   Coordinating Counter-Terrorism

The final measure within the 'soft' approach is that of providing financial and organizational support to a policy hub that coordinates the nation's counter-terrorism efforts. Within this context, the Terrorism Eradication Coordinating Desk (TECD), which exists within the Office of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, has recently been 'upgraded' into a full-blown state department, called the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*, BNPT). The aim of BNPT is to formulate the nation's general policy, as well as to develop a strategy to combat terrorism and to coordinate all operational steps in dealing with terror attacks (see Appendix 10).[65]

BNPT has three departments: the Department for Prevention, Protection and Deradicalization is tasked with monitoring, analysing and *evaluating terrorist threats*. In addition, it formulates policy, strategy and a national programme to prevent terrorist attacks and implement deradicalization programmes. It also coordinates counter-measures against radical ideologies and organizes counter-terrorism efforts to ensure prevention, protection and deradicalization. Finally, this department coordinates the re-education and resocialization programmes within deradicalization campaigns, and coordinates the restoration programme for the victims of terrorist attacks. The Department for Operations and Capacity-Building has the duty to monitor, analyse and evaluate organizational capacity and national readiness to *combat terrorism*. Its other tasks are to formulate a policy and a national programme to combat terrorism, and to determine the nature of the threat of escalation and prepare counter-terrorism operations. In addition, it coordinates organizational capacity-building and prepares national readiness to combat terrorism. It also tries to mobilize national support for the counter-terrorism effort. Finally, the Department for International Cooperation has the duty to monitor, analyse and evaluate *terrorist threats from overseas*, to formulate policy, strategy and programmes for counter-terrorism international cooperation, and to implement them. Finally, it coordinates the protection of Indonesian citizens and national interests abroad from terrorist threats.

While many analysts regard the creation of BNPT as a step forward in building on Indonesia's counter-terrorism successes of the past few years, it remains a question as to whether the new agency will be more useful than its predecessor, the 'Terror Desk'. First, BNPT is tasked mainly with 'coordinating' functions, without any serious operational authority or capability, except perhaps in deradicalization programmes or other 'soft' approaches, while tactical capabilities and even investigative infrastructure (such as forensic labs) are still in the hands of the National Police. Second, the agency can also be seen as a 'bureaucratic compromise' between the police and the military, allowing personnel from both institutions to be incorporated—the police may have the larger share. Third, a few months into its existence, the agency still has not found and

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65   Ansyaad Mbai, '*Terobosan Hukum dalam Peraturan Hukum dalam Pencegahan dan Penanggulangan Radikalisme dan Terrrorisme Indonesia*', paper presented in the 'National Symposium Cutting up the Circle of Radicalism and Terrorism', Lazuardi Birru, Universitas Indonesia, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatulah and Polri, Jakarta, 27–28 July 2010.

appointed key personnel to fill the posts available. Insiders also suspect that key programmes and budgetary support have yet to be properly formulated and established.[66]

1.4.5 Towards a Population-Centric Strategy

The persuasive 'soft' methods of handling terrorists are not only effective but also increase awareness among the police that the population is the 'centre of gravity'. While security approaches may have been effective in responding to terror attacks and pursuing the actors behind them, there is a need for Indonesia to involve all sectors of society—especially those from moderate Islamic mass organizations—to assist the police in their tasks.[67] Involving moderate Islamic organizations is especially crucial in tackling the dissemination of *jihadi* ideology at the grass roots' level.

This is all the more urgent as terrorist recruiters and radical organizations continue to feed Indonesian society with extreme religious doctrines and discriminative sentiments. For instance, International Crisis Group (ICG) reported the existence of a dozen JI-linked publishing houses, which are responsible for the dissemination of hundreds of books echoing *jihadi* ideas and other Islamist radical notions on Indonesia's book market. These include al-Alaq, al-Arafah Group, al-Aqwan Group, Kafayeh Cipta Media (KCM), and Ar-Rahmah (see Appendix 11). Run by Ikhsan Miarso, who at the time of the 2002 Bali bombing was head of JI's territorial subdivision (*wakalah*) in Solo, al-Alaq, for instance, published a set of writings and lectures by Abdullah Azzam, collectively entitled *Tarbiyah Jihadiyah* (*Jihad* Education). He also published *al-Jihad Sabiluna* (*Jihad* is Our Path), a translation of a book by the Arab writer Abdul Baqi Ramdhun. According to ICG, the publishing venture demonstrates JI's resilience and the extent to which Islamist radical ideology has acquired roots in Indonesia.[68]

Another source of radicalization stems from radical Islamic boarding schools that have expanded throughout Indonesia. These schools not only perpetuate radical religious and ideological indoctrination; they also apparently teach 'practical' instructions in the making of bombs and weapons' handling. Most students are recruited from the lower-class youth of surrounding communities who are eager to feel a sense of empowerment and to declare their independence from village elders. There are around 50 JI-related boarding schools, which include *Pesantren Al-Muttaqien* in Jepara and Cirebon, *Pesantren Maratus Sholeh* in Bekasi, *Ma'had Aly* in Solo, *Ibn Masud* in Depok, *Millah Ibrahim* in Pamulang, *al-Islam* in Lamongan and *al-Mukmin* in Ngruki (see Appendix 12). At a glance, these *pesantren*s have developed a similar curriculum to those of the mainstream *pesantren*s affiliated to the two largest Muslim organizations, *NU* and *Muhammadiyah*. *Al-Mukmin* has, for instance, not only adopted a graded

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66   Confidential interview with a counter-terrorism police officer, Jakarta, 12 August 2010.
67   Private conversation with Brigadier-General Tito Karnavian, Head of Detachment 88, Jakarta, 9 July 2010.
68   International Crisis Group, 'Indonesia: *Jemaah Islamiyah*'s Publishing Industry', *ICG Asia Report*, no. 147 (Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2008).

system, but also designated a portion of its curriculum to teach secular subjects, such as mathematics and English. Yet during the class sessions of religious subjects, students are introduced to puritan and militant ideas, including the concepts of *tawhid* (Oneness of God) and *jihad*, using books by militant ideologues such as Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's *Aqidah Islamiyah*, Salim Sa'id al-Qahtani's *al-Wala' wa-l-Bara'*, and Sa'id Hawwa's *Jund Allah*. To further bolster their militancy, students are encouraged to attend extra classes in which senior *ustadh*s voice their animosity towards the Indonesian government, as well as the United States and its allies. On certain occasions, they are taken to the jungle to undergo physical and mental training, including hiking, mountain climbing and camping.[69]

This problem is exacerbated by the fact that the Indonesian government has not yet systematically developed a deradicalization programme aimed at distancing and disengaging the larger Muslim community from specific *jihadi* groups. This can be done by supporting moderate interpretations of key religious texts and supporting *jihadi* detainees towards rehabilitation and reintegration into society. According to ICG, the only meaningful work in this regard has been achieved by the police. Focusing on prisoners who have been involved in terrorism, the police's deradicalization programme has won praise for its success in persuading about two dozen members of JI and a few members of other *jihadi* organizations to cooperate with the police during their detention in police cells. The key to success lies in the police's ability to gain the trust of the detainees. This leads them to question the *jihadi* assumption that government officials are by definition *taghut* (anti-Islamic, repressive rulers) against whom *jihad* is compulsory.[70]

The chances to keep the prisoners on the right track decline dramatically, however, as soon as they are transferred to a regular prison. One of the problems stems from the Indonesian government's negligence of the relationship between the deradicalization programme and the Indonesian correction system. As prisons are rife with corruption, *jihadis*, like narcotic dealers, murderers and big-time corruptors, are able 'to communicate with anyone they want and get around any regulation designed to restrict their influences over other inmates'.[71] Because of the lack of rules, JI convicts have ample opportunity to infect others and communicate with outside members.[72] It seems that Indonesian prison administrators know nothing about the patterns of the dissemination of *jihadi* ideology in prison; neither do they have a clue of the recruitment system that *jihadi* prisoners develop to bring other prisoners into their orbit. In general, they are undertrained to cope with Islamist terrorism. As a result, the deradicalization programmes that

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69   See, for instance, Noorhaidi Hasan, 'Salafi Madrasas of Indonesia', in Farish Noor, Yoginder Sikand and Martin van Bruinessen (eds), *The Madrasa in Asia, Political Activism and Transnational Linkages* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), pp. 247–274.

70   International Crisis Group, '"Deradicalization" and Indonesian Prisons', pp. 1–11.

71   International Crisis Group, '"Deradicalization" and Indonesian Prisons'.

72   Abdullah Sonata, a terrorist fugitive, called on fellow convicted terrorists through his blog to keep faith in jihad and not to follow the footsteps of *ansha al thagut*, or 'the helpers of evil'. He also said that when he was in Cipinang Prison, he took long-distance religious lesson from his mentor and cleric Mukhlas via mobile phone. See 'Sonata's Blog Messages Show RI's Terror War is Far from Over', *The Jakarta Post*, 17 May 2010.

had been organized by the police are partly undone and often fail to cut off the chains of connection with terrorism. Indeed, in prison, the *jihadi* prisoners are able to enhance their *jihadi* solidarity and spirit of *jihad*.

The arrest of former terrorist convicts, such as Lutfi Haedaroh (aka Ubaid) and Abdullah Sunata in 2010, shows that the deradicalization process has yet to be sufficiently incorporated in Indonesia's counter-terrorism efforts. Attempts made by the police to launch the deradicalization programme with the aim of bringing imprisoned terrorist convicts—as well as their families—back into normal life after their release, remain partial and unsystematic, because of the lack of an appropriate legal umbrella. This programme emphasizes the need to educate the terrorist convicts and their families and to reorient their motivational life by reinterpreting the concept of *hijra* (migration).[73]

It is worth noting that the concept of *hijra* is quite central to the radical Islamists' strategy of recruiting followers. Referring to Qutb, who divided the world into two spheres—*dar al-Islam* (the Abode of Islam) and *dar al-harb* (the Land of War)—they insist that the present world order belongs to the *dar al-harb*, since *jahiliyahism* predominates. The concept of *jahiliyya*, as interpreted by Qutb, describes the situation of the Muslim populace under the nationalist regimes as being in a state of ignorance and barbarism. Accordingly, Muslims are required not only to undertake *hijra* until the divine order is restored but also to resist the established order and to devise actions that are aimed at overturning and transforming it.[74] Inspired by such ideas, Ayman al-Zawahiri, known to be close to Osama Bin Laden, developed an alternative vision of the *jihad* movement: the war against *jahiliyyaism* had to attack its source directly—that is, had to attack the 'Salabis', which he identified as the United States, its Western allies, and Zionist Israel. His ideas clearly shifted the focus of the *jihad* movement towards the 'distant enemy' that al-Qaeda's leader Bin Laden adopted, which had been formulated at the end of the 1980s and had become the backbone of the creation of the World Islamic Front for Jihad in 1998.[75]

Despite the mounting challenges that the jihadists posed to the state, the programme remains 'enemy-centric' and focuses on the radical or violent groups themselves. It has yet to address the long-term issues of why those groups were popular to begin with. Not addressing this issue will fail to prevent both existing and newly developing terrorist networks from expanding and gaining new recruits. A more comprehensive counter-terrorism approach that addresses the spread of radical Islamist ideology and takes into account the grievances of the local population and wins their support should be more successful in the long run.

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73 See Petrus Reinhard Golose, *Deradikalisasi Terorisme: Humanis*, Soul Approach *dan Menyentuh Akar Rumput* (Jakarta: YPKIK, 2010), pp. 113–115.

74 Youssef Choueiri, 'The Political Discourse of Contemporary Islamist Movements', in Abdel Salam Sidahmed and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds), *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 19–33.

75 For more detail, see *inter alia* Peter Mandaville, *Global Political Islam* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 248–256.

The arrest of Ubaid and Sunata was a moment when Indonesia realized the need to shift away from such 'enemy-centric' to a 'population-centric' approach that focuses on the long-term violent groups' strategy of infecting the local population and inciting them to commit violence in the name of religion, rather than their short term tactics of eliminating the violent groups. This change in focus is crucial in order to adapt to the evolving threat of terror in Indonesia. The latest terrorist groups are no longer constituted of an organized local network with ties to trans-national groups like al-Qaeda, which is bent on attacking Western or American targets within Indonesia. Recent arrests and attacks show that the terrorist threat has adopted new features.

This new breed of terrorist operators seems to be turning away from Western or foreign targets in Indonesia towards changing or disrupting established government structures and transplanting them with their own—for example, Islamic law in an Islamic state. Karnavian says that JI appears to be never short of followers and has adapted by changing its attack strategy, from Western targets to the 'near enemy', which is the Indonesian government, military and police.[76] Lately the terrorists have organized series of attacks—instead of one single attack— including a car-bomb attack on the president and book-bomb attacks on diverse targets associated with liberal Islam and secularism.

JI's latest capacity to survive is clear from the example of the Aceh training camp. In February 2010, a local police operation, based on a villager's report of unusual activity in a forested area in north-west Aceh, led to the discovery of a training camp in which men from virtually every known *jihadi* organization in Indonesia were involved.[77] Over the next few months, the police arrested over 50 men and killed eight members of the group, including the notorious Dulmatin. The Aceh camp operation and subsequent investigations suggest that a major mutation had occurred in Indonesian jihadism: a new group had emerged that rejected both *Jemaah Islamiyah* and the more violent splinter group led by Noordin Top (until his death in September 2009).[78] This camp represented the coming together of radical Islamists from a number of different groups who believed that a more coherent strategy for *jihad* is needed to achieve the main goal of replacing the current political system with Islam's. It appears that former rebels from the Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*, GAM) were not involved in any significant way.

Among the most important figures involved in this newfound 'group' is Osman Rochman (alias Aman Abdurrahman), an influential Salafi scholar and Arabic linguist, who is the foremost translator into Bahasa Indonesia of the writings of Jordanian cleric Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi.[79] Not only is he known for his criticisms of Noordin M. Top's operations, but he also argues that the focus of *jihadi* movements in Indonesia should be on replacing democracy with a system that is based on Islamic law. This is the 'new' socio-political vision that is offered. The real enemies

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76 See 'A July 17 Warning: JI is Still Lurking', *The Jakarta Globe*, 17–18 July 2010.

77 For a detailed assessment, see International Crisis Group, 'Indonesia: Jihadi Surprise in Aceh', *Asia Report*, no. 189 (Jakarta/Brussels: ICG, 2010).

78 International Crisis Group, 'Indonesia'.

79 Aman was arrested in March 2004 for arranging a bomb-making class for his followers in Cimanggis, Depok, outside Jakarta. He was sentenced to seven years but released in 2008. See International Crisis Group, 'Indonesia'.

are thus not Western targets, but government officials who refuse to apply the *shari'a*. This further highlights the increasingly insurgent nature of this newfound cross-organizational grouping, which included a group associated with Abdullah Sunata in KOMPAK, former JI members, two factions of DI/TII (including the *Ring Banten* that had worked with Noordin), Aman Abdurrahman's men, and a newly recruited group of men from Aceh.[80] Also included in this newfound grouping is the group led by Pepi Fernando, who was recently discovered to have been behind the series of book bombings and the plans to bomb Christ Cathedral Church and the state-owned gas pipeline in Serpong.

The initiative of uniting the various *jihadi* groups originated with Joko Pitono (aka Dulmatin). Upon his return to Indonesia from Mindanao, he brought the idea of a new *lintas tanzim*, or 'across organizations' activities. He promoted the idea that this broad coalition should focus more strategically on the endgame, through military preparation and the creation of safe havens for mujahidin from all over South-East Asia. This vision and overarching strategy has become more coherent since Hambali's heyday in the early 2000s. The initial key agenda was to enforce the *shari'a* through *jihad* and: 1) create the development of a secure base that could become a place of refuge as well as a base for operations; 2) establish military training camps; and (3) promote the right form of Islam by means of *dakwah* (*da'wa*, preaching) in the secure bases in order to increase community solidarity and support.[81]

Overall, there are two major reasons for this major shift in terrorist targets: 1) key figures in the new network were strongly influenced by the militant group in Mindanao that aimed to topple the government in the Philippines; and 2) the death of terrorist leader Noordin M. Top and the subsequent rise of Dulmatin, who criticized the effectiveness of suicide bombings.[82]

As a consequence, the terrorists' operational tactics have also changed—from indiscriminate suicide bombings to targeted assassinations, and even, if we consider the Aceh training camp, 'conventional' guerrilla warfare tactics. This suggests two things: 1) historically, the threat of terrorism in Indonesia stems from insurgency, which is now taking the form of Islamic insurgency; and (2) the next generation of jihadist leaders realize the importance of not alienating the local population—which occurs every time that the suicide bombings kill Muslim men and women.[83]

Another problem is that as the police toughen their response to terrorism, many of the radical terrorist networks have gone underground. Not only does this mean that their presence will be more difficult to trace and penetrate, but it also means that they are on the run. And people on the run always need support, especially when they have yet to give up on their ultimate goal. As such, they would be likely to either rely more and more on their kin and closely-knit networks, slip overseas to hide or reach out to other radical groups overseas, or launch armed robberies to

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80   International Crisis Group, 'Indonesia', p. 3.
81   International Crisis Group, 'Indonesia', p. 7.
82   See 'Police Detail Funding for Alleged Terrorist Group', *The Jakarta Post*, 19 August 2010.
83   For a discussion on these points, see for example Evan A. Laksmana, 'The Rise of Indonesia's Accidental Guerrillas?', *Today*, 26 May 2010.

obtain the necessary financial support. The probability of the last method grows when we consider that launching violent acts, including robberies and assassinations against state officials or police officers, could further boost their recruitment drive and radicalization efforts.

1.5   The Role of Civil Society

The attempts made by the Indonesian government to tackle the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism, combining soft and hard approaches, have successfully unveiled the whereabouts of clandestine terrorist networks and even broken their planned actions, and have led to the arrests of several key actors in the networks. The most recent raids in Pamulang, Bekasi, Temanggung, Ciputat, Medan, Aceh, Solo and other places, proved the success of such approaches. However, it does not necessarily mean that the success can entirely cut off the sources of terrorism in Indonesia. Regardless of the demise of such key actors as Azhari and Noor Din M. Top, similar terrorist attacks could still happen and even be more threatening. As we have seen, the capacity of the JI-linked terrorist networks to survive is visible in the establishment of the terrorist training (*i'dad*) centre in Aceh and other forms of activities. Chief among these is the robbery of the Medan branch of CIMB-Niaga bank in mid-2010, which involved Aceh-linked JI cells scattered over various places in Sumatra. This indicates that even with the death of its key actors and ideologues, JI's threat to society does not end automatically.

The Indonesian government has therefore benefited from the initiatives and involvement of civil society organizations in the war against terror. The role of civil society is decisive, since it has direct grass roots connections with the society where the seeds of terrorism grow and bloom. To be sure, terrorism does not emerge in a vacuum. Many factors that contribute to its survival are related to the emerging religious–social problems in society. Aware of this situation, Indonesian civil society actors from the mainstream Muslim organizations came to stand at the forefront to formulate the counter-terrorism campaign. For instance, Masykuri Abdillah, Masdar Farid Mas'udi and Abdul Wahid Maktub of the *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), as well as Haedar Nashir, Abdul Mukti and Sudibyo Markus of the *Muhammadiyah*, expressed their concern with what they understand as the root causes of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. In their analysis, Islamist radicalism and terrorism are rooted in the following three factors.

The first and foremost cause is the dissemination of the radical Islamist ideology whose followers claim to be the sole holders of truth and consider others as holding false ideas. Based on this ideology, radical Islamists frame their actions in the name of *jihad*, as well as for the sake of the religious imperatives of calling people to enjoin good and forbid evil. The ideology that pushes the radicalization process is functionally intertwined with structural macro and micro socio-economic factors. A number of individuals' disappointments, coupled with frustration caused by daily interactions with the outside world, are perfectly matched by socio-economic macro conditions, often portraying unemployment, backwardness, inequality, corruption, injustice and poverty. Within this context, terrorism has gained momentum to flourish and sound an alarm. The frustration and loss of hope has also allowed Islamist radical ideologies to penetrate deeper into the heart of the everyday life of many Muslims.

Another factor suggested by leaders of the mainstream Muslim organizations as contributive to Islamist radicalism and terrorism is related to people's perceptions about global injustice by the superpower states towards Islamic countries. News about the unfair foreign policies of the United States and its allies related to conflicts in the Middle East caused rage among Muslims. Conflicts between Palestine and Israel, in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the problem of Iran fuelled reactions among radical groups in many parts of the Muslim world. With the spirit of *jihad*, the radicals stood up to sacrifice themselves in order to elevate the dignity of Islam. Rage was directed at everything related to the United States and its allies, which the radicals regarded as against Islam.

In the eyes of the leaders of mainstream Muslim organizations, the aforementioned factors are interrelated. The first becomes an ideological basis; the second and the third are considered as fuelling and triggering terrorism. Terrorism is therefore clearly different from common crimes. Terrorism becomes stronger and more rooted if suppressed. The terrorists believe that they have conducted a sacred mission to bring a just world order by sacrificing themselves. In view of this reason, the moderate Muslim leaders are of the opinion that the enemy-centric security approach that the Indonesian government has taken thus far will never resolve the entire problem. Such an approach is even likely to repeat the historical mistakes of Suharto's authoritarian New Order when dealing with the challenges of Islamist opposition and radicalism.

In tandem with the ongoing democratic consolidation after Suharto, the campaigns by civil society organizations against Islamist radicalism and terrorism have increasingly cohered with the idioms of modern democracy. The wave of Islamist radicalism marked by the mounting call for the *shari'a* and *jihad* has been seen as threatening three principles of democratic life: 1) the *raison d'être* of the *Rechtstaat* (rule of law); 2) the sovereignty of the people; and 3) the unity and plurality of Indonesian society. These three principles demand that state legislation should be built, enforced and developed in accordance with democratic principles. In other words, the application of the *shari'a* and *jihad* contradicts the principles of human rights, as guaranteed by the Indonesian Constitution.[84] More and more Muslim moderates show an increasing awareness of the dangers that the militant Islamists' call for the *shari'a* and *jihad* poses to multiculturalism and democracy. Together with local activists and elites outside the power circle, they are involved in movements campaigning for civic freedom.[85]

1.5.1 The Nahdatul Ulama and the Muhammadiyah

The role of civil society in counter-terrorism efforts in Indonesia cannot be divorced from the programmes that the mainstream Islamic organizations have developed over the last decade. The *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU), the *Muhammadiyah*, the Institute of Human Resource Development

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84 Tim Imparsial, 'Penyeragaman dan Totalisasi Dunia Kehidupan Sebagai Ancaman terhadap Hak Asasi Manusia: Sebuah Studi Kebijakan di Indonesia', research report (Jakarta: Imparsial, 2006).

85 Ihsan Ali-Fauzi and Saiful Mujani (eds), *Gerakan Kebebasan Sipil: Studi dan Advokasi Kritis atas Perda Syari'ah* (Jakarta: Nalar, 2009), pp. 91–112.

(*Lembaga Pengembangan Swadaya Masyarakat*, known as *Lakpesdam*), the Wahid Institute, the Muhammadiyah Young Intellectual Network (*Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah*, JIMM) and the Centre for Moderate Muslims (CMM) are a few examples of such organizations that play a pivotal role in tackling the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. NU and *Muhammadiyah* are the two largest Muslim organizations, with millions of members, representing nearly 50 per cent of the Indonesian population. An organization of traditionalist Muslims, NU has been accommodative towards local culture and tradition and developed tolerant attitudes towards non-Muslims. Despite its concern with puritan Islam, the *Muhammadiyah*, known as a modernist Muslim organization, has also promoted tolerant attitudes towards non-Muslims. Such attitudes are deemed necessary by *Muhammadiyah* to achieve the modern standard of progressive life. *Lakpesdam* and the Wahid Institute are part of the NU, while JIMM is culturally linked to the *Muhammadiyah*. The CMM is a newly established organization whose membership consists of both NU and *Muhammadiyah* exponents.

So far, these organizations have played two significant roles in dealing with what they have defined as the 'internal' and 'external' problems pertaining to the threat of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. At the internal level, the organizations are concerned with the task of instilling a religious understanding that is more tolerant, moderate, inclusive and nationalistic among their respective memberships. At the external level, their concern is more on the creation of a better image of Islam as part of the strategy of positioning Muslims as problem-solvers to various problems occurring both at the domestic and international levels. The former is preventive, in the sense that attempts are made to anticipate the penetration of terror ideology through its media mouthpiece. The latter includes attempts to anticipate people's dissatisfaction, to correct their perception of Islam and to refine the image of the Muslim world in international relations. Both roles are directly linked to the strategy of delegitimizing the radical Islamist ideology and discourse that are spread at the grass roots.

Within this context, since 2005 the NU has been keen to disseminate the nationalistic discourse related to the Indonesian state's ideology and system. It has emphasized that in spite of the fact that Indonesia is not an Islamic state, the *Pancasila*, which is the five principles that serve as a state ideology, guarantees both the religious freedom and the rights of Muslims—as well as non-Muslims—to perform their religious obligations. Its values are thus not contradictory to Islam.[86] For the NU, *Pancasila* has been accepted as a common ground for living in harmony as a nation. Inherent in *Pancasila* is the notion about pluralism and multiculturalism, defined by the NU as the capacity of a society to accommodate the competing affiliations of cultural, religious and political identities, in which individuals and communities are not reduced to single ethnic, religious, sexual, ideological or other social marker. References are made to the Koran and the Prophet's traditions concerning Islam's recognition of plurality in a society. However, the NU does not accept pluralism if interpreted as a recognition that all religions have the same theological truth as Islam. In this manner, the NU has challenged the radical Islamists' repudiation of pluralism. Radical Islamists perceive pluralism to be the agenda of the West in

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86   Interview with Masykuri Abdillah, one of the chairmen of the NU central executive board, Jakarta, 1 August 2010.

order to undermine Islam. In the NU's eyes, this Islamist understanding is contradictory to the principal messages of Islam as *rahmat li-l-'alamin* (universal grace).

At the same time, the NU has provided a model of human relationships beyond the borders of organization, ethnicity, religious affiliations and nationhood. It divides human relationships into four types of brotherhood: internal brotherhood (*ukhuwwah nadhiyyah*); Islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwwah Islamiyyah*); national brotherhood (*ukhuwwah wataniyyah*); and human brotherhood (*ukhuwwah insaniyyah*). At the level of the internal brotherhood, attempts are made to strengthen solidarity and resilience among fellow *Nahdhiyyin* (members of NU) in order for them to challenge the penetration of radical Islamist ideology in the NU. As an organization incorporating more than 30 per cent of Indonesian Muslims, NU believes that solidarity among its members can become the foundation to strengthen the resilience of Indonesian Muslims in general against the penetration of radical Islamist ideology. For the NU, it is the task of all Indonesian Muslims—as a manifestation of the second type of brotherhood, *ukhuwwah Islamiyya*—to work together to tackle the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism by solidifying solidarity among them. As the largest Indonesian Muslim organization, the NU believes that its members should play a pivotal role as the protector of all the nation's fellows—primarily religious minorities—against the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism, and this is considered a manifestation of the third type of brotherhood, the national brotherhood, *ukhuwwah wathaniyyah*. Last but not least, the NU insists that its members should also develop a sense of brotherhood with people from other nations and religious affiliations within the framework of the fourth type of brotherhood, *ukhuwwah insaniyyah.* For the NU, there is no reason for Muslims to feel hatred of Western people and any people with a different cultural background. Instead, they are encouraged to get to know the others and to develop cooperative relationships with them. This is emphasized by the NU as the meaning of the Koran verse (QS 49: 13) saying *'ya ayyuha an-nas inna khalaqnakum min dhakarin wa untha wa ja'alnakum shu'uban wa-qaba'il li-ta'arafu'*.[87]

Systematic endeavours have simultaneously been made to challenge the radical Islamists' understanding of various controversial Koranic verses and Prophetic traditions. For instance, the Koranic verse (QS 9: 29) saying *'Qatilu al-ladhina la yu'minuna billah wa-la b-l-yawm al-akhir wa-la yuharrimuna ma harrama Allah wa-la yatiruna bi-l-haqq al-ladîîna utu al-kitab hatta yu'tuna al-jizyah 'an yadhum saghirun'*,[88] which has been used by radical Islamists as legitimacy to call on Muslims to fight *jihad* against the 'Muslim enemy' that is associated with Zionists and the Christian West. For NU, this verse was revealed in the context of warfare. Muslims were under the defensive position to repel the attacks of infidels. In a similar argument, the NU has challenged the frame of action developed by radical Islamists to relate the call of *jihad* with communal conflicts in various Indonesian towns, such as Ambon and Poso. From the radical

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87 'Oh people, we have created out of a man a woman and we have made you into peoples and tribes in order that you should know each other'.

88 'Fight those who do not believe in God and the Last Day and do not forbid what God and His Prophet have forbidden and do not accept the religion of the truth from those for whom the book has been written, until they pay the tax in humbleness'.

Islamists' perspective, the conflicts—which have cost the lives of hundreds of Muslims and displaced thousands of others—was a result of the state leadership's disinterest in the fate of Muslims and the neglect of their main task to bring about Islam's victory. Instead, the radicals claimed, the government served as the *taghut* (tyrant), who collaborated with the Zionists and the West to undermine Islam and the *umma*. As a result, Indonesia had become a *dar al-harb* (the realm of war) where *jihad* was an obligation. For the NU, meanwhile, Indonesia is a peaceful country where Muslims can express their religious beliefs and identities. It rejects the claim that Indonesia is a *dar al-harb*. Rather, Indonesia is regarded as *dar al-aman* (the realm of Islam), which allows *da'wa* to flourish.[89]

To spread these messages, the NU has actively organized seminars, workshops, training sessions and dialogues involving many participants from diverse backgrounds, not only Muslims but also non-Muslims. In these courses the emphasis is on living together in harmony and sharing insights with the adherents of other religions. Similarly, critical approaches are introduced to understand the Koranic verses and the Prophet's traditions (*hadith*) that are frequently used by radical Islamists and terrorists to legitimize their violent actions. *Pesantren*s, the typical Islamic boarding schools that teach almost exclusively Islamic subjects, have become the main target of these programmes. Overwhelmingly identified with the NU, a handful of *pesantren*s have been suspected of being hotbeds of Islamist radicalism and terrorism: al-Mukmin in Ngruki; and Ma'had Aly in Solo, central Java. These were discovered to have had ties to militants responsible for the series of bombings in Indonesia, as mentioned earlier.

Together with other Muslim civil society organizations, the NU has also been involved in campaigns for peace and conflict resolution in Indonesia and abroad. The NU is convinced that its involvement in this matter is crucial to show Islam's position as a religion that loves peace and is determined to be part of problem-solving in conflictual situations. Through its initiative to set up the International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS), the NU has conducted meetings with foreign governments with the aim of establishing international cooperation and finding solutions to various problems related to Islamist radicalism and terrorism. Various foreign agencies from the United States, European countries, South Korea and even Iran have supported the development of ICIS as an umbrella organization for moderate Muslims across the world who are working together to curb the spread of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. The NU has also participated in various international meetings on terrorism that are sponsored by the United Nation. Participation in the programmes initiated within the framework of the United Nations for counter-terrorism is deemed necessary to remind the Indonesian government of the importance of civil society in the global war against terrorism.[90]

Concern with similar matters has spurred NU-affiliated organizations such as *Lakpesdam* to join the national campaign against Islamist radicalism and terrorism. *Lakpesdam* has focused on the

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89 Interview with Masdar Farid Mas'udi, one of the chairmen of the NU central executive board, Jakarta, 7 August 2007.
90 Interview with Abdul Wahid Maktub, NU activist and former coordinator of NU's campaign against terrorism, Jakarta, 9 August 2010.

dissemination of tolerant religious understanding with the aim of strengthening social resilience among NU members. It has been actively campaigning for a peaceful, tolerant and moderate interpretation of Islam through its programmes for enhancing civil society organizations' capacity to tackle the penetration of Islamist radicalism and terrorism.[91] The campaigns are conducted through various activities, such as training courses, workshops and community development programmes, as well as talk shows on such radio stations as Jakarta News FM, Elshinta, Muara FM, Al-Syafi'iyyah, and Trisakti, or television stations such as TPI, SCTV and TVRI. *Lakpesdam* has also brought to the attention of larger audiences the issues of Islamist radicalism and terrorism by means of the special issues of its periodical, *Tashwirul Afkar*, as well as through the publication of special bulletins and numerous books. To date, programmes run by *Lakpesdam* have included training on policy advocacy and conflict prevention in various regions of Indonesia and strengthening the network of anti-Islamist radicalism and terrorism.[92] All of these programmes are intended to strengthen the capacity-building of local Muslim communities and their resilience in the face of threats from Islamist radicalism and terrorism.

Another civil society organization, the Wahid Institute, is more concerned with the issues of pluralism, civic freedom and human rights, which are believed to be the foundation for countering Islamist radicalism and terrorism.[93] A forum to disseminate progressive ideas by the most outstanding NU scholar and liberal thinker, President Abdurrahman Wahid, the Wahid Institute has been actively introducing various innovative programmes, both to facilitate communication and cooperation between Muslim and non-Muslim progressive intellectuals, as well as to enhance Muslim intellectuals' capacity-building to raise an awareness among people at the grass roots' level about the importance of pluralism and democracy.[94] This organization has actively organized workshops and training sessions on civic education and human rights. It has also held dialogues with *santri* (students at the *pesantrens*) to make them aware of the position of Islam in relation to the issues of religious freedom and human rights. To reach a broader audience, the Wahid Institute has published journals, bulletins and books discussing the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism to pluralism and multiculturalism, which are considered the foundations of democratic life in Indonesia. The Wahid Institute has also organized meetings among religious leaders in various regions of Indonesia, in which they can share information concerning the threats of Islamist radicalism in their respective regions and discuss the ways to counter them. The networks arising from these meetings are also used to intensify the socialization of moderate views of Islam and cooperation among moderate Muslims to work for religious harmony and multiculturalism.[95] In a more provocative endeavour, the Wahid Institute has moreover been involved in sponsoring the publication of *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia* (The Illusion of the Islamic State: Expansion of Transnational Islamist Movements in Indonesia). Edited by President Wahid himself, this

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91   Interview with Hamami Zada, Lakpesdam's activist, Jakarta, 21 July 2010.
92   Interview with Lilis Nurul Husna, director of Lakpesdam, Jakarta, 12 July 2010.
93   Interview with Ahmad Suaedy, director of the Wahid Institute, Jakarta, 19 July 2010.
94   Interview with Ahmad Suaedy, director of the Wahid Institute, Jakarta, 19 July 2010.
95   Interview with Rumadi, program coordinator and researcher at the Wahid Institute, Jakarta, 9 July 2010.

book clearly blames the Wahhabis and Ikhwanis for spreading Islamist radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia, and thus being the real enemy of the Indonesian nation.[96]

The NU modernist counterpart, the *Muhammadiyah*, has equally played a significant role in disseminating a moderate understanding of Islam to counterbalance the spread of radical Islamist ideology. Since 1946, *Muhammadiyah* has declared itself a cultural movement against violence. It has been actively doing *da'wa* by placing Islam in the context of the nation-state. *Muhammadiyah* calls on people to be tolerant and to live harmoniously with people from different ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds.[97] The stated aim of the *Muhammadiyah*— *da'wa*—is to create peace and prosperity in accordance with the Koranic (Q.S. 14: 24) saying '*baldatun thayyibatun wa rabbun ghafur*'. To realize this aim, *Muhammadiyah* has built and improved various social infrastructures, which provide education from elementary to university levels, health services, social works, and others.

The dissemination of puritan doctrine, along with the social empowerment programme, has become the *Muhammadiyah*'s main concern. Based on this concern, *Muhammadiyah* has developed socio-cultural approaches to prevent violence and terrorism from spreading and threatening Islam. *Muhammadiyah* views terrorism, from a macro point of view, as a complex phenomenon involving a false religious understanding, social constructions where terror actors live, and emerging crises. Terrorism must therefore be handled by adopting moderate attitudes through the empowerment of civil society. Central are such concepts as *da'wah jam'yyah* (spreading moderate doctrines) and *qaryah thayyibah* (empowering social infrastructures on the village and regional levels).[98]

The *Muhammadiyah* is aware of the correspondence of the terrorists' radical ideology with its puritan doctrine. Responding to the involvement of some *Muhammadiyah* members or ex-members in bombing attacks in Indonesia, the board of the *Muhammadiyah* has introduced three important policies. First, the *Muhammadiyah* has tightened the rules and codes of conduct for preachers who are invited to deliver religious lessons among *Muhammadiyah* members. This policy was introduced to counter the radicalism transmitted through *da'wa*, *majelis taklim* (Islamic study groups) and other religious gatherings that are organized by *Muhammadiyah*-affiliated institutions. *Muhammadiyah* also strengthened its control over filial organizations, especially its youth wings. This agenda was significant, since perpetrators of terrorism come mostly from the younger generation, those aged between 18 and 40 years. By strengthening youth organizations within the *Muhammadiyah*, it was expected that the infiltration of radicalism or terrorism into the *Muhammadiyah* body could be anticipated and prevented. *Muhammadiyah* has even positioned its younger generation that is active in the organization as

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96   Abdurrahman Wahid (ed.), *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, Gerakan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika and Maarif, 2009).
97   Interview with Abdul Mukti, the general secretary of the Muhammadiyah, Jakarta, 30 July 2010.
98   Interview with Sudibyo Markus, the Muhammadiyah's chairman on society empowerment affairs, Jakarta, 25 August 2010.

the vanguards of the *Muhammadiyah* counter-terrorism strategy. Third, *Muhammadiyah* has collaborated well with the government's counter-terrorism efforts.

In addition to these internal programmes, *Muhammadiyah* has been actively involved in international forums and movements for consolidation against terrorism. Its representatives were present in various international gatherings and meetings, such as those organized by the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) on international humanitarian law in Geneva and by the Organization of Islamic Conference on Islamic relief and counter-terrorism in Kuwait, both in 2006. Attended by civil society organizations across the world, these meetings were aimed at building a positive image of Islam and at finding solutions to the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. In this regard, like its traditionalist counterpart, the NU, the *Muhammadiyah* has contributed to strengthening international cooperation and partnerships in the framework of the global war against terror.[99]

1.5.2   *Muhammadiyah Young Intellectual Network (JIMM) and Centre for Moderate Muslims (CMM)*

Concern with similar matters has inspired young *Muhammadiyah* intellectuals to establish the Muhammadiyah Young Intellectual Network (JIMM). Applying social approaches, including hermeneutics and critical discourse analysis, members of JIMM have been actively campaigning for tolerance, inclusiveness, progressivity, and commitment to the marginal and poor (*mustadh'afin*).[100] They have organized seminars, workshops and training sessions and published their writings in various national media. These endeavours are believed to have contributed to the dissemination of a progressive discourse emphasizing the compatibility of Islam with nationhood. To reduce the potential for radical Islamists to penetrate the poor, they have organized various community empowerment programmes, which provided free skill-training programmes, a village model for religious harmony (*Desa Binaan*), and Ahmad Dahlan orphanage model (*Rumah Singgah*) for orphans and abandoned children. In economic sectors they have developed husbandry businesses involving local poor people.[101] Empowering the poor is emphasized by JIMM as the main strategy to strengthen local peoples' resilience against the growing influence of Islamist radicalism and terrorism.[102]

A civil society organization whose membership comes both from NU and *Muhammadiyah* (CMM) was set up to neutralize the widespread radical ideology and ideas through training courses, publications, seminars, meetings and workshops that involve Muslim leaders at home and abroad, especially at the regional level of the Association for South-East Asian Nations

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99   Interview with Abdul Mukti, Jakarta, 30 July 2010.
100 Interview with Fajar Reza Ul Haq, JIMM's activist, Jakarta, 20 July 2010.
101 Interviews with Said Ramadan, JIMM's activist, Jakarta, 30 July 2010.
102 Interview with Zainal Muttaqien, JIMM's activist, 21 July 2010.

(ASEAN).[103] The limits of the government's capacity to tackle the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism—either because of financial or coordination constraints—has been seen by CMM as the opportunity for civil society organizations to offer more humanistic approaches towards the management of handling Islamist radicalism and terrorism. Within this context CMM has developed various programmes that specifically aim to confront the appeal of Islamist radicalism and terrorism among youth.[104] Special attention was given to the need to equip Muslim preachers (*da'i*) at the grass roots' level with a moderate understanding and wider insight of Islam. To cover a larger audience, it has published bulletins, journals, books and documentary videos.[105] One such example is the book entitled *Amerika Memerangi Teroris, Bukan Memerangi Islam* (The US is Against Terrorists, Not Muslims), which was intended to affirm the position of CMM as an organization that was not taking sides with the United States. In addition, it explained that to some extent the United States' involvement in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq should be understood in the context of the global war on terrorism, rather than on Islam.

1.6   Bringing the State's Role Back In

Civil society's participation in countering terrorism came as a blessing for the Indonesian government, which has limited capacity and energy to counter the dissemination of radical Islamist ideologies and *jihadi* teachings. Because of the state's focus on security and tactical measures, the dissemination of radical Islamist ideology and *jihadi* teachings remained uncontested. Former Vice-President Yusuf Kalla brought a team of Muslim scholars together in late 2005 under the coordination of the Ministry of Religious Affairs to address the issue. The Indonesian Council of Ulama (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI), a semi-governmental body of Muslim scholars, served as the backbone of the team. It spearheaded the establishment of the government-sponsored Team for Handling Terrorism (*Tim Penanggulangan Terorisme*, TPT), which was assigned the task to design a number of religious programmes to counter terrorist ideologies.

This team assisted the government in integrating the campaigns of civil society organizations against terrorism into Indonesia's counter-terrorism efforts. It stimulated religious scholars from the MUI and mainstream Muslim organizations, such as the NU, the *Muhammadiyah*, and *al-Irsyad*, as well as the more conservative organizations, such as *Persatuan Islam* (known as *Persis*/Islamic Union), to collaborate and coordinate their efforts. This initiative had little impact, however. According to ICG, its ineffectiveness was in part caused by some members' ignorance of the scale of the Islamist radical and terrorist threat. Other members had no idea of the content of the radical teachings and how they were supposed to respond,[106] while their hesitation to

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103 Interview with Tarmizi Thaher, former minister of religious affairs and the founder of CMM, Jakarta, 4 August 2010.
104 Interview with Muhammad Hilaly Basya, CMM's executive director, 22 July 2010.
105 Interview with David K. Alka, CMM's activist, Jakarta, 19 July 2010.
106 International Crisis Group, '"Deradicalization" and Indonesian Prisons', pp. 11–12.

counter the issue derived from their acceptance of the conspiracy theory disseminated by radical Islamists and jihadists that the series of terror attacks in Indonesia was part of the United States' and Zionist plots to undermine Islam.

Faced with terrorist threats and increasingly preoccupied with the growing concern with Islamist radicalism, the MUI eventually issued a *fatwa* clarifying the distinction between *jihad* and terrorism, regarding the former as reformative (*islahi*) and non-violent, while the latter was branded as destructive (*ifsad/fawda*). This *fatwa* forbids (*haram*) any individual, groups or states to perpetrate terrorist acts in the name of *jihad*. Likewise, individuals are forbidden to commit suicide bombing, as it is an act of desperation (*al-ya'su*) to destroy oneself (*ihlak al-nafs*). For the MUI, this act is contrary to the so-called act of seeking martyrdom (*'amaliyah al-istishhad*), which is only relevant in the context of warfare.[107] Ma'ruf Amin, the head of the *fatwa* committee of the council, insisted that if terrorism spreads violence and fear, *jihad*—when performed correctly in accordance with its proper conditions and rules—brings peace. In his eyes, *jihad* is, in essence, the utmost struggle of Muslims to realize the common good and should not be used for terrorist purposes. Consequently, suicide bombing for the sake of *jihad* is totally forbidden in Islam.[108]

Aside from this *fatwa*, the MUI established a special Commission for Harmony among Different Religious Communities. In the National Conference VII on 28 July 2005, it set up a special programme to enhance harmonious relations among different religious communities, with the aim of: a) enhancing awareness of potential conflicts among different religious communities that may endanger religious harmony and threaten national unity; b) promoting a common understanding of inter-religious tolerance, especially among religious and national leaders; c) accelerating the ratification of the legal draft law on religious harmony; d) enhancing cooperation and consultation with councils of other religions and governments of nations with other religions; e) conducting sustainable studies on inter-religious life in Indonesia; f) strengthening cooperation with various religious institutions, both at regional and international levels; and g) disseminating ideas on the ethical code of inter-religious relations.

Paradoxically, amid the attempts to disseminate religious harmony among different religious communities, the MUI issued a number of controversial *fatwa*s aimed at challenging the dissemination of so-called liberal views of Islam. One such example is the *fatwa* forbidding 'religious pluralism'. This *fatwa* denies that all religions have equal theological truth. It does not forbid 'religious *plurality*', in the sense of the reality of the plural nature of Indonesian peoples in terms of religion, nor does it deny that Muslims should live in peace with non-Muslims.[109] The

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107 The Indonesian Council of Ulama, *Fatwa MUI tentang Terorisme*, *n*o. 3/2004 (Jakarta: Indonesian Council of Ulama, 2005), pp. i–17.

108 Interview with Ma'ruf Amin, the head of the *fatwa* committee of the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI), Jakarta, 18 July 2007.

109 Interview with Asrorun Niam Sholeh, the secretary of the MUI's *fatwa* committe, Jakarta, 18 August 2010.

fatwa even states that 'Muslims living with non-Muslims [religious plurality] should behave *inclusively* in social affairs, beyond the matters of *'aqida* [creed] and *'ibada* [ritual]'.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs supported the MUI by publishing a book entitled *Meluruskan Makna Jihad Mencegah Terorisme* (Correcting the Meaning of *Jihad*: Preventing Terrorism), which contained a lengthy article on the contrast between *jihad* and terrorism and reproduces the complete version of the *fatwa* mentioned above. Thousands of copies have been distributed for free to mosques and Islamic institutions that operate at the grass roots' level. The Ministry has also organized the dissemination of the MUI's collection of anti-violent sermons (*khutbah anti-kekerasan*), issued in 2006, entitled *Taushiyah dari Mimbar yang Teduh: Kumpulan Khutbah Anti Kekerasan* (Admonition from the Peaceful Pulpit: Anthology of Anti-Violent Sermons).[110] These endeavours, are, however, recognized by the Director of Islamic Guidance at the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ahmad Djauhari, as a drop in the ocean. His ministry has been starved of governmental funding and support. In spite of the establishment of BNPT in 2010, this problem remains.[111]

The BNPT has made a difference in another respect: the systematic incorporation of initiatives by civil society into Indonesia's grand strategy of countering Islamist radicalism and terrorism. Three important factors are underlined by the Head of BNPT, Ansyad Mbai, as the key to the success of counter-terrorism efforts in Indonesia: a) ensuring law enforcement of justice and human rights; b) preventive multi-dimensional actions to annihilate factors that trigger terrorism; and c) the supervision and support of ex-detainees.[112] BNPT has encouraged civil society organizations to be more active in the field of prevention. Part of the prevention tactics, such as the deradicalization programmes that have been developed by civil society, are directed at neutralizing the spread of Islamist radical ideologies as well as other factors contributing to the organization of terrorist networks.

For civil society organizations that have been active in the campaign against terrorism, the government's call arrived belatedly. These organizations, as we have seen, had already been active in the campaign. They focused on protection and prevention measures by using what they believe is a religion-based humanistic and cultural approach. The significance of their contribution lies in their attempts to protect their respective membership from the infiltration of radical Islamist ideology and to prevent such an ideology from entering the discursive spheres of democratic Indonesia. The success of this approach has simultaneously contributed to endeavours to delegitimize radical Islamist ideology, on the one hand, and to disseminate peaceful and tolerant Islam, on the other. Promoting awareness among Indonesians of the dangers of Islamist radicalism and terrorism by means of the deradicalization programmes that

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110 The Department of Religious Affairs, *Meluruskan Makna Jihad: Mencegah Terorisme* (Jakarta: Department of Religious Affairs, 2006).
111 Interview with Ahmad Djauhari, Jakarta, 20 May 2010.
112 Ansyad Mbai, the Head of BNPT, in his keynote speech at the 'Workshop on Strengthening Islamic Values as Mercy for All to Counter Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesia', organized by BNPT, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Lazuardi Birru, Jakarta, 30 November 2010.

have been initiated by civil society no doubt constitutes the key to narrowing the space for manoeuvre of militant Islamist groups.

BNPT is aware of the significance of civil society's contribution to the success of counter-terrorism efforts. Given the Indonesian government's limited budget, human resources and technology, the role of civil society is badly needed to assist the government in soliciting funding, supervising, and participating in the deradicalization programmes. It can play an important role in the campaign against Islamist radicalism. The *Muhammadiyah* and the NU, which manage various educational institutions at different levels, are expected to instil critical ways of thinking and to propagate multicultural and democratic values among its students, who are the main targets for terrorist recruitment. Religious leaders are expected to play a leading role in correcting false interpretations of Islamic doctrines and countering the perception that Islamist terrorists are heroes. They are also assigned the task of reformulating *da'wa* methods in order to integrate peaceful messages of Islam into *da'wa* activities. No less important is the role that the media is expected to play in disseminating correct information and a moderate understanding of Islam. In this way they form a counterweight to the spread of radical and *jihadi* teachings.[113]

A number of critics regard the Indonesian government's appeal to civil society to participate in counter-terrorism efforts in Indonesia as part of the government's endeavours to strengthen the state's role in fulfilling its neglected duty to counter the dissemination of Islamist radical ideology and terrorism. They believe that this is unnecessary, arguing that civil society has actively been involved in countering radicalism on its own initiative. In their eyes, it is more important for the Indonesian government to develop a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy that focuses on the fate of ex-detainees and sections of the population who are prone to terrorist recruitment. They point out that a dozen ex-detainees and young recruits have joined recent terrorist attacks. The logical strategy for the Indonesian government to deal with such people is to develop a humanistic approach that focuses on their 'empowerment' by means of economic, social, political, and religious programmes.[114]

In the absence of government initiatives in this respect, the *Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian* (Peace Inscription Foundation) has taken up the challenge to issue capital to former perpetrators of terrorist and violent actions in order to establish their own businesses.[115] Under the Foundation's program, ex-JI combatants in Semarang are now running small food stalls selling 'torpedoes'—a dish made of a goat's penis. As Ismail said, a food stall is a good place for the reconciliation process, because in this environment their mindset about society and *jihad*, which

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113 Nasaruddin Umar, '*Kebijakan Pemerintah dalam Penanganan Radikalisme dan Terorisme di Indonesia*', paper presented at the 'Workshop on Strengthening Islamic Values as Mercy for All to Counter Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesia', organized by BNPT, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Lazuardi-Birru, Jakarta, 30 November 2010.

114 Mohammad Nabil, 'Minutes of the Discussion between the Government Agencies and NGO Activists', the 'National Symposium: Cutting up the Circle of Radicalim and Terrorism', Lazuardi Birru, Universitas Indonesia, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatulah and Polri, Jakarta 27–28 July 2010.

115 Interview with Noor Huda Ismail, director of the Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian, Jakarta, 18 July 2010.

they see in a violent context, can be transformed. It is also a place where they can broaden their social relations and interact with a pluralistic society. However, given the limited resources that they can muster to conduct this sort of programme, their impact remains limited.[116]

Another praiseworthy project has been launched by the Centre for Human Rights of the Indonesian Islamic University (UII).[117] This Centre has developed economic empowerment programmes that aim at helping former radical jihadists and ex-terrorists to solve their economic problems. The Centre believes that the advocacy programmes, combined with programmes for legal and social support and supported by the dissemination of deradicalization programmes may prove an effective tool to combat terrorism.

These representatives of Indonesian civil society have expressed their hope that the government can cooperate more closely with them. This cooperation is believed to be effective in coming to terms with the emerging related problems of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. On the assumption that *jihad* is closely related to the efforts of marginalized people to find an outlet for their social, economic and political disappointments on the macro level, and by individual frustrations that are triggered by micro experiences, this cooperation is essential.

1.7 Conclusion

With the sentencing of violent extremist cleric Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and the start of the trial against alleged *Tanzim Al Qaeda in Aceh* member Abu Tholut in June 2011, it remains evident that Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim majority country, is on the frontlines of the battle against terrorism. This battle predates the 2002 bombings of two crowded Bali nightclubs by *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI) militants, killing 202 people, many of them foreign tourists. In fact, it can be argued that Indonesia has become one of the most successful countries in tackling the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism, which erupted in the aftermath of the fall of Suharto's New Order regime in May 1998. As a result of the chaotic transition towards electoral democracy after Suharto, a number of militant Islamist groups emerged and achieved notoriety by taking to the streets to demand the comprehensive implementation of the *shari'a* and raiding cafes, discotheques, casinos, brothels and other reputed dens of iniquity. The efflorescence of these groups has provided the background for the emergence of numerous jihadist groups that have become active in various trouble spots in Indonesia, especially in Maluku and Central Sulawesi. They have perpetrated terrorism in the name of *jihad* in Jakarta, Bali, and other regions and cities of Indonesia. The most phenomenal among the groups was JI, the organization identified as the hub of al-Qaeda operations throughout South-East Asia and deemed responsible for a series of bombing attacks in Indonesia over the past decade. Given the scale of Islamist

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116 Interview with Noor Huda Ismail, director of the Prasasti Prasasti Perdamaian, Jakarta, 18 July 2010. See also '"Prison and Paradise": How Terrorism Affects Children', *The Jakarta Post* (29 November 2010).

117 Interview with Eko Prasetyo, leading activist of the UII's centre of human rights, Jakarta, 17 July 2010.

radicalism and terrorism's impact, Indonesia even became notorious as a safe haven and a hotbed for terrorism in South-East Asia.

Initially, Indonesia was disoriented in tackling the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. Repressive measures guided by an 'enemy-centric' strategy that had been applied by the government of the New Order could no longer continue amid the growing demand for reform and democracy after the Suharto regime had fallen. The reform demands required the predominant military presence to be scaled back and allow the National Police (*POLRI*) to take over the role of counter-terrorism. This policy, however, proved to be unsuccessful, mainly because of the police's incomplete database and relatively weak capacity to deal with terrorism. There was also another factor in play. Traumatized by the New Order's repressive security measures when dealing with radical Islamist challenges, Indonesian civil society reminded President Megawati's administration of the danger of relying on military means to combat terrorism. All of this changed dramatically after the 2002 Bali bombings, which showed the gravity of the threat posed to Indonesia by radical groups.

Indonesia has gradually developed a model for responding to Islamist radicalism and terrorism by carefully combining 'hard' and 'soft' measures. Various security agencies scattered throughout the National Police, the Indonesian Intelligence Agency (BIN) and the Indonesian Military Force (TNI) were mobilized to tackle the threats under coordination by a new institution that was established during Megawati's administration, the Terrorism Eradication Coordinating Desk (TECD), which is located in the Office of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs. Instead of the military, the police was designated as the leading agency in Indonesia's counter-terrorism efforts, which were based on law enforcement, rather than security. A major step forward was made when the military's counter-terrorism resources and expertise, which had been mainly housed in Gegana Regiment II of the Brigade Mobil (BRIMOB), were reorganized and reintegrated into the Special Detachment 88 (*Densus* 88). Since its establishment in 2003, the unit has become the premier counter-terrorism unit in Indonesia, having arrested or killed over 600 terrorism suspects. Indonesia has also continued to enhance the capacity and capability of its counter-terrorism agencies by increasing their budgets for handling terrorism, strengthening cooperation with various foreign agencies and governments, and working out various other initiatives aimed at curbing the available room for manoeuvre of Islamist radical and terrorist groups.

Nevertheless, the 'hard' approach that was developed under the banner of law enforcement instituted primarily through the Special Detachment 88 is not without controversy. Between 2004 and 2009, the unit arrested 464 individuals and killed 40; in 2010 alone, they arrested approximately 100 and killed sixteen. Questions are being raised by human rights organizations at home and abroad, especially in the United States and Australia—the two countries that assist in training the elite counter-terrorism unit—as to the necessity of so many deaths and the clarity of, and abidance by, the rules of engagement. Notwithstanding these concerns, Indonesia today is less prone to major terrorist attacks than it was in the early 2000s, in part because of this 'hard' approach. However, this may not be because the terrorist groups have been fully crushed, but can also be ascribed to the terrorists going underground and refocusing their strategy, while
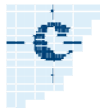
rebuilding their forces. To its credit, the police have achieved a degree of success with their deradicalization programme for detainees, which has led to several dozen leading militants working to reconvert jihadists. In addition, the programme has been instrumental in persuading a growing number of mid- and lower-level operatives to collaborate with the police and authorities and to provide valuable intelligence on their former terrorist networks, colleagues and operations.

Important challenges remain, however. Indonesia's campaigns against terrorism seem to have focused on ad-hoc measures that are mostly concerned with operational—not strategic— counter-terrorism. The seemingly ad-hoc initiatives that Indonesia has taken thus far are not based on a clear picture of the overall strategic measures to deal with the threat of terrorism. In this sense, a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy, as opposed to an operational approach, has concerned merely the 'respond' and 'pursue' measures. It is clear that they should also address the overall environment that breeds extremist and terrorist activities, as well as terrorist attacks. The Indonesian government eventually realized this necessity by highlighting the need to apply the soft approach, emphasizing the importance of persuasive methods. From this perspective, the enemy is not an entity that should be destroyed. The 'soft' method is employed to make the individual target cooperative and even to change his radical mindset. Within this context, the National Police spearheaded the Indonesian government's deradicalization programme.

At the operational level, the success of the police's deradicalization programme has been considered 'partial'. There is a need for Indonesia to involve all sectors of society—especially those from moderate Islamic mass organizations—specifically to tackle the dissemination of *jihadi* ideology at the grass roots' level. This is all the more urgent as terrorist recruiters and radical organizations continue to feed Indonesian society with extremist religious doctrines and discriminative sentiments. A change in focus of the counter-terrorism strategy is moreover crucial in order to adapt to the evolving threat of terror in Indonesia. The latest terrorist groups are no longer constituted of an organized local network with ties to transnational groups like al-Qaeda that are bent on attacking Western or American targets within Indonesia. Recent arrests and attacks show that the terrorist threat has adopted new features and that JI has the capacity to survive.

Learning from some of the weaknesses of Indonesia's counter-terrorism efforts, the Indonesian government has welcomed the role of civil society in claiming back their society in the campaign against radicalism and terrorism. The belief among many civil society actors is that in order truly to minimize and contain the threat of terrorism in the long run, the 'strategy' of the radical groups that seeks to 'infect' local populations with violent ideologies must be countered. A 'population-centric' strategy can prevent the local population from being 'infected' with radical ideologies. Such a strategy can be more adequately developed from a COIN (counter-insurgency) perspective than a counter-terrorism perspective. A basic key element of COIN is the ability to bring increased attention to the civilian role in conflict stabilization and counter-terrorism.

In fact, Indonesian Muslim civil society organizations, with *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah* standing at the forefront, had already actively been involved in countering the dissemination of

Islamist radical ideology and *jihadi* teachings through various initiatives of their own. The role of civil society is decisive, as it has been working on the grass roots' level to strengthen Muslims' awareness to and social resilience against the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. Endeavours have focused on how to deal with what has been defined as the internal and external problems pertaining to the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism. At the internal level, the civil society organizations are concerned with instilling religious understanding that is more tolerant, moderate, inclusive and nationalistic among their respective members. At the external level, concern is focused more on the creation of a better image of Islam as part of solving the problem, both at the domestic and international levels. Interestingly, in tandem with the ongoing democratic consolidation after Suharto, the civil society campaigns against Islamist radicalism and terrorism have increasingly cohered with the idioms of modern democracy.

Indonesia has come a long way, but still faces a lengthy and winding road ahead. Nevertheless, the Indonesian experience in tackling the threats of Islamist radicalism and terrorism with a delicate balance of soft and hard measures is highly interesting and valuable; one that might provide food for thought for other countries that are seeking inspiration for their own policies and programmes.

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Interview with Masdar Farid Mas'udi, one of the chairmen of the NU central executive board, Jakarta, 7 August 2007.

Interview with Abdul Wahid Maktub, NU activist and former coordinator of NU's campaign against terrorism, Jakarta, 9 August 2010.

Interview with Hamami Zada, *Lakpesdam* activist, Jakarta, 21 July 2010.

Interview with Lilis Nurul Husna, director of Lakpesdam, Jakarta, 12 July 2010.

Interview with Ahmad Suaedy, director of the Wahid Institute, Jakarta, 19 July 2010.

Interview with Rumadi, programme coordinator and researcher at the Wahid Institute, Jakarta, 9 July 2010.

Appendices

1. The Dynamics of Insurgencies in Indonesia (1945–2009)
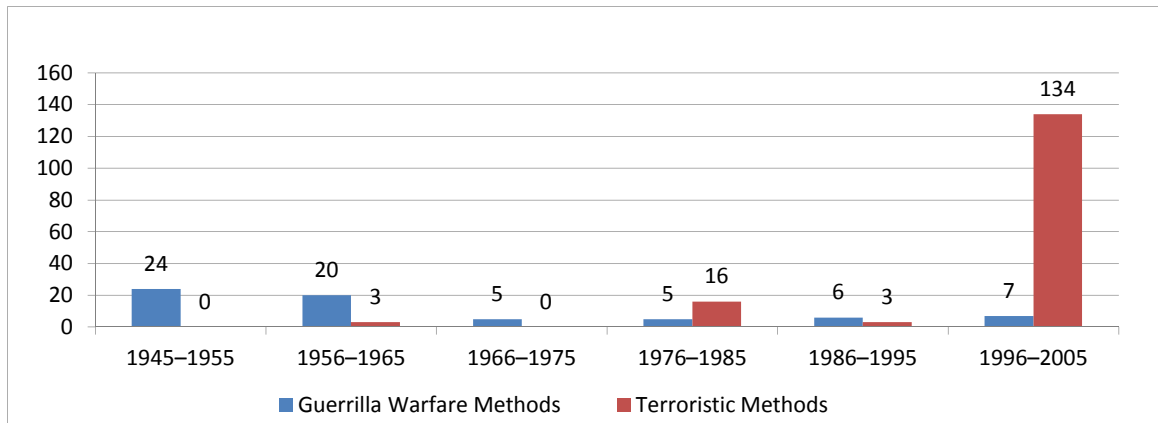
2. Indonesia's Enemy Character based on Number of Military Operations, 1945–2004
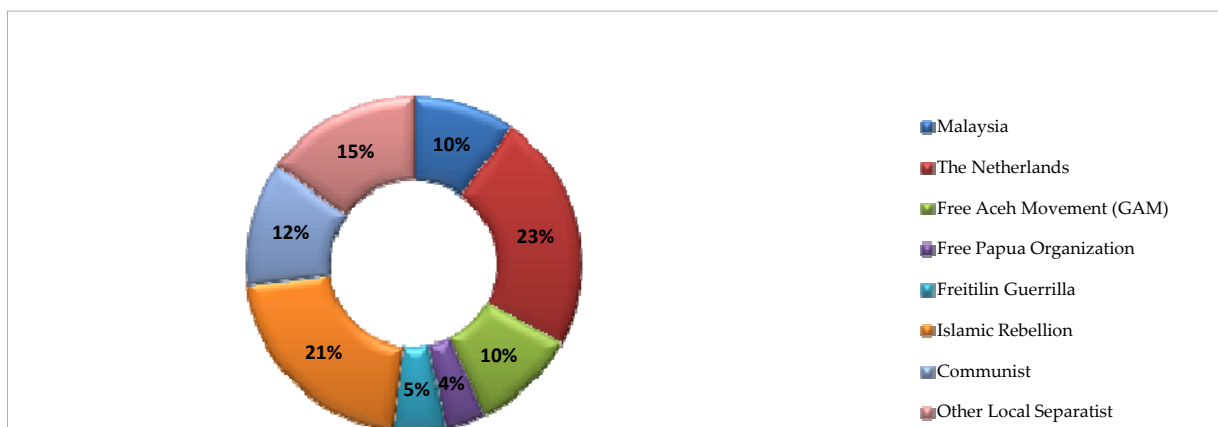
Adapted from: Andi Widjajanto, Edy Prasetyono and I'dil Syawfi, *Penguatan Komunitas Keamanan ASEAN untuk Menopang Integrasi Nasional Indonesia* (Jakarta: University of Indonesia, 2009), pp. 11–23.

3. The Evolution of JI based on its Operational Capability
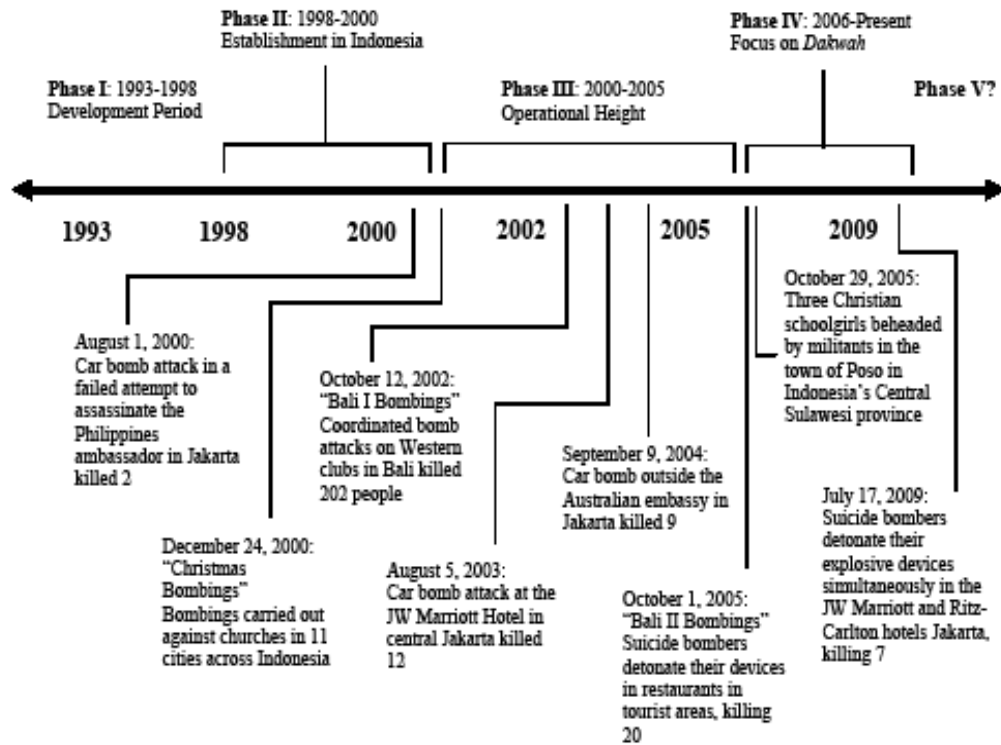
Source: Gillian S. Oak, '*Jemaah Islamiyah*'s Fifth Phase: The Many Faces of a Terrorist Group', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 33, no. 11 (2010), p. 993.

4. National Budget Distribution for Counter-Terrorism Programmes, 2007–2010 (in billions IDR)
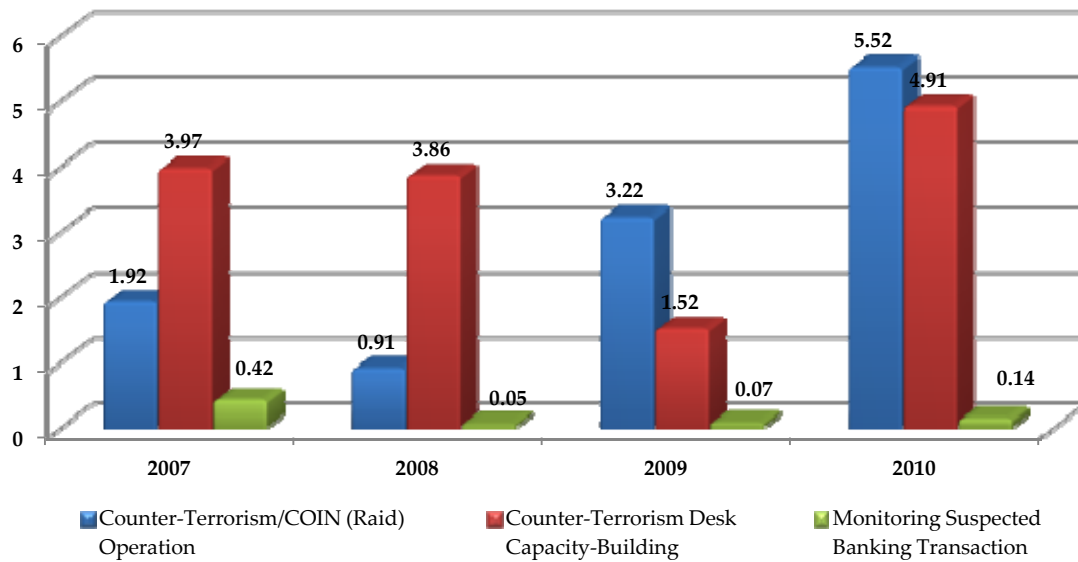
5. National Budget Allocation for BIN in 2007 (in billions IDR)
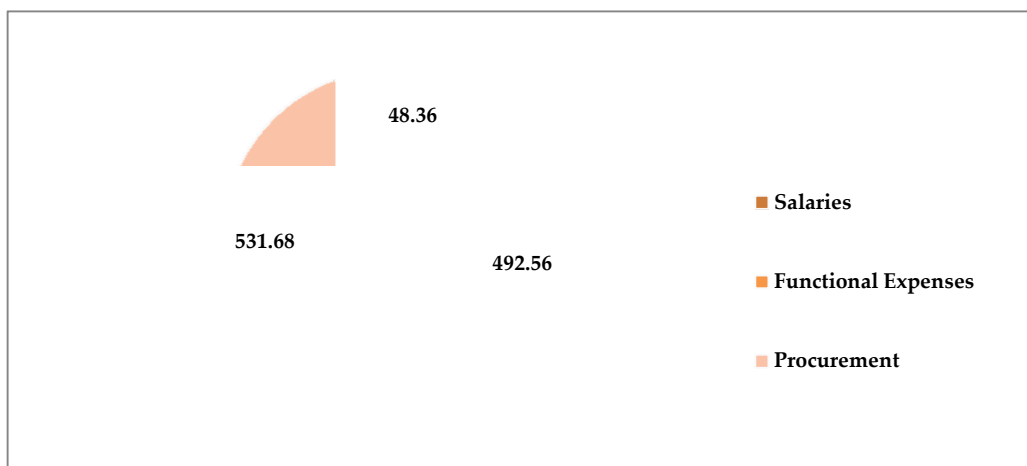
6. Major Tactical Raids by Special Detachment 88

Date	Place	Casualties	Key Targets
09-Nov-05	Batu, Malang	3	Dr Azahari
07-Aug-09	Temanggung	5	Ibrohim, Dani Dwi Permana, and Ikwan Maulana
08-Aug-09	Bekasi	2	Aher Setiawan and Oke Joko Sarjono (alias Eko Peyang)
17-Sep-09	Surakarta	4	Noor Din Moh. Top
09-Oct-09	Ciputat	1	Unclear
09-Mar-10	Aceh	3	YI, BR, and H
12-May-10	Jakarta and Cikampek	5	Unclear
14-Jun-10	Klaten	1	Yuli Karsono

7. Law Enforcement Actions against Terrorists in 2010 (based on Affiliations)
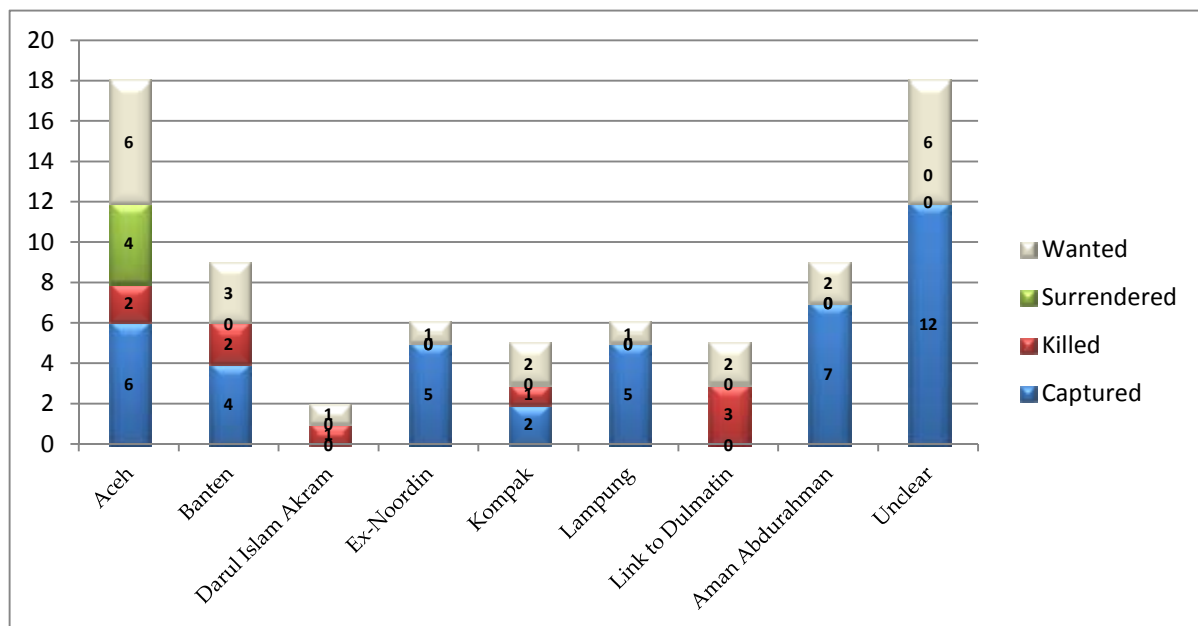
8. JI-Related Prisoners (until 2007)
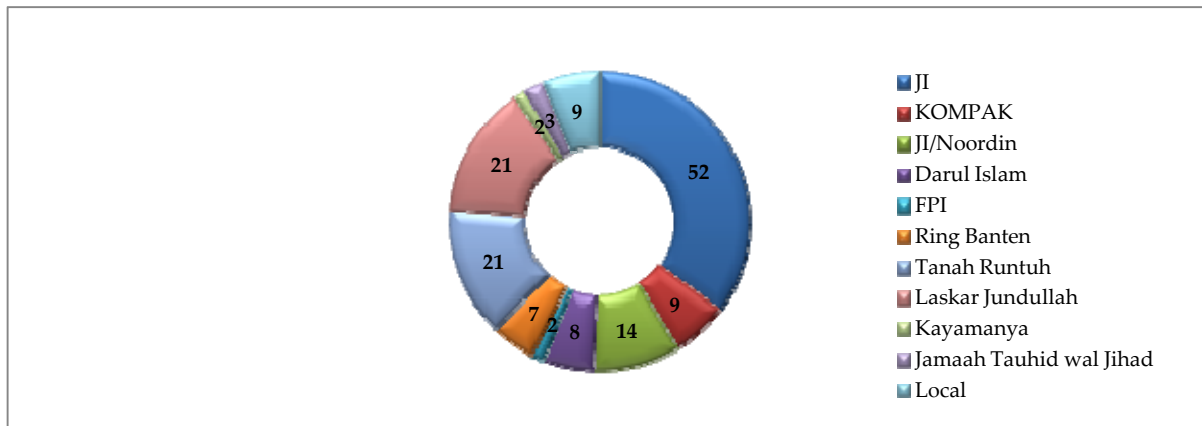
Source: International Crisis Group, '"Deradicalization" and Indonesian Prisons' (19 November 2007).

9. Convicted JI Prisoners (until 2007)
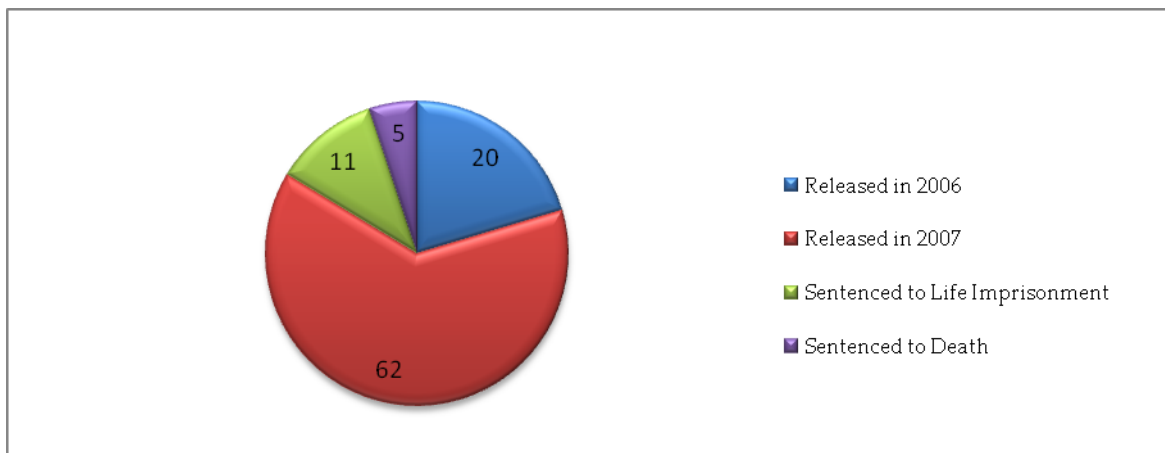
Source: International Crisis Group, '"Deradicalization" and Indonesian Prisons' (19 November 2007).

10. Organizational Structure of National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) (Presidential Regulation No. 46/2010 on National Counter-Terrorism Agency)
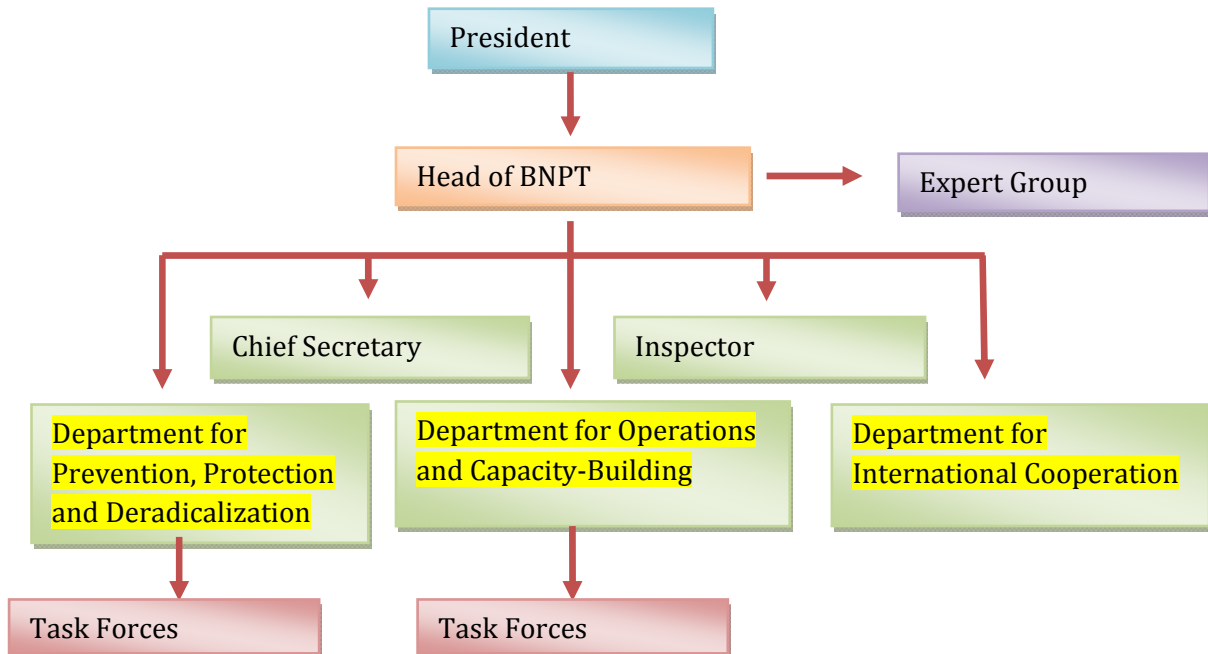
11. List of Major JI-related Islamic Schools

Name	Location	Name	Location
Pesantren Al-Muttaqien	Jepara	Pesantren Al-Muaddibb	Cilacap
Pesantren Al-Muttaqien	Cirebon	Pesantren Nurul Huda	Purbalingga
Pesantren Maratus Sholeh	Bekasi	Pesantren Darusyahadah	Wonosobo
Pesantren Mahad Aly	Solo	Pesantren Baittussalam	Semarang
Pesantren Ibn Masoed	Depok	Pesantren Nurul Hadid	Indramayu
Pesantren Millah Ibrahim	Pamulang	Pesantren Darusy-Syahada	Boyolali
Pesantren Al-Islam	Lamongan	Pesantren Darul Fitrah	Solo

12. JI-related Publishing Companies

Name of Publisher	Imprints	Owner
Al-Alaq	Al-Alaq	Ikhsan Miarso
The Arafah Group	Pustaka Arafah Granada Mediatama Samudra Media Zikir Media Islamika Roemah Buku	Tri Asmoro Kurniawan
The Al-Qowam Group	Al-Qowam Wacana Ilmiah Press Mumtaza	Harwim Murtadlo
The Al-Aqwam Group	Aqwam Jazeera Insan Kamil	Bambang Sukirno
Kafayeh Cipta Media	Kafayeh Cipta Media Inas Media	Hanif Hardoyo
Pustaka Al-Amin Group	Pustaka Al Amin Az-Zahra	Ahmad Fakhrurozi
Abyan	Abyan	n.a
Pustaka Iltizam	Pustaka Iltizam	n.a
Ziyad Visi Media	Ziyad Visi Media	n.a
Ad-Dakwah	Ad-Dakwah	n.a
WAFA press	WAFA press	n.a
Ar-Rahmah Media	Ar-Rahmah	Muhammad Jibril

Muqowama	Muqowama	n.a
Bumi Karya Media	Bumi Karya Media	n.a

Source: International Crisis Group, 'Indonesia: *Jemaah Islamiyah*'s Publishing Industry', *Asia Report*, no. 147 (Jakarta/Brussels: ICG, 2008).

2. Algeria's Counter-Terrorism Strategy:

Radicalism and Terrorist Activity within the Framework of National Reconciliation

Floor Janssen and Bertus Hendriks

2.1 Introduction

As a result of a number of historical developments during the 1990s, such as post-colonial power structures and the rise of Islamic radicalism, Algeria witnessed a civil war[118] that was characterized by tremendous brutality and in which an estimated 200,000 people lost their lives. Nowadays, Algeria is still struggling with the aftermath of the war and is dealing with persistent threats, such as the presence of Al-Qaeda in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) on its territory. Although Algerian violence reached a dramatic climax at the end of the twentieth century, the practice of resistance against the state and the regime's struggle against it have been present in Algeria since the bloody liberation war (1954–1962) after which Algeria achieved independence from French rule. History also shows that many of the tactics and methods that were established during the liberation war—most importantly, guerrilla warfare or the so-called *maquis*—have been repeated during the civil war of the 1990s. In addition, the underlying motivations of both wars—that is, eliminating an unfit and 'illegitimate' regime—

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118 Whether or not the conflict in Algeria in the 1990s can be characterized as a civil war is debatable. After the factional violence broke out, it is argued, the reaction of the Algerian population was not to get involved in the conflict. See, for instance, Hugh Roberts, *The Battlefield: Algeria, 1988–2002. Studies in a Broken Polity* (London: Verso, 2003), p. 254. For practical reasons, however, we will use the term 'civil war'.

have been remarkably similar. In essence, Algerian political violence evolved from resistance against the French occupation during the independence struggle, to small-scale violence against state personnel during the 1980s, to a full-scale war against the Algerian state and civilians during the 1990s.

The Algerian state is a very tightly run authoritarian regime that has long claimed a monopoly over public life. The state has derived its legitimacy in large part from the revolutionary war against French colonialism and, in its spirit, it is a continuation of the wartime National Liberation Front (*Front de Libération Nationale*, FLN). After Algeria's independence from France in 1962, the FLN, and Algeria's first President Ahmed Ben Bella, were brought to power. The FLN used religion as a way to acquire political legitimacy and labelled the anti-colonial struggle a *jihad*. After independence, the prerequisite for those who wanted to acquire positions of power was to be a *mujahid* (literally, a fighter for the faith).[119] Under colonial rule, and later during the War of National Liberation (1954–1962), fighters from humble origins experienced real social advancement in return for their effort in the war and were praised for their warlike virtues, such as courage and endurance. These 'colonels' of the independence war emerged as a new elite. Despite the references to Islam and religious values, the state that the FLN established was most certainly not an Islamic state. Later, especially under the presidency of Houari Boumédienne (1965–1978), the FLN became seen as a secular, socialist-oriented party.

Algeria's civil war is often depicted as an internal conflict between Islamists who aimed to establish a *dawla islamiyya* (Islamic state) and the FLN regime, which was struggling to hold on to its power and internal structure. However, this chapter argues that the Algerian civil war was a conflict in which many different groups—Islamists, criminals, patriots and the national army—struggled for (local) power and personal gain, or the survival of the Algerian regime. The war has been a period of tremendous brutality, but for many it also offered chances to progress in society and improve their livelihood. This war logic is one of the reasons why the Algerian civil war has lasted a decade and is characterized by such a level of violence and bloodshed.

The general understanding of the conflict is that Algerian counter-terrorism is a continuous struggle by the regime against fundamentalists who wage a *jihad* to establish an Islamic state governed by the *shari'a*. However, when studying Algeria's history of violence, one quickly finds that Islam does not fully explain the motives for armed groups to employ violent activities. For instance, as already mentioned, it does not take into account violence that is motivated by elementary structures of blood relationships, strategies of alliances between families, clans and tribes, ambitions to control the state apparatus, prospects for social and economic advancement, and so on. Furthermore, radicalism and terrorism in themselves are extremely complex phenomena that cannot be explained by religious—or, in this case, Islamic—motives alone. Although narrow interpretations of the Koran and Sunnah of the Prophet are certainly used to legitimize violent struggle, we can only explain the emergence of radicalism and terrorism when we take into consideration other factors, such as the political landscape, standard of living,

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119 Amel Boubekeur, 'Salafism and Radical Politics in Post-Conflict Algeria', *Carnegie Paper*, no. 11, September 2008, p. 4.

relationship between state and society, and civil rights, to name a few. The case of Algeria shows that political and social marginalization of large sections of the population can have dramatic consequences.

Despite the state's extensive experience with violence, Algerian authorities have not yet developed a comprehensive strategy to counter terrorism.[120] During the civil war, it employed an almost conventional military approach to fighting armed groups, combined with persuasive measures—such as housing projects and government jobs—to those who were loyal to the regime. However, the measures that can be classified as counter-terrorism during the 1990s were all aimed at defeating armed groups and neutralizing their influence, rather than addressing the fundamental reasons for radicalism. At the end of the 1990s, under the presidency of Abdelaziz Bouteflika, a legal framework was established to move towards peace and national reconciliation. To this day, the amnesty regulations that characterize Algeria's national reconciliation effort form the backbone of Algeria's counter-terrorism strategy. The terrorist threat that is currently facing the regime is in reality a remnant of the civil war. AQIM is the most active jihadi-Salafist group present in Algeria, but is referred to as 'residual terrorism' by the Algerian authorities. AQIM has evolved into a transnational terrorist group, with the ideological aim of removing Algeria's 'infidel' regime, and fighting 'infidel' countries worldwide. To reach this goal, AQIM is increasingly turning to criminal methods and local criminal groups for assistance.

That said, it can be argued that Algeria is moving towards a more holistic approach to tackling recruitment by jihadi Salafists and terrorism, and it is currently combining a 'hard' (military) approach to combat armed cells with a 'soft' (religious) approach to prevent religiously motivated recruits from engaging in terrorism. This chapter shows that the Algerian regime is preoccupied with its survival and sustaining its power structure, and that this attitude dictates Algeria's counter-terrorism effort. As was the case during the civil war, many of Algeria's counter-terrorism measures are designed to neutralize the enemy and to ensure the people's loyalty to the state. Historically, civil society and associational life have been severely suppressed, with the exception of the brief period between 1988 and 1992, with the aim of curbing their potential to mobilize the masses and pose a threat to the state.

Finally, it needs to be said that the issues of terrorism and especially the role of the government in violence are delicate topics in Algeria. Anyone studying these issues who tries to unravel the complex history of violence in Algeria is confronted with significant challenges. To talk to government officials about topics such as disappearances, or the mass murders of the 1990s, requires diplomatic skills and the realization that the answers might not represent the truth about what happened. To pose questions about certain topics, such as the Algerian government's involvement in the extreme violence of the late 1990s, remains an absolute taboo. Consequently, it is exceptionally difficult to investigate government policy fully, as parts of this policy—

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120 This was also stated by Camille Tawil, journalist for the Arabic newspaper *Al-Hayat* and author of *Brothers in Arms: The Story of Al Qa'ida and the Arab Jihadists* (London: Saqi, 2010), during the final seminar of this research project, which was held on 17 June 2011 at the Clingendael Institute.

especially during the war—are highly secretive. At the same time, the question arises as to whether there has been a 'policy' in such a chaotic context, and whether the state's apparatus acted in a coherent manner during the war. Furthermore, much of Algeria's counter-terrorism effort falls under the authority of the military intelligence agency and secret services. As a result, it is nearly impossible to obtain extensive data about the content and execution of policy measures and to fully unravel the underlying motives and goals of the government's counter-terrorism approach.

The first section of this chapter contains a historic overview of Islamic activism and, subsequently, the terrorist threat in Algeria. The course and main actors of the civil war in the 1990s are described, thus providing us with the historical basis for the second part of the chapter: the state's response to Algeria's 'national tragedy'. While much of Algeria's current counter-terrorism approach is based on the national reconciliation framework that followed the civil war, the chapter will discuss the measures taken by Algeria's government to reinstall stability and peace. The chapter will also focus on society's reactions to the authorities' approach, before moving on to the main theme of this paper—that is, Algeria's current counter-terrorism strategy. The chapter describes how it was formed and what it entails, and whether we can speak of a balanced approach between 'hard' and 'soft' measures. Again, attention will be paid to the role that civil society plays in Algerian society. In reaction to the substantial developments that Algeria—and the Arab region as a whole—has witnessed over the course of the last few months, this chapter will also briefly discuss Algeria's potential future and the consequences that the recent developments could have for its counter-terrorism strategy. The chapter will conclude with key observations about how Algeria's counter-terrorism approach grew into its current form, and what can be said about its effectiveness.

2.2 The Terrorist Threat in Algeria: A Historical Overview

2.2.1 The Development of Islamic Movements in Algeria

The development of extremist religious thought in Algeria took place over a relatively long period and has been influenced by both internal and external developments. Unlike the situation in other Arab countries such as Iraq and Syria (Ba'athism) and Egypt (Nasserism) in the mid-twentieth century, when nationalist Arab regimes clashed with Islamist social movements, Algerian nationalism has always been explicitly Muslim. The National Liberation Front (*Front de Libération Nationale*, FLN) managed to capitalize on the anti-colonialist struggle against the French by mobilizing nearly all tendencies in Algerian society, including the Islamists. The avowed purpose of the FLN was the 'restoration of the sovereign, democratic and social, Algerian state within the framework of Islamic principles'.[121]

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121 According to the FLN's Proclamation of 1 November 1854; see Roberts, *The Battlefield,* p. 5.

The ideas of reformist Islam (*al-Islah*) inspired by the reformist Salafiyya movement[122] reached Algeria in 1903 when the celebrated Egyptian reformer Sheikh Mohammed 'Abduh visited the country. His teachings further developed under the leadership of Sheikh Abdelhamid Ben Badis of Constantine, who founded the Association of Muslim 'Ulama (*Association des Oulemas Musulmans Algériens*) in 1931. The principal purpose of the Association was to promote a reformed, scripturalist and puritan Islam and to bring about the revival of the Arabic language and Islamic culture in Algeria.[123] The Association of Muslim 'Ulama rallied to the FLN in 1956, but as it did with all other Algerian formations supporting it, the FLN incorporated the Association into its own structure and the Association was formally dissolved after independence. The main reason behind this move was probably the legitimacy and respect that the Association received in society, which was perceived by FLN generals as a threat to their power.[124] From this point of view, the development of radical Islamism can be seen as a reaction to the incorporation of the 'ulama into the FLN. Reformist Islam in Algeria split into those who accepted this state of affairs, and others who refused the subordination of Islam to nationalism and the FLN state.

Well after independence, under the presidency of Houari Boumédienne,[125] nationalism became the dominant ideology. Pluralism and opposition were not tolerated under Boumédienne's reign and any challenge to 'state security' was immediately neutralized by the Military Security (*Sécurité Militaire*). Islam was reduced to 'official Islam', and Islam in the public sphere was virtually abolished. Despite Boumédienne's repressive policies towards civil society, Algeria experienced a period of political stability and steady economic growth during his rule.[126] The socialist turn in politics under Boumédienne was accompanied by the application of the

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122 The Salafiyya movement preaches reformation of Islam on the basis of a return to the adherence to scripture and the purification of the faith of all blameworthy innovations. This modernist, rationalist movement, which also looked towards the West for inspiration, should be distinguished from the literalist Salafiyya movement, which exclusively focuses on the Koran and especially the *hadith*, and all other influences such as rationalism, Sufism and Western ideas, as illegal innovations (*bid'a*). See Roel Meijer, 'Introduction', *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement* (London/New York: Hurst & Co/Columbia University Press, 2009P, pp. 1–32.

123 Roberts, *The Battlefield*, p. 7.

124 Investigators instructed by the Ministry of Interior officially concluded that the 'real aim' of *al-Qiyam* was to challenge the state's internal or external security 'under the cover of social, cultural or artistic activities'. Furthermore, the conservative Islamic group did not 'fit' into the regime's idea of Algerian socialism, in which the state established a system of supervised and structured mass organizations, and took a harder stance towards independent organizations like *al-Qiyam*. See Andrea Liverani, *Civil Society in Algeria: The Political Functions of Associational Life* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 16.

125 From 1965 to 1976, Houari Boumédienne was Chairman of Algeria's Revolutionary Council and ruled the country by decree. During the 1970s, constitutional rule was slowly reinstated, culminating in the adoption of the new Constitution in 1976. Boumediènne succeeded President Ahmed Ben Bella, who was in office from 1963 until 1965. Ben Bella also turned to socialist rhetoric but did not embark on far-reaching socialist policies.

126 Boumediènne nationalized the Algerian oil industry in 1971, which gave a tremendous boost to the government's treasury. Only after 1980, when oil prices dropped, was a process of gradual economic liberalization started.

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government's Arabization policy, the keystone of Algeria's Cultural Revolution (*révolution culturelle*), which was designed to rid the country of French influence. However, the Arabization of public administration and the state sector of the economy did not keep up with the Arabization of secondary and higher education, and large numbers of so-called *arabisants*—educated in Arabic—were left jobless after their graduation.[127]

In this environment, an association called *al-Qiyam* (The Values), founded in 1963, became prominent. This group did not openly challenge the state, but it concentrated on demanding official support for Islamic rites and duties, as well as campaigning against non-Islamic (Western) cultural manifestations.[128] The success of the association in drawing audiences of up to 5,000 to its meetings in Algiers reflected the extent to which the Ben Bella regime (1963–1965) had lost control over the religious sphere.[129] The challenge of recovering control over religion by the state was met by President Boumédienne when he formally banned *al-Qiyam* in 1970 throughout Algeria. The state then regained the initiative by mounting a major 'campaign against the degradation of morals' under the direction of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.[130]

The development of a more radical politicized form of Islam became a major feature of Algerian political life from the mid-1970s and especially after the death of President Houari Boumédienne in December 1978.[131] Violent resistance to the regime emerged for the first time in the 1980s, the decade during which militant Islam in Algeria was promoted by a new post-independence generation, who rebelled against the FLN's monopoly of power. To this generation, political Islam was an attempt to restore the values that they advocated: social justice; the redistribution of political power; and the 'threatened' Islamic identity that had underpinned the liberation war but had been abandoned by the FLN after independence.[132]

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127 For more on the Cultural Revolution, see Roberts, *The Battlefield*, pp. 11–12. The Cultural Revolution brought along the phenomenon of 'bilingual analphabetism' among Algerian youth. Youngsters who received education in Arabic were unable to function in society after graduation because of their poor knowledge of the French language.

128 *Al-Qiyam* presented itself as an academic organization and 'the instrument for restoring the authentic values of Islam'. Anneli Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb: The Transnationalization of Domestic Terrorism* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2008), p. 26.

129 See Roberts, *The Battlefield*, p. 10. Under French colonial rule, Algeria absorbed much from the French notions of associational life and civil society. Immediately after the war of liberation and under Ben Bella's presidency, associations began to flourish again, although the regime's attitude towards associations and civil society groups was one of tolerance rather than enthusiasm. See Liverani, *Civil Society in Algeria*, pp. 15–16.

130 Liverani, *Civil Society in Algeria*, p. 11. In response to the ban, Sheikh Sultani, one of the former members of *al-Qiyam*, published in 1974 what is considered the first Islamist manifesto, *Le Mazdaquisme est à l'origine du socialisme* (Mazdakism is the Origin of Socialism). In it Sultani criticized Algeria's ruling elite and its secular policies.

131 Liverani, *Civil Society in Algeria*, p. 3.

132 Boubekeur, 'Salafism and Radical Politics in Post-Conflict Algeria', p. 5.

2.2.2 Militant Islam turns Violent

The first armed revolt of any size to exhibit an Islamic aspect was that of Mustafa Bouyali, a war-veteran of the FLN who led a small guerrilla movement, called the Algerian Islamic Movement (*Mouvement Islamique Algérien*, MIA) in the hinterland of Algiers between 1982 and his death in 1987.[133] The Bouyali group should be classified as a rebellious offshoot of the FLN to liberate Algeria from 'the colonial yoke' and the 'Frenchified' generals.[134] The MIA affair also revealed the vitality of the guerrilla tradition of the *maquis* in the mountains, stemming from the war of independence and the ability of Islamists to tap into these traditions.

By the 1980s, the Algerian Islamist movement had grown appreciably.[135] This partly reflected the problems that the regime encountered to legitimate itself; and partly it stemmed from the internal struggle against the left. In this struggle, the new regime of President Chadli Benjedid tried to find support among the Islamist movement, as Sadat had done in Egypt in the 1970s with the Muslim Brotherhood. The Ministry of Religious Affairs allowed hundreds of so-called 'free mosques' to be built by private initiatives, outside the control of the state.[136]

Until the late 1980s, only Bouyali's MIA had posed a military threat to the regime. Although other Islamist groups and movements appeared throughout the years, they merely functioned as pressure groups and lacked the potential to weaken the state structure and the FLN's power. The policy of the Algerian government towards Islamists prior to the 1990s was ambiguous. During Boumédienne's presidency, the Islamist movement was suppressed and the influence of Islam was reduced to the state religion or 'official Islam'. When the Islamist appeal grew, the regime responded with the Campaign Against the Degradation of Morals. On the other hand, relations became much more complicated and dangerous under the rule of Chadli Benjedid (1979–1992). In his struggle against the left wing of the FLN, Benjedid allowed Islamists more room to express their ideas. The so-called 'free mosques' played an important role in whipping up popular sentiments against the state.

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133 International Crisis Group, 'Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria: Turning the Page', *ICG Middle East Report*, no. 29*,* 30 July 2004, p. 2.

134 Roberts, *The Battlefield*, p. 23.

135 International Crisis Group, 'Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria', p. 2.

136 At this time, the Algerian Islamist movement already exhibited several tendencies. There were the veterans of the Association of Muslim '*Ulama* who supported the government, as well as dissident members of the Association who predominated in the 'free mosques'. In addition, the Muslim Brotherhood was represented by Sheikh Mahfoud Nahnah, while a specifically 'Algerian' current, called *Al-Jaz'ara* (Algerianism) also emerged. *Al-Jaz'ara* (Algerianism) is a current that is limited to Algeria. It is a theory inspired by Malek Bennabi, a French-educated Algerian intellectual, who was the director of higher education during the rule of President Boumédienne. *Al-Jaz'ara* is characterized by its nationalist–Islamist agenda and its rejection of any forms of non-Algerian Islamist interpretations of Islam and/or influences in Algeria. Like the Muslim Brotherhood, it accepts electoral democracy and believes in the gradual Islamization of society. *Al-Jaz'ara* later became one of the two domineering factions in the FIS (the other faction being Salafism). See Omar Ashour, *The Deradicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements (*New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 14.

2.2.3   Political Reforms

The rise of Algerian Islamism cannot only be explained by the growth of social inequality under Benjedid. Other factors, such as the introduction of radical Islamic ideas into Algeria and international developments certainly played a role.[137] However, at the end of Boumédienne's regime of 'development', which certainly brought about a rate of economic growth, Algeria had grown into a profoundly inegalitarian society.[138] In the late 1970s, unemployment began to grow dramatically,[139] accompanied by increasing urbanization. In 1985, 72 per cent of the unemployed were under the age of 25—an age group that was estimated to make up 65 per cent of the population.[140]

The deteriorating socio-economic circumstances cumulated in the 'bread riots' of 4–10 October 1988, when protesters attacked government symbols, government offices and the FLN headquarters. Protesters called for an end to the one-party political system and demanded wider democratic freedoms. The protest was violently repressed by the regime, causing about 500 deaths with many more injured. However, the government concluded that repression alone would not stabilize Algeria and that political change was necessary.[141] Moreover, Benjedid believed that the crisis could be used to eliminate finally the left wing of the FLN. On 10 October 1988, President Benjedid announced a referendum to revise the 1976 Constitution,[142] followed by the introduction of political reforms that were designed 'to open up the political system and

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137 Another explanation for the rise of Islamism and, eventually, the civil war lies in the failure of the 'imitation state'. The French provided Algeria with a political order that had not existed before in Algeria, but the Algerian state failed to 'imitate' the European state model after independence. The FLN could not create the sort of conditions for a modern state and, as a result, to the people their state seemed like a 'foreign' state. In that sense, the war that broke out in the early 1990s can be analysed as a situation in which actors compete for control over the state. Nevertheless, this explanation is not sufficient, as in other cases of 'imitation states', such as Tunisia, the situation did not lead to such an intense struggle. See Luis Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War, 1990–1998* (London: Hurst & Co., 1998).

138 Although political and economic factors can help to explain the rise of Islamism during the 1980s, there is no causal connection, because of the simple fact that the violent form of Islamism— jihadism—does not occur in every country with a population suffering from socio-economic inequality.

139 The sharp decline in oil prices (and gas in the case of Algeria) after 1983 and the inability to create an export economy played a significant role.

140 Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 24.

141 Rachid Tlemçani, 'Algeria under Bouteflika: Civil Strife and National Reconciliation', *Carnegie Paper*, no. 7, February 2008, p. 3.

142 Article 40 of the Constitution permitted the creation of 'associations of a political character'. The article stipulated that 'this right cannot be used to violate the fundamental liberties, the fundamental values and components of the national identity, national unity, or the security and integrity of the national territory. Political parties cannot be founded on religious, linguistic, racial, gender, corporatist or regional bases'. Despite these safeguards, the government licensed all parties that applied. See Tlemçani, 'Algeria under Bouteflika', p. 2.

prevent further unrest'.[143] The reforms were based on three principles: a) the separation of power between the state and the FLN, which would function as an independent political party; b) free participation in municipal and legislative elections; and c) more room for associations and social movements to express their ideas.[144]

The Islamic Salvation Front (*Front Islamique du Salut*, FIS) was founded shortly after the constitutional amendment on 18 February 1989 in Algiers. It was headed by Sheikh Abbasi Madani, a former independence fighter, and Ali Belhadj, a young charismatic preacher.[145] The FIS called for a return to the values of equal opportunity, justice and accountability, campaigning under the ambiguous slogan 'Neither National Charter nor Constitution: Islam is the Solution'.[146] Using its network of mosques and welfare and social services, especially in urban areas, the FIS effectively spread its message. As a result, the FIS performed unexpectedly well in municipal elections in 1990 and won 188 of the 231 seats in the first round of the general elections held in December 1991, compared with only eighteen seats won by the governing party, the FLN.[147] As it became apparent that Benjedid's game had back-fired, the military declared a state of emergency to 'protect stability and public order'. In January 1992, high-ranking military officers forced President Benjedid to resign and took over power. A five-member Higher State Council, chaired by Mohamed Boudiaf, assumed control over Algeria. The elections were cancelled, the FIS was dissolved, and the military launched a harsh crackdown on former FIS members, detaining some 18,000 suspected Islamic sympathizers without trial in concentration camps in the Sahara. Supporters of the military intervention justified this measure on the grounds that the FIS could not be trusted to uphold democratic principles because the 'FIS, Islam and democracy are incompatible'.[148] The sudden end to the political opening immediately resulted in clashes between Islamists and the security forces. The intense repression by the government only demonstrated the regime's apostasy in the eyes of the Islamists.

2.2.4   Descent into War

From 1993 onwards, Algeria plunged into what is referred to as the 'national tragedy' (*la tragédie nationale*),[149] when supporters of an Islamic state, organized in armed groups, waged a

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143   Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 26.

144   Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, pp. 25–26.

145   Many considered Madani to represent the moderate and Belhadj the more radical side of the FIS. The FIS was ideologically influenced by two schools of thought: traditional Salafism; and the nationalist *Jaz'ara* trend, which incorporated many views from the Muslim Brotherhood.

146   Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 26.

147   Benjamin Stora, *Algeria, 1830–2000: A Short History* (London: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 210.

148   Tlemçani, 'Algeria under Bouteflika', p. 3.

149   The period is nowadays still referred to as the 'national tragedy' by high government officials. For instance, Farouk Ksentini, president of *la Commission Nationale Consultative pour la Protection et la Promotion Des Droits de l'Homme* (CNCPPDH), mentioned this term during the authors' interview with him in Algiers on 17 January 2011.

ferocious war against the regime. At the core of the armed insurgency were four groups: the Armed Islamic Movement (*Mouvement Islamique Armé*, MIA); the Islamic Salvation Army (*Armée Islamique du Salut*, AIS, the self-declared armed wing of the FIS); the Armed Islamic Group (*Groupe Islamique Armée*, GIA); and, later, the Salafi Group for Preaching and Combat (*Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat*, GSPC). Although all groups launched a fierce campaign against the government, they emerged at different moments in time[150] and differed in their ideology and motives. The MIA and the AIS declared that they were driven by the interruption of the elections in 1992. They aimed by military means to force the regime to bring the ex-FIS back into the political field but were not jihadi-Salafis, such as the GIA. The GIA was immediately distinguishable by its willingness not only to attack government personnel, but civilians as well, such as women who refused to wear the veil, journalists and foreigners.[151] Eventually, the GIA went to war against all the social groups that—to them—ensured that the infidel (*taghout*) regime continued in power. The period between 1995 and 1998 was characterized by gruesome collective massacres that were directed against civilians in rural and isolated communities. The massacres were intended to terrorize the population that was hostile to the Islamists, or those who formerly supported the Islamist cause but who had withdrawn their support.

The Algerian war, however, cannot be depicted as a conflict between 'the regime' and 'the Islamists', as the Algerian case is much more complex. From the outset, the Algerian mujahidin could be classified into two categories: those ill-treated by the security forces who were looking for revenge; and the ideologically driven devout activists or self-proclaimed 'defenders of Islam'. Many young neighbourhood mujahidin were the product of poverty, boredom and repression, and the mujahid's methods fascinated them more than the aim of establishing an Islamic state.[152] For the often young leaders (*emirs*) of armed groups, engaging in the *jihad* was a way of gaining wealth and prestige in their community. Patronage networks were widespread and illicit dealings in the informal economy ensured the emirs of support and funding for their struggle. As the war progressed, many young emirs, mostly part of the GIA, became more interested in recasting social relationships in their area in their own favour, than in fighting the regime and replacing it by an Islamic state. The *maquis,* on the other hand, was made up of AIS and MIA members and had a war logic that was not defined by a quest for personal progress.[153]

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150 The MIA, AIS, GIA and GSPC never operated at the same time. They were established in 1991, 1994, 1993 and 1997 respectively; interview with Hugh Roberts, 7 June 2011, at Clingendael.

151 At a certain point, the extremist GIA called the whole population 'apostate' (*murtadd*) and 'unbelievers' (*kuffar*) if they remained neutral in the struggle with the regime. See Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War*, p. 79.

152 Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War*, p. 78.

153 In contrast to the urban and suburban zones where the armed groups were active, the rural areas were a bastion of support for the regime throughout the war. Since the 1970s the countryside benefited from public investment, and the fighters from the War of National Liberation, a privileged group that settled in the countryside, remained loyal to the government.

2.3   The State's Response to the 'National Tragedy'

2.3.1   ´Hard´ Approach

Since the assassination of President Boudiaf in 1992,[154] two tendencies have emerged in the Algerian power structure: those who favoured a strategy of brutal suppression of the Islamist movement, the eradicators (*les éradicateurs*); and those who believed in dialogue with political Islam and ultimately in the necessity of national reconciliation, the conciliators (*les conciliateurs*).[155] The eradicator tendency has been powerfully present in the army's hierarchy, and has determined for the large part Algeria's security strategy throughout the war. In 1994, President Liamine Zéroual (1994–1999) declared the objective of 'total eradication' of the armed groups in October 1994.[156]

In response to the increasing violence and in line with its 'eradicator' strategy, the government decided in 1993 to task the Directorate-General for National Security (*Direction Générale de la Sureté Nationale*, DGSN) with waging 'total war' against the armed groups. At the same time, the Department of Intelligence and Security (*Département du Renseignement et de la Sécurité*, DRS), the military intelligence service, was formed, as well as an interdepartmental special force that was tasked with the suppression of terrorism, headed by General Mohamed Lamari. The ultimate goal of the DGSN was to eradicate the armed groups by both infiltrating them and crushing them militarily.

In 1994, the state's financial bankruptcy forced it to start negotiations with the IMF to launch a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) including staged trade liberalization, ending state subsidies on consumer goods, devaluation of the dinar, and privatization of state enterprises. Thanks to the SAP, and the rise of oil prices during the late 1990s, the regime's financial situation improved considerably. This made it possible to build up a repressive apparatus that specialized in anti-terrorist operations, to expand the state's patronage network and to respond to demands from the private sector that was potentially susceptible to FIS propaganda. As a result, while the Algerian war increased in intensity, more jobs were created (especially in the security and arms sector), and new investments were made in the gas and oil sector.

In 1994, General Mohamed Lamari instructed the DRS to start infiltrating the armed Islamic groups (see below). This phase of the counter-subversive war witnessed the most gruesome

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154 Boudiaf was assassinated by a bodyguard during a televised public speech on 29 June 1992 in Annaba. According to the authorities, the gunman had Islamist sympathies.

155 Although the distinction between 'eradicators' and 'conciliators' is easily made, the policies and political attitudes of army generals were not fixed and evolved throughout the war. For instance, General Smain Lamari was seen as an 'eradicator' but was the one who engineered a deal with the AIS (see below). Hence the terms 'eradicator' and 'conciliator' can better be applied to policies than to individuals.

156 Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War*, p. 116. Initially, Zéroual was considered a conciliator. Allegedly, only after a number of failed attempts to persuade the GIA to lay down arms (see below), he got 'fed up' and the eradicator line came to the fore. Remarks by Camille Tawil, during the seminar 'Counter-Terrorism Strategies in Algeria, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia', 17 June 2011, Clingendael Institute.

massacres in 1997–1998.[157] The strategy of the elite corps was directed at gaining control of the cities, uprooting the fighters from their supportive environment and then driving them into the *maquis* of the interior.[158] The corps surrounded the suburbs, which were controlled by the emirs, and transformed them into 'Islamist ghettoes'; the Islamist bands ruled supreme within the districts but could not leave them.[159] The military leaders hoped in this way that the Islamists would lose support among the population because of the deteriorating situation and continuation of violence, and that their sympathizers would abandon the *jihad*.

Between 1994 and 1997, the regime applied a security strategy that was based on the slogan 'making fear change sides', thus launching a policy of mass repression. The army also resorted to arming civilians[160] and actively encouraging the organization of self-defence militias that were made up of civilians who were fed up with living under a district emir. The regime was willing to tolerate these militias and even pay their running costs because the militias freed the army from the need to control every district.[161]

Many of the repressive and violent measures were legalized under the framework of the state of emergency that was imposed in 1992. Since then, specific emergency laws have been incorporated in the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure.[162] They include the extension of the period of pre-arraignment detention (*garde à vue*), the lowering of the age of criminal responsibility to sixteen, and the increase in scope of applicability of the death penalty. In September 1992 the government produced a broad and vague definition of terrorism as 'subversive activities'.[163] According to the Algerian Penal Code, terrorism is regarded as 'any offence targeting state security, territorial integrity or the stability or normal functioning of institutions' by not only 'spreading panic or creating a climate of insecurity', but also by means of 'impeding the activities of public authorities'. The Penal Code also equates with terrorism 'the establishment of associations, bodies, groupings or organizations for the purpose of subversive activities'.[164] In 1995, the Penal Code was amended again through Ordinance no. 95–11,

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157 François Gèze and Salima Mellah, 'Algeria: The Impossible Transitional Justice', *Algeria Watch*, 22 December 2010.

158 Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War*, p. 149. From 1994 onwards the regime embarked on a policy of letting the *maquis* turn into sanctuaries, driving Islamists further from their towns.

159 Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War*, p. 150. Luis Martinez refers to the practice of deliberately creating Islamist ghettoes as the 'let-them-rot' tactic.

160 Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 11.

161 Executive Decree 87-04 established Legitimate Defence Groups (*Groupes de Légitime Défense*, GLD), also known as the 'Patriots', to defend themselves and their families against the GIA. Nevertheless, the militias themselves created new problems, as militiamen became financially dependent on a continuation of the war. It also became clear that the militias themselves were using excessive violence, becoming involved in racketeering and assassinating civilians, which they blamed on the Islamic armed groups.

162 See Amnesty International, 'A Legacy of Impunity: A Threat to Algeria's Future', March 2009, p. 39.

163 It included this provision in the Penal Code through Legislative Decree no. 92-03. This was later amended by Legislative Decree no. 93-05 of April 1993.

164 Algerian Penal Code, Article 88 bis 3.

prohibiting all forms of justification, encouragement and financing of terrorist acts. The scope of the Penal Code was extended to include Algerians residing abroad.[165] It is obvious that the definition of terrorism in Algerian legislation is so broad that it can be used to frustrate any activity that could cover the peaceful exercise of civil and political rights if the organization is critical of the government (see below).

2.3.2   'Soft' Approach

Parallel to its military strategy, the regime developed its 'soft' approach by encouraging 'repentant' guerrillas to speak out publicly. Their testimonies were broadcast on television at peak hours, and instead of a source of dignity and pride, the former guerrillas described (or were forced to describe) the guerrilla campaign as 'hell'. In their testimonies the repentant Islamists also claimed that the guerrillas 'wrongly' aroused fear of the security forces among their members. In short, the Algerian state media went to great lengths to dramatize the Islamist case and life within the armed groups. Confessions of the 'terrorists' were televised as if they were criminals, representing their battle as induced by money rather than establishing an Islamic state.[166] By drawing a distinction between those who fought for ideology, and those who were motivated by economic and social reasons, the authorities focused on the fighters' sensitivity to persuasive methods.

The young, a potential reservoir for guerrilla fighters, became the centre of the regime's economic policy. The regime offered them jobs in the public sector,[167] bonuses and assistance in building a house, but also contracts with the Ministry of Defence. Instead of risking death in the *maquis*, the regime thus offered young men the certainty of housing and income, a persuasive method that led many to join the army. By establishing this 'social net' or network of clientelism, the regime helped ordinary Algerians to escape from material inducements to join an armed Islamist group.

From 1994 onwards, the regime tried to satisfy the demands of the FIS electorate by undertaking a series of reforms in government departments and local government to restore the citizens' confidence in its institutions. Despite the violence, the Algerian leadership also deliberately maintained a façade of democracy by holding regular elections. According to its Constitution, Algeria has a multi-party system, and during the war political parties were free to compete in elections. In practice, however, only 'moderate' parties[168] were allowed to campaign and the results of the elections never seriously challenged the position of the country's political

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165 Algerian Penal Code, Article 87 bis 4 and Article 87 bis 6.

166 Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War*, pp. 158–159.

167 Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War*, p. 161. The regime established 21,000 public work sites offering some 400,000 people a job.

168 During the 1990s, these included the National and Democratic Rally (*Rassemblement National pour la Démocratie*, RND), the FLN, the Movement of Society for Peace (*Mouvement de la Société pour la Paix*, MSP) and the moderate Islamic party *An-Nahda*.

leadership.[169] The regime even allowed Islamic parties to participate in elections, as long as they respected the prevailing political norms. 'We tried to promote the integration of the non-violent Islamism of the Muslim Brotherhood variety into the institutional game; those who reject *salafiyya jihadiyya* [jihadist Salafism]'.[170] Facilitating the entry of modest Islamic parties into the political system symbolized the process of 'freezing the Islamist passion'.

2.3.3   The Start of Negotiations and Truce

Despite the Algerian army's 'eradicator' line and repressive emergency laws, there were three attempts on behalf of the regime to negotiate a peaceful solution with the FIS before 1995.[171]

As early as 1993, several informal meetings took place between the government and imprisoned FIS leaders to convince the FIS to dissociate itself from the armed factions. The talks failed, however, as FIS leaders demanded that the cancellation of the election result should first be revoked. In the summer of 1994, when the strength of the GIA reached its peak, the regime tried to contact the AIS. True reconciliation failed again when the army found letters between AIS leader Belhadj and GIA leader Gouasmi. The third attempt came when representatives of the FLN, the FIS and other pro-democracy opposition leaders met in Rome under the auspices of the Catholic community Sant' Egidio in order to consider the options for peace, which was followed by a Platform for a Peaceful Political Solution to the Algerian Crisis in January 1995. However, the Military High Command rejected the initiative out of hand. The official argument behind this rejection was that the FIS supposedly did not renounce its ambition to establish an Islamic state in Algeria.[172]

In 1997, however, the AIS declared an unconditional, unilateral ceasefire, apparently to prove that it was not responsible for the atrocities during the height of the massacres.[173] Discussions between the Algerian government and the AIS had already begun in 1996, following the law promulgated by President Zéroual in 1995 offering clemency—but not amnesty—to armed Islamists who agreed to surrender (the so-called *Rahma* Law). The 'agreements' with the AIS have not been made public to this day. Nevertheless, immediately after its leader Madani Mezrag's release from prison in July 1997, the Raïs massacre occurred, which was officially attributed to the GIA. Madani Mezrag was immediately placed under house arrest.

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169 The presidential election of 16 November 1995 was aimed to reassure the international community about the stability of Algeria's government, as well as restoring confidence among the Algerian population who were not involved in the civil war and were fed up with the violence.

170 Interview with M. Rezag Bara, a high presidential counter-terrorism adviser to President Bouteflika, Algiers, 17 January 2011. Especially the Hamas-MSI party, led by Mafhoudh Nahnah, which had close links with the so-called 'Islamist bourgeoisie', became active in the electoral process.

171 Ashour, *The Deradicalization of Jihadists*, p. 113.

172 Ashour, *The Deradicalization of Jihadists*, p. 115.

173 Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 11. Although the AIS was not present in the areas where the massacres occurred, it felt the need to distance itself from the extreme GIA discourse.

Today, some analysts accuse the regime of having staged these events to discredit the GIA and the AIS. One cannot discuss the evolution of Algeria's internal conflict without addressing the alleged manipulation of the GIA by the army and Secret Service DRS.[174] As already seen, one of the routine tools for fighting terrorism in Algeria has been infiltrating the terrorist groups and sowing division in their ranks. But when does infiltration turn into manipulation? This question raises a serious problem when studying Algerian terrorism and the regime's efforts to defeat it. It is all the more difficult to solve, since the question of '*qui tue qui*?' (who kills who?) is an absolute taboo in official Algerian circles and it is considered an insult to the 'martyrs' who have fallen in the struggle. Nevertheless, there have been recurring accusations made by former security personnel and eyewitnesses of some of the most notorious massacres. Allegedly, in Bentalha (1997) the regime turned a blind eye to atrocities committed by the GIA, or was actively manipulating GIA cells to commit the murders, in order to discredit all of the regime's Islamist opponents.[175] The reports and analyses on the role of the Algerian army in the violence raise many troubling questions, but the accusations—often by a single or second-hand source— are more than *faisceau d'indices* (circumstantial evidence) or duplicitous behaviour or inaction by mid- and sometimes high-level military and security personnel, but they fall short of hard proof or systematic manipulation of violence by the regime.[176] Whatever the truth about—and

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174 International Crisis Group, 'Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria: Turning the Page', *ICG Middle East Report*, no. 29, 30 July 2004, p. 11.

175 See, for instance, Nesroulah Yous, author of *Qui a tué à Bentalha?* (Paris: La Découverte, 2000), who is convinced that death squads of the Algerian army perpetrated the Bentalha massacre (of 22–23 September 1997) in which hundreds of villagers were brutally murdered. See also Algeria Watch, 'The Interface Interview with Nesroulah Yous, author of *'Who Killed Bentalha?''*, available online at http://www.algeria-watch.org/en/articles/1997_2000/yous_interview.htm; Mohammed Samraoui, *Chronique des Années de Sang; Algérie: comment les services secrets ont manipulés les groups islamistes* (Paris: Editions Denoël, 2003) ; Habib Souaïdia, *La Sale Guerre: Le témoignage d'un ancient officier des forces spéciales de l'armée algérienne, 1992–2000* (Paris: La Découverte, 2001); and Louis Aggoun and Jean-Baptiste Rivoire, *Françalgérie: crimes et mensonges d'État; Histoire secrète de la guerre d'indépendance à la 'troisième guerre d'Algérie'* (Paris: La Découverte. 2004). See also Khaled Nezzar, former Algerian Defence Minister and retired Major General who publically admitted infiltration by the Algerian army in Islamist groups, but vigorously rejects all accusations of army involvement in the massacres and lodged a libel complaint in France against Habib Souaida*: Le Procès de Paris: l'armée face à la désinformation* (Paris: Edition Mediane, 2003); and again Habib Souaida, *Le process de la* 'sale guerre'*: Algérie: le général-major Khaled Nezzar contre le lieutenant Habib Souaida* (Paris: La Découverte, 2002); Hichem Aboud, La *Mafia des Généraux* (Paris: JC Lattès, 2002); and Jean-Michel Salgon, *Violences Ambiguës: aspects du conflit armé en Algérie* (Paris: *Centre des hautes études sur l'Afrique et l'Asie modernes* (CHEAM), 1999). The accusations towards the DRS also stem from an interview that Quds Press held with a former DRS agent, Karim Moulay. Moulay maintains the involvement of Algeria's security services in the massacres of the 1990s, and gave public testimony that the army ordered the Beni Messous massacre as a 'real estate' land clearance operation for the general's personal gains. See Jeremy Keenan, 'General Toufik: "God of Algeria"', *Al Jazeera*, published online at www.Algeria-Watch.org, 29 September 2010.

176 The thesis by François Gèze and Salima Mellah, who maintain that the GSPC—which came to supplant the GIA before morphing into AQIM—was a pure creation of the Algerian secret service DRS, and merely a tool in an intra-regime factional struggle, is even more problematic. Even though

the extent of wilful manipulation by—the Algerian regime, it should not be forgotten that if there was such manipulation by the DRS, this could only take place because of the large number of extremely violent jihadists in Algeria at the time, whether they were following orders from a 'genuine' jihadist emir or from *agents provocateurs* posing as such.

The violence of 1997 and 1998, however, brought about the conditions for reconciliation, both within the army and among Islamist militants. The massacres of 1997–1998 caught the international media's attention and heavily undermined the authority and credibility of the army. In this hostile environment, it was the task of a new president to beef up the democratic image of the Algerian regime and to enhance its democratic credentials. However, as the military was not sure that an Islamist would not take part in the elections,[177] it did everything in its power to manipulate the political game and to assure a positive outcome.[178]

2.3.4   Reconciliation

The presidential election campaign of April 1999 offered the prospect of real reconciliation between the Islamists and the military authorities, and was even called 'the real start of a political solution' by FIS leaders in exile. Abdelaziz Bouteflika was one of seven candidates, but the only one with military backing.[179] Eventually, the other six candidates denounced the administration's support of Bouteflika and boycotted the election to deny Bouteflika the legitimacy of a genuinely elected presidency.[180] The 'predicted president' announced that his electoral campaign would be 'free and transparent', but was eventually elected by default.[181] To make up for this lack of legitimacy, President Bouteflika immediately announced his intention to make frequent use of public referenda, and to limit the powers of army generals.[182]

Gèze and Mellah also raise legitimate *and troubling* questions, their reading of the facts seems *too* nicely to fit a single interpretation only. See François Gèze and Salima Mellah, 'Al Qaida au Maghreb ou la très étrange histoire du GSPC algérien', *Algeria Watch*, 22 September 2007.

177   Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 14.

178   The ambiguity of the military towards holding open elections and ending the civil war was fuelled by fear of being accused by international organizations of violating human rights and facing trial. See Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 15.

179   Abdelaziz Bouteflika has long been a well-established figure in Algerian politics. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs under President Boumédienne and a member of the FLN's Central Committee.

180   From the interview with Hugh Roberts, 7 June 2011.

181   International Crisis Group, 'The Civil Concord: A Peace Initiative Wasted', *Africa Report*, no. 31, 9 July 2001, p. 1.

182   During the 1990s, the 'strong man' in the country had been General Mohamed Lamari, the chief of staff of the Algerian army. However, the emergence of Mohamed Médiène (alias General Toufik, head of the DRS since 1990 and known for his *éradicateur* tendencies) coincided with the 1999 presidential election campaign. Henceforth, Mohamed Médiène and President Bouteflika effectively shared power. Although the relationship between Bouteflika and Médiène has had its ups and downs, because of Médiène's suspicions that Bouteflika would dump him in the same *way* that they had ousted General Lamari, Médiène has remained in power.

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Bouteflika's ultimate objective was to end the civil war by initiating a policy of national reconciliation and defining acceptable conditions for the reintegration of Islamists who were willing to lay down their arms: 'I am determined to make peace, and I am prepared to die for it'.[183] In his speeches, Bouteflika carefully referred to the 'wrong' and the 'violence' done to the FIS in the early 1990s. Symbolically, Bouteflika opened up a new perspective for Algeria, and he impressed many Algerians who were willing to believe that the policy of the new Head of State had a sincere basis.[184] As far as the Military High Command was concerned, the objective of Bouteflika's election was to restore lustre to the army, which was a success.[185]

In July 1999 Bouteflika introduced the Civil Harmony Law in the People's Assembly. The peace plan was submitted to a referendum on 16 September 1999. It was overwhelmingly endorsed by the voters,[186] providing the population with the hope that Algeria would recover stability and peace after a decade of war. The Civil Harmony Law granted conditional amnesty to radical Islamists who surrendered and renounced violence before 13 January 2000. Islamist insurgents were eligible for amnesty if they had not caused death, committed rape, or used explosives in public places. Insurgents who had committed such crimes would receive reduced prison sentences but not full amnesty.[187]

In theory, the decree was directed at the AIS, although the release of certain GIA emirs implied that Islamists who were legally subjected to terms of imprisonment benefited from the amnesty as well. The probation committees that were established to determine who was eligible for amnesty were not transparent, nor were they held publicly accountable, which deepened suspicions even further that in practice amnesty was granted indiscriminately. Three days before the end-date of the Civil Harmony amnesty in January 2000,[188] Bouteflika announced a *grâce amnistiante* (amnesty), an executive decree extending the amnesty to a select list of armed Islamists who had agreed to lay down their arms and disband. Again, this list was not made public, but many violent Islamists were granted amnesty without investigation into their activities.[189]

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183 See *Al Ahram Weekly*, no. 4141, 5 August 1999.

184 His policy also impressed the international community, in particular France, as well as Algerian-born Frenchmen.

185 Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War*, p. 3. 'Dirty war' is a reference to the book by Habib Souaïdia, *La sale guerre* (Paris: La Découverte, 2001).

186 According to official figures, 98.6 per cent voted 'yes', with a turnout of 85 per cent. Although the figures are undoubtedly inflated, they do reflect that Algerians are more than ready for an end to the violence, and their support for the peace plan. See Tlemçani, 'Algeria under Bouteflika', p. 6.

187 Article 41 of law 99-08 of 13 July 1999 stipulated that 'people belonging to organizations who voluntarily and spontaneously decided to stop acts of violence and who placed themselves completely at the disposal of the State […] shall be entitled to all their civic rights and have been granted immunity from prosecution'.

188 See Presidential Decree no. 2000-03 of 10 January 2000.

189 Government sources have confirmed that some 5,000 members of armed groups have surrendered (between July 1999 and January 2000). Other sources report that, for the most part, those who

The Civil Harmony law never generated a true negotiated process of conciliation between the Islamists and the state. None of the means to implement a real peace—releasing political prisoners, the return of exiles and captives, lifting the state of emergency and initiating a serious dialogue among the parties to the conflict—was implemented. Eventually, leader of the FIS Abassi Madani withdrew his support for the President's policy, as the Civil Harmony Law established a scale of sanctions against the Islamists—ranging from amnesty to imprisonment— and reconciliation was further undermined by the secrecy and arbitrariness of the criteria. However, the AIS and several breakaway groups from the GIA, including the GSPC and the Islamic League for Preaching and Combat (LIDD), by that time openly rejected the doctrine that underpinned the massacres of 1997–1998. As a result, the GIA increasingly decentralized, or rather started to implode, which allowed the reconciliation effort to succeed.

2.3.5   The Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation

Bouteflika remained convinced that he could promote national reconciliation without holding the perpetrators of serious human rights abuses accountable—both Islamists and the military. Bouteflika focused his policy on convincing Algerians to move on without looking back. On 14 August 2005 he gave a speech, calling Algerians to vote in favour of the new *Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation.* The speech is an example of the continuous public portrayal of the authorities as 'blameless' in the conflict, yet successful in their effort to achieve national reconciliation:

> It is due to the sacrifices of our security forces, led by the National Popular Army, worthy inheritor of the National Liberation Army, supported by all the patriots, that Algeria was able to push aside the scourge of terrorism […]. We have together opened the way for Civil Harmony, that you have supported massively and that has provided us with priceless fruit in [in the form of] the re-establishment of security […]. The project of national reconciliation, submitted to your free choice is destined to hurry the definitive return of security and peace in our country, and also destined to bring us towards national reconciliation and towards the consolidation of our national cohesion.[190]

Despite popular scepticism, according to government figures the charter was supported by 97 per cent of the voters in a popular referendum with a turnout of 82 per cent.[191] Central to the *Charter* was the idea that there should be no winners or losers. The *Charter* exempted all individuals, whether Islamists, civilian militiamen, or security forces, from prosecution for crimes committed during the war. It was also meant to clear the military from speculations and

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surrendered were members of the GIA (some 4,500 men). See Amnesty International, 'A Legacy of Impunity', p. 12. It has also been reported that since the expiry date in January 2000, other members of armed groups have surrendered, but were released immediately.

190 Amnesty International, 'A Legacy of Impunity', p. 12.

191 Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 176.

attempts to discredit it.[192] The *Charter* also absolved security forces and state-armed militias from responsibility in committing human rights violations during the war by stating that they had acted in the interest of the country:

> No legal proceedings may be initiated against an individual or collective entity, belonging to any component whatsoever of the defence and security forces of the Republic, for actions conducted for the purpose of protecting persons and property, safeguarding the nation or preserving the institutions of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. The competent judicial authorities are to summarily dismiss all accusations or complaints.[193]

The decree allows the imprisonment of anyone who openly criticizes the conduct of the security forces during the years of conflict, in art. 46:

> Anyone who, by speech, writing, or any other act, uses or exploits the wounds of the national tragedy to harm the institutions of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, to weaken the state, or to undermine the good reputation of its agents who honourably served it, or to tarnish the image of Algeria internationally, shall be punished.[194]

Furthermore, art. 26 of the *Charter* excludes from political life anyone who committed acts of terrorism or manipulated Islam for political purposes. Citing this article, the government can lawfully refuse to register any new political parties by former FIS members.[195] Furthermore, the *Charter* includes a provision that makes it a criminal offence to speak about sensitive topics in a manner that 'undermines the good reputation of [state] agents who honourably served the country or to tarnish the image of Algeria internationally'.[196]

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192 *The Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation* essentially restated the principles of the Law on Civil Harmony, calling for amnesty for Islamist insurgents, except those who had been personally involved in killings, rape or bomb attacks on innocent civilians. It also called for an end to judicial proceedings against Islamist insurgents, including those residing abroad and who had been convicted in absentia. All those seeking clemency under the terms of the *Charter* had to submit to the security forces, or to an Algerian embassy if resident abroad, within six months—by August 2006—and confess to their offences in order to regain their civil liberties.

193 *Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire*, no. 11, 28 February 2006.

194 Amnesty International, *A Legacy of Impunity*, p. 12.

195 See *Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire*, no 11, 28 February 2006.

196 G. Joffé, 'National Reconciliation and General Amnesty in Algeria', *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 13, no. 2 (July 2008) p. 221. See also '*Textes portant mise en oeuvre de la Charte pour la paix et la reconciliation Nationale*', published by the Algerian Ministry of Justice, February 2006. Families of terrorists—widows or children—killed by the security forces were given compensation (*indemnisation*) of either 10,000 Algerian dinars (around 1,000 euros) per month, or a lump sum of around 1 million Algerian dinars (around 10,000 euros), paid by the *Fonds Spécial à la Solidarité Nationale*. Family members who were dismissed from employment were allowed to resume their occupations; see article 37 bis. Ghania Mouffok, an Algerian journalist for *Le Monde Diplomatique*

International human rights groups immediately condemned the *Charter*, arguing that it had its origins in political considerations rather than in the pursuit of justice and reconciliation. The Algerian government moreover announced that the names of Islamist terrorists would not be made public, nor would the procedures that attest to their good conduct of not having committed rape or participated in massacres or attacks be made public. In reaction to criticism, Bouteflika declared that 'Algeria's wounds are still too raw for a truth commission', adding that 'Algerians yearn to look towards the future'.[197]

2.3.6   Rehabilitation and Recidivism

By January 2007, the Algerian Department of Justice had released almost 3,000 former 'terrorists' who benefited from the latest amnesty. Although a number of foreign fighters made use of the government's reconciliation offer, others returned to the ranks of their armed group or became involved in crime syndicates. The suicide bombing in Batna on 6 September 2007 focused attention once again on the claims to success of the government's reconciliation efforts. A 'repentant' was arrested in Batna for coordinating the attack and recruiting youngsters to join the insurgency in Iraq. According to the Algerian government, by 2007, of the 6,000 former combatants who had made use of the two reconciliation processes, some twenty had taken up arms again—a figure that is questioned as far too low.[198] The available numbers on the beneficiaries of the amnesty laws, 'repentants' and prisoners, do not add up to a clear picture. Most of the insurgents probably chose to return to their homes and their civilian lives quietly. But it seems that we will never know the real number of security and military personnel who were killed during the war, as well as those who benefited from the amnesty, as these remain a state secret. Since 2006, there has been no new law that promulgates the amnesty regulations. However, a source in Algeria has reported that members of armed groups continue to surrender to the authorities and benefit from the amnesty.[199]

2.3.7   Demands from Society

Since 2000, Algeria's President Bouteflika has been heavily criticized by the families of 'the disappeared', an issue that was not addressed in a satisfactory manner by the Civil Harmony

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with whom the authors spoke in Algiers in January 2011, has conducted some fieldwork in the Boumèrdes region. She concluded that although the Ministry of National Solidarity maintained that everybody, irrespective of his financial situation, would be awarded compensation, only those who needed money actually received funding.

197 Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 179.

198 BBC Monitoring Middle East, 'Algerian Government's Four Charges against FIS leader Belhaj Detailed', 12 September 2007.

199 Atef Qedadra, journalist of *al-Hayat* and *al-Khabar* newspapers, reported in an interview with the authors on 11 January 2011 that in 2010, 110 cases of surrenders were made public, of which 30 have been released. It is most likely that the others will follow soon.

Law. In the early years of the conflict, the authorities simply denied that anyone had disappeared, but from 1998 onwards, the authorities acknowledged the problem and took measures to register cases of disappearances in the 48 *wilayas*. In 2000, the government claimed that many of the disappeared had reappeared as members of armed groups who had surrendered to the authorities in the context of the Civil Harmony Law. It also claimed that some of the violence attributed to the army was in reality perpetrated by members of the armed groups, who were disguised as members of the security forces. The families of the approximately 10,000 'disappeared' gradually formed associations, such as SOS Disappeared (*SOS Disparu(e)s* and *Le Collectif des familles de disparu(e)s en Algérie*), demanding information on the fate of their loved ones and insisting that 'truth must precede reconciliation'. Alongside the struggle of families of '*les disparus'*, there has also been the no less if not more legitimate struggle of the families of victims of terrorist attacks claimed by armed Islamic groups. The first organization representing victims of terrorism was created by the government in 1994: the National Organization of Victims of Terrorism (*Organisation Nationale des Victimes du Terrorisme*, ONVT). Through establishing this organization, the authorities claimed that the brutal violence of the war only came from Islamist terrorists.[200]

In response to the demands of the families of 'the disappeared', in September 2003 Bouteflika appointed a 43-member National Consultative Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (*Commission Nationale Consultative de Protection et de Protection des Droits de l'Homme*, CNCPPDH), headed by attorney Farouk Ksentini, to determine the fate of the missing. In March 2005, Ksentini released a preliminary report that concluded—after examination of more than 6,000 disappearance cases—that some elements of the security forces had acted 'unlawfully' in abducting people. The report was never made public. Ksentini expressed the contentious conclusion that security forces were 'responsible but not guilty' ('*responsable, pas coupable*') for a number of reported disappearances, but they had 'acted as individuals'. According to Ksentini, he found 'no document, no testimony showing that the state had given instructions' for the disappearances.[201] Another conclusion by Ksentini was that financial compensation (*indemnisation*) was the best solution to this question.[202] Sources in Algeria confirm this point of view. Ksentini stated that:

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200 But nowadays families of the victims of terrorism are encouraged by the government to support the national reconciliation process and hold regular meetings and conferences under the auspices of President Bouteflika. In Algiers, we were handed the *Actes du colloque international d'Alger*, a report about a conference held in 2010 on '*Victimes du terrorisme et réconciliation nationale*'. During the conference, high-placed officials presented their views on the scars of terrorism and the importance of preventing it.

201 The Commission was granted no statutory power to compel testimony by government officials or to force them to release documents.

202 Families of 'the disappeared' received up to 1 million Algerian dinars (around 10,000 euros) if they could produce a death certificate stating that the disappeared person was 'killed in a skirmish *or* implicated in terrorist activity'. See Human Rights Watch, *Impunity in the Name of Reconciliation: Algerian President's Peace Plan Faces National Vote September 29*, September 2005. For the full scope

[...] the demands from [organizations such as *SOS Disparu(e)s*] are understandable from an intellectual point of view, but not feasible. There are no records, no witnesses, the court cases would never lead to convictions [...]. It's impossible to settle all the unresolved cases in court.[203]

Liess Boukra, director of the African Centre for Terrorism Studies, also claimed that:

[...] the South African model is not applicable to Algeria. We don't have the judicial apparatus for it; there are not enough judges with the specific qualifications for such work available. There is a need for judicial speed and not for long drawn out procedures. Plus, judges are very often threatened. In Algeria, we had to deal with several thousands of terrorists and their supporting networks, and not with a limited number [...]. Forgiveness and national reconciliation has to come from both sides, otherwise it is naïve to think there can be a solution.[204]

In other words, 'the [Algerian] judicial system is unable to provide all the answers for the National Tragedy'.[205]

In September 2007, Djemel Ould Abbas, then Minister of National Solidarity, closed the file on 'the disappeared', announcing that 13,541 applications for compensation had been made, both from families of terrorists and disappeared people.[206] To this day, the authorities depict *les disparus* as either members of armed groups who voluntarily decided to start a living elsewhere, or as the excesses of individual members of the security services overwhelmed by the brutality of the war.[207] Ksentini explained to us: 'The state was in a situation of legitimate self-defence. That does not justify, but at least explains what happened [...]. I have told the organizations of the disappeared: we have done what we could. Not enough? You are entitled to your opinion, but I cannot go further'.[208]

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of regulations concerning compensation, see '*Textes portant mise en oeuvre de la Charte pour la paix et la reconciliation nationale*' published by the Algerian Ministry of Justice, February 2006.

203 Interview with Mustapha Farouk Ksentini, President of the CNCPPDH, *Commission Nationale Consultative de Promotion et de Protection des Droits de l'Homme*, Algiers, 17 January 2011.

204 Interview with Dr Liess Boukra, Algiers, 12 January 2011.

205 Statement by M. Lakhdari, Director of Penal Affairs and Pardons at the Ministry of Justice, during interview in Algiers on 13 January 2011.

206 Minister Djemal Ould Abbas expressed this statement during a press conference; see *El Moudjahid*, 28 September 2007. Farouk Ksentini confirmed to the authors that 95 per cent of families of 'the disappeared' accepted compensation; interview in Algiers, 17 January 2011.

207 In Algiers, the authors also talked to 'Azzi Merouan, the president of *La Cellule d'Assistance Judiciaire pour l'Application de la Charte pour la Paix et la Réconciliation*. This pro-government unit is still working for the application of the *Charter* in practice. This also means settling the cases of victims and 'the disappeared'. A large part of the work consists of obtaining the required death certificates or *procès-verbal* of disappearances. According to Merouan, 'the army and security services are very helpful in the process'; interview in Algiers, 13 January 2011.

208 Interview with Farouk Ksentini, Algiers, 17 January 2011.

2.4 Algeria's Current Counter-Terrorism Strategy

In answer to the assignment of this report on Algeria, the general decrease of violence since 2000 in Algeria can be ascribed to two developments: the killing by security forces of a large number of members of Islamist armed groups over the past decade; and the surrender of many insurgents following the amnesty laws. As a result of the continuing repression and more effective methods of detecting and destroying armed groups by the regime, the GIA ceased to exist after 2004. The effectiveness of the GSPC has also been greatly reduced. Nevertheless, as a new wave of terrorist attacks in 2007 showed, violent Islamist groups continue to operate. Surprisingly, in 2007 Bouteflika dismissed the violence as a crime with no ideological basis: 'Terrorist acts are still committed from time to time. Such acts are due to organized crime. They have no ideological content'.[209] However, the terrorist attacks painfully demonstrate that although the security forces may have eliminated the GIA, jihadist forces are still present in Algeria.

2.4.1 The Current Threat of Violence

The indiscriminate violence against civilians in the second half of the 1990s led to the defection of several factions from the GIA. By 1997, the GIA had begun to split up and the GSPC became the most prominent faction. The GSPC was established in 1998 by Hassan Hattab (alias Abu Hamza). In contrast to the GIA, the GSPC focused its attacks predominantly on government forces. By 2001 the GSPC had become the most effective armed group in Algeria and in 2004 it was the first organization of its kind to distribute information on the Internet. By 2007, the GSPC had reactivated earlier tactics adopted by the GIA, such as car bombs, and it also started to launch suicide bombings. The first suicide operations by the GSPC reflected the new orientation of Algerian jihadi-Salafism: in December 2006 the GSPC changed its name into the Al-Qaeda in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and announced its affiliation to Bin Laden's al-Qaeda.[210] Since its existence, AQIM has attempted to bring other Maghrebi jihadi-Salafi groups under its banner, but there are no signs that these organizations are linked operationally. Despite the chain of attacks against Algerian security units and foreigners, the Algerian government considers the remnants of the GSPC as a group of thugs that no longer poses a significant threat to the survival of the state and its institutions. For example, during a visit to Tunisia on 31 January 2007, Deputy Interior Minister Dahou Ould Kabilya made the following statements with reference to the GSPC/AQIM: 'It has been almost totally eradicated and no longer poses a serious threat [...]. They could attack a foreigner, an American or someone they consider their enemy, but it would be an isolated act and we have taken the necessary measures so that this won't

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209 See *Liberté,* 14 March 2007; from Tlemçani, 'Algeria under Bouteflika', p. 18, footnote 18.
210 AQIM is currently headed by Abdelmalek Droukdel (alias Abu Musab Al-Wadoud), who is seen as the mastermind behind the GSPC's shift in tactics towards suicide operations. See Camille Tawil, 'A Jihadist in the Sand: The Rise of Abdelmalek Droukdel, Al-Qaeda's Amir in Algeria', in: *Militant Leadership Monitor*, vol. 1, no. 2, 28 February 2010.

happen'.[211] The authorities consider AQIM a remnant of the past, and its terrorist activities are often referred to by Algerian officials as '*le terrorism résiduel*' (residual terrorism).[212]

There are signs, however, that since the early 2000s, a new generation of radicals has emerged that have joined the armed struggle. They grew up during the violence of the 1990s and are not interested in establishing democracy or Islamizing society step by step. Influenced by the new transnational jihadism of Osama Bin Laden and the Iraq War, they want to join a globalized *jihad* against American, 'crusader' and Jewish 'Zionist' enemies. To them, al-Qaeda's global strategy is more appealing than focusing exclusively on overthrowing their government. Because of arrests and eliminations by the security forces, it is very likely that AQIM is now trying to attract both foreign fighters and younger followers.[213] To its young recruits it tries to portray jihadism as 'cool', regardless of the aim of establishing an Islamic state. Algerian jihadism has also been invigorated by the return of about 200 (exact figures are unknown) GIA and GSPC 'repentants', who joined AQIM after leaving prison. It seems that, in part, the rejoining of the 'repentants' is a consequence of the malfunctioning of the amnesty's regulations, especially with regard to social reintegration.[214]

Since 2008, AQIM has been especially active in the Sahara, which is referred to by the group as the 'Sahara Emirate' or the '9th district'.[215] There, the group has expanded considerably because of its main sources of earnings—cigarette and weapons' smuggling, drug trafficking, extortion and kidnapping. Criminal gangs that operate in the Sahara and Sahel have become natural allies of AQIM. For example, in December 2009, three al-Qaeda-affiliated Malians were arrested for working with Colombian FARC members and local criminals in an effort to ship cocaine through Algeria, Libya and Morocco to Spain.[216]

In recent years, members of AQIM have frequently worked together with criminal groups that kidnap European tourists and aid workers, who are later sold to AQIM.[217] AQIM then attempts to

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211 Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 65.

212 Until recently, the Algerian regime referred to AQIM as 'GSPC' in an effort to play it down; from interview with Hugh Roberts, 7 June 2011.

213 For example, in 2007 the security forces broke up several training camps for teenagers, set up by AQIM; see Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 81.

214 Omar Ashour, 'Islamist Deradicalization in Algeria: Successes and Failures', *Middle East Institute Policy Brief*, no. 21, November 2008, p. 9.

215 The 'Sahara Emirate' also encompasses border areas of Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Libya, Mauretania and Chad. See Alain Rodier, '*Le Sahel, Terrain de Jeu d'Al-Qaida au Maghreb Islamique (AQMI)*', *Centre Français de Recherche sur le Reseignement*, *Note d'Actualité*, no. 172, 6 May 2009.

216 Jamestown Foundation, 'Algeria Introduces New Military Strategy to Combat Terrorism in the Sahara', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 8, no. 1, 7 January 2010.

217 Jamestown Foundation, 'AQIM Funds Terrorist Operations with Thriving Sahel-Based Kidnapping Industry', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 8, no. 4, 28 January 2010.

extort a ransom from European governments for the return of the hostages. Spanish and French citizens have been among the main targets.[218]

Liess Boukra has confirmed that 'AQIM is difficult to dislodge […]. Its suicide attacks have been impossible to prevent, the more since it was a new phenomenon in Algeria and the perpetrators were not known in any way by the security services'. Concerning the young recruits of AQIM, Boukra added:

Algeria has known many 'fractures' in its recent history: the national liberation war; the period of socialism; the phase of liberalism and multiparty-ism […]. To that you can add a demographic explosion, with generations who have not known the national liberation struggle. Also the cyber cafés and internet contribute to a rejection of the established order, often more on the basis of an emotional impulse than on the basis of well thought-out political considerations. Terrorism has become more transnational, without a national base.[219]

The latest developments of AQIM's activities in the Sahara desert have not been systematically investigated for this publication. While AQIM and its remnants no doubt continue to pose a significant security problem—in the Sahara in the south and the Kabylia region in the north— they are no longer a serious political and strategic threat to the regime,[220] as the activities of AQIM's remnants have increasingly acquired a barely disguised criminal nature with only a thin veneer of Islamist jihadist justification. In Kabylia, vigorous popular protests took place against kidnappings by AQIM, forcing the organization on the defensive, even without government intervention.[221]

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218 Jamestown Foundation, 'AQIM Funds Terrorist Operations with Thriving Sahel-Based Kidnapping Industry'.

219 From interview in Algiers with Liess Boukra, 11 February 2011. Although it is true that the 2007 suicide bombers were unknown to the security services, it was later discovered that the Batna attack was coordinated by at least one member of AQIM who had previously benefited from the amnesty regulations.

220 This observation was confirmed by Mohamed Rezaq Bara, a senior presidential counter-terrorism adviser to President Bouteflika: 'It is a threat to public security, but not a threat for the security of the state, nor for the very foundations of the state in Algeria'; from an interview in Algiers, 17 June 2011. Government officials also confirm that 'terrorism is now circumscribed to a certain region… In the 'hot neighbourhoods' (*les quartiers chauds*), there is a clear presence of the state. Elsewhere, there has been a return to normalcy'; from an interview with M. Lakhdari, Director of Penal Affairs and Pardons at the Ministry of Justice, 13 January 2011.

221 From an interview with Mohamed Rezag Bara, 17 January 2011. See also Camille Tawil, *Brothers in Arms*, p. 195; and Camille Tawil, *The Al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb: Expansion in the Sahel and Challenges from Within Jihadist Circles* (Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation, 2010). On popular mobilization against Islamist groups, see for instance *El Watan*, '*La Kabylie en état de choc*', 22 May 2011.

2.4.2   Present Counter-Terrorism Efforts

By 2007, the war against armed Islamic groups was seen as something of the past by the Algerian authorities. The brief but sharp rise in terrorist attacks during 2007, however, including a failed attempt to assassinate Bouteflika, confronted the government with the persistent threat of jihadism in Algeria.

Algeria does not have a comprehensive approach to counter-terrorism and the underlying strategy is not entirely known. As we have seen, a number of (military) institutions are tasked with countering the threat of jihadism, but the institutional structure and, more importantly, the balance of power within its ranks remain unclear. Algeria's intelligence agency, the DRS, reports to the Ministry of Defence rather than the Ministry of the Interior or Justice, as in most countries. In practice this means that the military intelligence service has the task to detect, apprehend and interrogate terrorist suspects but that no civilian institution is monitoring its conduct. As a result, detainees are often held for weeks or months in DRS barracks without access to legal assistance. In its reports to the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee (see below), Algeria claims that as soon as a person is placed in custody, the public prosecutor is informed and a police report is drawn up. Indeed, the *gendarmerie* and the police operate under the authority of the public prosecutor. However, in practice the DRS handles terrorist suspects and its personnel appear to function without oversight from any of the civilian authorities.[222]

Despite the fact that Algeria's counter-terrorism strategy is not made public, the Algerian government seems to realize fully the importance of a coordinated range of measures to prevent 'residual terrorism'. In response to UN Security Council Resolution 1624, concerning incitement to commit terrorist acts (2005), Algeria submitted its approach for the implementation of this resolution to the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee in 2007. It is the fullest official report available of what Algeria is doing to counter terrorism. In it, Algeria advocates 'a comprehensive approach to preventing and combating the problem', which has 'made it necessary to take preventive action, including many initiatives in the areas of education, religion and communication'. These 'ideas form the basis of a framework of reference consisting of the policy of national peace and reconciliation advocated by the President of the Republic and endorsed by popular referendum', implying that a large part of Algeria's counter-terrorism policy consists of Bouteflika's reconciliation process.[223] In practice, we see that Algeria's counter-terrorism effort, which was formed after 2001 to neutralize the threat of 'residual terrorism', is taking place at the military as well as religious levels.

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222 Amnesty International, 'A Legacy of Impunity', p. 36.

223 United Nations Security Council, *Algeria's National Report on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1624 (2005)*, S/2007/138, 12 March 2007, p. 3.

2.4.3 'Hard' Approach

As already seen, until the GIA began to lose popular support in the late 1990s, the Algerian army employed an almost conventional military approach to counter-terrorism. Although this policy is still in force to combat terrorism, the role of intelligence and the police in the detection of terrorist cells and support structures has gained more attention. The challenge lies for a large part in dealing with young recruits who have no previous criminal record or alignment to terrorist groups. Algeria's military offensive to counter terrorism started off in a spectacular way, when the investigation into the April 2007 attacks in Algiers led the security services to one of AQIM's leading figures: Samir Sai'oud (alias Musab Abu Abdallah). The security services decided to announce Sai'oud's death through the official Algerian Press Service. Instead, it appeared that he was injured and detained by the security forces, and his information led to the killing or capture of dozens of militant leaders. Eventually, the whole network responsible for the April 2007 attacks in Algiers was dismantled. To prevent militants in the mountains from going into hiding and regrouping, government forces occupied these areas in 2009 and launched more than ten weekly operations. The strategy is to keep AQIM occupied with its own survival instead of allowing it time to plan new attacks. In April 2010, Algeria launched another sweeping counter-terrorism offensive—Operation *Ennasr* (Victory)—in the hinterland against Salafi militants who were operating under the flag of AQIM. Algeria's paramilitary troops received orders to 'clean out the terrorist *maquis*' in the western, central and eastern parts of Algeria. Operation *Ennasr* particularly focused on the mountainous and heavily wooded regions where AQIM cells have their hideouts.[224]

In addition, Algeria has introduced a new military strategy that is designed to restrict movement through the volatile border regions that Algeria shares with Niger, Mali and Mauretania. Individuals making unauthorized crossings through the border region are given a single warning before being shot at by Algerian security forces.[225] Moreover, in countering the growing influence of GSPC/AQIM, the Algerian government seems to have found an unexpected ally in the form of the Touareg in Mali and Niger. Touareg rebels have clashed with AQIM in the Mali Desert on a number of occasions—they consider the Islamists as enemies who attract unnecessary attention to their smuggling networks. Involving Touareg tribes in the counter-terrorism effort does not seem to be part of a well thought-out strategy by the authorities. It is extremely difficult to determine whether permanent alliances are formed between Algerian army men and Touaregs, or whether it comes down to ad-hoc collaborations.[226] It is as yet unclear how the fall of the Gaddafi regime in neighbouring Libya, which enlisted support from Touareg fighters, will affect the struggle against AQIM. But the abundance of sophisticated weaponry from Gaddafi's

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224 Jamestown Foundation, 'Algeria Launches Nation-Wide Counterterrorism Offensive', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 8, no. 16, 23 April 2010. The military was supported by *al-Darak al-Watani* (National Police or *Gendarmerie Nationale*).

225 See Andrew McGregor, 'Algeria Introduces New Military Strategy to Combat Terrorism in the Sahara', *Terrorism Monitor*, 7 January 2010.

226 Jamestown Foundation, 'Touareg Rebels Joining Battle Against Al-Qaeda in the Sahara?', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 8, no. 40, 4 November 2010.

arsenals that was distributed to his supporters and/or has fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and the danger of these weapons finding their way into Algeria, is clearly causing great concern in Algiers.

Despite problematic bilateral relations (especially between Algeria and Morocco), in April 2007 Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya adopted a new system of coordination among their intelligence agencies to respond to the fluent character of AQIM. According to Algeria's national report, it has 'made international cooperation one of the underpinnings of its effort to prevent and combat terrorism'.[227] It was decided that security coordination between Morocco and Algeria would be conducted through the Interpol central offices in the two countries. In early 2010, Algeria added another 3,000 troops to the force of 15,000 men already present along Algeria's southern borders. Eight border gates have been created to reduce free movement of smugglers and criminals in the region. As a result, free movement is heavily restricted and natural water sources are heavily controlled.[228] Furthermore, the ports of Algiers, Annaba and Oran are equipped with sophisticated explosives' detectors, and new instructions have been put in place to restrict the sale and distribution of certain chemicals and fertilizers that can be used to manufacture bombs.[229]

Despite the greater sophistication, the '*éradicateur*' trend within the military is still visible in the government's dealings with terrorism to this day. The Algerian authorities are bent on preventing terrorist activity from threatening the foundations of the state and its institutions. According to Liess Boukra, the combination of gathering intelligence and employing a military strategy is designed to 'drive terrorists out of the city' and force them into the *maquis*, where they are more easily isolated and surrounded, and where they pose less of a threat to the state and Algerian civilians.[230] This strategy seems to be effective. Because of security sweeps, AQIM has lost a number of its commanders, which might have a major impact on the future direction of the organization. Abou el-Abbes (aka Athmane Touati), one of the most important senior AQIM leaders, surrendered on 25 May 2010 to Algerian security forces. On the same day, another major AQIM *jihadi*, Grig-Ahsine Abdelhalim (aka Abdelkader) was also captured,[231] while two other AQIM emirs had been arrested during the two previous months. The former emir of the El Farouk brigade, Mansouri Ahmed (aka Abdeljabbar) surrendered in April 2010, and a few days later, Mokadem Lounis followed him. According to Algerian security forces, both men have given important information on the structure of AQIM's organization. In addition to military setbacks and a lack of fresh recruits, the decline in public support has also led many other AQIM members to hand themselves in to the authorities.[232]

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227 UN Security Council, *Algeria's National Report on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1624 (2005)*, p. 6.
228 *El Khabar*, 22 December 2009.
229 *El Khabar*, 7 April 2010.
230 Interview with Liess Boukra, Algiers, 11 February 2011.
231 *L'Expression*, 1 June 2010.
232 Jamestown Foundation, 'Algeria's AQIM Becomes a Regional Threat Despite Surrender of Senior Leaders', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 8, no. 25, 24 June 2010.

Although the surrenders have become a major propaganda tool in the hands of the Algerian authorities, the true nature of these successes remains obscure. The whereabouts of three of the main captured GSPC/AQIM leaders are unknown,[233] but this attempt to blur the line between fiction and reality may be a deliberate policy by Algerian security forces and part of their psychological warfare.[234] Algerian officials explained that 'it is not always intelligent to present the suspect to a judge, in a public session; it is better to keep his surrender secret. His fellow terrorists in the *maquis* may threaten him, as well as his victims'.[235] According to Liess Boukra, the underlying strategy behind the amnesty policy and surrenders was to isolate the mainstream Islamists from the violent ideologists, and to reintegrate them in society. The next step was to cleanse the *maquis* by military means. The success of this approach can also be explained, however, by an internal struggle within AQIM's ranks. It seems that Abdelmalek Droukdel and Mebarak Yazid (aka Abou Obeida Youcef) have fallen out as a result of accusations by Yazid that Droukdel has been ineffective in carrying out operations.[236] Rumours have been spread that Droukdel might have been overthrown and replaced by Yazid.[237]

2.4.4   'Soft' Approach

The Algerian authorities are highly aware of the difficulty of defeating armed Islamists by military means alone. Hence, the government has taken steps to confront the religious and ideological foundations of AQIM and other Salafi radicals in Algeria. According to the report submitted to the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee, Algeria's government set out to increase the 'management of religious affairs' by 'reappropriating the […] spiritual heritage of the Algerian nation through the universal use of the Holy Koran'.

There are several elements to this religious offensive. First, the government allowed known Islamist radical leaders who have renounced violence and joined the peace process to explain why they revised their ideas. For instance, in *al-Hayat* newspaper, Hassan Hattab, founder and former emir of the GSPC, spoke at length about his reasons for giving up arms. Hattab declared that AQIM is not waging a *jihad*.[238] Later, Hattab published in the Algerian media a renewed call to jihadists to 'lay down the arms', claiming that the armed struggle 'does nothing for Islam and Muslims'. He advised his 'brothers' to 'return to society and to your families; society is ready to

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233 Two leaders of armed Islamic groups, Amari Saïfi (aka El Para) of the GSPC and Hassan Hattab of the GSPC, remain in custody. See Algeria Watch, 'What Happened to Hassan Hattab and Amari Saïfi (alias Abderrezak El Para)?', 20 December 2008; or Jean-Philippe Rémy, '"El Para": le chef salafiste capturé dont personne ne veut', *Le Monde*, 26 May 2004.

234 Jamestown Foundation, *Terrorism Monitor,* 24 June 2010.

235 Interview with Liess Boukra, Algiers, 11 February 2011.

236 Interview with Liess Boukra, Algiers, 11 February 2011.

237 *Annahar*, 9 March 2010.

238 *Al Hayat*, 14–17 March 2009. See also Jamestown Foundation, 'New Strategies in Al-Qaeda's Battle for Algeria', *Terrorism Monitor*, 27 July 2009.

welcome you and heal the wounds'.[239] Other repentants, such as former AQIM leaders Othmane Touati (aka Abou El-Abbes) and Samir Sai'oud, also spoke out publicly against terrorism. They also encouraged armed Islamists to give up their fight and surrender to the authorities. Touati said about the Algerian security services that 'we never thought that the security agencies would give us such a treatment. They provided all that we needed and asked for'.[240]

Second, the state has invited hundreds of *du'at dini*, or Muslim preachers—such as Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi and the Egyptian 'TV imam' Amr Khaled—to Algeria to preach a moderate (*wasatiyya*) and non-violent version of Islam.[241] The authorities have even created a television station called *Qanat al-Qur'an* (the Koran Channel) and a radio station (*Iza'at al-Qur'an*) to spread the same message. *S*ecurity services tell the media that the radio station is very well listened to by terrorists in the *maquis*.[242]

How effective these measures are is an open question. During research in Algeria, the authors were handed the *Code de l'Organisation Penitentiaire et de la Reinsertion Sociale des Detenus*, which is the legal framework for the conditions of detention of (terrorism) suspects and their reintegration into society. The Code stipulates that detainees have the right to listen to certain radio programmes, watch certain television programmes and read newspapers approved by the authorities.[243] Detainees also have the right to consult psychologists and receive education, which is referred to as '*reéducation en milieu fermé*' (re-education in a closed environment).[244] No clear evidence was found that detainees are also exposed to religious re-education, but in the light of the larger religious counter-offensives sponsored by the state, it is likely that the authorities are working to counter the spread of jihadi-Salafi thinking in prisons. This was confirmed by Rezaq Bara, who said that the Algerian authorities 'work in prisons to counter the recruitment of new jihadists by breaking the monopoly of religious discourse in prison through the use of infiltrators who question the jihadist discourse and by having qualified imams taking charge of prisoners. We also isolate *jihadis* from other prisoners'.[245]

Third, the government intensively monitors sermons at mosques throughout Algeria in an effort to detect extremism at the earliest stage possible. It has introduced the importance of preventing extremism into the curricula of religious schools. Although the construction of private mosques is allowed in Algeria, all imams are civil servants who are appointed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Their speeches and sermons are carefully monitored: 'we have undertaken a great effort […] to exercise control over the sermons in mosques and retake control from the Salafists who

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239 *Magharebia,* 21 January 2009.

240 *Al Shorfa*, 10 September 2010

241 Camille Tawil, 'New Strategies in Al-Qaeda's Battle for Algeria', *Terrorism Monitor*, 27 July 2009, pp. 5–6. See also Tawil, *Brothers in Arms.*

242 Interview with Atef Qedadra, Algiers, 10 January 2011.

243 Algerian Ministry of Justice, '*Code de l'organisation penitentiare et de la reinsertion sociale des detenus*', 2007, article 92. The content of these broadcasts is not specified.

244 Algerian Ministry of Justice, '*Code de l'organisation penitentiare et de la reinsertion sociale des detenus*', article 89.

245 Interview with Rezaq Bara, Algiers, 17 January 2011.

had taken over many mosques'.[246] Since 2007, the Ministry of Religious Endowments and Islamic Affairs has also actively countered radicalization in mosques by setting up an 'anti-suicide bomber' programme, as it believes that all religious and cultural institutions need to be mobilized as 'relay stations' to listen to the preoccupations of the youth.[247] Youths are recognized as a particularly vulnerable group to radicalization, and the government regards schools and mosques as important allies in countering '*la pédagogie de la rue*'.[248]

Fourth, officials from the Algerian Ministry of Religious Affairs frequently deliberate with regional religious leaders of the High Islamic Council (*Haut Conseil Islamique*, HCI, a consultative council to the president) and scholars about ways to promote the peaceful and tolerant character of Islam.

Fifth, at the beginning of the 2000s, the authorities focused on promoting the non-violent and non-political variant of Salafism, *al-salafiyya al-'ilmiyya*.[249] This current within Salafism seeks to Islamize society and impose the *shari'a*, but not to establish an Islamic state (*dawla islamiyya*). Under this programme the authorities invited a well-known Saudi Salafi preacher, Ayid al-Qarni, to meet with former militants who have renounced violence and to urge them to spread the message that AQIM's violence is not *jihad*.[250]

Sixth, and in marked contradiction to the previous policy, in recent years there has been a renewed emphasis by the authorities on the Maliki *madhhab*, one of the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence that is predominant in North Africa. This policy serves as a means of deterring the influence of 'foreign' (that is, Salafist) ideas of Islam and its practices. This support of 'traditional' Islam focuses on the Sufi orders, or mystical Islam that propagates an other-worldly, non-political attitude of non-violence, tolerance and peace. Historically, the *zawiyas* (Islamic religious schools or monasteries) were the primary sources for (religious) education, and continue to be major educational resources for the population. According to an official of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Salafi ideology 'does not take into consideration the particular nature of Algeria. [...] We are doing a lot to encourage people to come back to our traditional Islam: a peaceful, tolerant and open-minded Islam. And thanks to God, people are much more attracted by our message than by the Salafi message'.[251] Supporting the *zawiyas* and the message

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246 Interview with Rezaq Bara, Algiers, 17 January 2011.

247 BBC Monitoring Middle East, 'Algerian Mosques "Declare War" on Extremism', 7 November 2007.

248 '*Actes du colloque international d'Alger*', on '*Victimes du terrorisme et reconciliation nationale*', April 2010, p. 29.

249 Interview with Atef Qedadra, Algiers, 10 January 2011.

250 The ideological Salafi leadership *within* Algeria is very weak. There are no broadly recognized, influential leaders such as in Egypt. Inviting non-violent Salafi leaders to Algeria has been an important strategic move by the state. However, Algerian government officials consequently realized that Salafists could pose a more serious threat to the state than jihadists. The regime then had to opt for other measures (see below). From the reflection on (counter-)terrorism in Algeria by Camille Tawil, 17 June 2011.

251 Reuters, 'Algeria Also Opts for "Sufi Card" to Fight Islamist Extremism', 9 July 2009, quotation by Mohamed Idir Mechnane of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. According to Liess Boukra, the young

of *wasatiyya* (the median way) has become a vital part of Algeria's strategy for countering radicalism and Salafism. President Bouteflika has personally approved the financing of the *zawiyas*. Key positions in his presidential administration are granted to Sufi adherents. *Zawiyas* are free to organize seminars,[252] charity events and lectures—a freedom that is not extended to other groups in Algeria (see below). Not surprisingly, the president of the National Union of Algerian *Zawiyas*, Mahmoud Chaalal, has joined other religious scholars and dignitaries in publicly supporting President Bouteflika and his policy of National Reconciliation, on the basis of pertinent verses from the Koran and the Sunna. [253]

This policy's effectiveness seems to be apparent from decreasing support for jihadi-Salafism. One of our sources gave the example of Ali Benhadj (a former more radical FIS leader), who in one Algiers mosque tried to incite youngsters to protest against the *taghout* (infidel) regime when he grabbed the microphone after the Friday sermon. According to this source, the youngsters were completely disinterested in the FIS and its message, and Ali Benhadj was literally pushed aside.[254]

The ideological counter-terrorism campaign has, however, provoked a response from AQIM.[255] Ahmed Deghdegh, the head of AQIM's political committee, appeared in a lengthy video countering accusations directed at AQIM. He claimed that the government's arguments are worthless.[256]

2.4.5   Development of other counter-terrorism measures

Algeria's national counter-terrorism response has been criticized on a number of human rights grounds and its strong military–institutional component. It has also been openly criticized for its non-compliance with longstanding requests by the UN for country visits by special rapporteurs on torture, the promotion and protection of human rights while countering terrorism, and on extra-judicial executions. Nevertheless, Algeria is widely regarded as an active actor in dealing with counter-terrorism issues, both in the Maghreb region and internationally.[257] For instance, Algeria nowadays has fairly well-developed provisions to deal with terrorist financing, which are based on special legislation. Charities and religious organizations are regulated by law and monitored; and all financial transactions must go through approved banks or intermediaries.

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sheikhs of the *zawiyas* have the responsibility to counter the radical *fatwas* that are issued by self-proclaimed *jihadi* sheikhs and imams; interview on 11 February 2011.

252 See, for instance, *Al Sharq Al Awsat*, 'Algeria using Sufism to Stem Jihadist Ideology', 28 July 2009.

253 Mahmoud Chaalal *et al.*, '*Contribution pour une Réconciliation Nationale Globale: une sortie de crise*', *Alliance Présidentielle Du Mouvement Associatif et de la Société Civile*, Algiers, 2005.

254 From an interview with Atef Qedadra, Algiers, 10 January 2011.

255 For more on the ideology of counter-terrorism, see the contribution in this publication by Roel Meijer.

256 Botha, *Terrorism in the Maghreb*, p. 7.

257 Jolyon Ford, *Beyond the 'War on Terror': A Study of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism in the Maghreb* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2009), p. 59.

Also, since 2008, specialized counter-terrorism judicial procedures have been created to deal with terrorism cases.[258] According to President Bouteflika, Algeria is striving towards 'excellence' in serving the regional and international counter-terrorism efforts.[259] For the United States, 'Algeria is a major partner in combating extremism and terrorist networks such as al-Qaeda and is our second-largest trading partner in the Arab world'.[260] Following the irritation of Algerian leaders that the United States placed Algeria on its terrorist blacklist (following the 2009 failed Christmas Day attack on an American airliner), Washington has made major efforts to reassure Algeria that it is a vital and trusted part of the United States' counter-terrorism strategy.[261]

Moreover, in April 2010, a military summit was held in the southern Algerian town of Tamanrasset to form a Joint Operational Military Committee, including officers from Algeria, Mali, Niger and Mauritania, to deal with the problem of AQIM and gangs making use of the poorly guarded shared borders. However, little is known about the composition of the committee or its mandate.[262] Furthermore, from 2 to 23 May 2010, US, African and European military forces concluded Operation Flintlock as part of the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP)—a series of multinational military exercises that were designed to develop international security cooperation in North and West Africa. 1,200 soldiers participated in the latest manoeuvres, including units from France, Britain, Germany, Spain and the Netherlands. The exercises were headquartered in the Burkina Faso capital of Ouagadougou, where local special forces received training in responding to hostage-taking operations carried out by AQIM.[263]

France is also re-establishing its relationships with Algeria. Long-term industrial projects are being established with French help, and now that France can join the 'struggle against terror' in Algeria, French and Algerian chiefs of staff talk regularly on the phone.[264] The Algerian Brigade of Research and Intervention (*Brigade de Recherches et d'Intervention,* BRI), a body that operates under the auspices of the DGSN, is mandated with investigating organized crime such as

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258 In 2006, about 50 judges and prosecutors were selected to undergo specialist training in organized crime and terrorism cases. However, there is little information on the functioning of this special jurisdiction. Algeria does not have an independent judiciary (see below). See Ford, *Beyond the 'War on Terror'*, p. 52.

259 The African Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism (*Centre Africain d'Etudes et de Recherche sur le Terrorisme*, CAERT) in Algiers, set up under the auspices of the Algerian government, serves as an example of this intent.

260 US State Department, Advancing *Freedom and Democracy*, May 2009. The United States provides almost no financial aid to Algeria but is the leading customer of Algeria's products—primarily gas and oil.

261 Jamestown Foundation, *Terrorism Monitor*, 23 April 2010.

262 Jamestown Foundation, *Terrorism Monitor*, 23 April 2010.

263 Jamestown Foundation, 'Africom's Operation Flintlock: New Partners and New Questions', *Terrorism Monitor*, 4 June 2010.

264 *The Independent*, 'The Tragedy of Algeria's "Disappeared"', 20 December 2010.

trafficking and terrorism, and has reportedly received assistance from the French authorities.[265] Although Algeria is pleased with the international recognition of its counter-terrorism efforts, it also emphasizes that it had to deal with the phenomenon of terrorism for years, without any assistance from the outside world. Algeria also suspects the international community of having helped the armed Islamists under the flag of promoting democracy.[266]

2.4.6   The Role of Civil Society

As already seen, in their counter-terrorism efforts the Algerian authorities have come up with a 'hard' approach (military action against AQIM and other jihadists) as well as a 'soft' approach (managing the religious domain by supporting those who adhere to a non-Salafi version of Islam). However, as in other countries, the commitment of civil society institutions to the fight against terrorism can be crucial for the level of success of a country's total strategy in eliminating radicalism and terrorism. Because of their embedment in society, civil society groups and institutions cannot only detect potential sources of radicalism and recruitment at an early stage; they sometimes also develop grass roots' initiatives that complement the national fight against terrorism and fill the gaps of government policy. In an effort to analyse fully Algeria's counter-terrorism strategy, the section below will focus on three sections of Algeria's civil society: non-governmental organizations (NGOs); lawyers; and the media.

In Algeria, because of the authoritarian character of the state, civil society since independence has not had the freedom to develop independently. As previously mentioned, consecutive Algerian governments have had the tendency to co-opt civil society groups or grass roots institutions that had the ability to mobilize a large following. According to the lawyer Mustapha Bouchachi, president of the Algerian League for the Protection of Human Rights (*Ligue Algérienne pour la Défense de Droits de l'Homme*, LADDH), 'the regime has destroyed civil society over the last 20 to 30 years'.[267] In the 1980s, Islamic associations were given more leeway, but only in an effort by the regime to curb the influence of leftist tendencies in society. A serious opening only came around 1990, when the political system was liberalized in response to mass protests and Algeria seemed on its way towards a genuine multi-party system.[268] Between 1988 and 1999, a massive number of civil society organizations were created and the regime claimed that all the demands for registration had been accepted, mounting to a total of 90,000

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265 Jamestown Foundation, *Terrorism Monitor*, 4 June 2010.
266 Interview with Liess Boukra, Algiers, 11 January 2011.
267 Interview with Mustapha Bouchachi, Algiers, 12 January 2011.
268 It must be said that critics seriously doubt the sincerity of the regime's move towards democratization. Mustapha Bouchachi told us that 'the regime has been totalitarian since independence and has never accepted a true democratization. There were other ways to get rid of the Islamists in 1992. The way chosen has been a big manipulation to be able to appear as the saviours of the republic. The regime has pushed for the victory of the FIS, in order to better sell its military *coup d'état* to the West'; interview with Mustapha Bouchachi, Algiers, 12 January 2011

organizations at one point, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[269] However, according to human rights activists within Algeria, the majority of these associations had in fact been created by the regime itself to legitimize its steps towards democracy, but at the same time to preserve its control over associational life and society as a whole. Many of these artificially established associations, which had no foothold in society, quickly lost credibility.[270] In the early 1990s, the regime abruptly shut down its movement towards multi-partyism and democracy. As we have seen, the immensely popular FIS, which was a social movement rather than a mere political party (and therefore a cluster of existing popular sentiments), was banned, and Algeria plunged into the 'dark decade'. A state of emergency was imposed, which prevented any grass roots initiative from gaining a foothold in society for more than a decade. Only after the first gestures towards peace and national reconciliation were made was Algerian associational life reinvigorated.

After 2000, the families of the missing and victims of terrorism, especially women, gathered in associations and NGOs[271] to uncover the truth about their missing relatives. In recent years, they have increasingly vented their anger and grief publicly. However, emergency laws, which were only lifted in early 2011, heavily constrain the freedom of expression and the freedom of association and assembly.[272] It is forbidden to defame the name of the President of the Republic or (the conduct of) other state institutions, including the army, security services, parliament or the judiciary. In practice, this means that families of war victims, human rights' defenders, journalists, lawyers and others who bring to light human rights' violations committed by the Algerian authorities continue to face intimidation, harassment and even prosecution.[273] Also, until the recent lifting of the Emergency Law, it was prohibited to demonstrate in the capital, Algiers. Anyone who planned to organize a public meeting, even if held in a privately owned venue, needed to obtain authorization from the local governor (*wali*). In practice, authorization came not from the *wali*, but from the security service, and permits were almost routinely denied.[274]

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269 Interview with Mustapha Bouchachi, Algiers, 12 January 2011.

270 Interview with Mustapha Bouchachi, Algiers, 12 January 2011.

271 Such as the Collective of Families of the Disappeared in Algeria (*Collectif des familles de disparu(e)s en Algérie*, CFDA), *SOS Disparu(e)s*, *Alkarama*, *Djazaioura* and *Soumoud*, among others. Mustapha Bouchachi told us that the families of the '*disparus*' and the families of the victims of terrorism (the latter received support from the state) are now collaborating. The families of the victims of terrorism also feel bypassed by the state, since they had no involvement in drafting the *Charter of Peace and National Reconciliation*.

272 In addition to Ordinance no. 06-01 of 2006, which stipulates the preconditions and regulations concerning National Reconciliation, amendments to the Penal Code in 2001 further curtail the freedom of expression (Law 01-09 of 26 June 2001).

273 Amnesty International, 'A Legacy of Impunity'. See also, for instance, Algeria Watch, 'Mothers of the Disappeared Severely Beaten by Police Forces', 12 August 2010.

274 Amnesty International, 'A Legacy of Impunity', p. 50.

Despite the emergency laws and restrictions, an estimated 50,000 non-governmental organizations of all kinds—with or without permits—are now active in Algeria.[275] The majority of these NGOs are allowed to operate because they do not pose an immediate security threat to the state. For instance, workers are free to establish independent trade unions. Nevertheless, the General Union of Algerian Workers (*Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens*, UGTA), which was established in 1956 by the FLN to unite Algerian workers against French rule, remains the largest trade union, even if it is criticized for being too close to the government and failing to advance workers' interests.[276] Only in the last few years has a more active, independent, free union movement been slowly emerging.

Few lawyers in Algeria have the audacity to take up sensitive issues, and lawyers that have done so have been subject to judicial harassment. Lawyers who are working on terrorism-related cases regularly face prosecution for openly discussing matters such as torture and the denial of a fair trial.[277] A number of lawyers, including the head of the Algerian Bar Association, have been highly critical of some proposed legal changes by the government, which increase control over the judiciary by the Ministry of Justice.

Algeria's broadcast media is state-controlled and airs almost no critical coverage of, or dissent on, government policies, but they do provide live telecasts of parliamentary sessions. The written press enjoys a considerably freer scope—especially in comparison to the 1990s—but repressive press laws, dependence on revenues from public-sector advertising, and other factors, limit their freedom to criticize the powers that be.[278] Article 26 of the 1990 Information Code forbids the publication of anything that is deemed 'contrary to Islamic and national values and human rights, or supportive of racism, fanaticism or treason'.[279] Despite the strict defamation laws on journalists and media outlets, a number of popular private newspapers circulate, such as *El Watan* (in French) and *Al Khabar* (in Arabic), in addition to party newspapers such as *El Moujahid,* the organ of the former single ruling party FLN, and a variety of pro-government newspapers, such as *L'Expression* and *Le Soir d'Algérie,* as well as newspapers that are allegedly close to the security services and the army, such as *Liberté* and *An-Nahar El Jedid.* The big circulation *El Shourouq* is a conservative and rather populist newspaper upholding an Islamic discourse, but it is allowed on the grounds that it condemns terrorism.[280] A recurrent complaint is that the extent of pluralism in the Algerian press owes less to genuine independence and more to factional struggles within the regime, finding an outlet in different newspapers. Although Algeria's printing press has been called 'vibrant'[281] because of the number

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275 Freedom House, *Country Report Algeria, 2010.*

276 The International Centre for Trade Unions Rights (ICTUR), *Trade Unions of the World* (London: John Harper Publishing, 2005),

277 In 2008, lawyer Amine Sidhoum was convicted to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 dinars for stating that his client spent 30 months in prison as a result of 'abusive judgement'. Other lawyers were accused of allegedly passing 'prohibited items' (business cards) to prisoners.

278 Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2009*, p. 444.

279 Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2009*, p. 481.

280 Interview with Atef Qedadra, Algiers, 11 January 2011.

281 Freedom House, *Country Report Algeria, 2010.*

of (private) newspapers, press freedom was severely curtailed prior to the April 2009 presidential elections in which Bouteflika was re-elected.[282] In recent years, numerous cases of harassment of critical journalists have been reported. For instance, in 2009 the managing editor of the news website *Al-Waha* began serving a six-month prison sentence after being convicted of defamation over an article he wrote that was critical of a local government official.[283] Also, Hafnaoui Ghoul, a journalist and human rights activist, in 2004 faced four judicial proceedings for defamation after government officials found out that Ghoul had published a number of articles about mismanagement and corruption at the political level and torture and ill treatment by the army. He served six months in prison. After his release, Ghoul was attacked in the street by an assailant carrying a knife. Probably because of Ghoul's history, the local authorities have turned a blind eye to that assault.[284]

Furthermore, some civil society organizations—such as the human rights organization LADDH—were rather critical of the regime enlisting the support of the *zawiyas* as part of its 'soft' approach to terrorism. They feel that the *zawiyas* form an 'alibi for civil society'. In return for freedom to hold seminars, under the high patronage of the Algerian president, the *confrèries* have 'resigned from politics and obey the president'.[285] And there is also scepticism about the effectiveness of the imams' counter-terrorist discourse in the government's strategy, since they have become civil servants and receive guidelines for their sermons from the authorities.

The Algerian government, faced with criticism from independent human rights groups has set up a human rights body of its own, the CNCPPDH, to uphold the claim that the Algerian government is doing everything that it can to address sensitive outstanding issues. Despite the continuing criticism by media, groups and individuals of the shortcomings of the amnesty measures adopted since 1999, the Algerian authorities in 2007 reported to the UN Human Rights Committee that 'to date, no criticism of the virtually unanimous endorsement of the Charter [of Peace and National Reconciliation] by the Algerian people has been observed and there have been no reports concerning constraints imposed on anyone who may have taken such action'.[286] That looks like painting too rosy a picture, although there can be little doubt that, overall, the National Reconciliation strategy has enjoyed broad if sometimes qualified support, with the exception of a small, but vocal opposition.

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282 Freedom House, *Country Report Algeria, 2010*. Prior to the elections, the authorities consolidated their internet monitoring power, and international observers reported that many critical websites had been blocked.

283 Freedom House, *Country Report Algeria, 2010*.

284 Amnesty International, 'A Legacy of Impunity', p. 49; and Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2009*, p. 481.

285 Interview with Mustapha Bouchachi, Algiers, 12 January 2011.

286 UN document CCPR/C/DZA/Q/3/Add., 4 October 1997.

2.5   The Road Ahead

What, then, can be said about the (future) influence of civil society and associational life in Algeria, and its possible involvement in counter-terrorism? As already seen, associational life in Algeria is still very much linked to the civil war in the 1990s and the process of national reconciliation that followed. Much of its agenda consists of addressing the sensitive issues stemming from the war, such as uncovering the truth about what happened to loved ones and the government's role in the violence. Also, in recent years Algeria has regularly witnessed relatively small protest by rioters demanding better living conditions and employment. It was found, however, that NGO adversaries consider Algeria's associational life to be 'crushed' by the regime, while government officials claim that Algerians do not feel the need for civil society at this moment in time: 'For civil society to play a role, there must first *be* a society. In Algeria, there is no demand for politics, there is disaffection with politics in Algeria, so there is no supply of politics and there is no demand for politics'.[287]

However, by January 2011, inspired by their counterparts in Tunisia, thousands of angry Algerians demonstrated in the streets of Algiers, demanding wider freedoms, better socio-economic circumstances, an end to corruption, and the termination of the state of emergency. One day after the riots, on 10 January 2011, a telling headline in the *El Watan* newspaper read: '*Cherche Société Civile Désespérément*' (desperately looking for civil society). According to Liess Boukra, the riots have the potential to give a voice to the popular demand for civil society 'to come to the fore and provide guidance and steer the frustration of the young towards more productive endeavours'. He went on:

> We were only to discover that there was no civil society anymore. The 'alibi civil society' that was created by the regime has no credibility whatsoever. As a result, what we saw was a naked confrontation between a totalitarian repressive regime and a violent unorganized street. Since two years, there has been an explosion of riots on a regular basis, but more limited in time and space than what we witnessed at the beginning of January 2011. In Algeria, there is no political space whatsoever to peacefully articulate social and political demands [...]. What I call the state-of-emergence-youth have known nothing else and their parents have been subject to unheard violence in the 1990s. The regime and the Islamists are co-responsible for their traumatism.[288]

Liess Boukra adds that:

> [...] the Islamists had no control over the riots; not a single Islamist leader has been able to take control of the protests. That is the most important dynamic. At the end of the 1980s, the situation was different: when workers demanded a room for prayers, immediately a FIS cadre was there to take up the issue, but now they have lost that mobilization capacity. Thus, Algeria is successfully moving towards managing the religious field.

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287 Interview with Liess Boukra, Algiers, 11 January 2011.
288 Interview with Liess Boukra, Algiers, 11 January 2011.

Since the beginning of the mass protests, however, there have been some developments that could precede a serious shift in the political landscape, and, to some extent, Algeria's counter-terrorism effort. On 3 February 2011, President Bouteflika announced that 'the state of emergency will soon be lifted' (it was indeed lifted shortly thereafter) and that 'counter-terrorism projects can continue without the state of emergency'.[289] Bouteflika thus implied that the state of emergency was only imposed to serve the fight against terrorism, although critics argue that emergency laws were also utilized to dampen any opposition to the social and political status quo or to facilitate transparent efforts to bend the Algerian constitution to serve short-term political aims. In November 2008, the Algerian parliament approved—without debate—a constitutional amendment ending presidential term limits. Consequently, Bouteflika won the elections of 9 April 2009, granting him a third five-year presidential term.

Beyond lifting the state of emergency, President Bouteflika charged President of the Senate Abdelkader Bensalah with organizing a large 'consultation on political reform' with political parties, trade unions, eminent personalities and representatives of civil society. Although many political parties and personalities presented their views for over a month in May–June 2011, there was also strong criticism of the non-committal nature of the exercise (it was called a mere 'mailbox' by some) and the lack of real dialogue with political and social actors beyond the regime's supporters. For that reason several political parties and civil society actors, such as the afore-mentioned lawyer Mustapha Bouchachi of the LADDH, refused to participate.

From a political-opening-as-a-powerful-counter-terrorism-tool point of view, it is important to note that whatever the merits and shortcomings of the consultation process launched by President Bouteflika, it did not include the former FIS, which remains politically excluded.[290] A few months before that consultation process, Mustapha Bouchachi was already very sceptical about the regime's ability to weather the crisis and its political will to open up the system:

> I don't think that the regime in the long run can continue to manage the crisis. They can't always take us hostage with the alibi of the Islamist threat. We must gradually move towards a democratic regime. I don't believe Algeria is a terrorist country. It is possible that at first the Islamists win the democratic contest, but they will lose ground if the democratic process is launched and develops steadily.[291]

However, Farouk Ksentini, head of the CNCPPDH, expressed a diametrically opposite point of view: 'Any political opening will have to be very gradual, because a complete opening would benefit the Islamists who would abolish democracy. We don't want an Iranian scenario... The Islamists' [political ideas] scared us. They want to return Algeria to the Middle Ages'.[292]

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289   See, for example, *L'Express*, '*L'état d'urgence bientôt levé en Algérie, dit Bouteflika*', 3 February 2011.
290   See online at www.algeria-watch.org and search for Abdelkader Bensalah for an extensive Algerian press review of the discussions and criticisms.
291   Interview with Mustapha Bouchachi, Algiers, 12 January 2011.
292   Interview with Farouk Ksentini, Algiers, 17 January 2011.

And presidential adviser Rezaq Bara stated that:

> [...] one part of the deal with repentant jihadists is that they are excluded from the political game. They can't create their own religious party, but they can enjoy their social and economic rights and we look after them [to reintegrate them into society]. The fact that they have taken up arms in the past disqualifies them from any democratic process [...]. We reject any form of violence and any monopolization of religion by one party or trend. The Islamist trend ('*sensibilité islamiste*') exists in other parties without a history of violence.[293]

He was also sceptical about a possible Turkish AKP scenario in Algeria anytime soon, whereby a democratic Islamist party would obtain a majority through the ballot box: 'For the moment there is the stability of the Presidential Alliance, which represents forces that are the great majority of Algerian public opinion. All tendencies are represented'.[294]

2.6   Conclusion

Because of its recent history, and especially the civil war that erupted at the beginning of the 1990s, the Algerian case is extremely specific and atypical. Algeria's actions to tackle the current threat of radicalism and terrorism cannot be viewed separately from the tactics that the government employed to fight its opponents during the civil war, and the methods that it chose to achieve peace. In 1992, the Algerian government shut down, initially promising democratic reforms by imposing the state of emergency and assigning power to the Military High Command. The FIS was banned and thousands of its members and sympathizers were detained by security forces. In addition, many supporters or suspected supporters of the FIS and other Islamist groups disappeared in the early 1990s and are still missing. The marginalization of the FIS, which was not only a political party but in essence a social movement, led to an extremely brutal war in which many different groups—Islamists, criminals, pro-regime militias and the army—fought for power and often also for personal gain. The Algerian regime, which is in many ways a continuation of the National Liberation Front (FLN) that freed Algeria from French colonialism, now struggled to retain its leverage and internal power structure. Even the war logic from the independence war, the guerrilla tactics or *maquis*, was copied and made the civil war of the 1990s even more intense and challenging.

In the early 1990s, a broad and vague definition of 'terrorist' or 'subversive' activities was enacted in the Penal Code to deal more effectively with the situation on the ground. Throughout the war, the Algerian state employed an almost conventional military strategy or 'hard' approach to tackle terrorism, based on severe suppression of anyone who was suspected of threatening

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293 Interview with Rezaq Bara.

294 Interview with Rezaq Bara. The AKP is the Turkish Justice and Development Party, which became Turkey's ruling party in 2002 following a landslide victory in the general election. It has since further increased its majority in subsequent elections.

the state and its institutions. Particularly in the first years of the war, the 'eradicator' line in the army had the upper hand. For a while, the authorities seemed to have the situation under control, but imprisoning thousands of FIS members and supporters in the Sahara proved to be counter-productive, as detainees who were released became willing recruits for armed groups.

In the midst of the war, the Algerian military and security service (DRS) moved towards a campaign of infiltrating armed groups that was titled 'terrorizing the terrorists'. During this period, which was also characterized by a peak in the violence and gruesome mass murders, allegations about the possible involvement of government forces in the 1997–1998 massacres (or at least of the army and security services turning a blind eye) put the regime on the defensive internationally. Whatever the truth of the allegations, the wave of massacres certainly led the FIS-affiliated Islamic Salvation Army to distance itself from the wanton violence by the Armed Islamic Group, GIA. This prepared the ground for a negotiated way out of the war later on.

Another element of the government's strategy during the war—to undercut the appeal of the armed groups—was to persuade young men to join the Algerian army by offering them housing, job contracts and social benefits. In reality, for those who registered in the army, there was 'no way back'. During the war, the regime used persuasive measures to tie loyalists to the regime. They received bonuses, and pro-regime militias received funding and arms to fight the 'enemy'.

A turning point came when Abdelaziz Bouteflika was voted Algeria's president in 1999 with backing from the army. Building on previous efforts to replace the 'eradicator' strategy with a more 'conciliatory' approach, Bouteflika immediately expressed his commitment to a policy of peace and 'civil concord' (or civil harmony) in an effort to regain and retain stability. In 1999, a legal framework was established that would bring the war to an end and promised Algerians a return to 'normal life'. Basically, the Law of Civil Harmony pardoned all Islamist fighters who voluntarily laid down their arms, and provided regulations to reintegrate them into society. In 2006, Bouteflika introduced *The Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation*, which contained the same provisions as the Law of Civil Harmony, but explicitly exempted security agents, the military, pro-regime militias, and everyone else who had a role in the civil war, from prosecution. *The Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation* enjoyed broad support in general, but critics claim that it also created an atmosphere of impunity, not only for terrorist crimes, but also by shielding the Algerian army and security services from any inquiry into their possible involvement in the violence.

Notwithstanding its controversial aspects, to this day *The Charter* provides the legal framework and starting point for the Algerian government's counter-terrorism efforts. Nevertheless, the 'enemy' that it is countering has changed over time. Algeria's counter-terrorism measures currently focus on Al-Qaeda in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), a branch of al-Qaeda with many individual cells across Algeria. AQIM's national aim is to expel the 'infidel' regime, hence its attacks on Algerian soil, but it also supports al-Qaeda's transnational goals. Furthermore, the authorities are also being faced with the threat of a new generation of potential radicals, who grew up in a climate of extreme violence and who are vulnerable to the Islamists' message and the Islamist aspiration to change the status quo. Algeria's response to the threat of AQIM and jihadi-Salafism in general is twofold and can be divided into a 'hard'

approach and a 'soft' approach. It is too early to state that Algeria has a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy, but it does realize the importance of a holistic range of measures to counter the threat of radicalism and terrorism. The 'hard' approach translates into military action that is directed against cells of AQIM fighters in Algeria's inhospitable areas, as well as military campaigns against AQIM members who are operating in the southern border regions. There, AQIM is engaging in smuggling, extortion and kidnapping, and is closely collaborating with local criminal gangs. Besides the reconciliation pact, Algeria's 'soft' approach is also directed at the religious domain. The government set up a range of measures that were designed to countervail the message of jihadi-Salafism. To that end, it builds on the results of the amnesty regulations, which persuaded many Islamist leaders to surrender and speak out publicly against violence. Also, foreign representatives of 'moderate Islam' (*wasatiyya*) are invited to the country to lecture in mosques and to meet with Algerian scholars and religious leaders. Furthermore, the regime embarked on a mission to promote traditional, non-Salafist and peaceful Islamic currents in society, which it has found in the North African Maliki *madhhab* (Islamic denomination) and Sufism. In practice, the Algerian government supports the so-called *zawiyyas*, or religious Sufi orders, which historically have shown little interests in politics but rather concentrate on personal piety. Its leaders receive funding and key positions in the administration.

Overall, because of its numerous security sweeps, we can conclude that the Algerian security services are capable of handling 'residual terrorism', as well as the prolonged threat of international terrorism. In recent years, the number of terrorist attacks and terrorist-related victims has decreased considerably. Although very few details are given about the effectiveness of the military component of Algeria's counter-terrorism strategy, we know that many Islamist commandoes returned to 'normal life' under the framework of the above-mentioned amnesty regulations. Nevertheless, the character of the *Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation* prevents seriously addressing past and present human rights' violations in the context of countering terrorism and thus unveiling the truth, thereby undermining the prospects of genuine national reconciliation, peace and stability. Moreover, the counter-terrorism effort is led by the same state agencies that witnessed the civil war and presumably committed serious human rights' violations.

The Algerian authorities have proven themselves aware of the role of the public as one of the primary role-players in its counter-terrorism strategy, hence their efforts to support the local 'patriots' and loyalists during the war. Nowadays, the government turns to local *zawiyyas* to detect radicalism at an early stage, and to spread a non-violent version of Islam. For the most part, however, civil society and associational life are still heavily curtailed in Algeria, especially those that are critical of the authorities. Associations that can operate freely are usually established by the regime itself. Furthermore, the definition of terrorism in Algerian legislation is still so broad that it can encompass activities that amount to the peaceful exercise of civil and political rights.

The outbreak of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt, and to a lesser extent in Libya, Yemen, Syria and elsewhere, has radically altered the broader regional and international context in which the regime conducts its counter-terrorism policy.

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In its aftermath, and in response to demonstrations by Algerians demanding that Algeria also join the democratic bandwagon, the government has lifted the state of emergency and promised to embark on a programme of political reform. That has as yet failed to change fundamentally the anaemic political landscape and its stifling stagnation. But it will be harder for the Algerian regime to satisfy itself with piecemeal reform from above, now that the strategic threat of Islamist terrorism has clearly receded. The success of the Tunisian and Egyptian people in peacefully toppling their dictators and their insistent demands for democracy have dealt a devastating political blow to the jihadist pretensions of al-Qaeda, and its regional and local declinations—formerly GIA and GSPC; now AQIM.

Al-Qaeda and its affiliates, for whom democracy is a Western blasphemous invention, contrary to the rule of God, have been sowing blood and destruction but have failed to topple a single regime either within or outside the Islamic world. In Algeria, too, the extremist jihadist effort to overthrow the regime has been defeated military, albeit at a high price. The National Reconciliation policy, whatever its shortcomings, has helped to marginalize further the jihadist terrorist trend politically.

True, in spite of its strategic defeat, as embodied in the Arab Spring, al-Qaeda's Algerian affiliate AQIM could tactically in the immediate future pose a greater threat than is currently the case, as a result of the far from peaceful NATO- and Qatar-assisted overthrow of the Gaddafi regime in Libya. Gaddafi's arsenals of highly sophisticated weapons, including shoulder-launched anti-aircraft and other missiles, have been plundered on a large scale. The Algerian government is rightly concerned that many of these weapons could end up in the hands of AQIM through its smuggling networks across the desert border regions of Libya, Algeria, Niger and Mali. It will no doubt step up its efforts within the Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership/TSCP, in which ten Maghreb and Sahel countries cooperate with US support to combat terrorism and confront this danger.

But a longer-term, greater and more political threat might well emerge from Algeria's smaller neighbour Tunisia, which on 23 October 2011 conducted its first, fully free and democratic elections, with un uncontested win by the Islamist *an-Nahda* party. *An-Nahda* has maintained all along that it is fully committed to the democratic process and is seeking to emulate the Turkish example of Prime Minister Erdogan's *AK Parti* (AKP) in marrying Islam and democracy. If the Tunisians manage to get, and keep, their act together and somehow succeed in incorporating the Islamist trend in a stable and democratic structure, not as a token partner but as a key prominent player, then this could provide a powerful model for the large Islamic constituency in Algeria that once voted for FIS in large numbers—a constituency that, especially after the traumatic experience of the 'bloody decade', rejects violence but does not feel represented in the current political structure, in the same way that many secular forces do not feel democratically and meaningfully represented in what is basically a military regime.

If, and it is still a big if, the Tunisian ' Islamo-democratic transition' is successful, this could well confront the Algerian regime—with an ailing president and an uncertain succession ahead—with a much bigger challenge than the current, still present, still dangerous, but manageable threat of AQIM's 'residual terrorism'.

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3. Saudi Arabia's Counter-Terrorism Strategy

Roel Meijer

3.1   Introduction

> *Any thorough analysis of the Saudi counter-terrorism policy should situate it in the discourse of power and legitimacy of the state, the role the religious establishment fulfils in that power structure, as well as the shift in those relations since 9/11 and the ideological conundrum the Saudi state finds itself after that momentous event. I will therefore call this policy the politics of counter-terrorism. Without denigrating the efforts of the Saudi state to counter terrorism, leaving the discourse of state power outside the analysis gives a false idea of the whole Saudi counter-terrorism strategy. It also fails to address the question of whether it will be successful by pursuing an apolitical, quietist form of Islam, that in the end is repressive because it does not tolerate critique.*

The problem with the Saudi counter-terrorism policy is that we are immediately confronted with the ideological background of the programme that is rooted in 'Wahhabism'.[295] The term Wahhabism is offensive to Saudis, and many evaluations of the present counter-terrorism measures fall into the trap of blaming whatever failures the Saudi Arabian counter-terrorism

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295 Wahhabism is the strict form of Islam, as promoted by its founder Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792). Its main characteristics are that it follows the three first generations of Muslims (*al-salaf al-salih*), is strictly monotheistic and rejects Sufism and Shi'ism, concentrates on the *Hadith* (sayings of the prophet Muhammad), rejects any illegal innovation (*bid'a*), considers Muslims that do not adhere to its form of Islam to be unbelievers (*kuffar*), and discourages all contact with non-Muslims. In the past, *jihad* could be waged against non-Wahhabis.

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measures have on its religious background, because this is itself radical.[296] But it would also be a mistake to accept the Saudis' claim that their form of Islam is the pure Islam that has nothing to do with violence. Even if a high functionary in the present counter-terrorism hierarchy, such as Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq, might deny any connection between Wahhabism and terrorism,[297] this relationship is much more complicated than the Saudi state would like us to believe.[298] Any evaluation of the successes and failures of Saudi counter-terrorism measures will have to analyse the role of Saudi Arabia's special form of Salafism, as it formed in history and its relationship to the state evolved. As the state itself regards the 'war on terror' as a 'battle of ideas', a closer look at what this means is called for.

The disingenuous nature of this denial is all the more conspicuous as the Saudi state itself has come to realize the potential dangers of these strains after 9/11, and especially after the frightening attacks in 2003–2005 in Saudi Arabia itself. This also explains the nationwide ideological campaigns that the state is waging to suppress this radical strain in Wahhabism and its efforts to introduce such assuaging terms as the median way (*wasatiyya*), and even secular terms as the nation (*watan*), with the house of Saud as the unifying factor. Since then, and especially after Crown Prince Abdullah became king in 2005, it attempted to reform the religious establishment, which has lost much of its former authority since the death of the mufti Bin Baz in 1999. The February 2009 overhaul of senior state personnel is a good example of this policy but also of its limitations.[299] The Ministry of the Interior itself has become the centre of this contradictory policy of trying to reform the conservative religious establishment, which is fighting every inch to retain its influence and resist 'reform', while recruiting it in the counter-terrorism programmes and 'battle of ideas'.

The second ideological concept that impinges on the political and cultural context of the counter-terrorism policies is the theory of obedience to the ruler (*wali al-amr*). Basically a Koranic concept,[300] it also justifies a hierarchy of authority (the son to his father, the wife to the husband,

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296 See, for instance, the interesting but problematic article by Angela Gendron, 'Confronting Terrorism in Saudi Arabia', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence*, vol. 23 (2010), pp. 487–508. Anthony Cordesman has pointed out the offensiveness of holding Wahhabism responsible for terrorism; see Anthony H. Cordesman, 'Saudi Government Counterterrorism: Counter Extremism Actions', SUSRIS, 4 August 2003, available online at http://www.saudi-us- relations.org/ articles/2003/ioi/030804-saudi-counter-terrorism.html.

297 Interview with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq and Mansur al-Turki, 17 October 2010.

298 Equating Wahhabism with radicalism and terrorism is more complicated than many Wahhabi bashers would like us to believe.

299 See my article on the gender segregation debate: Roel Meijer, 'Reform in Saudi Arabia: The Gender Segregation (*ikhtilat*) Debate', *Middle East Policy* , vol. 17, no. 4 (winter 2010), pp. 80–100.

300 It is mostly based on *Sura al-Nisa'*, 4: 59 and 83. Textbooks on politics and Islam that are written for Saudi students are a good illustration of the strongly hierarchical and subservient interpretation of this concept. See, for instance, Sa'ud bin Salman Al Sa'ud and Khalid Mansur al-Daris, *et al*., Al-*Nizam al-Siyasi fi-l-Islam* (Riyadh: Madar al-Watan li-l-Nashr, 4th edition 2009), pp. 87–93. The main emphasis in this textbook is on obedience (*ta'a*), and obedience to the ruler is like obedience of man towards his creator (p. 92). Madawi Al Rasheed's assertion that Wahhabi scholars 'failed to produce

the employee to the boss, etc.) and non-critical attitudes demanded of the Saudi population. In practice, in Saudi Arabia it lays down the primacy of the ruler and politics above religious doctrine, as is clear from the *fatwa* supporting the stationing of American troops on Saudi soil. Article 6 of the Basic Law states that citizens should obey the ruler. [301] But the concept also has a traditional dimension. As the Saudi state has its roots in tribal society, the concept is overlaid with tribal customs that are associated with patriarchy and patronage, expressed in claims and practices of wisdom, benevolence, generosity, munificence, forgivingness, and direct accessibility through the *majlis*. The royal family legitimizes its position not only in conveying a feeling of responsibility for the individual but also for his family, his clan and the tribe to which he belongs. As the latest developments confirm, this entails a concept of the Saudis not as citizens (*muwatana*) with inviolable rights, but as subjects (*ra'aya*)—that is, minors—who are dependent on the ruler's personal generosity and can gain from his patronage if they prove themselves loyal, pliant and 'obedient'.

This relationship between subject and ruler influences the counter-terrorism policy and dovetails with the definition of the terrorist as a 'deviant'.[302] Rather than being regarded as rational beings who have inalienable rights and can be held legally accountable for the political goals that they pursue and the havoc they wreck, they are treated as wayward sons who should be spanked or 'given advice' (*nasiha*)—that is, counselled—but in the end are forgiven if they accept the patronage and munificence of the ruler and return to the 'straight path'. As a result, the relationship between 'terrorist' and ruler is often a direct one, often literally so, as terrorists are offered amnesty in personal interviews with the Minister or Deputy Minister.[303] This direct relationship also accounts for the ruthless retribution if the 'terrorist' does not comply with the demands that this relationship makes. Rejection of patronage is not just seen as a crime but also as an insult to the benevolence of the monarch. In retaliation, the wayward sons are downgraded from 'deviants' and are placed outside the law as terrorists, which are conceptualized in Islamic law as 'corrupters on earth'. Once they are placed in this category, they cannot only be gunned down in the street or blown up in houses, but their memory and their families and tribes are humiliated by exposing their mutilated bodies to the public in gory pictures on television and in newspapers, which demonstrate the wrath of the ruler as expressed in the machinery of the

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a single treatise on the nature of the Islamic state and political authority' is certainly wrong. See Madawi Al Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 46.

301 Human Rights Watch, A*ssaulting Human Rights in the Name of Counter-Terrorism*, 2009, pp. 20–24, available online at http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE23/009/2009/en/692d9e42-b009-462a-8a16-7336ea4dfc3c/mde230092009en.pdf, p. 13.

302 Human rights activists regard the term as onerous, because it can be used for anything and stand above the law. For instance, when a judge learns that the *wali al-amr* does not agree with the verdict, he will have to overturn his own verdict. See personal communication with Muhammad al-Qahtani, 16 October 2010.

303 For a positive analysis of this phenomenon as a means of defeating al-Qaeda, see Bernard Haykal, 'Al-Qaida Stumbles in Saudi', *The Guardian*, 27 September 2009, available online at http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/sep/27/saudi-al-qaida-prince-muhammad.

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state. As 'corrupters on earth' they can be imprisoned indefinitely and are not included in the rehabilitation programmes.

3.1.1 Hard and Soft Measures

Saudi counter-terrorism policy can be divided into 'hard' and 'soft' measures. It is the right combination of the two approaches that is regarded as the success of the Saudi counter-terrorism approach.[304] But it is especially the soft approach that has been considered successful and has attracted much positive attention, and on which this chapter will concentrate, as it is closely related to the ideological legitimacy of the regime.[305]

The soft counter-terrorism measures can be divided into two. The broader measures are directed at the general public and intend to discredit the terrorists and undermine their legitimacy. The government did this by orchestrating a campaign for the hearts and minds of the population by portraying the terrorists as 'misguided' and 'extremist'.[306] To appear benevolent, the state organized amnesties in 2004 and mid-2006 and offered mediation to allow terrorists to hand themselves in. Included in this approach is the Intellectual Security Programme, which warns the population against the dangers of violence and provides it with the means to detect its symptoms.

The more narrow soft approach is represented by the rehabilitation programme, which is divided into prevention, rehabilitation and post-release care (PRAC). Especially the last two—

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304 See especially Thomas Hegghammer, 'There is Nothing Soft about Saudi Counter-Terrorism', *Foreign Policy*, 18 March 2010. The most laudatory reports were published in the media; see, for instance, Leishman, 'Saudi Arabia Tries to Rehab Radical Minds', *Los Angeles Times*, 21 December 2007. For a more sceptical article, see David Ottaway, 'Saudi Effort Draws on Radical Clerics to Combat Lure of Al-Qaeda', *Washington Post*, 7 May 2006. For a compliant analysis of the programmes, see also Abdullah F. Ansary, 'Combating Extremism: A Brief Overview of Saudi Arabia's Approach', *Middle East Policy*, vol. 15 (summer 2008), pp. 111–142. For a thorough analysis of the programmes, see Christopher Boucek, 'Extremist Re-education and Rehabilitation in Saudi Arabia', in Tore Bjørgo and John Horgan (eds), *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement* (London/New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 212–223. For another laudatory article, which does not refer at all to the ideological content of the rehabilitation programmes, see Jessica Stern, 'Mind over Matter', *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2010), pp. 95–108. See also Marisa L. Porges, 'The Saudi Deradicalization Experiment', Expert Brief (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 22 January 2010).

305 Tom Quiggin, 'Understanding al-Qaeda's Ideology for Counter-Narrative Work', *Perspectives on Terrorism*, vol. 3, no 2 (2010); and William D. Casebeer and James A. Russell, 'Storytelling and Terrorism: Towards a Comprehensive "Counter Narrative Strategy"', *Strategic Insights* (March 2005) (Monterey, CA: Center on Contemporary Conflict, 2005).

306 Thomas Hegghammer, 'The Failure of Jihad in Saudi Arabia', *Occasional Papers Series*, Combating Terrorism Center, West Point, 25 February 2010, pp. 18–21.

rehabilitation and PRAC—are believed to have 'generated very positive and intriguing results'.[307] One of the reasons is that the counselling programmes are not based on revenge but on 'benevolence' that has its roots on the assumption that (most) suspects were 'naive', 'lied to and misled by extremists'.[308] The naive general impression is that the Saudi state has been capable of winning the 'war of ideas' and that former terrorists and potential terrorists have proclaimed 'loyalty, recognition of authority, and obedience to leadership (the king)'.[309] Many international experts have been duly impressed by the successes of this approach.[310] Also in official US sources, Saudi Arabia is praised for its counter-terrorism discourse.[311]

There are two problems with this analysis. The first is that we do not exactly know what is being said in the programmes. This will be dealt with more extensively below. In the end it is difficult to determine whether the detainees are really 'deradicalized' as the Saudis claim.

The other problem is its evaluation of numbers. We do not have any way of evaluating and checking the data that the Saudi authorities provide concerning the number of terrorists that they have detained or killed and how successful their rehabilitation programme is: how many prisoners are really 'terrorists' or just political opponents, how many released detainees have renounced their former ideas, and how many have found jobs and have successfully reintegrated into society?[312] As the whole notion of terrorism is religiously defined, it is much too broad and

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307 Christopher Boucek, 'Saudi Arabia's "Soft" Counterterrorism Strategy: Prevention, Rehabilitation and Aftercare', *Carnegie Papers* (September 2008), p. 1. For a thorough analysis of the programmes, see Boucek, 'Extremist Re-education and Rehabilitation in Saudi Arabia', pp. 212–223.

308 Boucek, 'Saudi Arabia's "Soft" Counterterrorism Strategy', p. 11.

309 Boucek, 'Saudi Arabia's "Soft" Counterterrorism Strategy', p. 15.

310 Jessica Stern, 'Mind over Matter', *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2010), pp. 95–108. Also the report by the United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) seems to be satisfied with Saudi efforts to counter ideology because the target of 'public condemnation of terrorism' was met. See *Combating Terrorism: US Agencies Report Progress Countering Terrorism and Its Financing in Saudi Arabia, but Continued Focus on Focus on Counter Terrorism Finances Needed*, September 2009, available online at http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d09883.pdf, pp. 20 and 26–32; Rob Wagner, 'Rehabilitation and Deradicalization: Saudi Arabia's Counter-Terrorism Successes and Failures', 1 August 2010, available online at http://www.monitor.upeace.org/innerpg.cfm?id_article=735; and Aidan Kirby Winn, 'Can Gitmo's Terrorists be Rehabilitated', *Commentary*, 29 June 2009, available online at http://www.rand.org/commentary/2009/06/29/CSM.html.

311 *Country Reports on Terrorism*, available at http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2008/; and *Country Reports on Terrorism*, Chapter 5, 53, 'Collaboration with Saudi Arabia', available online at http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2007/104112.htm.

312 For a perceptive and sceptical analysis of the Saudi rehabilitation programme, see John Horgan and Kurt Braddock, 'Rehabilitating the Terrorists? Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of Deradicalization Programs', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 22 (2010), pp. 267–291. They warn that claims of success are often 'context-specific', that it is difficult to identify 'valid and reliable indicators' of success (p. 268), and that evaluation suffers from a 'glaring lack of data' (p. 281). John Horgan seems to have had an interview with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq at the end of 2009. Others questioning the positive reports on evaluation are: Franz Eder, 'Methological Pitfalls: Saudi Arabia's Successful Counter-Terrorism Programme', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 12 August 2009, available online

vague to give a clue about the background of detainees. As a result, one does not really know if they are involved in terrorism or are 'deviants', which, contrary to an assumption sympathetic to the Saudi cause, is not a 'euphemism for terrorist'. Saudi authorities are reticent about providing any available material in the form of manuals, documentation, or brochures that the state itself produces or that is being used by the *ulama* in these programmes. In the current analyses of the counter-terrorism programmes, it is assumed that 'soft' approach and the discourse that underlies it, resonates with the prisoners, their families and the general public without going into detail of what is actually being said. Nor is the wider cultural, social and political context of this programme taken into account, or the political goals of repressing all notions of political thought in Saudi Arabia.

3.1.2   Structure of the Report

Saudi Arabia's counter-terrorism strategies are analysed here against the religious, ideological and political background. The politics of counter-terrorism have changed over the past century. Part I of this chapter will give a historical overview of religious radicalism and religiously legitimized insurgency and the contradictions within the state. Part II will concentrate on the discourse of counter-terrorism: an overview of the religious discourse of power will be given to illustrate the inherent conservative nature of the Saudi counter-terrorist narrative, as laid down in the religious concept of 'extremism' and the related concepts such as 'passions', and this analysis will end with a brief overview of the discourse of correct behaviour and ethics (*akhlaq*). Part III will show how this religious discourse of power is put into practice in: a) the Saudi rehabilitation programme run by the Committee of Advice; and b) the programme for the general public, the Intellectual Security campaign. Finally, Part IV will try to show the counter-terrorism strategy's effectiveness in regard to terrorism per se in the list of 85, which was published on 2 February 2009, and the response of critical Saudis towards the intellectual security programme.

3.1.3   Methodology

As the Saudis regard the fight against terrorism as a 'battle of ideas', the focus is on the Saudi discourse of counter-terrorism and the soft approach and how this is implemented in practice. But as the purpose of the report is also to gauge how important this is, the relationship with the hard approach will also be made. Another important means of evaluating the programme is to analyse it with the tools that Tore Bjørgo and John Horgan have developed in making the

at http://www.counter-terrorism.eu/?p=18; and after the release of the *Human Rights Report* in August 2009, Christopher Boucek admitted that much remains unclear: Christopher Boucek, 'Internal Saudi Counter-Terrorism Measures Remain Shrouded in Mystery', 17 August 2009, available online at http://carnegie-mec.org/publications/?fa=23588. Others who are sceptical argue that this is the best there is; see Porges, 'The Saudi Deradicalization Experiment'.

distinction between *deradicalization* and *disengagement*.[313] Is Saudi counter-terrorism really a deradicalization programme, as the Saudi authorities claim, or is it very much based on disengagement and in the end on military means?

3.2   History of Dissent in Saudi Arabia

3.2.1   Introduction

This section deals with the history of the politics of counter-terrorism and the specific ways in which the Saudi state has tried to defuse religious opposition by a combination of repression, co-optation of the religious zeal, and domestication of its ardour.

There is no need to go too deeply into the doctrine that the founder of Wahhabism, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792), laid down, but a grip of the basics is essential. It is important to realize that he expounded a puritanical form of Islam that was intolerant of other forms of Islam. The terms that his doctrine revolves around are the worship of the Oneness of God (*tawhid*), condemnation of illegal innovation (*bida'*), and calling people who commit 'innovation' unbelievers (*kafir/kuffar*), even if they call themselves Muslims (a process known as excommunication or *takfir*). As a purification movement it actively opposed what it regarded as heretical practices, such as the worship of trees, the trance-like dances of the mystical Sufi orders, the cult of saints, and the ceremonies of the Shi'a and their doctrine of infallible imams, all of which he called idolatry. Belonging to the 'saved sect' (*al-ta'ifa al-mansura*) that would enter paradise, Wahhabis were allowed to wage *jihad* against these 'infidels'.[314] Wahhabism also urged its followers to refrain from contact with non-Wahhabis, on the basis of the concept of 'loyalty [to the Muslim community] and dissociation [from unbelievers]' (*al-wala' wa-l-bara'*), as they might contaminate the pure doctrine of Salafism. In order not to become contaminated by such impure ideas and practices, it was forbidden to travel outside the 'liberated' territory of the Najd, the heartland of the Arabian Peninsula.[315] Those who had contact with infidels could become themselves infidels. Another important principle was 'promoting good and forbidding wrong', which is regarded as a duty of every Muslim.[316]

From the beginning, however, the doctrine of Wahhabism contained a basic contradiction. It accepted the absolute obedience to the ruler (*wali al-amr*)—based on the theory of Ibn Taymiyya[317]—when ibn Abdallah Abd al-Wahhab sought the support of the tribal sheikh family of the house of Saud. The allegiance was sealed with the pledge of allegiance (*bay'a*). Although

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313 Tore Bjørgo and John Horgan (eds), *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement* (London/New York: Routledge, 2009).

314 Madawi Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 19.

315 Guido Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabian: Die Wahhabitischn Gelehrten, 1902–1953* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2002), pp. 97–100 and 118.

316 Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabian*, pp. 159–160.

317 Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabian*, pp. 424–425. See also Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 52.

the strength of the movement was based on the combination of political power and the drive of a purification movement that was able to mobilize the Bedouin, it always contained two dangers: purification and religious zeal could challenge the legitimacy of the ruler if the movement did not agree with the ruler; and, conversely, the ruler invariably collided with the strict doctrine of Wahhabism for pragmatic worldly reasons. Only the doctrine of *wali al-amr* and the fear of dissension (*fitna*) kept it in check, but both, in fact, highlighted the contradiction.

The history of the Najd region, and since 1932 of Saudi Arabia, is based on a pendulum swing between mobilization and cooperation between Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and his family and off-spring (*Al al-Shaykh*) and the House of Saud (*Al Sa'ud*) and the reverse when the Wahhabi sectarianism was confronted with opposition from outside or internal dissension. As a rule of thumb, in the pre-modern period, the coalition was successful and the internal tensions between doctrine and political practice were overlooked when they worked in tandem. Conversely, it came under strain when contradictions and internal strife (*fitna*) emerged. The balance turned in favour of the Sauds in the nineteenth century when internal struggle led to the collapse of the second Wahhabi state and during the *ikhwan* rebellion and the building of the third Saudi state in the 1920s. The *ikhwan* (founded in 1913) were former Bedouin who had become sedentary in communities, the so-called *hijra*. They were particularly zealous, practising *al-wala' wa-l-bara'* (loyalty [to Muslims] and disavowal [to non-Muslims]), and regarding themselves as the 'saved sect' and all other Muslims as damned polytheists against whom *jihad* could be waged.[318] This led them to oppose Ibn Saud's pragmatic and politically induced relations with the 'infidels'—that is, the British—after the First World War.[319] Also under pressure from the *ikhwan*, strict regulations were imposed on those regions that were conquered by Ibn Saud. However, because of the ruler's pragmatism, in 1926 the *ikhwan* leaders drew up a charge sheet listing the king's offences, which included contact with infidel foreigners, trading with 'infidel' Kuwaitis and tolerating the Shi'a.[320] The *ikhwan* also criticized Ibn Sa'ud's wealth, luxury, and his limitation of *jihad* and policy of tolerance towards the Shi'a in the eastern region of the country.[321]

In the state's response to the threat of zealotry, the later distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' policy is already discernible. When the *Ikhwan* revolted in 1929, they were crushed by levies of other tribes who feared their zealotry.[322] At the same time, Ibn Sa'ud was careful to gain the support of most of the *ulama*, on the basis of the doctrine of *wali al-amr* and playing on their fear of dissension and internal strife (*fitna*).[323] They were moreover given assurances that their monopoly over the interpretation of the texts was secure. Many of the arguments later used against al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (QAP) and 'extremism' were formulated in this

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318 For more on the *ikhwan*, see Alexei Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia* (London: Saqi Books, 1998), pp. 227–231.

319 Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 255.

320 Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 273.

321 Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 66–67.

322 Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 277–281.

323 Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 290; and Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabien*, pp. 210 and 425–431.

period. For instance, in a document issued by the loyalist *ulama* at the time, the *Ikhwan* were condemned for practising individual interpretation (*ijtihad*) without having the necessary religious knowledge (*'ilm*), they were accused of suffering from fanaticism (*shidda*), and they were believed to have fallen prey to ignorant religious students.[324] Meanwhile, as part of the 'soft' approach, many of the members of the *Ikhwan* were recruited into the newly established *mutawwa'in* (that is, the religious police) in 1926.

The result was a deep-seated ambivalence. On the one hand, the co-opted *ulama* maintained the concepts of Wahhabism concerning excommunication (*takfir*), the forbiddance of immigration (*hijra*), *jihad*, and loyalty and disavowal (*al-wala' wa-l-bara'*), but their ideas were held in check because they were aware of the necessity of the Saudi state and the power of the ruler.[325] In the meantime, the state increasingly moved in a secular/pragmatic direction as its power grew, and it became independent from the religious establishment and more dependent on foreign, 'unbelieving' (*kufr*) support and economic relations. This process of increasing power of the monarchy is, for instance, apparent in the titles of Ibn Saud, which changed from imam to sultan (1921), to king of the Hejaz (1926), and finally to king of Saudi Arabia (1932)—none of which were religiously sanctioned by Wahhabism.[326] Ibn Saud's personal power was augmented by foreign powers such as Great Britain, which made deals not with the state but with Ibn Saud as a personal ruler.[327] The contradictory nature of the regime also led to a third development: opponents criticized the ruler as impious, while the *ulama* who uncritically supported the doctrine of obedience to the ruler (*wali al-amr*) became known as the 'establishment *ulama*' and lost their credibility.[328]

This pattern would repeat itself over and over again during the next 80 years whenever a conflict arose in which the monarchy and the *ulama* were involved. For instance, Juhayman Utaybi, who was responsible for the occupation of the Grand Mosque in Mecca in 1979 (during which 200 people were killed), criticized the monarchy for not being strict enough in implementing the *shari'a* and forbade his followers to work as state functionaries in the service of an impious regime and to pledge allegiance to it (*bay'a*) and be obedient to it (*ta'a*). Nevertheless, although he consistently rejected the principle of *wali al-amr*, he did not go so far as to call the regime infidel (*kufr*).[329] Instead, the movement adopted the un-Wahhabi concept of the *mahdi*, the awaited saviour.

Taken aback by the subsequent critique of the revivalist movement of the 1970s—the Sahwa (strongly influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood)—that the monarchy was not pious enough, the regime repeated the same 'soft' tactics that it had applied during the *ikhwan* revolt: it tried to co-

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324 Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabian*, p. 447.
325 Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabian*, pp. 184–185 and 425–431; and Al-Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State*, pp. 36–58.
326 Al-Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State*, p. 46.
327 Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 48.
328 Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabian*, pp. 443 and 461.
329 Stéphane Lacroix, *Les islamistes Saoudiens: une insurrection manquée* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), pp. 117–119.

opt the revivalist pious trend and allowed it to deepen the religious atmosphere and infrastructure of the country.[330] This effort to enhance the religious standing of the regime, however, was severely challenged when, in 1990, Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait and American troops were stationed in Saudi Arabia. The Sahwa movement was quick to take advantage of this opportunity to press for extra demands, including political ones, calling for greater influence of the *ulama*, and blackmailing the regime by stating that it had failed in its religious mission. As a last resort, the state fell back on the theory of *wali al-amr*, which was used by the grand mufti Bin Baz in his *fatwa* to support King Fahd's decision to rely on American troops and later to clamp down on the opposition, when the Sahwa continued its campaign. But instead of realizing the dangers of relying on religious sanctions, the regime hoped to regain its religious standing by supporting the *jihad* in Bosnia and later Chechnya in the 1990s.[331] Whether this export of the *jihad* was pan-Islamist, as Hegghammer maintains, or contained an implicit critique of the regime by those who participated in it, remains unclear because of the fundamental ambiguity of religious discourse.[332] But it is likely that *jihad* against foreign unbelievers could easily turn against the regime, as it was evident for any *jihadi* that the regime was dependent on the 'unbelievers'. Likewise, the anti-Americanism of the reformist Sahwa movement of the 1980s and 1990s can be interpreted as a critique of the 'near enemy', the ruling family.[333] The bomb attack in Riyadh in 1995 by a group that had relations with Juhayman Utaybi demonstrated that his line of reasoning could be extended to applying *takfir* to the regime.[334]

This radical trend would be developed over the subsequent years by modern currents within Wahhabism that drew on its own radical 'purist' past, putting submission to God before submission to the ruler. Partly they were inspired by the Jordanian–Palestinian ideologue Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, and partly by the *Shu'aybi* school (named after the Saudi religious scholar Hamud al-'Uqla al-Shu'aybi), whose religious leaders claimed legitimacy as Wahhabi scholars.[335] The difference with the mainstream is not so much that they had a different theology, but that they were more consistent and were more politicized. They used the same concepts as the Wahhabi scholars and the *ikhwan* against the regime: a true Muslim should only be loyal to his own community and should actively hate and repudiate non-Muslims, according to the principle (*al-wala' wa-l-bara'*), and a true Muslim cannot ask for help from a non-Muslim (*isti'ana bi-l-kuffar*).[336] The only difference was that they took the step of calling whoever disobeyed these rules an apostate (*murtadd*) and an unbeliever (*kafir*), while the official *ulama*

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330 Lacroix, *Les islamistes Saoudiens*, p. 125.

331 Thomas Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 30–37 and 52–57.

332 This is perhaps a crucial but unclarified part of the ideology of the *jihadi* movement. For more on the ambiguity of modern Salafi thought, see Lacroix, *Les islamistes Saoudiens*, p. 141; but also Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia*, pp. 193 and 201.

333 Lacroix, *Les islamistes Saoudiens*, p. 184.

334 Lacroix, *Les islamistes Saoudiens*, pp. 71–73.

335 Lacroix, *Les islamistes Saoudiens*, p. 148.

336 For the most extensive history of these concepts, see Joas Wagemakers, *A Quietist Jihadi-Salafi: The Ideology and Influence of Aby Muhammad al-Maqdisi*, Ph.D., Radboud University, 2010.

rejected the consequence of this doctrine.[337] Some ideologues of al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula would create a new ideology based on *jihad* as a means of transforming society.[338]

3.2.2   Al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula

The emergence of al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (QAP) has been excellently analysed by Thomas Hegghammer in his book *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*.[339] QAP operated from May 2003 until its defeat in 2007, but remains a threat to the Saudi regime, operating for the past few years from Yemen (for more on recent events, see part IV of this chapter). It focused especially on bomb attacks on residential compounds where foreigners lived, but clearly also the regime was attacked, at first perhaps indirectly militarily, but always ideologically. At a minimum QAP reject the concept of obedience to the ruler; at a maximum they excommunicated (*takfir*) the regime; but in between there were many ways and concepts to reject the legitimacy of the regime and subvert and contest its authority. Many of the ideas of the radical strain in Wahhabism are apparent in QAP's ideology and debates on issues such as whether soldiers and policemen were liable to be killed because they worked for an infidel regime. In the end their numbers were relatively small, and a few hundred *jihadis* were involved in the organization,[340] and, all in all, several hundred people died in bomb attacks and clashes with the police and security forces.

The subsequent large participation of Saudis in Iraq does not undermine this idea. Although altruism and martyrdom may have been important elements,[341] the anti-foreign motives and deeply ambivalent nature of the doctrine of Wahhabism cannot dismiss the ideological background of the Saudi *jihadi* movement. Its anti-foreignism and anti-Shi'ism go very well with altruism and martyrdom. It can even be used by the state, as has been done to legitimate the invasion of Bahrain.

3.2.3   Foreign Attacks

WikiLeaks has recently revealed that Saudi Arabia is still regarded as the main source of foreign terrorist funding. In Iraq recently, Saudi Arabia was accused of supporting attacks to prevent a Shi'i government from being established.[342] It was also accused of having relations with radical

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337   Wagemakers, *A Quietist Jihadi-Salafi*, pp. 48 and 147–155.

338   Roel Meijer, 'Yusuf al-Uyairi and the Making of a Revolutionary Salafi Praxis', *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 47, nos. 3–4 (2007), pp. 422–459.

339   Thomas Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia.*

340   Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia*, pp. 186–198.

341   Thomas Hegghammer, *Saudi Militants in Iraq: Backgrounds and Recruitment Patterns* (Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 5 February 2007).

342   'Saudi Arabia Supports Terrorism in Iraq', Press TV, 30 December 2010, available online at http://www.presstv.ir/detail/157811.html.

groups in Pakistan and India.[343] The US government has also accused Saudi Arabia of not doing enough to prevent the financing of terrorism.[344]

3.3 Counter-Discourse of Extremism, Deviation and Passions

3.3.1 Background

In the historical section on the contradictions of Wahhabi political doctrine it has been shown that the state was basically weak in countering the radical critique because its very legitimacy was based on it. It could do either of two things: use the 'soft' approach by co-opting the movement (recruitment of *ikhwan* into the Committee of Promoting Good and Preventing Bad, or the Hai'a) and expand the religious sphere (as happened in the 1980s after the occupation of the Grand Mosque); or it could apply a 'hard' approach by clamping down on the movement (killing the rebels in the Grand Mosque) or repressing it (arresting the leaders of the Sahwa after 1994). In the end it relied on the theory of *wali al-amr* to mobilize the official *ulama* in order to sanction the priority of politics and allegiance to the ruler.

In the case of QAP, the circumstances were more complicated, because after 9/11 Saudi Arabia was under greater foreign scrutiny and it realized that the path to deepening piety was no longer an option after it had facilitated the emergence of the Sahwa movement. As a result, the state has opted to find a mixture of: a) fighting the classic struggle against extremism (*ghuluw*); b) adopting a new discourse of the median way (*wasatiyya*); and c) laying new emphasis on correct ethics (*akhlaq*) and the theory of 'obedience to the king' (*wali al-amr*). All three evade the basic contradiction of the regime and block any alternatives to define, think about and combat violence. The mixture blocks the possibility to think about and debate conflicts of interests, social issues, and alternative ways of solving conflicts.

3.3.2 Counter-Terrorism Narratives

Although the Saudi authorities pride themselves on the 'battle of ideas', they are extremely reticent about providing literature or manuals that its personnel or volunteers use in the deradicalization courses. I have relied on two Saudi official compilations on terrorism, containing interviews with ministers and articles,[345] together with a host of interviews with, and

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343 B. Raman, 'Jihadi Terrorism in India: The Saudi Connection', *International Terrorism Monitor*, Paper No. 624 (2 March 2010), at http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers37%5Cpaper3694.html.

344 'US Embassy Cables: Hillary Clinton Says Saudi Arabia "A Critical Source of Terrorist Funding"', available online at http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/242073.

345 The two important Saudi compilations of texts on extremism used here are: 'Aqil bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad al-'Aqil, *al-Irhab afat al-'asr: Madha qala 'anhu al-'ulama wa-l-mashayikh wa-l-mufakkirun wa-l-tarbiyyun wa-bi-madha wa wasafuhu* [Terrorism Plague of the Times: What do the Ulama, Sheikhs, Thinkers and Educators Say About It and How Do They Describe It] (Riyadh: no

statements by, governmental officials and religious clerics in public speeches, in addition to newspaper articles that confirm the ideological content of the two books. Considerable literature also exists against extremism and terrorism, written by Saudi clerics and translated into English, which since 9/11 has been part of the international counter-terrorism strategy of the Saudi state.[346] The Saudi concept of terrorism is analysed below.

3.3.3   Extremism

The most important way to contain Wahhabism's inner tensions is to associate all political claims and demands with 'religious extremism' (*ghuluw/tatarruf*) and 'deviation' from the straight path (*inhiraf*).[347] This is not just a discourse of the Saudi state but goes back to the first time of dissension (*fitna*) in 661, after the assassination of fourth rightly guided caliph Ali. The Saudi state has taken over this concept by taking the core concept of extremism and closely interlocking it with such terms as exaggeration (*mujawaza*), excess (*mubalagha/ifrat/irtifa'*) and extremism (*tashaddud*).[348] This choice of focusing on religion as the source of extremism excludes social, economic, or cultural origins of violence and therefore sidetracks any rational political debate on the background of violence in Saudi Arabia and puts it in the hands of the *ulama*.

Part of this terrorist counter-narrative has the purpose of giving back to the *ulama* their authority over society, based on their religious knowledge (*'ilm*). Anyone who has the audacity

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publisher given, 1st edition 1425/2004); and Sulayman bin Abdallah bin Hamud Aba al-Khayl, *Mawqif al-Mamlaka al-'Arabiyya al-Sa'udiyya min al-irhab: Dirasa shar'iyya 'ilmiyya watha'iqiyya* [The Position of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia towards Terrorism: A Legal Scientific Documentary Study] (Riyadh: no publisher given, 2003).

346 A visit to any Salafi bookshop in the United Kingdom will provide numerous books against extremism and terrorism. See, for instance, *'The Brothers of the Devils': Islamic Condemnation of Terrorists, Hijackers and Suicide Bombers*, translated by SalafiPublications.com, published in Birmingham in October 2001 with a 2nd edition in May 2003 (original in Arabic: *al-Irhabiyyub ikhwan al-shayatain: Atharuhum 'ala al-afrad wa-l-umam* (No place: no date); and Sheikh Abdul Muhsin ibn Hamad al-Abbad, *According to which Intellect and Religion is Bombing and Wreaking Havoc Considered Jihad?* (Daarul-'Itisaam Publishing & Recording, 1425 AH/2004 AD). Some organizations specialize in deradicalization programmes, such as Brixton-based *SalafiManhaj*, which makes many translations. See, for instance, Sheikh Saalih bin 'Abdul 'Azeez Aali Shaykh, A *Warning Against Extremism*, translated by Abdul Haq al-Ashanti (Amman: Jamiah Media. originally published as a lecture in 1424 AH/2003 AD); and Sheikh Dr Baasim bin Faysal al-Jawaabirah, *Extremism: The Causes, Effects and the Cure* (Brixton: SalafiManhaj, 2008), originally published as *Takfir fi daw' al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyya* in 1428 AH/2006 AD.

347 *Ghuluw* is a term that occurs repeatedly in the Koran. One of the most quoted *ayas* is: '*Ghuluw* in religion, an increase (exaggeration) in religion is perhaps worse than too little'; Sura 4: 171 and Sura 5: 77. Also Sura 20: 81. The source for ignorance is based on Sura 7: 138 and 7: 33.

348 The *ghuluw* literature is vast and is a genre in itself. I have used Khalid bin Hamad al-Kharif, *Al-Ghuluw fi-l-din wa atharuhu fi-l-umma* [Extremism in Religion and its Influence on the Umma] (Riyadh: Maktaba al-Rushd, 2005); and sections in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka* and *al-Irhab afat al-'asr*.

to think for himself is accused of suffering from ignorance (*jahl*): 'ignorance [of true religion] is one of the most important reasons to deviate from truth, reject it and distance oneself from it [leading to], [ideological] difference (*ikhtilaf*) and [political] divisions (*tafarruq*)'. Ignorance thus lies at the origins of misguidance (*dalala*) and innovation (*bid'a*),[349] which can lead to excommunication (*takfir*) as the main religious legitimization for the use of violence against the deviant.[350] Rejecting the proof (*dalil*) that the *ulama* provide and following one's own unguided reason (*'aql*) can also constitute sources of misguidance (*dalal*).[351] Finally, engaging in politics and joining 'groups' or 'parties' questions the authority of the religious establishment and obedience to the king (*wali al-amr*).[352]

3.3.4   Passions

But not just religious misguidance can lead to extremism (*ghuluw*). Uncontrolled emotions and behaviour can also lead to deviancy.[353] An important element in the discourse of extremism is the theory of inclinations and passions (*hawa/ahwa'*). These emotions, in turn, are related to other sources of deviations, such as desires (*shahwa/shahawat*) and corrupted reasoning and sophistry (*shubha/shubahat*). Imposing correct behaviour and strict morals is therefore imperative as a means to combat terrorism.[354]

With the theory of passions, Wahhabism comes closest to propounding a religious psychology of terrorism. There are several steps that have to be made in this process. Thus, according to Minister of the Interior Prince Nayef (who has been at his post since 1979), 'terrorism does not issue from a people or a creed; it originates in an individual person'.[355] He suggests that the most potent means of countering it is to 'create a psychological barrier around Muslims and their

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349 *Al-Ghuluw fi-l-din wa atharuhu fi-l-umma*, p. 22.

350 *Al-Ghuluw fi-l-din wa atharuhu fi-l-umma*, p. 12.

351 *Al-Ghuluw fi-l-din wa atharuhu fi-l-umma*, p. 27–30.

352 *Al-Ghuluw fi-l-din wa atharuhu fi-l-umma*.

353 This is confirmed by Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq, head of the Counselling programme, with his statement that 'your behaviour is a reflection of your ideology'; long discussion with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq and Mansur al-Turki, Riyadh, 17 October 2010.

354 Others have pointed out the extreme social moralism and surveillance in Saudi Arabia as a deflection from real political claims. See, especially, Al-Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State*, pp. 24–25, and the remark by Gwenn Okruhlik, '[...] the problem is not with conservative morality but that the very idea of morality has been trivialized. It is conflated with the codification of social absurdities, demonstrated by religious rulings that regulate the plucking of an eyebrow, the use of nail polish, and the length of gowns, rather than grapple with explicitly political issues that revolve around distributive fairness, governmental accountability, and social justice'; quoted in Gwenn Okruhlik, 'State Power, Religious Privilege and Myths About Political Reform', in Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban (eds), *Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008), p. 95.

355 Interview with Prince Nayif, published in *Majalla al-Da'wa*, 4 October 2001, cited in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 321.

creed (*'aqida*)'.[356] Likewise, sheikh Salih bin Fawzan al-Fawzan argues that terrorists are 'those individuals who ride their passions/inclinations and have chosen the road to error out of stubbornness and haughtiness'. He concludes with the remark that 'they seek a means to fulfil their ambitions hastily', suggesting that only religious guidance and the virtue of patience (*sabr*) can be acquired from the *ulama*.[357]

A host of negative passions are named that mislead the believer. They manifest themselves particularly in such emotions as envy (*hasad*) and hatred (*hiqd*). In a typical characterization of extremism, which brings the negative connotations of uncontrolled emotions, bad faith and one of the main mortal sins of Wahhabism, religious innovation (*bid'a*), together, Sulayman Aba al-Khayl, dean of the Islamic University of Muhammad ibn Saud and teacher of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in the Higher Institute for Judges, states that extremists groups 'try to prove their passions with the *shari'a* and deform the texts and proofs to agree with their innovations'. In this manner, he argues, 'their opinions and their minds have become the primary sources [of finding the truth] and the *shari'a* has become subordinated to it'.

This unholy alliance of unguided reason and wanton passions is represented by the general Wahhabi definition of deviationists as the 'people of passions and innovations (*ahl-al-ahwa' wa-l-bida'*)'.[358] From this term it is clear that passions, innovation and deviation are closely linked and that one follows from the other and provides the core concept of extremism (*ghuluw*) with its specific connotation of opposing the Truth. The only remedy, according to Sulayman Aba al-Khayl, is a depoliticized moral dictum: 'to rein in one's emotions, control them, distance oneself from them, and look at the Truth (*haqq*) and keep a balance'.[359]

The problem with this disciplining discourse of passions is that it is very imprecise and can be used against all kinds of people who do not fit the Wahhabi mould. The complex process of radicalization is brought down to basic feelings that are left unanalysed. For instance, sheikh Rabi' al-Madkhali believed that the violence of the Algerian civil war of the 1990s had its origins in 'enmity, hatred, and power of the resentment and passions, desirous of degradation [of the other] and spilling of blood'.[360]

But not only Muslims can be misled by passions. The West is also accused of being led by passions and inclinations (*ahwa'*) when it regards Islam as the source of terrorism.[361] However, from the frequent references to the subject, doubtlessly the main culprits of self-indulgence, disobedience and revolt against the order of things are unguided youth. Youth, as the '*classes*

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356 Interview with Prince Nayef, probably after 9/11, cited in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 316.

357 Lecture published in *Majalla al-Da'wa*, 24 October 2002, cited in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 498.

358 *Al-Ghuluw fi-l-din wa atharuhu fi-l-umma*, p. 23.

359 Interview with Sulayman Aba al-Khayl on passions and their influence and dangers, printed in *Al-Irhab afat al-'asr*, pp. 212–213.

360 *Nasiha ila al-umma al-Jaza'iriyya sha'ban wa-hukuma* (Advice to the Algerian People and Government), 14/1/1422 HA, 2001, p. 1.

361 For instance, the West's attempt to connect Islam to terrorism is rejected by the mufti as a form of being led by passions and inclinations; see *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 522.

dangereuses', are liable to go astray because they are ignorant, gullible and stubborn. From the many references to youth, they are the main political, religious and cultural threat to stability and correct morals because 'new generations reject completely the existing *turath*'.[362]

Not surprisingly, the fourth group that is regarded as a threat are the intellectuals (*muthaqqafun*)—Westernized independent thinkers as opposed to *ulama*. Intellectuals resemble terrorists because they 'spread banalities and superficialities and are holders of passions (*ashab al-shahawat*)'. In the heat of public debates they can be proclaimed apostates.[363] The broadness of the terms basically means that all opponents of the conservative *ulama* can be accused of 'deviation' and 'passions' and be one step removed from being 'terrorists'.

3.3.5   Defining 'Terrorism'

A definition of terrorism as violence against innocent bystanders exists in Wahhabism. The wanton destruction of houses, schools, oil pipelines, bridges, or the life of believers finds ample support in the Koranic term 'corruption on earth' (*ifsad fi-l-ard*).[364] Corruption on earth is directed against the five essential human conditions for life or sacrosanct principles that are protected in Islamic law: religion (*din*); soul (*nafs*); intelligence (*'aql*); honour (*'ird*); and possessions/wealth (*mal*).[365] Minister of Defence Prince Sultan defined terrorism as 'every action which has the aim to instil fear in innocents, to bring corruption on earth, or is organized to achieve these ends'.[366] The term was used in 1989 by the Council of Senior *Ulama*,[367] in 1995 after the attacks in Riyadh on 13 November 1995,[368] and again in August 2003 after the first attacks in Riyadh by QAP. Anyone found guilty of these crimes could be sentenced to death.[369]

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362 For the new ways of Saudi youth, see Mai Yamani, *Changed Identities: The Challenge of the New Generation in Saudi Arabia* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000). See, for instance, the programmes directed at combating extremism among youth, online at
http://www.hrmla.com/forums/showthread.php?t=60915.

363 Introduction by Sulayman Aba al-Khayl for *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, pp. 58–59. See also my forthcoming article on gender segregation in *Middle East Policy*.

364 See, for instance, Suras 2: 204-5, 5: 64 , 10: 81 and 5: 33.

365 M*awqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 139. Also mentioned by Sheikh Abdallah bin Muhammad bin Ibrahim Al al-Shaykh (no date) in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 521.

366 Cited in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, pp. 298 and 428.

367 *Al-Irhab afat al-'asr*, p. 17; and *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, pp. 426–427. The Suras quoted on the principle of corruption on earth (*ifsad fi-l-ard*) are Suras 5: 32-33; 2: 204–205; 6: 151; 13: 25; 27: 48–49; and 28: 77.

368 *Al-Irhab afat al-'asr*, p. 19.

369 Human Rights Watch, A*ssaulting Human Rights in the Name of Counter-Terrorism*, 2009, pp. 20–24, available online at http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE23/009/2009/en/692d9e42-b009-462a-8a16-7336ea4dfc3c/mde230092009en.pdf, p. 18. The report quotes fatwa no. 148 of the Council of Senior Scholars from August 1988.

Corruption on earth is, however, not coterminus with the Western concept of terrorism, however it may be defined,[370] as it is often linked with religious innovation[371] and the above-mentioned passions and emotions. In another way, to avoid politics, it is also ascribed to a 'weakly developed character'.[372] It took, however, the Council of Senior *Ulama* seven years to come up with a real condemnation of the 2003 attacks and the declaration had no impact and was not debated in mosques or schools.[373] Not until 12 April 2010 did the Council of Senior *Ulama* issue Declaration no. 239 making financing of terrorism a crime.[374]

There is also another reason why the Western concept of terrorism (*irhab*) is not well liked in official Saudi discourse and is secondary to a core concept like *ghuluw*. The reason is first that the Saudi state legitimizes itself in religious terms, but also because the Western definition regards violence against innocent citizens as the end of a line of development that is contained in such concepts as intolerance and rejection of the humanity of others, and holds equality (regardless of race, religion or gender), pluralism, democracy and the practice of negotiation as the only means of eliminating its causes—all of which are anathema to Wahhabism. In the Saudi discourse the cause of violence is sought in another logical sequence of steps, beginning with ignorance (*jahil*), irrationality/passions (*ahwa'*), deviation, and extremism (*ghuluw*), leading to political involvement (*hizbiyya*) and violence ('*unf*). In this discourse the believer is the central figure and the concept of 'victorious sect' (*al-ta'ifa al-mansura*), to which all Salafis/Wahhabis belong, is by definition unequal. It also assumes a priori that Islam (Wahhabism) and terrorism are mutually exclusive.[375] Thus, 'terrorism', according to Minister of the Interior Prince Nayef, 'is

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370 For the definition used in this publication, see the introduction to this report.

371 *Saudi Arabia's Permanent Council of Senior Scholars on Terrorist Cells* (translated from Arabic *al-Fatawa al-shar'iyya fi al-qadaya al-'asriyya*), made on 6/11/1424 or 10 August 2004, p. 4, available online at www.answering-extremism.com (accessed 12 March 2009).

372 Lecture given by sheikh Abdallah bin Muhammad al-Mutlaq on 16 dhu al-Qu'da 1422HA/30 January 2002, cited in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 566.

373 Sa'ud al-Rayyis, '*Hin afaqna fi muwajaha al-tatarruf*' [When We Failed to Counter Terrorism], *Al-Hayat*, 5 June 2010, available online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/148975 (accessed 10 March 2009).

374 '*Taqdir wa-l-irtiyah rusi li-fatwa' 'ulama' al-Sa'udiyya bil-tajrim tamwil al-irhab*' [Russian Appreciation and Satisfaction for the Fatwa of the Saudi Ulama Condemning the Financing of Terrorism], *Al-Hayat*, 22 May 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/144156; and Nawwal al-'Id, '*Hazm al-'ilmi ma' al-irhab*' [Religious Determination against Terrorism], *Al-Hayat*, 21 May 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/143730 (accessed 10 June 2010); and Sami al-Majid, '*Fatawa al-qatl wa madhahib aydan*' [Fatwas and Schools of Death], *Al-Hayat*, 14 May 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/141197. For the full text, see *Al-Hayat*, 8 May 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/139081 (accessed 10 June 2010). Dawud al-Shiryan, '*Ad'af iman: 'ulama' al-Sa'udiyya hasamu al-jadl*' [Strengthening Belief: Saudi Ulama have Made the Decision], *Al-Hayat*, 14 April 2010, available online at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/130204 (accessed 11 June 2010).

375 This has been the official Saudi counter to the accusation after 9/11 that Wahhabism is at the root of terrorism. See, for instance, the response to critics from the US Congress, *Khatab ila al-Gharb: Ruy'a min al-Sa'udiyya* [Response to the West: A Saudi Point of View] (Riyadh: Dar al-Ghayna' li-l-Nashr, 2003).

the work of the devil; it is not anchored in religion, is not supported by knowledge of people and human values and harms others for narrow personal reasons and closed ignorant concepts'.[376] In the International Conference on Terrorism, which was held in Riyadh in 2005, Prince Nayef stated that terrorism is perpetrated by a 'miscreant minority'.[377]

Not only does the Western definition of terrorism and its adjacent counter-concepts pose a threat to official Wahhabism and its support of such potentially ambiguous or threatening concepts as loyalty and disavowal (*al-wala' wa-l-bara'*) , *jihad*, excommunication (*takfir*)—even in their moderate uncontested form—and the total rejection of politics as a separate autonomous field to solve basic conflicts of interest, Western definitions also condemn all those national liberation struggles that Saudi Arabia supports in Palestine, Chechnya and Afghanistan.[378]

3.3.6   The Ethics of Normalcy

Another method to contain Wahhabism's radical strains and keep politics at bay has been to introduce new definitions of Islam such as moderateness (*i'tidal*) and the middle of the road or the median way (*wasatiyya*),[379] or terms such as balance (*ittizan*). In this way, common Islamic terms such as justice (*'adl*), easiness (*yusr*) or facilitation of belief (*taysir*) can be used to counter extremism. This discourse is not part of Wahhabism's ideological morphology but derives from Yusuf al-Qaradawi (although the Saudi state will not acknowledge it and with Qaradawi it does not exclude politics), which since 9/11 has been brought within the parameters of its ideological morphology and has been transported to its core to buttress the uncontested peaceful nature of its four contestable concepts and to enhance the credibility of its struggle against extremism.[380] Like the concept of passions (*ahwa'*), the concept *wasatiyya* gives specific flavour and colour to the Saudi counter-terrorist discourse by means of the richness of its adjacent terms, which supposedly resonate with the values of a conservative society that finds its legitimation in Wahhabism.

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376 Cited in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, pp. 311–312. Prince Nayef consistently uses a religious counter-terrorism discourse. For instance, he makes clear 'that the nation as a whole is based on this creed (*'aqida*) and that it cannot exist without it', in Muhammad 'Ali al-Harafi, '*Al-amir Nayif wa qadaya al-mujtama*'' [Prince Nayef and the Issues of Society], *Al-Watan*, 21 April 2008.

377 Opening address by Prince Nayef in the Final Report of the Counter-Terrorism International Conference, 5–8 February 2005, pp. 6–7.

378 Lecture of Salih bin Fawzan al-Fawzan in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, pp. 492–494.

379 Prince Sultan in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, pp. 291–292.

380 Bettina Gräf, 'The Concept of *Wasatiyya* in the Work of Yusuf al-Qaradawi', in Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen (ed.), *The Global Mufti: The Phenomenon of Yusuf al-Qaradawi* (London: Hurst & Co., 2009), pp. 213–238.

The core of this discourse of normalcy is constituted by the discourse of correct manners/attitudes and ethics (*akhlaq*), based on the Sunna of the Prophet.[381] This is a general Muslim discourse but is given a Wahhabi twist by relating it to the right creed. If the right creed (*'aqida*) represents the truth in doctrine and terms such as 'balance' and 'facilitation' are meant to convey moderateness, having the correct moral behaviour (*hasan al-khulq*) is their reflection in practice (*manhaj*) in daily life and refers to more precisely defined values and attitudes that oppose extremism and restrain passions. Religion and behaviour are thus entwined, for 'religion is ethics (*khulq*)' and it is believed that 'whatever increases your morals will increase your religiosity'.

Walking the straight path or the median way (*wasatiyya*) means that the believer must not deviate from one side to the other of the straight path, and the two alternative pitfalls are also described. For instance, justice in this context does not mean equality before law or getting your rightful share, but is expressed in avoiding two extremes: spendthriftiness/exaggeration (*ifrat*) on the one side; and negligence (*tafrit*) on the other. It is furthermore related to such virtues as open-handedness and generosity and munificence.[382] Other virtues that are mentioned are wisdom (*hikma*), friendliness (*rifq*) and flexibility (*lin*).

It stands to reason that organizations such as Amnesty International[383] and Human Rights Watch[384] condemn the Saudi vagueness of the definition of terrorism and the vagueness of such terms as 'deviant' and 'misguided' and 'corruption on earth', which in no way comply with international standards and can be arbitrarily used against any opposition and dissident. All human rights organizations complain of infringes of human rights as a result of the counter-terrorism campaigns, in the sense that detainees are held for years in detention without trial, torture, do not face fair trials, and 'terrorists' are wantonly killed in shoot outs.[385] Significantly, they regard the counter-terrorism discourse also as a means to 'clamp down on legitimate expression and dissent.'[386]

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381 For a comprehensive explanation of this widespread discourse, see *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, pp. 173–181. See also Rabi' Hadi al-Madkhali, *Mudhakkira al-hadith al-nabawi fi-l-'aqida wa-l-ittiba'i* (Cairo: Dar al-Manhaj, 1424/2004, originally published in 1406/1985), p. 37. The discourse is also based on Suras 28: 50 and 45: 23.

382 'Introduction', *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 176.

383 For the critique of the Saudi definition, see the paragraph 'Saudi Arabian Law and the Vague Concept of Terrorism', in Human Rights Watch, *Assaulting Human Rights in the Name of Counter-Terrorism*, 2009, pp. 20–24. See also 'Precarious Justice: Arbitrary Detention and Unfair Trials in the Deficient Criminal Justice System of Saudi Arabia', March 2008, vol. 20, no. 3; and 'Rights Group Accuses Saudi Arabia of "Gross" Abuses', *New York Times*, 22 July 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/23/world/middleeast/23amnesty.html?ref=amnesty_internatio nal.

384 Human Rights Watch, *Precarious Justice: Arbitrary Detention and Unfair Trials in the Deficient Criminal Justice System of Saudi Arabia*, vol. 20, no. 3 (March 2008).

385 Human Rights Watch, *Assaulting Human Rights in the Name of Counter-Terrorism*, p. 9.

386 Human Rights Watch, *Assaulting Human Rights in the Name of Counter-Terrorism*, p. 10.

3.4 The Campaigns and Institutional Setting of the Saudi Counter-Terrorism Strategy

3.4.1 The Advisory Committee

Saudi counter-terrorist discourse is not just an ideology but is also translated into policy, as is apparent from the language applied and the practices implemented in the more specific rehabilitation programmes and the broader Intellectual Security campaign. One of the most conspicuous elements is the close cooperation of religious and political authorities in these campaigns. The Advisory Committees (*al-Lijan al-Munasiha wa-l-Ra'aya*) were founded after the first attacks occurred in Saudi Arabia in May 2003. They were established—like all the other counter-terrorist initiatives—by Muhammad ibn Nayef, Deputy Minister of the Interior and son of Nayef ibn Abd al-Aziz, the Minister of the Interior.[387] The programmes are implemented in five specialized prisons around Riyadh dealing with terrorism, costing 1.7 billion riyals.[388]

From the beginning, the religious establishment was heavily represented in this counter-terrorism programme, and its discourse is the same that we have dealt with above. We are told that the organization consists of four sections—religious knowledge (*'ilm*), security (*aman*), social work and the media—but that the balance is in favour of the religious section. It consists of 160 *ulama* and only 40 psychologists and social workers.[389] The first is manned by *ulama* and religious experts and is directed at 'correcting their thought'. Its goal is to combat spurious arguments (*shubahat*), 'wrong convictions', and 'wrong understanding' of religious texts by prisoners.[390] In essence, refutation (*tafnid*) of deviation has been its main task, and it is exactly this aspect of the programme that has been regarded as highly successful.[391] We are furthermore informed that whereas at first the prisoners were reluctant to talk to the '*ulama* rooted in knowledge', once their trust was won they competed to join the course because they understood that 'the only goal of the correct explanation of the *shari'a* was to reach the truth'. Wholly in line

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387 Khalid al-Ghanami, '*Najaha rijal al-aman wa fashalat lijan al-munasiha*' [Success of the Security Police and Failure of the Advisory Committee], *Al-Watan*, 30 April 2007, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/writerdetail.asp?issueno=2404&id=238&Rname=53.

388 Turki al-Saheil, 'Saudi Arabia: Grand Mufti Describes Terrorism as "Alien"', *Asharq alawsat*, 13 May 2010, available online at http://www.aawsat.com/english/news.asp?section=1&id=20929.

389 Turki al-Suhayl, '*Dahaya da'awi al-jihad fi-l-'Iraq*' (part 4) [Victims of Propaganda of *Jihad* in Iraq], *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 21 July 2007, http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=10462&article=428975.

390 Turki al-Suhayl, '*Al-Sa'udiyya: Jawla hasima ma'a al-takfiriyyin min khilal al-munasiha wa-l-ifraj 'an al-mawqufin amaniyyan*' [Final Round of the *Takfiris* through the Advice Council and the Release of those Imprisoned], *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 5 November 2005, available online at http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=43&article=331928&issueno=9839 (accessed 9 September 2009). See also Walid Mahmud, ''*al-Munasiha' al-Sa'udiyya bi-sujun al-'Iraqiyya*' [Saudi Advice for Iraqi Prisons], *IslamOnline*, 16 February 2008, available online at http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=ArticleA_C&cid=1201957953553&pagename=Zone-Arabic-News%2FNWALayout (accessed 20 February 2009).

391 Al-Ghanami, '*Najaha rijal al-aman wa fashalat lijan al-munasiha*'.

with the official discourse, the head of the project, Ali Shai'a al-Nafisa,[392] stated that the prisoners realized that their deviation derived from 'wrong explanations' and 'provocative *fatwas*' (*al-fatawa al-tahridiyya*) of *ulama* from 'aggressive organizations', who led them to adopt wrong ethics/habits based on 'excitement', 'delusions', 'utopian thought' and 'restrictive thinking', in short—as explained above—passions (*ahwa'*). The psychological dimension is reflected in the sentence 'who becomes mixed up in his heart by spurious reasoning (*shubahat*) and whims/greed (*shahawat*) can use them for evil ends'. In order to counter 'enthusiastic' videos on the internet and provocative lectures, these sources must be 'closely controlled by the rules of the *shari'a* [otherwise they] can develop into a violent storm'.[393]

As part of the deradicalization programme, prisoners are offered special religious sessions (*dawrat*) on exactly those crucial, contested, ambivalent and potentially extremist topics such as *takfir*, *wala' wa-l-bara'*, *jihad*, the spilling of innocent blood, the ruler and the community (*al-imama wa-l-jama'a*), and allegiance (*bay'a*) and obedience (*ta'a*) to (wrong) leaders instead of to the correct ruler (*wali al-amr*). The whole course covers twenty sessions and lasts for seven weeks.[394] Total ideological deprogramming, called revision (*muraja'a*) of radical ideas, is regarded as a precondition for taking part in the subsequent social reintegration stages of the programme,[395] which includes courses on law, culture, psychology, sports, and medicine, etc.[396]

The ultimate goal of the programme, according to Sheikh Ali al-Nafisa, is reconversion and 'repentance and a return to God'. Once the prisoners have understood that they had been led astray, he explained that 'some youth wept tears of remorse [...], describing themselves as if they were half drunk or fools who had missed the manifest truth that the counselling sheikhs had given to them'. The expression 'breaking down in sobs' seems to suggest that *ulama* and psychologists work together to bring about a catharsis in the prisoner using a combination of religious doctrine and psychological techniques.[397]

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392 Sheikh Ali bin Sha'i al-Nafisa combines a religious education with an education in security and law. He graduated from the Faculty of *Shari'a* in 1974, was appointed a member of the rehabilitation programme of the Ministry of Interior, and obtained a MA in security and law ten years later. See interview with Sheikh 'Ali bin Sha'i al-Nafisa in *al-Irhab afat al-'asr*, pp. 301–302.

393 For a revealing interview with Ali Shai'a al-Nafisa in *al-Riyadh*, 9 December 2005, see online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2005/12/09/article113922.html (accessed 30 August 2009).

394 See interview with Ali Shai'a al-Nafisa *in al-Riyadh*, 9 December 2005.

395 Asma' al-Muhammad, '*Fi-khidam al-intiqadat 'ilamiyya li-l-Lijan al-Munasiha: al-takfiriyyun fi sujun al-Sa'udiyya yabda'una fi-tadwin muraja'atihim*' [In the Sea of Media Critique of the Advisory Committees: *Takfiris* in Prison are Starting to Write Down their Revisions], al-Arabiyya.net, 20 June 2007, http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2007/06/20/35699.html (accessed 12 September 2009); and Turki al-Suhayl, '*Dahaya da'awi al-jihad fi-l-'Iraq*' (part 4), *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 21 July 2007, at http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=10462&article=428975 (accessed 18 September 2009).

396 Al-Suhayl, '*Dahaya da'awi al-jihad fi-l-'Iraq*' (part 4).

397 Al-Suhayl, '*Dahaya da'awi al-jihad fi-l-'Iraq*' (part 4).

Aside from the intellectual dimension, the rehabilitation programmes also have a financial dimension. The Ministry of the Interior has paid 115 million riyals to detainees and their families to repay debts and health care costs, etc.[398]

3.4.2   Intellectual Security

The Intellectual Security (*al-aman al-fikri*) programme, as the word indicates, derives from the same discourse as the Advisory Committee. It also adopts the terminology of religious psychology of waging a war against 'malicious' and 'envious people'. In contrast to the Advisory Committee, however, it is a preventive programme for the general public. It aims to 'raise consciousness' (*taw'iya*) and present 'correct arguments' to counter extremism.[399] It is also blunter, in that it combines Islam and security explicitly. A prominent cleric, Sheikh Salih bin Fawzan al-Fawzan, demonstrating the close connection between the state and the religious establishment, stated that Islam not only ensures stability (*istiqrar*) but it is also 'the religion of belief and security (*aman*)'.[400]

The Intellectual Security campaign probably started in 2007. It is part of a religious campaign to protect culture and society from threats to Islam.[401] Some even speak of 'creating a blockade' against deviant thought.[402] The Intellectual Security campaign is especially focused on those sections of society where the main threat—youth—can radicalize (families, schools and universities), and is intended to educate parents, teachers, university professors, imams of mosques, policemen and the military to detect the first symptoms of radicalization. The purpose of the Intellectual Security campaign is a return of obedience to the ruler along the principles of

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398   Nick Fielding and Sarah Baxter, 'Saudi Arabia is Hub of World Terror', *The Times*, 4 November 2007, available online at http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/middle_east/article2801017.ece.

399   '*Amir al-Nayif yad'u al-a'ima wa-l-khutaba' ila al-taw'iya bi-l-aman al-fikri*' [Prince Nayef Calls the Imams and Preachers to Raise Awareness (of the Dangers of Terrorism) by Means of Intellectual Security], *al-Watan*, 10 May 2010, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/Local/News_Detail.aspx?ArticleID=1586&CategoryID=5.

400   Cited in *al-Irhab afat al-'asr*, p. 76. The mufti made the same remark, stating that Islam cannot support terrorism because it 'protects the security (*aman*) of society, defends the rights of individuals and has all kinds of laws regarding security (*aman*), justice (*'adl*) and stability (*istiqrar*)'; cited in *Mawqif al-Mamlaka*, p. 525. At the same time, Suras quote of the evil intentions of Christians and Jews, such as Sura 2: 120 and 127; 4: 89; and 3: 119. Interestingly, most of these Suras are also quoted by *jihadis* such as Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi and Abu Baseer al-Tartusi.

401   '*Ali al-Khashiban, al-Thaqafa al-hakima wa-marhala al-'inaya al-fikriyya*' [The Ruling Culture and the Stage of Interest in Thought], *al-Watan*, 13 April 2007, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/writerdetail.asp?issueno=2387&id=79&Rname=34.

402   Qaynayn Abdallah al-Ghamidi, '*al-Aman al-fikri wa-tullab wa-talabat*' [Intellectual Security and Male and Female Students], *al-Watan*, 20 May 2009, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3155&id=11494&Rname=319 (accessed 9 September 2009).

wali al-amr, for rulers are regarded as first in line for '*immunization* (*tahsin*) of the people against deviant thoughts'. [403]

For instance, on 15 May 2007, the Saudi Ministry of Education organized a week-long session of lectures on the subject of 'security and the nation' for 166 secondary schools around Riyadh and schools belonging to teacher-training institutes, plus meetings with hundreds of directors of the schools. The dean of the teachers' college, Dr Ali al-'Afnan, also organised a 5th session on *al-aman al-fikri* with teachers.[404] In August 2007 a seminar was organized by the Committee Commanding Good and Preventing Wrong (religious police, *al-'Asir*) on the role of the *ulama* and *du'a* in rooting intellectual security and the role of apprentices in countering ideas 'which weaken the role of the family, undermine the parents, and spread forbidden deeds (*mankurat*) and ideas of *takfir* and revolt against the ruler'.[405] One of its purposes is to limit the chaos in *fatwas*. In May 2010 a conference was held for 700 mosque preachers, who were asked to limit their *fatwas* and refer those who seek guidance to the 'people of knowledge'. The Friday preachers were told that they had an important task in implanting the notion of *wasatiyya* and pointing out the dangers of *takfir*.[406] Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq stated that 'intellectual security' was important for teachers and supervisors in the massive Koran-memorizing sessions to detect early signs of extremism.[407] That it is also directed against radical imams is clear from the warning of the under-secretary of Islamic Affairs, who stated that imams who did not moderate their campaigns against journalists could be fired.[408]

Another difference is that the Intellectual Security campaign also has a stronger 'scientific' component. Although the *ulama* still play a crucial role in the campaign and Prince Nayef constantly refers to them as 'the vanguard in the anti-terrorist struggle',[409] a third party is involved in this phase of the war against deviation, namely the universities who try to reinvigorate the campaign and give it international respectability. The close involvement of the state is apparent from the endowment of the Prince Nayef Chair of Intellectual Security Studies in May 2008 at the University Imam Muhammad al-Saud, with the aim to supervise this

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403   *Al-Jazira*, 16 August 2009, no. 13471, at www.al-jazirah.com/156795/ln4d.htm (no longer accessible).

404   *al-Watan*, 15 May 2007.

405   Hamza Qablan al-Mazini, '*Abhath 'an 'al-Shamagh*'', *al-Watan*, 9 August 2007, at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/new/writerdetail.asp?issueno=2505&id=1674 (no longer available).

406   '*Nadwa al-aman al-dini wa-l-fikri tutalibu al-khutaba' bi-l-turayyith fi 'ifta' al-musalin*' [Seminar of Religious and Intellectual Security Asks Preachers to Act Prudently in Giving Fatwas], to *al-Hayat*, 14 May 2010, available online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/140846.

407   See *al-Hayat*, 26 April 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/134553.

408   See the warning of the under-secretary of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, *al-Hayat*, 11 April 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/129322.

409   'Person whose '*aqida* has been shocked, like in an earthquake, and his thought deviated, can be exposed to currents with false thoughts that will lead him to destruction and loss, and expose his life and that of his society to danger'; see www.sahab.net/forums/showthread.php?t=363276.

project.[410] Since its foundation, this institute has organized a host of seminars on intellectual security,[411] and its highpoint was its organization of a three-day national conference on intellectual security in May 2009. In an interview with the chair, Dr Khalid bin Mansur al-Daris, the common themes of the doctrine of *ghuluw* were reiterated. The scientific content, however, does not consist in analysing violence in an objective detached manner, but in applying a security plan to all sections of life, especially schooling, in order that the student eventually walks 'the straight path'.[412] In an interview with the newspaper *al-Hayat*, the combination of science and religious language is clearly present, when al-Daris tried to show the links between members of families who became involved in terrorism for emotional reasons and religious terminology, calling this way of thinking 'misguided thought' (*al-fikra al-dalla*) and promoting 'hatred' (*hiqd*).[413] In an earlier interview, al-Daris had pointed out the new role of women in the organization.[414] The campaign has also extended to television stations.[415]

A glance at the three-day programme of the conference in May 2009 teaches us that papers with religious topics dominated most sessions, which were chaired by the highest religious dignitaries of the Saudi Kingdom. The panels had titles such as 'Tactics in Persuasion', 'The Koran and Intellectual Security', 'Finding Signs of Extremism Among Sons', and 'The Role of the Family in Supporting Security Thinking of Sons'.

The Saudi campaign has also been noticed outside Saudi Arabia. The annual *Country Reports on Terrorism* of the United States note that the Saudi Minister of the Interior has warned citizens to be 'vigilant', even within families, and to report 'deviant' behaviour.[416]

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410 The discourse of Nayef also remains largely religious. In a speech on 30 March 2009 he called upon 'ulama, shaykhs and *ahl al-fikr wa-l-ray'* (people of thought and opinions) to participate in the opposition against [extremism]'.

411 That the chair is not based on secular research on terrorism is clear from the speech that Dr Salih Hamid, member of the *Majlis al-Shura*, held and was entitled: *al-aman al-fikri fi dhu' maqasid al-shari'a* [Intellectual Security in the Light of the Goals of the *Shari'a*]. The mufti, Sheikh 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abdallah Al al-Shaykh, also participated in the seminars.

412 Long interview with professor Khalid bin Mansur al-Daris, available online at http://www.ksu.edu.sa/sites/KSUArabic/UMessage/Archive/960/dialogue/Pages/Main_T3.aspx, undated.

413 Nasir al-Haqbani, '*al-Sa'udiyya: usar al-matlubina amaniyyan bi'a murashshiha li-l-tatarruf al-fikri*' [The Families of the Wanted Persons are the Nearest Candidates for Extremist Thought], *al-Hayat*, 10 June 2010, available online at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/154007.

414 Nasir al-Haqbani, '*al-Mutawarrutun bi-l-irhab yalja'una ila masahira li-kasb da'm ma'nawi li-isti'ada nishatihim*' [Those Involved in Terrorism Use Marriage Relations to Gain Support for the Activities], *al-Hayat*, 27 February 2010, available online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/113556.

415 For a governmental advertisement against terrorism, see http://www.gao.gov/media/video/gao-09-883/.

416 *Country Reports on Terrorism: Saudi Arabia*, available online at http://www.saudi-us-relations.org/articles/2009/ioi/090502-country-report.html.

3.4.3   International Level

Some of this discourse has entered the international arena by means of speeches and initiatives by the Saudi royal family. During the International Conference on Counter-Terrorism, which was held in Riyadh in 2005, Prince Nayef talked about terrorists as a 'miscreant minority'. More recently Saudi Arabia has tried to play an important role as a promoter of peace and tolerance. The UN's 'Culture of Peace' conference in November 2008 was sponsored by Saudi Arabia and held at the UN headquarters in New York. In July 2008 the Saudi king said similar things at the 'World Conference on Dialogue' in Madrid.

3.5   Effectiveness

3.5.1   Introduction

How successful are these programmes and the religious counter-terrorism discourse? In order to evaluate them, one most keep in mind that the Saudi state is waging a 'battle of ideas' and has sets its mind on the highest goal: deradicalization.[417] One must also realize that Saudis define terrorism as religious deviation, and regard reconversion and recognition of *wali al-amr* as the ultimate success and conditions for release.[418] Disengagement (from radical organizations without ideological deradicalization) is not the official goal but is accepted if the former prisoner is no longer willing to use violence.[419] Another problem of evaluation, as mentioned in this publication's introduction, is the problem of numbers. Given the vague concept of terrorism, how do we know if real terrorist are apprehended or killed?

Let us first look at the counselling (*munasiha*) programme. By February 2008, we are told, some 3,200 prisoners had gone through the programme and 5,000 sessions had been held.[420] In 2007 Ali al-Nafisa stated that 80–90 per cent of the prisoners had repented.[421] Prince Muhammad ibn Nayef claimed that by 2008 some 3,000 individuals had participated in the counselling programme and that 1,400 had given up their terrorist beliefs and were subsequently released, and that another 1,000 remained in the programme.[422] By 2010, 4,500 had gone through the

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417 This was confirmed by Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq during the long discussion on 17 October 2010 in Riyadh.

418 Interview with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq and Turki al- Mansur, Riyadh, 17 October 2010.

419 For more on these concepts, see Tore Bjørgo and John Horgan (eds), *Leaving Terrorism Behind*.

420 Uthman bin Salih al-'Amir, '*al-Hibr al-akhdar*' [Green inkt], 13 April 2008, at http://www.hyil.com/vb/archiev/index.php/t-123668.html (accessed 14 September, but no longer available).

421 Asma' al-Muhammad, '*Fi -khadm al-intiqadat 'ilamiyya li-l-Lijan al-Munasiha al-takfiriyyun fi sujun al-Sa'udiyya yabda'una fi-tadwin muraja'atihim*', al-Arabiyya.net, 20 June 2007.

422 Human Rights Watch claimed that Saudi authorities stated that by December 2007, 1,700 detainees remained in the programme and that 1,500 had been released; see Human Rights Watch, *Human Rights and Saudi Arabia's Counter-Terrorism Response*, 10 August 2009, available online at http://www.hrw.org/en/node/84893/section/4.

munasiha programme.[423] In March 2009 the much smaller after-care programme had served 250 individuals.[424] Another source stated that 297 detainees had visited the half-way house and that over 220 had been released.[425]

Saudis always claim that their recidivism rates are low, especially with regard to the after-care programme. Deputy Minister of the Interior, Muhammad bin Nayef, even claimed that less than 35 individuals fell into recidivism, or 1 to 2 per cent.[426] However, in 2009 authorities held the recidivism rate of the after-care programme at 20 per cent.[427] Despite these official claims of success, these figures should be evaluated very carefully on three levels: 1) the intellectual level ('battle of ideas'), both in regard to the discourse on extremism and *wali al-amr*, with regard to the extent that deradicalization takes place; 2) whether the 'soft' or the 'hard' approach is more successful, despite the claims made by the Saudis that the 'soft' approach is now predominant; and 3) the political level or long-term development—that is, whether this counter-terrorism strategy will be a success over the next few years. Evaluation is difficult on all of these levels because the Saudis basically do not provide insight into their practice and figures.

3.6   The Intellectual Level and Deradicalization

From the above, it appears that the intellectual content of the Saudi programme is weak, even in its own terms, and can only appeal to the most non-ideologically motivated 'terrorists'. The problem with this programme is that the *ulama* who support this type of discourse suffer from a lack of credibility. Since the death of Bin Baz, no *'alim* has been able to replace him. The present mufti has little authority, but, more importantly, in Salafism *ulama* who are not independent lack authority. This also explains the desperate search to find radicals who have revised their ideas (*muraja'a*),[428] such as Sheikh Humayda, who is given ample television time to present his version of *ghuluw*.[429] Both for lack of content and shortage of authority, it is unlikely that the state will be successful in combating terrorism or radicalism with this discourse on extremism (*ghuluw*). The

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423 Interview with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq and Mansur al-Turki, Riyadh, 17 October 2010.

424 US Government Accountability Office (GAO), *Combating Terrorism: US Agencies Report Progress Countering Terrorism and Its Financing in Saudi Arabia, but Continued Focus on Focus on Counter Terrorism Finances Needed*, September 2009, available online at http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d09883.pdf, p. 32. See also the article by Caryle Murphy, 'Saudi Slows Terrorism Money Taps', *The National*, 3 November 2009, available online at http://www.thenational.ae/news/worldwide/middle-east/saudi-slows-terrorisms-money-taps.

425 Porges, 'The Saudi Deradicalization Experiment'.

426 Boucek, 'Saudi Arabia "Soft" Counterterrorism Strategy', p. 1.

427 GAO), *Combating Terrorism*, p. 32.

428 For more on revisionism, see my chapter, 'The *Jama'at al-Islamiyya* in Egypt', in Roel Meijer (ed.), *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement* (London: Hurst, 2009), pp. 189–220; and Omar Ashour, 'Lions Tamed? An Inquiry into Causes of Deradicalization of the Egyptian Islamic Group', *Middle East Journal*, vol. 61, no. 4 (autumn 2007), pp. 596–627.

429 Interview with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq, Riyadh, 17 October 2010.

recent *fatwa* by the Council of Senior *Ulama* in April 2010, although applauded in the West,[430] is also ambiguous and is regarded by specialists as ineffective.[431]

This is all the more problematic as there are powerful counter-ideologies that are readily available on the internet. Ideologues like Yusuf al-'Uyairi, the first leader of the QAP, would not be impressed by the 'soft' approach. To him, the rulers are corrupt and unable to defend Islam, like the *ulama* who have betrayed the pure forms of *tawhid* in toning down *jihad* and loyalty and disavowal (*wala' wa-l-bara'*) and are propagating an effeminate ethics (*akhlaq*) of defeatism. Al-'Uyairi believes that the urgency of the moment calls for self-sacrifice and total war. In place of their *'aqida* and *manhaj* of moderation and the median way, he proposes following a praxis in which the harsh reality of a transnational *jihad* determines whether one is Muslim or not. This eventually leads to a completely different definition of the 'victorious sect', as anyone who has studied jihadism knows.[432] Others, like the *jihadi*-Salafi ideologue Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, have even thought more deeply, teasing out the radical strains in the Wahhabi tradition (see part I above). In a classical example of contesting the official version and then contesting again in a more radical form such a crucial concept as *wala' wa-l-bara'*, he gives Salafism a completely different morphology than the subservient one that the Saudi state promotes.[433] Although the '*Shuyaibi* School' might no longer exist and there are no religious leaders inside Saudi Arabia to take their place, their ideas are still accessible on the internet.[434] Other research has pointed out the creative ways in which religion is turned around against the state.[435] The weakness of the counter-terrorism discourse could explain the 10 per cent of prisoners who do not take part in the counselling programme,[436] although these diehards are only a very few.[437]

This scepticism does not, of course, rule out that counsellors—through a combination of psychological methods and religious admonishing, or simply the respect for elders in a conservative society—are capable of convincing prisoners who are not ideologically motivated to 'repent' and no longer to take part in violent action. For this reason, less ideologically driven detainees could accept the second pillar on which this policy is based, that of *wali al-amr*, including the pledge of allegiance (*bay'a*). This could account for the 1,400 prisoners who have

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430 See, for instance, the positive response by David Ignatius, 'Saudis Act Aggressively to Denounce Terrorism', *The Washington Post*, 13 June 2010, online at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/06/11/AR2010061104395.html.

431 'Saudi Arabia Religious Leaders Call Terrorism Financing Un-Islamic', *CS Monitor*, 19 May 2010, online at http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2010/0519/Saudi-Arabia-religious-leaders-call-terrorism-financing-un-Islamic/(page)/2.

432 See, for instance, Roel Meijer, 'Yusuf al-Uyairi and the Making of a Revolutionary Salafi Praxis', *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 47, nos. 3–4 (2007), pp. 422–459.

433 See Wagemakers, *A Quietist Jihadi-Salafi: The Ideology and Influence of Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi,* Nijmegen: PhD, 2011.

434 See Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia*, pp. 83–98.

435 Al-Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State.*

436 Interview with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq and Mansur al-Turki, Riyadh, 17 October 2010.

437 According to Sean Keely, the numbers who refuse all cooperation are very few; interview, Riyadh, 24 October 2010.

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been released according to official information. But the Human Rights Watch report on political prisoners and the abuses of counter-terrorism measures should make us wary of giving much weight to these numbers. Terrorism is defined so unclearly (as deviancy, passions, etc.) that one does not really know whether the detainees were in any way involved in terrorism or are just political prisoners.

3.7   The Military and Police Level

The 'hard' police and military level is as opaque as the 'soft' counter-terrorism policy. On the one hand it seems that no real attacks have occurred on Saudi soil since the attack on the Abqayq oil refinery on 24 February 2006, which completely failed. On the other hand we hear about massive arrests. For instance, in April 2007 the Ministry of the Interior announced that it had arrested 172 'militants' who planned suicide attacks on oil facilities, airports and public figures.[438] In August and November 2007, 135 and later 208 persons were arrested.[439] In March 2008, 56 persons were arrested, and in June 2008 the Ministry of the Interior announced that it had arrested 701 'militants' over the past six to eight months, divided over five 'terror groups', for allegedly planning attacks on oil installations and other 'vital' facilities.[440] In August 2009 the Ministry of the Interior announced that it had arrested 49 suspects of terrorism, but from the evidence it appears that they were not 'terrorists'.[441] In March 2010, the Ministry of the Interior announced that it had arrested 101 people, including 51 foreigners, belonging to three different cells of al-Qaeda, accused of planning attacks on vital installations throughout Saudi Arabia.[442] In November 2010 the Ministry of the Interior announced that it had arrested 149 members of al-Qaeda over the past eight months, organized in nineteen different cells, 'who were about to execute attacks in the kingdom'[443] and strike at ten different targets.[444] In January 2011, the Ministry of Justice announced that courts had tried 442 cases in 2010, totalling 765 persons involved in funding, recruitment and arms smuggling for terrorism.[445] Also in January 2011, it

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438 'Saudi Arabia Arrests 172 in Anti-Terror Sweep', Msnbc.com, 28 April 2007, online at http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18349238/ns/world_news-terrorism/.

439 Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia*, p. 249.

440 Samir al-Saadi, 'Terrorist Groups Destabilizing Saudi Arabia', *Arab News*, available online at http://archive.arabnews.com/?page=1&section=0&article=111268&d=26&m=6&y=2008; and Andrew Hammond, 'Update 5: Saudi Arabia Says 520 Arrests Terrorist Suspects', Reuters, 25 June 2008, online at http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKL2552811920080625.

441 Mshari Al-Zaydi 'Terrorism in Saudi Arabia: Who is Developing it and Who Can Explain it?', *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 29 August 2009, at http://www.aawsat.com/english/news.asp?section=2&id=17906.

442 'Saudi Arabia Dismantles al-Qaeda Cell, Arrests Dozens', France24, 25 March 2010, online at http://www.france24.com/en/20100324-saudi-arabia-dismantles-al-qaeda-cell-arrests-dozens.

443 *Al-Hayat*, 27 November 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/206692.

444 'Saudi Arabia Arrests 149 al-Qaeda Terrorism Suspects', *The Hindu*, 26 November 2010, online at http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/article915430.ece.

445 'Saudi Arabia Issues List of 47 Wanted Terrorist Suspects Abroad', *Zawya*, 9 January 2011, online at http://www.zawya.com/story.cfm/sidZW20110109000083/Saudi%20Arabia%20Issues%20List%20of%2047%20Wanted%20Terrorism%20Suspects%20Abroad#ZW20110109000083.

published a list of 49 wanted members who were outside the kingdom.[446] The same problem of verifying numbers, however, is found for the trials. In October 2008 the Saudi government announced that a special court would try 991 detainees, but as neither the names nor the exact charges were provided, it is impossible to evaluate these statistics.[447]

The problem with these numbers is again the definition of terrorism. Are these detainees real terrorists, or are they considered 'deviationists'? As we increasingly obtain information about the dissidents who are being detained as 'terrorists' and are being brought to trial at the Specialized Criminal Court, at which the proceedings are secret, we cannot know whether they are really involved in violence.[448] If the information is correct, the numbers of 'militants' or 'terrorists' related to QAP are staggering. It would suggest that the numbers and recruitment has not gone down but that the state has become incredibly more efficient in apprehending terrorists and thwarting their activities. Some sources have said that 200 envisioned attacks on Saudi Arabia have been prevented from taking place.[449]

3.8 The Strategic Level

It is quite possible that the Saudi state has been more effective on the strategic level. From 2003–2005 at the height of the QAP's attacks, the Saudi government not only succeeded in destroying QAP's infrastructure but also in discrediting the movement. Yet the main question is whether it did this by winning the 'hearts and minds' of the Saudi population or whether QAP made so many tactical mistakes that it alienated the population. The latter could quite possibly be the case. Although there was never any question of QAP gaining much support, as Saudis are aware of the chaos in neighbouring countries (Iraq, Yemen and Palestine are not regarded as alternatives), the wanton killing of innocent Muslims completely undermined any support that QAP could have had.[450]

But this does not mean that the Saudi king has remained popular, or that he cannot lose that popularity if QAP changes it tactics. The fact that there were hardly demonstrations on the so-called 'Day of Rage' on 11 March 2011 does not mean that King Abdullah is popular; instead,

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446 Damien McElroy, '47 Frontline al-Qaeda Commanders Identified by Saudi Arabia', *The Telegraph*, 11 January 2011, available online at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/saudiarabia/8252834/47-frontline-al-Qaeda-commanders-identified-by-Saudi-Arabia.html.
447 Human Rights Watch, *Assaulting Human Rights in the Name of Counter-Terrorism*, pp. 20–24.
448 Caryle Murphy, 'Political Activists Charged with Terror in Saudi Arabia', *Global Post*, 22 December 2010, online at http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/saudi-arabia/101221/terrorism-laws-political-reform.
449 *Al-Hayat*, 20 August 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/173967.
450 Hegghammer, The Failure of Jihad in Saudi Arabia', pp. 20–23.

support for the *wali al-amr* would be an indication.[451] Most analysts believe that the state won because 80 per cent of the population is simply dependent on the state and because their salaries went up after the oil prices started to rise. The tremendous boost in the security business has also provided new jobs.[452] As a rentier state, the Saudi royal family has so much money with the current high oil price that it can easily buy off the population. King Abdullah's recent measures on 23 February and 18 March 2011 to pump US$ 35 and 96 billion respectively into services, education, religious establishments and the raising of wages confirms this policy. Among these measures is a promise to create 60,000 new security jobs.[453]

3.9   The Proof in the Pudding: Yemen and the List of 85

One of the most concrete sources of information and means of evaluating the Saudi counter-terrorism strategy is the re-emergence of QAP in Yemen, the range and nature of QAP's activities, and the list of 85 wanted persons that the Saudi government published in February 2009. Not only does the re-emergence of QAP provide a more concrete example and means of evaluation (although the numbers are very small), it also gives an indication of the changes and continuations in the ideological content of the 'battle of ideas', which might signify a change in QAP's tactics.

On 2 February 2009 the Ministry of the Interior published a list of 85 wanted persons.[454] This was the first list since the one published in June 2005 listing 36 wanted people and followed earlier lists of 19 and 24 in 2003, at the height of the QAP attacks (see part I above).[455] Eleven of the wanted people are returnees from Guantanamo Bay.[456] Yet the Ministry of the Interior did

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451   Interestingly, Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq and Mansur al-Turki adhered to the minimum concept of *wali al-amr* as security. They believed that the main task of the ruler was to uphold security, and to prevent Saudi Arabia from becoming like Iraq or Afghanistan; interview in Riyadh, 17 October 2010.

452   Interview with Awad al-Badi, Riyadh, 23 October 2010.

453   *Al-Riyadh*, 20 March 2011, online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2011/03/20/article615289.html; and *al-Watan*, 20 March 2011, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/Local/News_Detail.aspx?ArticleID=46049&CategoryID=5.

454   This list has been posted on different websites. For the Interpol site, see http://www.interpol.int/Public/ICPO/PressReleases/PR2009/PR200908OrNot.pdf. For a *jihadi* site, see http://warintel11.wetpaint.com/page/WANTED. There is considerable confusion about the list. *Jihadis* claim that several of the members on the list had been killed earlier in Iraq or Afghanistan. This applies to nos. 32, 36, 47 and 51 (see the site mentioned above). Neither are all of them in Yemen. Waldi bin Barghash was arrested in January 2011 in Turkey and probably had never been to Yemen. See *al-Hayat*, 27 January 2011, http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/226441.

455   See also my article 'The "Cycle of Contention" and the Limits of Terrorism in Saudi Arabia', in Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman (eds), *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs* (London: Hurst & Co, 2005), pp. 271–311.

456   '*Tafasil jadida 'an istislamihi li-l-sultat al-Sa'udiyya*' [New Details on the Submission to Saudi Authorities], al-Arabiyya.net, 19 February 2009, online at

not just publish the names as in 2003; it also reiterated the general ideology behind it in a special statement (*bayan*) attached to the list. This statement designates terrorists in the familiar religious terms analysed above as followers of 'deviationist and *takfiri* thought', 'corrupters on earth', and 'fighting against God'.[457] In addition, the official spokesman of the Ministry of the Interior, Mansur al-Turki, confirmed the earlier policy of royal patronage and munificence—in short, the Saudi government would be generous with anyone who handed himself in.[458]

The fact that the state had to draw up the list was in itself recognition of the partial failure of the counter-terrorism policy. That eleven of the men on the list had been to Guantanamo Bay and had taken the rehabilitation course of the after-care houses was even worse, and reflected on the reputation of the rehabilitation programme.[459] Yet even worse was to come: the two most notorious figures on the list, Muhammad al-'Awfi (no. 73) and his friend Sa'id al-Shihri (no. 31), became world famous when on 22 January 2009 they proclaimed that they were leaders of the Organization of *Jihad* al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (*Tanzim Qa'ida al-Jihad fi al-Jazira al-'Arab*).[460] In the video that they disseminated, they stand next to the leader of al-Qaeda in Yemen, Nasir Abd al-Karim al-Wahishi al-Makani (aka 'Abu Basir').[461] Saudi Arabia's official defence is that this in itself does not really discredit the rehabilitation programme, as the Guantanamo Bay detainees had only participated in about 10 per cent of the whole rehabilitation programme, because they were not regarded as terrorists with actual blood on their hands by the Saudi officials, as they had been caught in Afghanistan, not Saudi Arabia.[462] Moreover, the Saudi government tries to make use of the presence of former Guantanamo Bay detainees to suggest that they radicalized in the Guantanamo Bay prison and not in Saudi Arabia. This is especially apparent in the interview that Jabir al-Fifi gave for Saudi Television.[463] On the other hand, it confirms the suspicion that Saudis are not quite able to detect what real radicalism is.

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http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2009/02/19/66769.html. For the list, see *al-Watan*, 4 February 2009, available online at http://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2009/02/04/134808.html.

457 For the statement (*bayan*), see http://www.aleqt.com/2009/02/04/article_192295.html.

458 See interview with *The Economist*, at http://www.aleqt.com/2009/02/04/article_192295.html.

459 'Saudis Issue List of 85 Terrorism Suspects', *New York Times*, 3 February 2009; and Porges, 'The Saudi Deradicalization Experiment'. According to Rob Wagner, 25 of the Guantanamo Bay detainees who graduated from the rehabilitation programme 'resumed extremist activities'; see Rob Wagner, 'Rehabilitation and Deradicalization: Saudi Arabia's Counter-Terrorism Successes and Failures', 1 August 2010, online at http://www.monitor.upeace.org/innerpg.cfm?id_article=735. This was confirmed in an interview with Sean Keely on 24 October 2010.

460 '*Muhammad Aufi li-BBC: ' ma 'anayati hu min al-amrikaniyyin ashadd wa aqwa min al-mu*nasiha' [Muhammad Aufi to the BBC: What I have Suffered from the Americans is a Lot Worse that the Committee of Advice', *al-Watan*, 15 January 2010, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/newsdetail.asp?issueno=3395&id=132456.

461 *Al-Watan*, 26 January 2009, at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/newsdetail.asp?issueno=3041&id=87614.

462 Interview with Sean Keely and Malik Edwards in Riyadh, 24 October 2010.

463 *Al-Hayat*, 29 December 2011, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/217872.

3.9.1 Fleeing to Yemen

Other information on the Guantanamo Bay Saudis, however, underlines the carelessness of the Saudi programme's leaders. Muhammad al-'Awfi had been released from Guantanamo Bay on 1 November 2007 in a batch of sixteen detainees. Three of them had become his friends during their incarceration—Sa'id Ali Jabir Al Haythm al-Shihri (no. 31), Yusuf al-Shihri (no. 85) and Murtadi Ali Muqrim (no. 76)—and the four friends had maintained their close relationship during the rehabilitation programme and afterwards.[464] They had gone to Afghanistan during the last height of recruitment, between 1997 and 2001. Muhammad al-'Awfi had gone to Afghanistan just before the US invasion; his brother had been killed there before Muhammad was arrested.[465] Like others who had gone through the rehabilitation programme after their release from Guantanamo Bay, they had been given a monthly stipend and funds for getting married (al-'Awfi was already married), and had been helped to get a job.[466] Al-'Awfi had two children, one nine years old and the second a few months old. In October 2008 he crossed the border to Yemen with his friend Sa'id al-Shihri. All four managed to escape to Yemen.[467] Among others in Yemen were 'Uthman Ahmad al-Ghamidi (no. 53), who would later replace al-'Awfi as leader;[468] Ibrahim al-'Asiri (no. 1); and Jabr Jibran al-Fayfi (no. 20), who later gave himself up, and who had been to Guantanamo Bay and was released in the sixth batch in 2007.[469]

3.9.2 Obedience to the Ruler (Wali al-amr)

On 17 February 2009, however, the initial loss of face was reversed when Muhammad al-'Awfi returned to Saudi Arabia.[470] This was hailed as a tremendous success by Turki Mansur,

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464 '*7 al-matlubin 'adu min 'Guantanamo' wa khada'u li-barnamij ta'hiliyya ma' 117 ahkharin*' [7 Wanted Persons from Guantanamo will be Submitted to the Reintegration Programme with 117 Others], *al-Riyadh*, 4 February 2009, online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2009/02/04/article407124.html. There is some confusion about when Sa'id al-Shahri returned from Guantanamo Bay. According to another source he returned in 2008 on the tenth mission. See '*Sa'id al-Shahri*', *al-Hayat*, 26 December 2009, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/90452.

465 Turki al-'Umari, '*al-mamlaka tast 'idu min al-Yemen al-matlub Muhammad al-'Awfi*' [The Kingdom Retrieves from Yemen the Wanted Man Muhammad al-'Awfi], *al-Riyadh*, 18 February 2009, online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2009/02/18/article410581.html.

466 *Al-Watan*, 26 January 2009, online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/newsdetail.asp?issueno=3041&id=87614.

467 See online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/173967.

468 '*Khatawat i'lamiyya ghayr masubuqa bi-musa'ba al-'Awlaqi*' [Unprecedented Media Progress Thanks to Awlaqi], *al-Hayat*, 3 August 2010, at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/168526.

469 Nasir Haqbani, '*Abu Ja'far al-Ansari' sallama nafsahu li-l-aman al- Sa'udi ba 'd hurub min al-Yemen*' [Abu Ja'far al-Ansari Hands Himself Over to Saudi Security after Fleeing Yemen], *al-Hayat*, 16 October 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/portalarticlendah/192354.

470 Abd allah al-'Ilmi, '*Kayfa saqata abna' al-watan fi-l-wahl al-Qa'ida?*' [How do the National Sons Fall into the Morass of al-Qaeda?], *al-Watan*, 24 October 2009.

spokesman of the Ministry of Interior, who regarded it as confirmation of the success of the *munasiha* programme.[471]

The real success of the state was ideological, in the sense that Muhammad al-'Awfi, having gone through the rehabilitation programme, was well versed in its discourse of subservience and was willing to play along. In an interview broadcast on Channel I of Saudi Television on 27 March 2009, al-'Awfi played back the discourse of the state. He stated that his own motivation to fight the Saudi state was his companions being killed in the QAP campaigns of 2003–2005. What put him off in Yemen was that other states, especially Iran, were involved in the operations, that the present QAP leaders lacked religious knowledge (*'ilm*), and that he did not believe that Saudi Arabia was a *kafir* state.[472] But what really made him a success story in the eyes of the Saudi state was that he showed his gratitude towards the Minister of the Interior, Prince Nayef, and Prince Nayef's son, in several interviews in terminology that completely complies with the concept of obedience to the ruler (*wali al-amr*). For instance, he profusely demonstrated his gratitude that Prince Nayef and his son had allowed him to return to the fold.[473] When they later paid for the burial ceremony when his father died, he acknowledged their generosity within the concept of *wali al-amr* and profusely praised their gesture of humanity (*insaniyya*) as opposed to the inhuman values of terrorism.[474] His pledge of allegiance was an acknowledgement of 'repentance',[475] and his admission of a 'return to the truth', as he explained in several interviews.[476] In his latest interview he stated his intention to write a book to explain to Saudi youth where 'deviant thought' (*al-fikr al-dall*) and 'spurious reasoning' (*shubahat*) can lead. In line with the Advisory Committee programme and the Saudi state, Muhammad al-'Awfi regards counter-terrorism 'as a battle of thought against thought' (*muharaba al-fikr bi-l-fikr*).[477] With his confession and voluntary repentance, the Saudi state finally had what it had lacked before: an 'authentic' revisionism, as had happened in Egypt with the *Jama'at al-Islamiyya* and Dr Fadl.

In propagandistic terms it seemed that the Saudi state has succeeded in making its discourse of power accepted by the general population. When interviewed, fathers of the new leaders of al-Qaeda repeated the same mantras: their wayward sons 'sit with the misguided group' (*al-fi'a al-*

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471 'Sanaa received Saudi al-Qaeda Leader Mohammed al-'Awfi', *AFP* (in Arabic), 18 February 2009, at http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iXzXCaC25_C4mOJzARuotMDe8yKQ.

472 For an analysis of the interview, see *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 28 March 2009, online at http://aawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&article=512736&issueno=11078; for another interesting interview, see *al-Haya*, 31 December 2009, at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/92352.

473 Al-'Umari, '*al-mamlaka tast 'idu min al-Yemen al-matlub Muhammad al-'Awfi*'.

474 '*Al-Matlub al-'Awfi li-'Riyadh': al-Jamayil amir Muhammad bin Nayif ma ansaha ma hayyath*', *al-Riyadh*, 3 May 2010, online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2010/05/03/article522236.html.

475 Turki al-'Umri, '*al-'Awfi nadiman: 'Allah yal 'anu al-shaytan*'' [al-'Awfi in Repentance: 'Allah Curses the Devil'], *al-Riyadh*, 19 February 2009, at http://www.alriyadh.com/2009/02/19/article410843.html.

476 Interview, *al-Riyadh*, 8 August 2010, at http://www.alriyadh.com/2010/08/08/article550097.html; the most interesting interview was on 27 March 2009 on Channel 1 of Saudi TV. For analysis and quotes from the interview, see *al-Sharq al-Awsat* and also *al-Riyadh*, 28 March 2009, online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2009/03/28/article418812.html.

477 Interview, *al-Riyadh*, 8 August 2010, at http://www.alriyadh.com/2010/08/08/article550097.html.

dalla); they have been 'misled'. They subsequently repudiate their sons and identify themselves with the state.[478] Many repeat the words of the official Saudi spokesman on terrorism, Mansur al-Turki, that al-Qaeda consists of 'leaders of dissension and corruption' (*rumuz al-fitna wa-l-fasad*).[479]

The extent of the success of winning back Muhammad al-'Awfi can, however, be contested. From most sources it seems that his friend Sa'id al-Shihri was the real ideologue and that al-Shihri convinced his more pliant friend to come along.[480] Other experts confirm that Muhammad al-'Awfi was not regarded as a leader and did not really have convictions;[481] indeed, official Saudi spokesmen have also denied that al-'Awfi has the capacity to lead a revisionist movement.

3.9.3   Repentance

To gauge success in the 'battle of ideas' according to the Saudi state's terms of success, it is not only important to haul in the big fish but also to augment the number of people who repent. As the state itself started the numbers' game by drawing up the List of 85, the question became how many of them have given themselves up? It seems that very few terrorists complied. As far as this researcher was able to find out, only a few handed themselves in. Fawwaz Humaydi Hajid Habardi al-'Utaybi (no. 65) handed himself in to the authorities on 2 September 2009, as well as Fahd Raqad (Samir) al-Ruwayli (no. 61),[482] in addition to 'Aqil 'Amish al-Mutayri (34 years old) (no. 57) on 29 April 2010.[483] On 16 October 2010, *al-Hayat* reported that Jabr Jibran al-Fayfi (no. 20) had surrendered in Yemen.[484] He would later play a role in criticizing QAP in the media. In April 2011, the total of those who have repented thus stood at four.

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478   '*Walid al-qa'id al-jadid 'al-Qa'ida': natamana an nartahu min sharrahu*' [The Father of the New Leader of al-Qaeda: We will be Glad when Something Bad Happens to Him], *al-Hayat*, 29 May 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/146595.

479   Nasir Haqbani, "*Abu Ja'far al-Ansari' sallama nafsahu li-l-aman al- Sa'udi ba 'd hurub min al-Yemen*' [Abu Ja'far al-Ansari Hands Himself Over to Saudi Security after Fleeing Yemen], *al-Hayat*, 16 October 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/portalarticlendah/192354.

480   '*Al-'Awfi yakshifu 'an 'alaqat Iraniyya bi-l-Qa'ida li-darb masalih Sa'udiyya*' [al-'Awfi Shows Relations between Iarn and al-Qaeda to Harm Saudi Interests], online at http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2009/03/27/69373.html.

481   '*Tafasil jadida 'an istislamihi li-l-sultat al-Sa'udiyya*' [New Details on the Submission to Saudi Authorities], al-Arabiyya.net, 19 February 2009, online at http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2009/02/19/66769.html.

482   '*Suqut sab'a al-matlubin min al-qa'ima al-85*' [7 Wanted Persons Less on the List of 85], *al-Riyadh*, 19 October 2009, online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2009/10/19/article467632.html.

483   Al-*Hayat*, 3 May 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/137144.

484   Haqbani, "*Abu Ja'far al-Ansari' sallama nafsahu li-l-aman al- Sa'udi ba 'd hurub min al-Yemen*'.

3.9.4   'Hard' Counter-Terrorism Measures

Like in the case of QAP from 2003–2005, in the end it seems that not the 'soft' but the 'hard' approach has been most successful in the case of the List of 85. This can be measured in the number of arrests in Yemen or Saudi Arabia. Abdullah Abd al-Rahman al-Harbi (no. 43) was arrested on 28 May 2009.[485] On 18 February 2010, Ahmad Qatim al-Hadhli (no. 10) was arrested in a hotel in Yanbu'.[486] In March 2010 'Abdullah al-'Aydan (21 year old) (not included on the List of 85), who had been arrested in Oman in January, was handed over to the Saudi authorities.[487] And in January 2011, Turkey arrested Walid bin Barghash (no. 82).[488] It seems that of the List of 85, only three have been arrested so far.

The other measure is the number of wanted persons killed. Most wanted people on the List of 85 paid the ultimate penalty of not accepting the reward of patronage. Yusuf Muhammad Mubarak Hubairi al-Shihri (no. 85), who together with Muhammad al-'Awfi had returned from Guantanamo Bay, died with Ra'id al-Harbi (no. 29) in a shoot-out in Jazzan on 13 October 2009. Their riddled bodies were shown on television.[489] Others died in Yemen, where several Saudis were killed or wounded. On 17 December 2009, Nayif Muhammad Sa'id al-Kudri al-Qahtani (no. 81) was killed in Yemen.[490] On 20 December 2010, four were wounded and two killed.[491] On 27 September 2010 Yemeni authorities claimed that they had killed the leader Nasir al-Wahish and Sa'id al-Shihri and another 60 fighters, but this almost certainly was incorrect.[492] Al-Qaeda itself confirmed that three Saudis were killed during an attack in September 2009, all three of whom were on the wanted list: Muhammad Abd al-Rahman Rashid (27 years old) (no. 71), who had also fought in Iraq in 2004; Fahd Salih al-Jutayli (27 years old) (no. 62); and Sultan al-Dalabji (25 years old) (no. 32).[493] Also here, the number is not high: six from the List of 85; and two

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485   See online at http://www.assakina.com/news/3060.html.

486   See *al-Riyadh*, 18 February 2010, at http://www.alriyadh.com/2010/02/18/article499572.html.

487   See *al-Hayat*, 14 March 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/119162.

488   See *al-Hayat*, 27 January 2011, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/226441.

489   It appears that Yusuf al-Harbi was fifteen years old when he joined his brother in Afghanistan in 2001 and was detained by the Americans. He was released from Guantanamo Bay in July 2007. After going through the programme of the Committee of Advice he went to Yemen. See 'Abd allah al-'Ilmi, '*Kayfa saqata abna' al-watan fi-l-wahl al-Qa'ida*?' [How Our Sons of the Land Fall into the Morass of al-Qaeda?], *al-Watan*, 24 October 2009. There is some confusion about the identity of the second person, but it is almost certainly Ra'id al-Harbi (no. 29). See *al-Hayat*, 25 July 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/166101.

490   See *al-Hayat*, 19 May 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/142946.

491   '*Tanzim al-Qa'ida ya'tirafu bi-matqal matlub fi-l-qa'ima al-85*' [Tanzim al-Qaeda Acknowledges Death of Wanted List of 85], *'Ukaz*, 23 May 2010, online at http://www.okaz.com.sa/new/Issues/20100523/Con20100523351760.htm.

492   See '*al-Masadir Yamaniyya tarjahu al-maqtal Nasir al-Wahishi wa Sa'id al-Shahri mudarajan al-qa'ima al-85*' [Yemeni Sources Believe that Nasir Wahishi and Sa'id al-Shahri of the List of 85 Have Died], *al-Madina*, 27 September 2010, online at http://www.al-madina.com/node/209261.

493   On Sultan al-Utaybi see *al-Riyadh*, 10 January 2010, online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2010/01/20/article491397.html.

unidentified.[494] On 16 October 2010 the Saudi authorities announced that only eleven members of the list had been taken out in one way or another, but one must be cautious even with these numbers, as I had already counted fourteen at that time. By the beginning of April 2011, only fifteen from the List of 85 could be deleted, which is not a good rate of success, but still higher than those who surrendered.[495]

3.9.5   Other Indicators

The success rate is not just measured by the number of people on the List of 85 who handed themselves in or were killed. As the newspaper *al-Sharq al-Awsat* aptly remarked when the list was published, several of the people on the list are around 20 years old, so would have been children during 9/11 and slightly older during the attacks from 2003–2005. This would mean that they completely missed the official campaigns against terrorism and that a whole new generation was affected by jihadi- Salafism.[496] The ages of the killed operatives seem to confirm this picture.

Another important question is how dangerous are the people who have surrendered, been arrested or killed? It seems that by far the most dangerous figures are still at large. Salih al-Qar'awi (no. 34), a former fighter in Afghanistan and Iraq, and acquaintance of al-Zarqawi, who was also involved in the first QAP, is regarded as dangerous.[497] Also the Yemeni Qasim al-Rimi (no. 68), who was born in Jeddah, had been trained in Faruq camp in Afghanistan and had close ties with Abd al-Aziz al-Muqrin, and who is the present leader of QAP, is believed to have the most military experience.[498] Sa'id al-Shahri himself is supposedly a '*takfiri*' since the late 1990s,

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494   Of which one, no. 32, is claimed to have been killed elsewhere.

495   Haqbani, ''*Abu Ja'far al-Ansari' sallama nafsahu li-l-aman al- Sa'udi ba 'd hurub min al-Yemen*'.

496   '*35 'aman fawariq fi-l-a'mar fi-l-qa'ima al-matlubin al-85 fi-l-Sa'udiyya*' [35 Years in Age Difference on the List of 85], *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 6 February 2009, online at http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&article=505975&issueno=1102. This was also the main question of Faris bin Huzzam; see interview with him, *al-Riyadh*, 8 February 2009, online at http://www.alriyadh.com/2009/02/08/article408147.html.

497   For more on him, see http://www.yageen.com/news-action-show-id-6650.htm; and especially, '*Sira al-Qara'wi byan al-sha'nan al-Khaliji wa-l-Lubnani*' [The Life of al-Qara'wi, between the Gulf and Lebanon], *al-Hayat*, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/156173. See also online at http://www.almahdy.net/vb/showthread.php?t=9585.

498   See '*al-Rimi al-qa'id al-fa'li-l-Qa'ida…al-Wahishi wa al-Shahri munazziran*' [Rimi Real Leader of al-Qaeda, and al-Wahishi and al-Shahri are Onlookers], *al-Hayat*, 23 June 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/155713.

was a leader in Guantanamo Bay and led the suicide mission of Yusuf al-Shihri in Jazzan.[499] Opinions differ about how dangerous he is.[500]

Finally, how professional are these operatives? Hegghammer ascribes the success of QAP to their technological edge over the state in using internet and mobile phones. The greatest reversal occurred when Abdullah Hasan Tali' al-'Asiri (no. 40), aged 23, blew himself up using a mobile phone detonator when he met Muhammad bin Nayef during Ramadan of 1430 (27 August 2009), in the expectation that he would hand himself in.[501] Immediately the *ulama* were called in to condemn the wanton act of ingratitude as *ghuluw*.[502] Typically, the Ministry called in a declaration (*bayan*) that al-'Asiri's deed was against *shari'a* and 'opposed to the customs of the Arabs', as al-'Asiri had been given *aman*. Despite the 'treachery' (*khiyana*), the ruler will 'keep his doors open' for anyone who will give himself up.[503] The organization in Yemen was also then known not to be dead. It has since shown sophistication in devising videos in which it presented its new leaders, such as 'Uthman Ahmad al-Ghamidi, who became the new leader on 25 May 2010.[504] It has announced that it will step up attacks and has produced videos with footage of rocket attacks on Muhammad bin Nayef during his visit to Riyadh in January 2009.[505]

Other aspects are also disturbing, such as the great extent that QAP involvement runs in families (with brothers, sisters and wives are involved), creating a culture of defiance.[506] It seems that al-'Asiri had left his family with his brother two years earlier, and that it was his brother who in the

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499 '*Sa'id al-Shahri*', *al-Hayat*, 26 December 2009, available online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/90452.

500 One article regards him as more dangerous than al-Zawahiri; see *al-Hayat*, 26 December 2009, at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/90575.

501 Abd allah al-'Ilmi, '*Kayfa saqata abna' al-watan fi-l-wahl al-Qa'ida*?' [How do the National Sons Fall into the Morass of al-Qaeda?], *al-Watan*, 24 October 2009.

502 '29 *'aliman Sa'udiyyan yudinu muhawila ightiyal amir Muhammad ibn Nayif*' [29 Saudi Clerics Condemn Assassination Attempt on Muhammad ibn Nayif], Arabiyya.net, 2 September 2009, online at http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2009/09/02/83703.html. The act was regarded as a 'revolt against the ruler' (*khuruj bi-wali al-amr*).

503 For the declaration, see online at http://www.nzzf.com/vb/t28882.html.

504 '*Khatawat i'lamiyya ghayr masubuqa bi-musa'ba al-'Awlaqi*' [Unprecedented Media Progress Thanks to Awlaqi], *al-Hayat*, 3 August 2010, at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/168526.

505 Nasir al-Haqbani, '*Tanzim al-Qa'ida yu'linu niyyatuhu tanfidh 'amaliyyat fi-l-Sa'udiyya*' [*Tanzim Al-Qaeda* Announces that it will Step Up Attacks in Saudi Arabia], *al-Hayat*, 6 October 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/188652; and another article in *al-Hayat*, 6 October 2010, at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/188800.

506 See '*Tahdhir min al-Sa'udiyya min tawajjuhat al-Qa'ida li-musharika nisa'fi 'amaliyyat intihariyya*' [Warning of the Saudi Authorities of Intentions of al-Qaeda in Using Women for Suicide Missions], *al-Hayat*, 16 October 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/107315.

end directed him to his death. The family denies that they were under close surveillance of the police.[507]

3.9.6   Ideology

Finally, ideological changes could also be significant. From videos and statements, it seems that the movement is no longer waging a global *jihad* against the United States, although its leaders use terms such as 'crusaders', nor just fighting against their 'interests, which are everywhere', but also against their 'agents, who are also everywhere'.[508] QAP is now more directly pointing its arrows at the Saudi state and its symbols.[509] The Saudi government's spokesman, Turki Mansur, stated after the arrests of 149 suspects in November 2010 that attacks consisted of assassinations, and economic and security targets.[510]

One of QAP's ideologues, Ibrahim Rubaysh, argues in favour of organizing assassination attempts on the Saudi royal family: 'Why Muhammad bin Nayef?' That is a duty to kill unbelievers (*mushrikun*) and that the Prophet argued for killing 'the enemies of Islam'.[511] This is a direct challenge to the Saudi state. It is also the probable reason why Muhammad al-'Awfi returned to Saudi Arabia.

3.10   Intellectual Security

The same problem with evaluating the 'hard' measures applies to the 'soft' measures. How can they be evaluated? Here, also, numbers can be misleading. Many of them concern radical

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507 See website posting, online at http://forum.aywwa.com/t14983.html. For an English-language analysis, see 'Would-be Killer Linked to al-Qaeda, say Saudis', *New York Times*, 28 August 2009, online at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/29/world/middleeast/29saudi.html?_r=1.

508 '*Sa'id al-Shahri ya'luna tatallu' tanzim al-Qa'ida li-ihtilal Bab al-Mandub*' [Sa'id al-Shahri Announces that al-Qaeda Wants to Close the Gate of *Bab al-Mandub*], *al-Hayat*, 9 February 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/106953.

509 For remarks in this direction, see '*Sira al-Qara'wi byan al-sha'nan al-Khaliji wa-l-Lubnani*' [The Life of al-Qara'wi, between the Gulf and Lebanon], *al-Hayat*, available online at http://www.daralhayat.com/internationalarticle/156173.

510 See *al-Hayat*, 27 November 2010, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/206692.

511 For more on the ideology of the QAP, see *al-Hayat*, 7 December 2009, online at http://www.daralhayat.com/ksaarticle/84027; and Murad Batal al-Shishani, 'Al-Qaeda's Sa'id al-Shahri Seeks to Revolutionize the Saudi Military', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 8, no. 34 (September 2010), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Bswords%5D=8fd5893941d69d0be 3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=Saudi%20Arabia&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news %5D=36801&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=f3f6185902.

preachers being fired. Recently the state announced that 2,000 school teachers had been transformed to administrative posts.[512]

3.10.1   The Debate on Intellectual Security

The threat from QAP, the List of 85, and even the entire rehabilitation programme of 5,000 people is tiny with regard to the much wider campaign that the Saudi state is waging in the country as a whole. Terrorism and its causes are widely debated in Saudi newspapers.[513] To measure the effects of the Intellectual Security programme is much more difficult than the results of the Advisory Committees. As it is impossible to visit schools or universities to gauge the effect of the campaign, three newspapers on the issue have been analysed. These newspapers are not representative of the Saudi population, because there is a wide divide between the more liberal-minded newspapers and the internet sites. Nevertheless, it is interesting to read the responses that are printed in these newspapers because they highlight the conundrum of the Saudi state between upholding a discourse on 'extremism' (*ghuluw*) and obedience to the ruler (*wali al-amr*) on the one hand, and trying to move to a new legitimacy that is based on moderation, tolerance, the median way (*wasatiyya*) and civil rights on the other.

The response to the Intellectual Security campaign in local newspapers shows the widespread scepticism about its effectiveness. The more liberal discourse of the Saudi newspapers, almost all of them owned by liberal princes, is very critical of the religious content of the rehabilitation programmes. The newspaper debate touches on such crucial issues as the role of religion in society, state policy, or, even bolder, freedom of thought.

Some authors criticize the basic weakness of the programmes by pointing out that their religious approach to terrorism and violence prevents institutions from making a more objective analysis of the background of the problem. The Advisory Committees, according to some authors, do not have a clear idea of the root causes, ideology and motives, or social background of the extremists, and simply assume that they are religious deviationists. For instance, they exaggerate the role of the internet and therefore the importance of ideas.[514] Liberal authors question the role that religion can play in combating terrorism.[515]

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512 Abdul Rahman Shaheen, 'Riyadh Fighting Home-Grown Terrorism', *Gulf News*, 15 July 2010, at http://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/saudi-arabia/riyadh-fighting-home-grown-terrorism-1.654404.

513 See http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3420&id=17650&Rname=96.

514 'Abdallah Nasir al-Fawzan, '*Istintaj lajna al-munasiha ghayr daqiq*' [The Results of the Committee of Advice are Unclear], *al-Watan*, 5 December 2007.

515 Muhammad Ahmad al-Rashid, '*al-tatarruf, mulahazat, iqtirahat*' [Extremism, Remarks, Proposals], *al-Watan*, 23 August 2009, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/NEWS/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3250&id=13836&Rname=139 (accessed 10 January 2010); and also Muhammad 'Awda al-'Anzi, '*Munasihat laysat intisaran li-dhat bi-qadr ma hiyya qadiya wujud wa-kiyan wa-watan*' [Advices are Not in Themselves the Solution], *al-Watan*, 7 July 2007, online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/ad2.asp?issueno=2472&id=531.

Several authors present alternatives. One author suggested that a more open culture should be promoted instead of strengthening the hold of religion over people's lives. Another believed that the lack of freedom, rather than the lack of control of thought, is the source of terrorism.[516] Likewise, a commonly held critique is directed not at the common religious fear of diversity (*ikhtilaf*), but at the uniformity of thought (*ahadiyya al-ray'*) that prevails in Saudi Arabia. This argument holds that the exclusion (*al-iqsa'*) of divergent opinions is the root cause of extremism and terrorism. Turning the earlier concept of the five basic principles of life around, this particular author, Muhammad al-Sahimi, stated that:

> [...] whatever the definition of intellectual security—and nobody is going to find it—it will hamper the right of persons to express their opinion and thoughts without fear while this belongs to one of the five basic conditions (*darurat*) of human life, protection of reason (*hafz al-'aql*).[517]

Defending the basic liberal principle of liberty, according to al-Sahimi, intellectual security can only derive from 'the absolute freedom of expression of ideas'.[518] Another commonly held Liberal Saudi critique is that extremism is ingrained in Saudi society and that it has taken over the educational system, has penetrated the domestic environment and has even entered the bedroom.[519] Unless our educational system is changed and greater leeway given to discussion, tolerance, freedom, humanism and openness towards the rest of the world, the term *al-aman al-fikri* will not help, Shtawi al-Ghaithi argued.[520] This is also the view of the novelist Turki al-Hamed, who recently became adviser to King Abdullah.[521]

Another important critique is reserved for the total lack of taking the youth problem into account. According to commentator Shtawi al-Ghaythi, contemporary Saudi society must respond in a totally new way to the problems of youth if it wants to prevent extremism and not just point out how youths deviate from the straight path.[522] Some, mostly non-Saudis, such as the

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516 Khalid al-Ghanami, '*Hurriyya al-ta'bir ka-l-shart li-l-aman al-fikri*' [Freedom of Expression as Condition for Intellectual Security], *al-Watan*, 21 May 2009, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/NEWS/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3156&id=11526&Rname=53.

517 Muhammad al-Sahimi, 'ma huwa al-aman al-fikri?' [What is Intellectual Security?], al-Watan, 20 May 2009, http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3155&id=11505&Rname=134.

518 Al-Sahimi, '*ma huwa al-aman al-fikri*?'

519 Shtewi al-Ghaythi, '*al-Aman al-fikri: Mas'ala al-usul al-thaqafa*' [Intellectual Security: An Issue of Cultural Principles], *al-Watan*, 6 February 2009, online at
http://www.alwatan.com.sa/NEWS/WriterPrinting.asp?issueno=3052&id=9386.

520 Shtawi al-Ghaithi, '*al-aman al-fikri wa-tajdid al-khatab al-dini*' [Intellectual Security and the Renewal of Religious Discourse], *al-Watan*, 20 May 2009, available online at
http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3157&id=11545&Rname=33.

521 Turki al-Hamed, 'Terrorism a Cultural Phenomenon', originally in *Sharq al-Awsat*, 27 April 2009, (English version), at http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/3326.htm. Also my interview with the author on 8 February 2010.

522 Shtawi al-Ghaythi, '*al-ajyal al-jadida wa-l-qiyam al-mutahawwala*' [New Generations and Changing Values], *al-Watan*, 24 July 2009, available online at
http://www.alwatan.com.sa/NEWS/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3220&id=13126&Rname=33.

Egyptian commentator Fahmi Huwaidi, mock the whole notion of 'intellectual security' because he believes that terrorism has its roots in social problems.[523]

Another element of change is the measure of tolerance. Intellectuals complain that they are hampered in their freedom, yet when a cultural centre was burnt down,[524] many used the word 'terrorism' in this sense as the attacks of fanatics against culture,[525] yet many are also critical of the campaign of tolerance that the Saudi state is promoting. As long as the state is based on such outdated concepts as *wali al-amr* and bases its campaign on rallying the conservative *ulama*, it is unlikely that the counter-terrorism campaigns will succeed in the long run.

3.11   Conclusion

It is not an easy task to evaluate the counter-terrorism measures and narratives that have been initiated by the Saudi state. In general, the Saudi state does not provide enough data to be able to make a clear evaluation. Neither does it publish documents on its policies. This has been the complaint from many people who have studied the counter-terrorism programmes, even if they are positively inclined towards them. The evaluation here is based on analysis of the ideological content of the counter-narrative and the make-up of the actual rehabilitation programmes, the 'hard' counter-measures and the more concrete analysis of the List of 85.

First, as attacks have not been made on Saudi soil since 2007, the military—'hard'—side appears to have been successful. There are, however, doubts about the uprooting of the cells, as arrests are still being made. If 700 arrests were related to al-Qaeda in 2008, and 149 members of QAP were arrested in November 2010, this is not reassuring. However, as argued above, as the Saudi state's own definition of terrorism is so vague, we cannot be sure that these are really terrorists or merely 'deviationists'.

3.11.1   *'Soft' Approach*

As regards the 'soft approach', a division can be made in the concrete issues, such as the number of detainees and the number of people who have followed the rehabilitation programmes, but here there are problems as well.

Lack of data. It is unclear how the counselling programmes have been successful. We know how many persons have gone through them and how many have been released. But because of the

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523 Fahmi Huwaidi, '*bid'a wa-l-aman al-fikri*' [Innovation and Intellectual Security], 31 May 2009, online at http://fahmyhoweidy.blogspot.com/2009/05/blog-post_31.html.

524 Shtewi al-Ghaythi, 'Hariq *al-Jawf: Hariq al-thaqfa wa-l-watan*' *al-Watan*, 5 March 2010, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3444&id=18121&Rname=33.

525 Amal Zahid, *al-Watan*, 12 March 2010, available online at http://www.alwatan.com.sa/news/writerdetail.asp?issueno=3451&id=18262&Rname=209.

vague notion of terrorism, we do not know: a) what relationship the prisoners had with terrorism—were they hangers-on, just fellow travellers, or merely opposition groups or even randomly arrested persons?; b) we also do not know what happened to them afterwards—were they really deradicalized in the Saudi sense of the word, or were they merely disengaged and reintegrated?

The problem of the large number of detainees. The lack of data applies to a large number of detainees. We hear of 4,500 persons having gone through the programme and that a number of them have not been released. But we do not know how they will eventually come out of jail. For instance, will they be radicalized by the state's unjust treatment? Before we know this, concentrating on the more limited after-care programme is made largely irrelevant.

Religious repentance. From the little that can be gleaned from books and interviews, the content of these works does not support the suggestion that these are very strong or convincing programmes. The counter-narrative defines the problem as an ideological problem. It is limited to certain issues and for the more politically aware and ideologically motivated detainees, it should be obvious from the beginning that the rehabilitation programmes are subservient to the ruler (*wali al-amr*). Perhaps this accounts for the 10 to 20 per cent of diehards who refuse to participate in the programmes. For many hangers-on, who just want to get out of prison and continue with their lives, the content of the programmes will probably not be important and will not make a difference. But again, does it mean that they are deradicalized?

Lack of independence. What further undermines the rehabilitation programme is the position of the counsellors. Although we are told that they are rejected if they are unable to acquire the trust of the detainees, it seems highly unlikely that the Saudi state would hire them if they were independent. Lack of independence would immediately affect their standing with the detainees. It also appears that not following these courses can have severe repercussions on the chances of being released. If this is true, the programme bites its own tail. It is a religious reconversion, but in order for the programme to be successful, it has to be independent, although from the religious and political content of the programme this seems unlikely.

Quality of the counsellors. Whatever success these programmes will have must be attributed to the individual qualities of the counsellors and their psychological approach, in combination with the circumstances in which the detainees find themselves. Personal relations with the counsellors are probably more important than the ideological dimension. This probably explains the 'repentance' of the detainees more than the ideological dimension. It would be interesting to know whether the Guantanamo Bay inmates repented and on what conditions they were released.

Social reintegration. In contrast to what the authorities claim, the social reintegration programme is probably much more successful than the ideological dimension (there is also a lack of data here). This would also depend on the role of the family, local imam, etc. But again we do not have the information. In the case of the Guantanamo escapees, it seems that they were able to influence their family members, brothers and wives to disappear. Simply 'settling down'

will not work if the ex-detainees are ideologically motivated. We know that eleven of the Guantanamo Bay detainees in the safe-care programme returned to terrorism.

4.11.2 Intellectual Security Programme

This brings us to the success of the Intellectual Security programme. This programme is even harder to evaluate than the rehabilitation programme because it is very wide.

Positive content (wasatiyya, or the middle ground, moderate Islam). As it is not directed at perpetrators, we should have other standards. It is quite possible that the promotion of tolerance, and acceptance of other religions, etc., does have an effect on school children, university students and the *ulama* themselves.

The religious dimension. However, it is more likely that such a bulk of society cannot be reformed in a short time and that it will take years to tackle, if possible at all. Resistance against reform is tremendous because it is seen as a Western initiative and conservative *ulama* are still strong and are even used by the Ministry of the Interior. Saudi liberals are the first to point this out and object, especially to the religious dimension of the Intellectual Security programme, which they see as the source of the troubles in the first place. In doing so they point out some basic flaws in the programmes: a) the religious dimension blocks a more objective analysis of the root causes of radicalism in Saudi Arabia and prevents a more scientific and detached analysis of the role of religion itself in violence; and b) the strong presence of conservative *ulama* in fact blocks the promotion of a more rational and tolerant attitude, which is the only remedy against terrorism.

Worse still, many have expressed their scepticism with regard to the whole programme. Part of the problem could lie with Wahhabism itself. For instance, the Kuwaiti newspaper *al-Siyasi* argued after the escape of two prisoners that the rehabilitation programme is worthless because members of the Advisory Committee basically share the same ideas as the extremists—they only differ in the timing and circumstances in which these can be acted upon and are therefore unable to present an 'enlightened alternative'.[526] Even Saudi specialists in counter-terrorism state that the best counsellors are the 'closest in appearance and mentality' to the radicals.[527]

Interestingly, the Shi'i encountered by the author in Qatif in Eastern Province in February 2010 inferred from the VIP treatment that prisoners receive in the half-way houses that the authorities basically regarded them as brothers rather than enemies, which is indeed true in the logic of royal paternalism.[528]

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526 Bandar Sulayman, '*Lajna al-Munasiha al-irhabiyyin fi-l-Sa'udiyya bi-haja al-munasihaba'd ittiham a'dha' bi-him bi nashr al-tatarruf*!' [The Committee of Advice of the Terrorists in Saudi Arabia Needs Advice Itself after the Accusation of its Members Spreading Extremism], *al-Siyasi*, 31 January 2009, online at http://www.alssiyasi.com/?browser=view&EgyxpID=16758 (accessed 12 January 2010).

527 Long discussion with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq and Manur al-Turki, Riyadh, 17 October 2010.

528 Interviews with several anonymous Shi'i representatives in February 2010.

Blocks social reform. The danger is also that by including the religious establishment and handing it such powers in the rehabilitation and Intellectual Security programmes, the state is enhancing an arch-conservative class, which itself is opposed to any reform and regards the programmes as a means of feeding society its ideology. Shi'i leaders, for instance, complain that since the new empowerment of the *ulama* in these massive programmes, suppression and discrimination of Shi'i has been enhanced.[529] The tremendous amount of money assigned to the religious establishment by King Abdullah means that its influence will not be diminished.

Blocks political reform. It is also obvious that this Intellectual Security campaign is also detrimental to any political reform. The success of the 'hard' counter-terrorism campaign has enhanced the legitimacy of the 'soft' counter-terrorism campaign and has in a sense put new life into the alliance between the state and the clerics, enhancing such conservative concepts as *wali al-amr* and *ghuluw*, which are basically detrimental to the growth of political awareness. The politics of the Saudi counter-terrorism strategy are to enhance the previous apolitical line of Wahhabism and its subservience to the power of the royal family. The rise of oil prices means that the Saudi state can play its role as generous patriarch, creating a new security sector, raising salaries, extending its power as benevolent ruler to its citizens, and concentrating even more power into its hands with the new structures that are being built to control society. Its new legitimacy and the uncritical evaluation of the counter-terrorism campaign block reform of the custody law and any attempts to curb the royal family's power. The result is that the necessary reforms for modernizing Saudi Arabia along more rational lines are being stultified and that such irrational, repressive and indiscriminate discourses as those of *ghuluw* and *wali al-amr* are continued.[530]

In conclusion, the Saudi state's success is mostly based on: a) winding up the QAP networks and arresting those involved; b) taking advantage of QAP's mistakes; and c) the probable success of its larger Intellectual Security programme of making the population more aware of the dangers of terrorism.

Its failures are expressed in: a) using such ambiguous, undefined and religiously defined concepts as extremism, deviation and passions, which do not allow for distinctions between real and supposed terrorists; b) the enhancement of the conservative clergy, which has become closely tied to the Ministry of the Interior; c) the total suppression of any alternative rational discourse of opposition and of voicing grievances, which are repressed by either the discourse on religious extremism or the discourse of subservience to the ruler; and d) the massive arrests might not be all that positive, because they either breed discontent if detainees are held without charges or show that the opposition is much larger than one would hope. Although it seems that the more liberal elements within the state are aware of the dangers that this poses for creating a more educated, critical population, based on a more open and tolerant discourse of *wasatiyya*, citizenship and nationalism, the counter forces within the state have drawn upon an older tradition to counter violence, whose value is doubtful.

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529 Interview with Ja'far al-Shayeb in Qatif, 20 October 2010.
530 Interview with Awad al-Badi, Riyadh, 19 October 2010.

List of Interviews

Interview with Abd al-Rahman al-Hadlaq and Mansur al-Turki, Riyadh, 17 October 2010.

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4. Conclusion

The Introduction discussed the problems encountered during the research stage of this publication. These concerned: a) the lack of information on concrete policy measures; b) the paucity of detailed data; and c) the vague, changing and often partisan definition of terrorism that is the result of the highly political character of the phenomenon. We proposed meeting these problems by extending the research to include both a more historical analysis of the background of violence against the state, as well as broadening it to include 'soft' and 'hard' approaches. This led to the adoption of the following research questions:

- What are the main *general characteristics* of counter-terrorism measures in Indonesia, Algeria and Saudi Arabia?

- What *specific* counter-measures have been adopted by the three specific countries?

- What is the *historical background* and *context* of violence and violent contestation in these countries?

- What is the *political context* in which these measures have been developed?

- In relation to the *cultural and religious context* of these measures, what are the specific *definitions* of terrorism in Algeria, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia?

- How has the recent *combination* of counter-narratives, deradicalization programmes and political changes (such as democratization, amnesty, etc.) in these countries interacted in the light of the above-mentioned questions?

- What is the *balance* between 'soft' and 'hard' measures and is it possible to trace their development and what does it mean?

- Has there been a 'comprehensive strategy' and what does this mean if so?

- Finally, given the research difficulties, is it possible to measure the *results and effectiveness* of the counter-terrorism policies of these countries?

4.1   The Historical Context and Institutional Setting of Counter-Terrorism

The three separate chapters show that analysis of the *historical context* is essential for an understanding of the *main characteristics* of the counter-terrorism strategies. In the case of Algeria, comprehension of the civil war (1992–1997) is essential for an understanding of the measures that have been taken and are being taken now. The violence in Algeria has an even longer history. During the period of the liberation struggle against France (from 1956–1962), violence was partly sanctioned in Islamic terms, such as the heroization of the '*mujahid*', partly in secular socialist terms. Violence erupted again during the 1980s with Bouyali's guerrillas in the *maquis*, ending in the 'bread riots' of 1988. Once the brief Algerian spring of 1988–1991 was terminated by the military, the military remained in power, despite Bouteflika's election as Algeria's president in 1999. These developments show that the nature of the regime is important in counter-terrorism strategies. Since 1999, counter-terrorism policy in Algeria has oscillated between the president and the military, reflecting the present dualistic character of repression by 'hard' military means and the 'soft' political means of reconciliation that are promoted by President Bouteflika.

In Saudi Arabia, the *main characteristics* of counter-terrorism strategies of the state have likewise been influenced by violence and the dominance and dominant ideology of struggle, albeit of an Islamic, fundamentalist ideology: Wahhabism. Saudi Arabia's present struggle against violence and 'terrorism' can mostly be explained as a way to contain the contradictions between an activist and zealous current with Wahhabism, whose *ulama* claim to know the truth and are bent on purification of doctrine, and the pragmatic Saudi state, which since the 1930s is based on the monopoly of violence. This has led to long periods of political and religious quiescence and short outbursts of resistance and revolts, such as the *Ikhwan* rebellion in the 1920s, the 1979 occupation of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, and since 2003 the attacks by al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (QAP). During these latter periods the preponderant religious sanctioning of the state's policy was challenged. However, because the Saudi state was structured differently and did not depend entirely on the military, unlike in Algeria, the monarchy had to resort to other means to counter the ideological and political threat of terrorism: royal patronage, co-optation and clientelism, as well as religious propaganda and indoctrination, have thus been the *main characteristics* of the Saudi counter-terrorism strategy. Although state repression and pursuit by 'hard' measures did, of course, occur—and security was tremendously expanded and upgraded after the attacks in Riyadh in 2003—during the counter-terrorism struggle against QAP the Saudi state also relied on its traditional means of 'co-opting' the terrorists and campaigning against religious 'extremism'.

The importance of the Indonesian example lies in the major political shift that has taken place since the fall of Suharto in 1998. Indonesia took a radically different turn than Algeria. While both were bureaucratic military regimes, Algeria in the 1990s deepened its military character in the struggle against the Islamist challenge, intensifying its repressive nature during the period of the *éradicateurs*. Indonesia in 1998, on the other hand, acquired a civilian government. As a result, counter-terrorism in Indonesia adopted a different form. In a system with parliamentary oversight and in which counter-terrorism changed hands from the military to the police,

contesters were no longer regarded as the 'enemy' who should be repressed. This makes it easier to analyse Indonesia's *specific* counter-terrorism strategies. By the time that the Bali bombings occurred in 2002, the new *security institutions* were already to a large extent in place. The more open character of Indonesia's society and the political circumstances made it easier to trace *specific* counter-terrorism measures. Moreover, the threat that the *Jamaah Islamiyah* (JI) posed was far more limited than the Islamist challenge in Algeria, which at first almost took over the state by political means and later posed a severe military threat to the Algerian state's existence. In addition, the *religious context* is important. JI is basically a foreign element in Indonesia, stemming from the import of Wahhabism/Salafism or contacts with transnational al-Qaeda networks. The Indonesian situation differs from Algeria (or Saudi Arabia, for that matter) in that it has a strong institutionalized presence of tolerant Islam. Finally, it is clear that the *social context* is also important in the Indonesian case. Religious institutions could be mobilized and indeed often took the initiative to combat terrorism, whereas in Algeria and Saudi Arabia it was the state that took the initiative in organizing counter-radicalization courses and campaigns. Although the *ulama* in these countries condemned violence, their opinions were always tarnished because they were not independent.

4.2   The Definition of Terrorism

All three chapters have demonstrated that the *definition of terrorism* and the counter-terrorism measures are closely linked to the nature of the state and the manner in which the state feels attacked and challenged. What is remarkable in the Algerian case is the constant shift in the definition of terrorism. In the period of strongest confrontation during the civil war, when the *éradicateurs* predominated, terrorism was broadly defined as 'any offence targeting state security, territorial integrity or the stability or normal functioning of institutions'. It was defined not only as 'spreading panic or creating a climate of insecurity' but also of 'impeding the activities of public authorities'. After the election of Bouteflika as president in 1999, when policy came increasingly into the hands of civilians and political solutions were necessary, counter-terrorism policy was refocused on national reconciliation. As a result, terrorism became submerged under the general term of *la tragédie nationale*, which was meant to exonerate both the terrorists *and* the military of any violence that had been committed during the 'dark decade'. In 2007, after the military battle with the terrorists had finally been won, and the state intended to release former terrorists as 'repenters', violence undertaken by AQIM was downplayed as '*le terrorisme résiduel*'. The character of terrorists changed in this period, being transformed from outcasts to religiously or politically 'misguided' persons. Whereas in the earlier phase they were the target of the state's wrath, in the second phase they were subordinated to the goal of national reconciliation, in which the violence and atrocities of the 'dark decade'—perpetrated by both the state and the Islamists—had to be buried in order to achieve some form of political reconciliation.

In Saudi Arabia, where violence was on a much smaller scale than in Algeria and the military dimension was puny in comparison, the threat was primarily ideological and political, in the sense that it challenged the royal and religious authority of the state. As the 'Guardian of the Two

Holy Places' and the country that had delivered fifteen of the nineteen 9/11 hijackers, the Saudi kingdom also had the duty to wage an ideological war to vindicate its position as the promoter of the true Islam—Salafism, or, in its local variation, Wahhabism, which naturally had nothing to do with violence. Nevertheless, even if the initial reaction was to revert back to unreformed Wahhabism and regard all terrorism as based on 'deviation' from purity of doctrine, the *ulama* gradually included the much diluted currents propagating 'moderation' based on *wasatiyya*. The extent to which counter-terrorism programmes were part of the local political culture is clear from the opportunity that terrorists were given to reintegrate into society if they 'repented' and acknowledged the patronage of the Saudi king and the religious authority of the *ulama*.

Indonesia is again interesting with regard to the definition of terrorism. Although Noorhaidi has spent less time on this issue, it is clear from his chapter that terrorism is not defined in such a broad sense as in Algeria and Saudi Arabia. The difference is that the rule of law has become more important. In addition, the state seems to be more impersonal. It seems that the terrorist in Indonesia is regarded as misguided because he has deviated from an existing, overwhelmingly dominant and tolerant form of Islam. But perhaps the most important difference is that Indonesian society is much more aware of the dangers that the state and especially the military pose in jeopardizing the recently acquired democratic rights. Although its society was shocked by the Bali bombings and other violent attacks, from the start it seems that it did not consider it an existential threat to itself and could be rationally dealt with. Overreaction could be prevented, as the police had already taken over the role from the military in combating 'terrorism'. Moreover, defining terrorism was not just a task of the state, as was the case in Saudi Arabia and Algeria, but also of independent religious institutions and civil society. It therefore seems to be less politically tarnished and manipulated than in the other two countries.

4.2.1   *'Hard' and 'Soft' Approaches*

The above-mentioned factors that impinge on counter-terrorism measures—the historical background to the violence, the institutional setting (military–civilian–religious relations), the *cultural, religious and political context* and the *definition of terrorism*—also affect the *balance* between 'hard' and 'soft' measures. We have seen that the traditional way to deal with violent challenges to the authority of the state has been to use the 'hard' military approach. How preponderant this method is depends on the nature of the state, as already seen above. This has been the rule for a long time in the military regimes of Algeria and Indonesia.

Noorhaidi has shown that during the Suharto era in Indonesia, the military relied preponderantly on the 'hard' approach in putting down insurgencies. During this era, the *main characteristic* of counter-terrorism was the 'enemy-centric' approach. This changed after the fall of Suharto's regime and the installation of a democratic process. In fact, in many cases, the transition went so fast that the new regime, although in place, was not completely prepared to counter the type of terrorism that *Jamaat Islamiyah* perpetrated. The Bali bombing of 2002 came as a shock to the new regime, but—fortunately—major *institutional changes* had transferred the counter-terrorism policy from the military to the police, with the result that the state could face

the challenge without overreacting. During the following years, *specific measures* were taken to strengthen the Indonesian counter-terrorism capacity. President Megawati issued several anti-terrorism laws and decrees in 2002–2003. For instance, the Terrorism Eradication Coordinating Desk (TECD), under the auspices of the Office of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, was founded by Presidential Instruction in October 2002. In June 2003, the National Police, with the help of the American Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) programme, established an elite counter-terror force, Detachment 88, which combined investigation, intelligence, hostage rescue and tactical assault capabilities. Moreover, the Indonesian government substantially increased the annual budget for the National Intelligence Agency (BIN) and enhanced its authority to oversee national covert-surveillance operations. In addition, institutions for financial and the coordination of regional investigations were established. On the whole, however, the *main characteristic* of the enemy-centric approach of the previous period changed into a 'population approach' that concentrated on eradicating the root causes of terrorism rather than terrorists themselves. The difference with Algeria is that *specific* governmental institutions in Indonesia were basically police institutions under the supervision of civilian rule rather than military institutions.

They were, moreover, supported by the 'soft' approach in the form of measures taken by non-security ministries (such as the Ministry of Education), or, if they were taken by the Ministry of the Interior, they were rehabilitation and reintegration programmes. The balance between 'hard' and 'soft' approaches changed. The purpose of the governmental 'soft' approach in Indonesia was to include the population in the counter-terrorist policies through awareness campaigns, which aimed to maintain the legitimacy of the state against the ideological challenge of the terrorists. The prominence of the 'soft' approach and the inclusion of the *religious context* are based on the realization that the battle with terrorism cannot be won by military means alone, but must include ideological means of persuasion and respect for human rights. The enemy must become convinced of its 'errant' ways. The assistance of prominent former terrorists—who have rejected their former ideas and are willing to participate in these campaigns—are essential for their success. Financial assistance and incentives for released terrorists also play a role. The second pillar of the 'soft' approach in Indonesia has been the transformation of the local police from part of the military to civilian services. Finally, the participation of civil society is crucial in the Indonesian context and demonstrates the importance of the *social context*. Civil institutions themselves have to mobilize their followers against terrorism and terrorist propaganda. In that respect, Indonesia is fortunate to have organizations such as *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), the *Muhammadiyah*, the Institute of Human Resource Development (*Lakpesdam*, in full *Lembaga Pengembangan Swadaya Masyarakat*), the Wahid Institute, the *Muhammadiyah* Young Intellectual Network (JIMM, *Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah*) and the Centre for Moderate Muslims (CMM) to fulfil this role. Moreover, the focus of their counter-terrorist ideologies is the concept of pluralism (though not equality among religions) and brotherhood among mankind, regardless of one's religion. The JIMM actively promoted tolerance, inclusiveness and progressiveness; the NU actively organized workshops, trainings, seminars and lectures; whereas the NU and the *Muhammadiyah* were active in establishing international ties promoting moderation. They have organized

programmes to instruct young preachers and published works that are critical of radical Islamic currents.

In Algeria, the *balance* between 'hard' and 'soft' measures has been somewhat different. Counter-terrorism measures were for a long time exclusively military measures. The violent opposition of Bouyali in the 1980s was crushed by military means. This tradition was continued with a brief lapse in the years between 1988 and 1991, when the *éradicateurs* became the dominant current in the military after the *coup d'état* in 1991. To wage this 'total war' against the armed wings of the Islamists, Algeria's government established the *specific institution* of Directorate-General for National Security (*Direction Générale de la Sureté Nationale*, DSGN). IN addition, the Directorate of Research and Security (*Département du Reseignement et de la Sécurité*, DRS), which was heavily involved in infiltrating the armed Islamic groups, was a military outfit. Emphasis was on the 'hard' approach, exemplified by the tactic of 'terrorizing the terrorist' in order to suppress resistance. Other *specific measures* were the establishment of militias, which extended the militarization of counter-terrorism to whole sections of the population, as well as emergency laws, which have only recently been rescinded, and which allowed for the implementation of far-reaching measures to combat terrorism.

Crucially, the 'soft' approach in Algeria is limited to the state and is limited to politics and hardly acquires a *social dimension*. Negotiations and some measure of recognition that the opponents were worthy of being talked to started in 1993, but only really gained ground after the success of the 'hard' approach had been established in 1997–1998 and politics, as well as military means, grew in importance. In 1996 the Algerian state initiated the 'clemency law', and negotiations with the Islamic Salvation Army (*Armée Islamique du Salut,* AIS) started in 1997, leading to its capitulation in 1997. Algeria's presidential elections of April 1999, during which Bouteflika was elected, were even held under the banner of reconciliation, regarded by the Islamic Salvation Front (*Front Islamique du Salut,* FIS) as 'the real start of a political solution'. This policy was enshrined in the Civil Harmony Law, which granted conditional amnesty to radical Islamists who had surrendered and renounced violence before 13 January 2000. Since then this policy has found its way into the *Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation*.

In Saudi Arabia the 'soft' approach in institutional terms is embodied by two *specific institutions*, the rehabilitation programme and the Intellectual Security campaigns, and probably also by the Ministry of Education. During the QAP's violent campaigns, amnesty was offered as a means out for the terrorists, but, unlike in Algeria, there was never any need for large-scale negotiations with terrorist organizations. Official counter-terrorism strategy was based on the twin pillars of the state: royal patronage and beneficence; and religious guidance. But in contrast to Indonesia, the ideologies that underpinned them were not liberal or moderate, despite the gradual introduction of the more moderate *wasatiyya*. The only critique of the highly religious and political conservative content of the counter-terrorism campaign is found in the liberal newspapers, which are read by a limited, elitist and 'enlightened' public. The official Saudi 'soft' approach has therefore been largely limited to the rehabilitation programmes and the Intellectual Security programme, which have attracted undue international attention. As we have seen, these should also not distract us from the 'hard' side—that is, the killing of terrorists,

massive number of arrests, and long detentions without trials of presumed terrorists, as well as the military campaigns against QAP in Yemen. These show that the Saudi regime is still heavily involved in the military repression of terrorism, despite the benevolent character that it tries to convey. The image that it attempts to project of achieving a balance between the 'hard' and 'soft' approach is therefore doubtful.

The weakness of the Algerian and Saudi Arabian 'soft' approaches is the absence of a strong civil society and independent civic and religious institutions. The limited power of human rights organizations in Algeria and the liberal press in both countries demonstrate that non-state 'soft' power in Algeria and Saudi Arabia is extremely restricted. Although the interviews held with Algerian counter-terrorism experts and human rights activists in Algeria show that they believe in the sincerity of the Algerian state's strategy of reconciliation, activists are also highly critical of state policies. This seems to be even more so in the case of Saudi Arabia, where liberal newspapers are sceptical of the Intellectual Security programme and the religiously dominated public campaigns against extremism. Here, the battle is ideological and irreconcilable: many believe that deradicalization cannot be brought about by a state-led ideology that is imposed by the *ulama* and buttressed by royal patronage. Only a major overhaul of state ideology and greater room for rationalism and reform can lead to the uprooting of the ideological roots of religiously induced terrorism as a whole.

The question of whether the 'soft' approach has gradually gained the upper hand over the 'hard' approach in all three cases is hard to say. This seems to be more the case in Indonesia and less so in Algeria. In Algeria, the phase of repression has been succeeded by a political phase, but the military aspect of the struggle against terrorism still exists. In Saudi Arabia the 'soft' approach has always been in existence, but is always shored up by the 'hard' approach of retribution. Moreover, even if the 'soft' approach is preponderant in Saudi Arabia, what does it mean if this is not based on tolerance but on reintegrating former terrorists into the fold of strict religious observance and royal patronage?

4.2.2   *The Rule of Law and the Comprehensive Approach*

From the comparisons above and the analysis of the *main characteristics* of counter-terrorism strategies, the *religious, cultural and political contexts*, locally determined *definitions of terrorism*, and the analysis of the *balance* between the 'hard' and 'soft' approaches, it seems clear that the rule of law, greater transparency and democracy—in the form of greater oversight of government policy and a strong civil society—have a considerable impact on the *effectiveness and results* of a state's counter-terrorism policies. As a tentative conclusion, we believe that a political environment that is conducive to suppressing violence by peaceful means is not only preferable but also more *effective*. Agencies in the country must themselves be affected by the methods that the state uses and the measure of openness. The rule of law is important in this regard. The more open the country, the more oversight of government policies and control, the greater acceptance of human rights, the more transparent the counter-terrorism strategies. The result will be a greater balance between 'hard' and 'soft' measures. It also means that it is easier

to debate and evaluate the results of government policies. If data are reliable, not doctored, not part of governmental window dressing and are supported by unsubstantial claims, the easier it is to analyse and monitor counter-terrorist activities. It will also be easier to determine whether there is a *comprehensive approach* and a *balance* between 'hard' and 'soft' approaches.

Of the three countries, it seems that Indonesia performs the best in this regard. It has been easier to determine the structure of counter-terrorist measures in Indonesia, the debates and rationales underpinning the measures, and to evaluate them. The measures also seem to be more successful. This is partly the result of counter-terrorism activities being transferred to the National Police and away from the military, and partly having the measures monitored and openly debated. Obviously, there is a connection with the greater respect for the rule of law.

In Algeria, where counter-terrorism is still a military operation, it is difficult to acquire great insight into counter-terrorism policy. Only once the 'enemy' was defeated in the civil war was the state forced to constitute some semblance of the rule of law. But it was never allowed to be extended to itself and therefore gain insight into the nature and history of specific counter-terrorism measures in Algeria. The trauma of the civil war is such that the topic is best left to rest. This also means that the rule of law will be limited.

In Saudi Arabia, the obfuscation seems to be even larger. Largely cloaked in a religious discourse, the counter-terrorism discourse makes it impossible to discern who is and who is not a terrorist after QAP had been defeated in Saudi Arabia itself. Terrorism seems at the moment to be a means to expand the security apparatus and to keep reforms of the legal system— let alone political reforms—off the agenda. Misleading foreign investigators who are interested in Saudi Arabia's counter-terrorism strategies seems to have been developed into a craft. It is clear that insight into counter-terrorism measures and policies depends on reform.
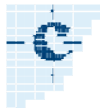
4.3   Food for Thought

This publication concludes with some issues that have been raised and that we believe need more thought:

We believe that terrorism research should first look for the definition of terrorism in a certain country before starting. Given the local, idiosyncratic character of terrorism, one is prompted to ask whether there is such a thing as international terrorism. How can we compare counter-terrorism measures when they are so locally determined and terrorism is locally defined?

The question is therefore valid question if cultural anthropologists should not be more involved in counter-terrorism research. Security specialists are mostly political scientists and think in abstract universal models, are seldom specialist in the region and therefore often disregard the specific cultural and political environment.

In order to prevent a myopic view of terrorism and only regard policy measures, it is necessary to take in the broader historical and political dimensions.

This also raises questions about the interests of local countries in portraying their struggles as transnational, and how effective international support is.

This reflects on Western research. To what extent is a universal definition of terrorism possible and is it not determined by the most powerful nations?

As we believe that more researchers have problems finding information, one wonders to what extent one can draw conclusions when so little information is available?

Finally, this research project raises the question of whether counter-terrorism is effective in a society when the rule of law and justice is absent. Where authoritarian regimes control the media, influence the judiciary and are limited in their power by oversight and checked by independent institutions, and make their own definition of terrorism, it seems likely that these governments will produce more terrorism instead of successfully combating it.

5. English Abstract

This report investigates the different counter-strategies that have been adopted by the governments in Indonesia, Algeria and Saudi Arabia. The report provides in-depth analysis of the background, history and current application of counter-terrorism policies in these countries. The main conclusions are that not only are counter-terrorism measures highly specific to local political circumstances, but they are also determined by local cultural and religious definitions of terrorism. This has made it difficult to draw broad comparisons between the three cases with regard to the effectiveness of the different policy measures, let alone to make evaluations of counter-terrorism measures in the three countries.

The report does argue that the rule of law is a precondition for a more open and transparent counter-terrorism policy. The value of the report lies mostly in the separate country reports, which have focused on the specific counter-terrorism measures and their history in these countries. This means that in the case of Indonesia, the report looks into the combination of police, military and ideological measures and strategies that the Indonesian state and civil society have developed to counter terrorism. In the case of Algeria, the researchers have delved mainly into the ways in which counter-terrorism has evolved over the past two decades against the background of the civil war, and how the Algerian government has tried to find a political solution to violence against the state and innocent victims. And finally, in the case of Saudi Arabia, the report has focused on the religious background of the Saudi government's counter-terrorism measures, and how the Saudi state tries to develop a religious discourse to suppress religious sanctioned violence.

Dutch Synopsis/Nederlandse synopis

Dit rapport onderzoekt verschillende contraterroristische strategieën die door de regeringen van Algerije, Saoedi-Arabië en Indonesië zijn ontwikkeld. Het rapport geeft een diepgaande analyse van de achtergrond, de geschiedenis en huidige toepassing van contraterroristische maatregelen in deze landen. De belangrijkste conclusie is dat niet alleen het contraterrorisme beleid zeer specifiek bepaald is door lokale omstandigheden; ze is ook beïnvloed door lokale culturele en religieuze definities van terrorisme. Dit maakt het moeilijk brede vergelijkingen te trekken tussen de drie landen met betrekking tot effectiviteit van de verschillende maatregelen, laat staan dat een evaluatie van de contraterrorisme strategieën gemaakt kan worden.

Het rapport stelt wel vast dat de aanwezigheid van de rechtsstaat een voorwaarde is voor een open en transparant contraterrorisme politiek en het makkelijker maakt die te onderzoeken. De meerwaarde van het rapport ligt vooral in het onderzoek dat neergelegd is in de rapporten van de aparte landen. Dit betekent dat in het geval van het deelrapport over Indonesië vooral gekeken wordt naar de combinatie van politionele en militaire maatregelen die de staat heeft genomen en de strategieën die het maatschappelijk middenveld heeft ontwikkeld. In het geval van Algerije is de aandacht van onderzoekers uitgegaan naar de manier waarop het contraterrorisme is geëvolueerd gedurende de laatste twee decennia tegen de achtergrond van de burgeroorlog en de wijze waarop de Algerijnse regering geprobeerd heeft een militaire en politieke oplossing te vinden voor het geweld dat tegen de staat en onschuldige burgers is gebruikt. In het geval van Saoedi-Arabië is de focus gericht op achtergrond van de contraterrorisme strategieën van de regering om een religieus discours te ontwikkelen dat tegenwicht biedt aan religieus gesanctioneerd geweld.