COMBATING TERRORISM IN LIBYA THROUGH DIALOGUE AND REINTEGRATION

ICPVTR VISIT TO LIBYA

MARCH 2010 SINGAPORE



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INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM RESEARCH S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY, SINGAPORE

Contents Page

1.	Acknowledgements	3
2.	Executive Summary	4
3.	Genesis of the Programme	5
4.	Challenging Extremism through Jurisprudence	6
5.	De-radicalization Programmes around the World	7
6.	Story of a Fighter:	8
	Noman Benotman	8
	Muttar Abdul Rahman	9
	Lutvi Abdul Kassen	10
7.	Implementing the Programme	10
8.	Press Conference on the Release of the 214 Detainees	12
9.	Interviews with leadership of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group	18
	Abdelhakim Belhaj (alias Abu Abdallah Al Sadek)	18
	Abu Munther Al-Saaddi (alias Sami Assaadi)	18
	Khallid Assharif (alias Abu Hazzeein)	20
10.	. Appendix 1: Corrective Studies	22
11.	. Appendix 2: Meeting with Representative from Gaddafi Foundation	23
12.	. Appendix 3: About ICPVTR	24
13.	. Appendix 4: About RSIS	25

This report summarizes the proceedings of the discussion sessions in the programme as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this report.

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

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With sincere thanks and deepest appreciation,

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research

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Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research presenting of a token of appreciation to Mr. Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi, Chairman, Gaddafi International Charity & Development Foundation.



Dinner hosted by Mr. Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi, Chairman, Gaddafi International Charity & Development Foundation.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On 23 March 2010, Libya released 214 terrorist detainees from the Abu Salim Prison Complex, Tripoli. Among those released were the leadership of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG). The role of detainee rehabilitation has increased in prominence. This report seeks to document the lessons learnt from the team's visit to Libya. The visit was aimed at understanding the programmes that had been initiated in Libya through the efforts of the Gaddafi International Charity and Development Foundation to rehabilitate terrorist detainees.

This report provides a preliminary understanding of the work done in Libya which culminated in the release of several terrorist detainees including the key leadership of the LIFG. This report also documents the one day conference that was held in Libya on detainee rehabilitation entitled "Swords into Ploughshares: Combating Terrorism in Libya through Dialogue and Reintegration". In addition, the report documents the interviews with the leadership of the LIFG.

There is still much to be understood about the processes involved in the rehabilitation programme in Libya. However, with the strength and the ardour of the political will in Libya embracing terrorist rehabilitation, in principle the efforts undertaken are indeed a step forward in the right direction. It is a necessary strategy to mitigate the threat posed to Libya.



SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES: COMBATING TERRORISM IN LIBYA THROUGH DIALOGUE AND REINTEGRATION

GENESIS OF THE PROGRAMME

DR. YUSUF SAWANI, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, GADDAFI INTERNATIONAL CHARITY AND DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

Yusuf Sawani learnt that the lessons Libya learned and were sharing had been gained from the tribulations that the Libyan government had undergone through its own experiences with the LIFG. The LIFG had aimed to overthrow the Libyan government through violent action across Libya. These violent actions included assassinations and the killing of civilians amongst others. Sawani added that in the eyes of the LIFG there was no religion or culture except that of terrorism. The failure of the Libyan nation state exacerbated their feelings of discontent against the government. The LIFG's priority was the plight of the Palestinians and the eradication of human rights violations against humanity.

In noting the change that the LIFG had undergone, Sawani added that the LIFG had issued an internal revision which heralded the neutralization of the group through an integrated programme led by Saif Gaddafi. The programme was premised on the notion that conflict cannot be resolved with more conflict and violence cannot be resolved with more violence. Sawani further added that several factors had contributed towards the successful outcome of the programme in Libya. The presentation would highlight the factors that contributed towards the success of the programme.

Respect and tolerance had led to the deep rooted conviction in civil and military politics. Without the direct efforts of Saif Gaddafi, Sawani noted that the rehabilitation and reintegration programme would not have been conceived. He added that the route of dialogue and reintegration was solely initiated as a result of Saif Gaddafi's personality. Sawani added that it was Saif Gaddafi's fraternal, friendly qualities that touched the hearts of the LIFG. Hence as a direct result of his amicable personality there was increased collaboration between the LIFG and the security forces. Saif Gaddafi was able to bring together two groups which previously had no recourse to see eye to eye.

After September 11 and the Afghan Invasion, Sawani noted that Saif Gaddafi was the only political personality who was able to (1) reach out to Libyans in Pakistan and Afghanistan, (2) convince Afghanistan and Pakistan to repatriate Libyans back home and (3) handle the arrests of those from the Muslim Brotherhood with finesse. Sawani highlighted that Saif Gaddafi worked hard to get individuals from the Muslim Brotherhood out of jail and paved the way for increase cooperation between the LIFG and the security services. This helped boost the level of mutual confidence between them.

Leadership of the LIFG was handed over by the Americans to Libya. Many members of the LIFG had stayed abroad and witnessed the changes occurring all around the world. Sawani noted that this had helped those handling the dialogue and reintegration efforts ensure that the LIFG members would assist with the ongoing development in Libya.

Several members of the LIFG wanted to visit the other LIFG members who were in jail. The authorities had welcomed them to visit the incarcerated members. Sawani highlighted that the efforts of the Gaddafi International Charity and Development Foundation had provided a platform to bring together through dialogue and interaction. The foundation had brought in texts and resources which were not previously found in Libya or even in the Arabic language.

Sawani praised Saif Gaddafi's foresight especially with regards to the younger Gaddafi's ability to successfully convince the security services on the importance of dialogue and discussion and of the importance of the role of the security services on the project. Different approaches were used. These approaches collectively translated into the effective relationship that was cultivated. These factors included the role of culture and the high moral standards set by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. Collectively the security services engaged were highly intelligent, with a mentality steered towards security, incredible humanitarian sensibility and keenness and drive to see to the success of the rehabilitation and reintegration programme.

The choices of the appropriate mediators were essential to the success of the programme. All mediators that were chosen were engaged in the early stages of the programme. On Syariah for instance, Sheikh Salabi was left to handle it on his own. Sheikh Salabi was faithful and honest and saw to the success of the programme. Personal relationships with the detainees were especially helpful to push the debate further. The director of the jail - Colonel Khalifah Omer - had built a solid relationship with the members of the LIFG in jail. The appropriate conditions that he had built and cultivated had affected the prisoners and jailers at a personal level.

Sawani referred to the role of good people who were keen to see to the success of the project. The relatives of the detainees were also especially keen for the success of the project.

Last but not least the common ground that was built between the Libyan leadership, through culture, religion, its nationalist background and the moral high ground the state had created were contributing factors to consider. This had proved to be the most appropriate condition necessary in the success of the rehabilitation and reintegration programme in Libya.

CHALLENGING EXTREMISM THROUGH JURISPRUDENCE SHEIKH ALI SALABI

Sheikh Salabi highlighted five factors that contributed towards the establishment of a successful rehabilitation and reintegration programme in Libya.

The debates conducted with the detainees had twofold objectives. The first objective was to ensure that the detainees gave up violence. The second objective was for the detainees to give up weapons and condemn killing. In return the detainees would be offered freedom and release from prison. The achievement of these two key objectives was tempting to the three different stakeholders - the state, the detainees and the facilitator. All three factions hence strove hard towards the success of these primary objectives.

The programme in Libya was established after studying the experience in Islamic history and the rehabilitation programmes established in Egypt, Algeria and Yemen. The final proposal for the establishment of a rehabilitation programme was then submitted to Saif Gaddafi.

Sheikh Salabi noted that a unique feature of the rehabilitation programme in Libya was the fact that strong bonds were built between the clerics, security officers and the detainees. In short, all those that were entrusted with the job of rehabilitation worked in synchrony and understanding after they had gotten to know each other better. This contributed towards the success of the programme.

As a whole, the programme aimed to reduce the psychological and emotional inhibitions that prevented the detainees from expressing themselves. Sheikh Salabi highlighted that the key reason behind LIFG members becoming rebels were addressed. Sheikh Salabi also noted that this was a key aspect in the success of the programme. The root causes behind the reasons that the detainees chose to follow in the path of violence had to be addressed. Most detainees felt that they were reformists and that they were forced to use weapons and take up arms as other channels of communication were closed.

Sheikh Salabi had acknowledged that the ground had to be effectively prepared before the launch of a programme. These included (1) visiting family and relatives of the detainees (2) using Syariah based isolation practices wherein the detainees were allowed to sit alone with their families (3) improving the conditions of the detention facility as a better overall environment would thereby translate to better engagement (4) holding open discussed with the detainees on issues of contention such as Iraq, Afghanistan, the notion of reform, constitution, freedom of speech, ideology and at minimum other international issues and issues on daily life and living.

Sheikh Salabi noted that each detainee underwent more than 60 dialogue sessions. These sessions were approximately three hours each at minimum. Each session usually started after prayers at noon and lasted until before sunset.

Sheikh Salabi highlighted the publication of the book that dealt with the concept of Islam and the governance of the people. He added that the book was only published after it was approved by key and notable scholars. Sheikh Salabi noted that according to feedback received, the book was best with regards to its ability to provide an in depth study of the subject matter. Furthermore, the book was championing for moderation in Islam.

DE-RADICALIZATION PROGRAMMES AROUND THE WORLD PROFESSOR ROHAN GUNARATNA, HEAD, INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM RESEARCH

Rohan Gunaratna addresses the core need for rehabilitation in affected societies. He listed three reasons that underlie the need for rehabilitation: (1) If rehabilitation is not implemented, the person will continue to pose a threat to the government; (2) The potential infection of others with the ideology; (3) As ideology forms part of the iconography of a group, addressing the ideology is a necessary feature in rehabilitation.

Gunaratna then highlighted five different modes of rehabilitation.

- (1) Religious Rehabilitation, wherein practitioners sought to open the minds of the detainees to the true meaning of the religion. Gunaratna noted that members of Al Qaeda, LIFG, Jemaah Islamiyah, Al Qaeda in Iraq and many terrorist and extremist groups had misinterpreted Islam or had no sound knowledge of Islam. Religious rehabilitation enables dialogue and sharing of views. Gunaratna highlighted the need for sustained engagement of the detainees to produce the envisioned results.
- (2) Psychological Rehabilitation, wherein it would be crucial to have specialists and social workers who would look into the psychological milieu of the detainees.
- (3) Social and Family Rehabilitation reflects the need to build bridges between families and the detainees.
- (4) Educational, vocational and occupational rehabilitation form an important mode of rehabilitation especially

since there are numerous detainees who are uneducated. The education and vocational training will then equip them with skill sets to reintegrate themselves back into society with ease.

(5) Creative arts in rehabilitation would help increase the avenue of participation of the detainees in their dialogue and rehabilitation sessions.

Gunaratna emphasized that the process of rehabilitation should aim to win the hearts and minds of the detainees. He noted that all successful programmes have successfully achieved this component. Historically the notion of winning hearts and minds from General Templar was later experimented in Kenya.

There were two types of rehabilitation programmes that had arisen after September 11, structured programmes namely in Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Uzbekistan and unstructured programmes. He added that the rehabilitation programmes in Egypt and Algeria were not classic rehabilitation programmes but disengagement programmes. These are programmes wherein the members of the group follow their leader who disengage from violence.

Gunaratna noted that after September 11, the global counter terrorism response had been predominantly a lethal and kinetic approach. He added that efforts at a more strategic response should include community engagement and rehabilitation. He noted that the success in Libya was a result of capable individuals at the helm. Gunaratna emphasized that it would be important to have leaders that are viewed to be independent and nonpartisan. He added that the challenge was to find good leadership, infrastructure and resources. While Gunaratna acknowledged that not everyone can be rehabilitated, he noted that rehabilitation was new frontier that could facilitate drawing people back to mainstream society.

STORY OF A FIGHTER NOMAN BENOTMAN, FORMER LEADER, LIFG

Noman Benotman began his presentation by acknowledging that the reasons behind the creation of the LIFG was indeed a long one, he noted that he would nonetheless highlight several key contributing factors that created the perfect environment for the effects of violence.

The first contributory factor was that Libya as a country had a history of revolution. As such there was a strong belief that revolutions could bring about development and modernize Libya. Benotman added that it was not easy to transform society and that the main intention of the revolution was to modernize the country. Benotman felt that Libya gave rights to women. However, he noted that Libyan society had misused the freedom and rights that they had. He acknowledged that the ideas that he had about politics in the past were very naïve and that he now understood why the government would not have allowed an 18 or 19 year old to dominate the political agenda of the state.

Benotman added that their inexperience and the lack of ideas resulted in individuals turning to religion for ideas to shape their mindsets. While these were behavioural stereotypes, he also added that there were also poor communication on the part of the government. He blamed the government for their failure to communicate the vision to establish law and order with the young people. The tools that were used were that of an iron hand of security. Benotman noted that when the security services were deployed all over the country, strong emotions were created against the security services and the government. Much of these emotions would eventually take years to dissipate.

Second, Benotman highlighted the conflict of values between the government and the LIFG. The Green Book¹

¹ Prescriptions for the Libyan Cultural Revolution were written in The Green Book by Colonel Muammar Ghaddafi.

had to with Syariah Law. However Benotman noted that if the elements were ignored, religion and custom would be in conflict. This was an aspect that the LIFG did not believe in. He now acknowledged that there was danger in evaluating everything from a religious point of view.

Benotman highlighted that the third factor, namely the competition that existed between varying interests amongst which included the ongoing struggles in Afghanistan.

The fourth contributing factor that he highlighted was the presence of structural conflict. Benotman noted that the revolution had its own structural factors that encouraged violence. Benotman added that the revolutionaries believed that it was the very state of revolution that had helped the revolutionary movement worldwide. The revolution in this instance was taken to be a classic school of thought. Benotman added that as part of a cultural system, a revolution thus was assumed to mean that there was the right to use violence to achieve results.

The fifth contributory factor was data conflict. The lack of information, and the limited number of information channels meant that many had to struggle to make sense of the world on their own. He added that all five factors created the perfect environment that resulted in the creation of the grounds that were fertile for extremist and terrorist ideology. He added that the government looked upon all Islamic groups as wahabis and identified the society and the citizens as vulnerable.

Benotman added that there were several factors in the external environment that contributed to the fertile ground to breed extremist ideology. These included the Israeli and Palestinian conflict, the failure of Muslim governments, the presence of foreign militaries in Muslim lands, globalization and the imperialistic culture and the response of the United States to September 11.

He noted that to those in the movement, Afghanistan was looked upon as a gift from heaven as it was the only place to learn strategies. According to Benotman, the LIFG was the most superior group in its knowledge on how to succeed as a rebel and revolutionary. He added that that even for a revolutionary state, Libya had managed to develop its own approach to reconcile with its enemies.

In conclusion, Benotman thanked Saif Gaddafi profusely. He added that Saif Gaddafi was his hero and that the road that Saif Gaddafi had undertaken was filled with obstacles and that there were many who attempted to jeopardize the initiative. Benotman quoted Saif Gaddafi's words that everyone had a place in Libya unless he refuses. He noted that Saif Gaddafi had taken a huge risk to ensure that the rehabilitation programme was initiated. He sees Saif Gaddafi as a real leader.

STORY OF A FIGHTER Muttar Abdul Rahman, Member, LIFG

Muttar Abdul Rahman left Libya in 1990s as a result of the tight security climate in Libya. Muttar noted that security at that time was tough and that Syariah was considered illegitimate. His family feared that he would end up in jail and coaxed him to leave the country.

Before going to Afghanistan, Muttar had met some clerics in Saudi Arabia who had told him that the fight in Afghanistan was justified. After the war was over in Afghanistan, Muttar joined the LIFG so that he could return to Libya and assert a change in the established regime. Following his exit from Afghanistan he travelled to Mauritania and two years later he travelled to Sudan, Yemen, and Syria where he was arrested for two months and then was subsequently released. He later travelled to Jordan where he had spent another 2 years.

Muttar noted he was a member of the LIFG'S *Syariah* branch for two years throughout the above period and following that he was arrested and had spent 9 ½ years in prison in Libya. He was released on October 2009. He added that the idea to revise the texts occurred to him while he was in prison.

While the main reason behind his change was the application of *Syariah*, another reason was that the state had agreed to engage in dialogue. Muttar added that after the terrible experiences that he had undergone, he hoped in his heart that he had learned his lesson. He now acknowledges that some ideas were not good and could bring about inappropriate results.

Some of the reasons explaining his radicalization was the fact that the existing repercussions and oppression by various governments, the lack of opportunity for dialogue and the occupation by superpowers. He added that although the superpowers may have military might, they should refrain from activities that oppressed other states.

Muttar recalled watching videos of Russian oppression where they raped and killed women and children. He added that the atrocities in Somalia had stirred the sentiments of Muslims all over the world and further emphasized the need to refrain from acts of aggression. He also expressed hope that there would be no similar circumstances that would lead to the creation of an environment that is fertile for extremist ideology. He added that the realization of the security forces of the need to listen to the LIFG and the realization by the LIFG that the security services were there to listen had affected the dynamics between the LIFG and the security services in a positive way.

Muttar concluded that he hoped that more attention would be paid to those released from prisons that were homeless and jobless. These were important aspects that he felt needed more attention.

STORY OF A FIGHTER Lutvi Abdul Kassen, Member, LIFG

Lutvi Abdul Kassen was imprisoned in April 1996 for 13 ½ years. He was imprisoned because of a business relationship that he had with a member of the LIFG and not because he was part of the LIFG. Lutvi was tried in a Libyan court and was found to be innocent. Lutvi acknowledged that he had gotten to know several LIFG members while he was in jail.

Lutvi emphasized that the book was not done as a deal with the government but that the group had authorized the book due to personal conviction and a change of their minds. The book was done with no demand and no hope of receiving anything in return.

Lutvi agreed that if the conditions were existent, a new group could arise. Lutvi added that the lack of religious freedom could provide an environment that is conducive to the appearance of extremist groups. Lutvi reminded that social justice needs to prevail and countries should not do whatever it wishes whenever it wishes to.

IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAMME MR. TUHAIMI HEAD, INTERNAL SECURITY DEPARTMENT LIBYA

Mr. Tuhaimi, Head of Internal Security Libya began his presentation by highlighting that the gathering of international academics and specialists presented a good opportunity for exchange that could bring about concrete results in the future.

Tuhaimi centered his discussion around the motives behind the rise of extremism. He opined that extremism occurred when an individual is misled and made to believe in certain fatwa by certain individuals who are regarded as well respected clerics and scholars of Islam. These individuals who are misled follow without realizing that they are committing a great sin and are violating the teachings of Allah and the *Quran*. Tuhaimi added that the misconceptions of Islam and the religious views that have been held by people over time had been confused with personal convictions. He added that this was done without consideration or explanations by those who have better knowledge. The minds of these individuals are then kidnapped by the organization.

Tuhaimi pointed out that there were various groups operating in Libya. These included the Mujahidin Brigade, LIFG, Takfir, Jihad and Al Qaeda. He added that these groups saw themselves as the guardians of the Islamic faith. As such those who were not for them were against them. The whole society within which they were from was regarded as infidels if the society did not support their cause. Violence was a means to achieve their desired end. Weapons were essential; a hand grenade was an expression of religion. Explosives were justified. These were done under the banner of fighting against opposition. To the extremists, the security services were tyrants. Armed with the wrong interpretation of the Quran, they used fatwa that licensed the killing of people and the possession of bombs. Tuhaimi added that regrettably their sources of reference were from those who were inexperienced and not learned in issuing fatwa. These imams did not have knowledge of the Syariah and had excluded the teaching of Allah that did not permit the killing of anyone. Tuhaimi explained that God had created man to live on a planet and man needed to learn to deal with people that were both desirable and undesirable.

He felt that adherence to the laws of God constituted a basic human instinct. As such, in his opinion their actions were against basic human instincts. Speaking on the laws and the way of Allah and the Prophet, he noted the true way of Allah was divided by the misinterpretations. He further added that the misled had fallen victim to the trap that was set up for them.

Any act that was committed was used as propaganda by the mass media. According to the misleading teachings, killing in public places such as bus stands were considered jihad. Throughout all this, there were some who were arrested and imprisoned and killed on both sides.

Tuhami called for a reassessment of the situation with an aim to understand the means through which these erroneous ideas were spread and placed in the head of the extremists. He noted that for some individuals it was sheer ignorance. With their limited educational background, there was an intellectual, ideological and religious vacuum. Other had joined in the extremist group as a reaction to previous misdemeanors that they had done.

To put things on the right track, there was a need to define religion and explain the path of God based on religion and self construction. The recently published book on self construction was an outcome of this. The attempts at correction of their misperception were an experiment that had borne results. Tuhami affirmed that the project was worthwhile and had good implications for present time and the future. Drawing an analogy of a disease, Tuhami added that ignoring the ailment would be detrimental. If the ailment remained uncontained it would result in an academic. He added that three aspects of a human needed to be in balance – heart, mind and body, failing which extremism would occur.

He reiterated that there was no means to combat an ideology except through ideology. The use of force would not be able to beat ideology. Security procedures as such are not a comprehensive solution. Tuhami added that the scale and gauge of everything in this regard were the teachings of Allah. For the safety and security of citizens, there was a need to reassess the situation as a whole. For those who were against the path of Allah, there was a need for a dialogue of the minds. He added that using religion to achieve personal gain was an error that needed to be rectified as it was unforgivable. Looking back at history, Tuhami noted that Islam was always spread through the value of its ideals. These cannot be imposed by force.

Tuhami added that imprisonment was not an end. He added that under the direction of the leader, and a clear understanding of Islam, that the programme in Libya had progressed. He added that the application of the teachings of Allah needed to be kept, looked after and not denied. He ended his speech by stating that "Libya was not a place for extremists or infidels".

PRESS CONFERENCE SAIF AL-ISLAM GHADDAFI TEXT OF SPEECH BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FOUNDATION AND THE PRESS CONFERENCE MARKING THE RELEASE OF 214 MEMBERS OF VARIOUS JIHADIST GROUPS



Today is indeed a very important day here in Libya, for it is a day of reconciliation and openness and reunification, and it is also a day for freedom. Today and in my capacity as Chairman of the Gaddafi Foundation, sponsor of this initiative -the initiative of dialogue with all Islamic groups in prison or abroad, in view to reopen the bridges of dialogue, debate and re-integration of all our brothers into the community so as they become factors of construction not for destruction- I would like to announce, today and after good efforts and thanks to God, the release of 214 prisoners from the various groups of course... In detail, they are 100 individuals linked directly to the file of groups in Iraq, 80 individuals who also have links to jihadist cells at home and who were acquitted, but whose release was delayed for several reasons; but thanks God, they are released today, and 34 individuals of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, and namely the group's leadership, and may our brothers allow me to identify them in person: They are of course, Mr. Hakim Khweldi Bel-Haj, the group's emir; Mr. Sami Khalifa Essa'di, the religious official, and of course Mr. Khaled al-Sharif, the security and military official in the group. In fact, this press conference is held for our brothers (members of the Islamic groups) to speak, and they are ready to answer all the questions. They are free to answer any question. As for me, today, I shall have a short intervention as a guest of honor in this event. I shall now make a simple introduction and will try to be brief, and will take up very limited guestions in the same subject, and I hope that all questions are addressed in detail to the brothers because this event is theirs.

Today is an important day because 214 prisoners are released. However, its greatest importance lies in the release of the group's leaders, and therefore, today, we have reached the crest of the reconciliation and dialogue program. Thanks to the efforts of our brothers and the Gaddafi Foundation, 705 people were released including of course this group.

The number of those remaining in prison is 409. Over the coming period, nearly 232 of them are targeted for release. Of course the process will continue, as I told you. There are 232 already ready for the next batch, and as soon as we make sure that these individuals no longer pose a danger to society, and that they are ready for integration into the community, there will be no problem to set them free, and therefore, the process will continue until the release of the last prisoner, God willing.



As I said on this subject, we have begun it long time ago, but today we have reached the summit, because, today's event is in fact a historic one; it has a great meaning, but the journey will continue until the last person is released from prison, this is one point.

The second point, as far as the prison is concerned, and after all these efforts, it was decided that becomes a center rather than an open prison. It will be given any name but it will be open for all, not a prison: the press will be able to visit it, diplomatic experts also and therefore a center for rehabilitation of our brothers so that they do not resume (their previous acts) and be re-integrated into the community once again. As of today, there will be no prison in the conventional sense any longer, but rather a center open to all inmates. This means there will be an ongoing dialogue in order to reintegrate them into society... Frankly, our enthusiasm for this program emanates primarily from the fact that it is a good act, and we do not wish for anybody to be behind the bars, so I think that any good citizen wishes to see all Libyans free, carrying out constructive work in society. Such work will add, God willing, to our credit on Judgment Day. So, with respect to the first topic; it is a personal matter, if one wants to d good, he will be doing it also for God's sake, and you will be rewarded for it on Judgment Day. However, what we find today is that such good work is to serve the homeland, because I don't think that it is not in the interest of anyone to see our brothers and young fellow countrymen, who have capacities and capabilities, prisoners. This is not in their interest, nor in the interest of society.

The second topic which is more important here and from this very place is that we want to send a message to several parties. First, I want to send a message to the Libyan youth and tell them that our brothers were leaders in organizations that have turned to violence in Libya and killed hundreds of people, and there were hundreds of victims from all sides... Thus, from now on and in the future, we need to hear from our brothers and even from the leaderships themselves about their experience, and that they speak to the young generations and Libya's young men and tell them that the path taken by the Brothers, - and you No'man, you may have also taken it, was it the right way? Is the Libyan society really a community of infidels who deserves jihad? Is jihad a duty in Libya? If you would allow me, I want to speak frankly today... Because today is a day of frankness and truth, and so the idea that you kill a Libyan citizen or a policeman or a soldier or accuse the Libyan society of unbelief, all this a false argument. We are a Muslim society as a whole. Libya is among the few countries that apply "hudood" (specific punishments assigned by the Qur'an) and Sharia, the law of God in Libya. Even alcohol in hotels and for tourists is forbidden, and this is a rare situation.

In Libya, it said everywhere that the Koran is the law of the community in Libya. We do not have infidels or even minorities of other religions. Today, -and if H.E. the U.S. Ambassador allows me- we are all friends of course, but the truth I say is that in the period when there were clashes with the Muslim Brotherhood in the nineties, we were under the embargo, and in a state of confrontation, and we were in the opposite trench.

Even this issue, if anyone would like to speak, he can use it: Libya has always been in confrontation, in an outpost and in war. If we want to talk of the theme of preaching Islam, we may ask ourselves: who spread Islam in Africa and Asia? It is the Libyan state who has created the Islamic Call Society, who in turn has spread Islam everywhere in the world. I, personally, have contributed to these campaigns and I went to the Philippines, Africa and even the islands of Tahiti, and we worked. The first place we tried to work in, despite the fact that there were problems then, but the French ambassador helped us in putting an end the issue of the Islamic Center in Tahiti. So, even with respect to disseminating Islam, and the Call, we are all up to the task. The Brothers (members of Islamic groups), and others also know well the treatment when they were captured in other countries, and they have been arrested in other countries. How they were treated by others and how they were treated in Libya, and the difference between foreign intelligence services and Libya's Internal Security Organization. In fact there is a difference.

It is a very, very big difference in treatment, even when they were extradited by other states. I want the Brothers to speak about their own experience, here; they found people who are their brothers, families and relatives, unlike the treatment they had suffered in other inhumane places. The Gaddafi Foundation and the Brothers probably also know well as we are discussing this topic, we may ask: Who helped the Libyans families in Afghanistan during the war or the invasion of Afghanistan come home. I mean, I personally and with our brothers have supervised the repatriation of the Libyan families who belonged to these groups in Afghanistan. We put them on board of aircrafts, and repatriated them through Pakistan to Libya. I mean all these reasons and others, and we say that jihad is not permissible, nor to declare jihad against Libya or the Libyan society or the Libyans.

I want also to speak of the topic of jihad. So far, things have changed also, even if you talk, you would say, we fight; let me say we fight against Americans, for example. I can tell you Americans are withdrawing from Iraq now. In Afghanistan, President Obama extended his hand and said, "We want dialogue, we want a solution for Afghanistan."

Libya had been in a confrontation with the West and with America, but now we are friends, we are working together and doing business. I mean, that even the view of fighting and calling for Jihad against America needs to be reviewed. The only place where we want to fight is Palestine, and who thinks he is able to go there and fight. There are tunnels and walls, a wall behind another, it is very difficult, and thus the Arabs themselves have decided that peace is a strategic option, although, I think that it is a stupid option. Now, in Gaza and in the West Bank, who prevents the firing of rockets and who forbids operations are the Palestinians themselves; our brothers in Hamas or Fatah in the West Bank, I mean are the ones who forbid the firing of rockets and operations. This is not a secret, this is a common knowledge, we all know it, therefore, even the topic of jihad, -and this is not an appropriate place to talk of it- needs to be reconsidered, especially in light of the Great War against terrorism around globe. Of course, honestly, what I care for is the Libyan internal affairs, and thus I think our brothers have done a very important work, which is the Corrective Studies of the Concepts of Jihad, Accountability and Governance of the People, and in fact this is the most important reference work in the world with respect to the topic we mentioned earlier on: the jihad, and the details of the subject. This work was done by our brothers who have long experience in this area, and therefore I advise a lot of young people, before they

get ready to blow up oil installations in Libya or think of kidnapping tourists in Libya, or to join armed groups in Algeria and Mali, I advise them to read this book, and on this occasion, I also convey a message to other Libyan brothers who are now fighting in the mountains of Algeria and in the Malian desert, and tell them that you are in the wrong place. Algeria is a Muslim country that has gone through a civil war and very harsh conditions. Babies, women and children were slaughtered and beheaded and all similar atrocities, and I tell you that I went to Algeria more than once, the message is that your brothers in Algeria do not need your fighting in the mountains...

Algeria has enough problems, and we tell you that you can now lay down your arms and return to your home, I mean you return to Libya as free citizens to contribute in building this community because your country Libya needs you, and this speech is also directed to our Libyan brothers who are now in Mali, the Malian desert, and Mauritania. Now they can contact us and come back, and all safeguards shall be provided to them, God willing ... Of course, a real war was raging in the nineties between the Libyan state and the armed groups, and I will give you numbers from the Libyan armed forces and security and police officers, where 165 people were killed, and 159 were so far either wounded or disabled. And from the armed groups also, 177 people have killed during the clashes; of course if we exclude the subject of Abu Salim, this is another topic. Even these figures of the people who have died in armed clashes, in the alleys and streets of Libyan cities and in the valleys and mountains of the Jebel Al-Akhdar. This is a big number; I mean hundreds of people who lost their lives. I would like to say that we are now, God willing, about to close a painful and black chapter in the modern history of Libya, and I hope to close the ends of this tragic chapter.

As regards with our brothers who are in prison, we owe them dialogue, rehabilitation, and freedom, God willing, and as for the people who died, our brothers in the army and security services, we can only invoke God's mercy and forgiveness for them, and the issue of compensations, thanks God, is now almost completed except for a very simple number that will be addressed soon, God willing. The families of the vast majority of people who died were compensated, and this was part of a Gaddafi Foundation's initiative vis-à-vis their families. The last message, I want to convey is to tell you that our slogan has always been "together for Libya of tomorrow". You, the Brothers, you do not know Libya from 1988, and when you came back, you went to prison, so today, God willing, you will see Libya. Libya today is not Libya of yesterday, and Libya of tomorrow, God willing, will be even better that than Today's Libya.

At the end of this presentation in which I intended to be short but turned out to be a long one, I will tell a few anecdotes.

First of all when, the Brothers came here today... They said this hotel is inaugurated today. And for the first time this luxury hotel which was equipped for the Arab summit is exploited to host this event for the first time, this is surprising... They said, so we come out from prison straight into the most luxurious hotel in Libya. On his way here, Brother Khalid was approached by someone who asked him for his phone number...but he told him, I've just come out from prison; I have no phone or number.

The Brotherhood members and the Chief of Internal Security Mr. Tuhami and officials from the Internal Security Services, we were having tea together just before we come to the conference; yes, the leaders of LIFG and security officers drinking tea and juice in a five-star hotel in Tripoli, this was a dream but a reality today... A reality not thanks to Saif al-Islam, as Today is a day of frankness, a day of appreciation for all the clean hands and generous hands that contributed to the completion of this work, and without which, we would not have been able to gather now in this place... Of course, special thanks are extended to the Internal Security headed by Mr. Tuhami for their cooperation, and in fact to all homeland security officers who worked hard and tirelessly to accomplish this job. From this podium, I would like to pay tribute to all members and officers and members of the Libyan Internal Security services, and also from this place, we extend a special thanks to Brigadier Abdullah Senussi, for his effective and important role in the success of this initiative, we should not also forget Sheikh Sallabi, my friend, we were together at the beginning of this work in Jebel Al-Akhdar debating this subject, and I would like to remind you of the Quranic verse you recited to me in the car when we were together in Jebel Al-Akhdar, debating this initiative:

In the name of God the Merciful

(Repel the evil deed with one which is better, then he, between whom and thee there was enmity (will become) as though he was a bosom friend).

So yesterday's enemy is a friend today, and thanks God we are sitting together in one place. I wanted to remind you of this verse with which we began our program and with which we conclude our program today. Special thanks are due for Sheikh Sallabi for all the efforts he made. And in the end, the biggest thanks and gratitude is for the greatest leader Muammar Gaddafi, because, frankly, without his decision to resolve this issue, nothing would have happened. And he knows well that the people he released and pardoned tried to assassinate him more than once, and threw grenades at him and tried to blow up his motorcade. There were instructions that anyone from the (LIFG) members may assassinate Muammar Gaddafi anywhere, but the truth is that we have left all this behind; it is over, it is history; and Muammar Gaddafi took his courageous decision to release the Brothers (members of Islamic groups), and I announce modestly, that I think, and this is the truth, that I made the least effort compared to our brothers. May be my prayers have been beneficial to them, but the efforts on the ground are theirs; the Brothers'.

I finished my words, and I would like to answer three questions. And may ask that the questions be related to the subject and do not go out to other topics.²

² Full text of the speech from the website of the Gaddafi International Charity and Development Foundation,

http://www.gicdf.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=369:text-of-speech-by-the-chairman-of-the-foundation-and-the-press-conferencemarking-the-release-of-214-members-of-various-jihadist-groups-today-is-indeed-a-very-important-day-here-in-libya-for-it-is-a-day-of-reconciliation-andopenness-and-reunification&catid=3:thenews&Itemid=55



The detainees leave their cells and proceed to a small tent to await arrival of their family and friends.



Detainees eagerly await the arrival of their family and friends.



The newly released searching for their family and friends who have come to receive them.



An emotional meeting with family and friends.

INTERVIEWS WITH LEADERSHIP OF THE LIBYAN ISLAMIC FIGHTING GROUP

INTERVIEW WITH ABDELHAKIM BELHAJ (alias ABU ABDALLAH AL SADEK) Emir, LIFG Date: 23 March 2010 Place: Residence, Tripoli, Libya Rohan Gunaratna³



Abdelhakim Belhaj, Emir, Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (middle)

On his future plans:

Now that the LIFG was no longer around, Abdelhakim noted that he would like to live like his brothers under the law of the country. INTERVIEW WITH ABU MUNTHER AL-SAADDI (alias SAMI ASSAADI) Deputy Emir, LIFG (Lead Strategist) Date: 23 March 2010 Place: Abu Munther's Residence, Tripoli, Libya Ami Angell



Movement History as Disclosed by him⁴:

Abu Munther was arrested for two weeks in Libya in 1984. He was a civil engineering student and had left Libya in 1988 as he felt that there was no freedom to practice religion. Between 1988 and 1990 he was in Pakistan and Afghanistan. In 1990 he got married in Algeria. He then went to London in 1994 where he lived for 4 years. His children grew up in London. He later spent 2 years in Qatar where he encountered difficulty in extending his residency. Without much choice, he then returned to Pakistan and Afghanistan. He left Kabul for Iran after September 11. He then spent 1 year in Iran without his wife and children. He was arrested and transferred to Malaysia. He added that he was arrested without reason by the US. He was detained in Malaysia for 7 months. He noted that his treatment in Malaysia was normal and that he and his family were then transferred to China. In 2004, in Hong Kong he was arrested for 10 days by the CIA. There was no punishment meted out while he was detained.

³ At the start of the Interview, Abdelhakim Belhaj apologized for the limited time that he would be able to spend at the interview as his family and friends were at his residence to meet with him. He noted that given the specialized interests of the interviewers, he would prefer if he had more time. Given the limitations, he would only answer questions that are most pertinent.

⁴ The information contained in this brief is only what Abu Munther chose to disclose to those of us at his residence. While not necessarily telling the whole truth, and quite obviously leaving out some relevant details, it illustrates what he prefers to share about his past and present ambitions.

He had tried to take his family to Norway for political asylum but he and his family were arrested and brought back to Libya. He was arrested in Libya in approximately 2004. He was detained for 6 years. For first 1year and 2 months, he was placed in solitary confinement and did not see anything. He made no comment if he was tortured. He added that he had developed diabetes and heart problems during this time. He was not allowed to see his family for the first 8 months of his detention. Abu Munther chose not to elaborate on the detention conditions in Libya or the way he was treated. He was sentenced to death in December 2009. He was only told he was going to be pardoned on 21 March 2010 and was released two days later on 23 March 2010.

Personal History as Disclosed by him:

Abu Munther's grandfather was from Tripoli. His children were born in Pakistan, London and Qatar. He added that his wife was always faithful and believed that he would be released one day.

View on the Rehabilitation Process:

Abu Munther did not have a specific opinion on the rehabilitation process as a whole. On his release from prison, he believes that there was a discussion between Saif Gaddafi and the security services to find a solution. Saif said that he wanted to give us our potential, our abilities, to actualize them. He said he wants to "open the prison and release everybody."

Abu Munther noted that he did not require financial assistance from the government but he wanted the state to reinstate his properties that were taken away. In prison he was provided with books. The prison guard would carry

the books around. He added that he enjoyed books on history and humanities the most.

Upon his release, he is most excited to do what is best for his family, his life and society. He added that he wanted to do good things for society and would also like to speak directly to the Muslim people about what he had learnt.

View of Saif Gaddafi:

He said that Saif was a good man for Libya and despite the difficulties he was facing from other parties, Saif Gaddafi was still trying to do a lot.

Final Discussions:

Abu Munther noted that many people in the west did not treat Islam objectively. He wished that the west would deal with Islam without preconceptions and objectively. He added that there ought to be a conference of Muslim people.

He added that he would like to reflect on the real meaning of Islam to the world as it is. He felt that many think of Muslims as terrorists but he would now like to clarify that when Muslims have to fight for their countries there is reason and a motivating force. He added that many think that Islam is just about war. He felt that he had wanted to give an objective example.

Islamic laws has rules against Jihad. While it is used in the name of Islam to kill others. But it is against *Syariah* law. In the history of LIFG there were no operations against civilians. Operations were only carried out against the regime and security forces. The LIFG is against all suicide attacks, before and always. KHALLID ASSHARIF (alias ABU HAZZEEIN) Deputy Emir, LIFG (Military Chief) Date: 23 March 2010 Place: Khallid Assharif's Residence, Tripoli, Libya Jolene Jerard



Deputy Emir, Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (third from left)

Movement History as Disclosed by him

Khallid Assharif, had left Tripoli in 1988 for Afghanistan to fight in the war against the Russians. Religious duty had prompted him to assist his brothers in Afghanistan against the communists from Russia.

He had stayed on in Afghanistan after the war was over and the Russians had departed Afghanistan. He later settled in Pakistan and got married there. He stayed in Pakistan until his arrests by the Pakistani forces in Peshawar in 2003 by the Americans and the Pakistani forces.

He was then transferred to Kabul where he was in Bagram for 2 years in the detention centre. He was tortured in Bagram. The kinds of torture used included drowning, hanging from their hands, beating, food depravation and loud music.

In April 2005 he was handed to the Libyan authorities via airplane. He was in a Libyan prison until his release on 23 March 2010.

Personal History as Disclosed by him:

He was educated at the Al-Fatah University in the Faculty of Agriculture. While in his last semester at University, he stopped his education and left the country for 23 years. He acknowledged that he had always been a religious man devoted to God. He added that when he had left Tripoli, he did not have any problems with the government.

Thoughts on key ideologues:

He had met Abdullah Azzam. Azzam was a scholar dedicated to the life in Afghanistan. Islamic conviction had prompted him to give support against communism. Khallid felt that Azzam was a hard working man who used to work by himself.

He had heard of Sayyid Qutb and his thoughts in general but only in general and not in relation to the Afghan cause.

Khallid had met Tamim Al-Adnani, but believed that he was not as influential as Abdullah Azzam.

Beginnings of the LIFG:

Khallid had settled in Pakistan. He was only brought back to Libya when he was arrested in Pakistan. Khallid said that after Jihad was conducted in Afghanistan against the Russians, the LIFG was formed in Pakistan/Afghanistan. He had joined the LIFG whilst he was there in Peshawar. He acknowledged that he was one of the founders of the LIFG alongside some others.

The goal of the LIFG at that time was to transfer the experience that they had conducting jihad in Afghanistan to Libya. When Abdullah Azzam was assassinated, the group had felt that they were like a family having lost their father and had mourned for their loss. The death of Abdullah Azzam did not energize the movement of the LIFG as Abdullah Azzam had very little to do with Libya. Khallid noted that while they were moved by the assassination, the attempted assassination did not motivate them further.

Between 1989 -1995, the LIFG was working in secret. The LIFG was formally announced in 1995. Some members of the LIFG had gone to Sudan as they could not find another campaign. In addition the Pakistani government had started a campaign.

Khallid added that it was hard to specify the size of the group as a whole as their members were spread all over the world. By 1995, when the group was officially announced, there were hundreds of members within and outside Libya. According to Khalid, the LIFG was rallied through discussion on ideology.

On his meetings with Osama bin Laden and Ayman Al-Zawahiri:

Khallid noted that he had first met Osama Bin Laden in 1988. Their relationship was one of friendship. He added that the LIFG had not linked itself with Al Qaeda and was separate from Al Qaeda. He noted that members of the LIFG did not go to Sudan from Afghanistan because of Osama but because they had seen Sudan as a safe haven. He stayed in Pakistan as his wife was there. He added that he had met Zawahiri at the mosque several times but he was an acquaintance. He had not met Dr. Fadl and Abu Musab al-Suri.

Religious Trainings:

Some members of the LIFG were sent to Mauritania to be trained in religion. Abu Yahya al-Libi was sent there to study. It was personal decision to study there as Mauritania was a good place to study religion. His thought on Abdul Yahya al-libi was that he was a nice man.

LIFG and the Taliban:

With the crackdown on Sudan, Afghanistan was the best place for the Taliban. Part of the members of the LIFG moved there. The LIFG shared a good relationship with the Taliban and with the Libyans assisting the humanitarian projects. As the Taliban was self sufficient in fighting, the humanitarian assistance provided was much needed by the Taliban.

He noted that while he did not fight, some members of the LIFG may have volunteered to fight alongside the Taliban. The assistance by the Libyan included, the building of schools, drilling works for poor villages, teaching Arabic and the Quran and through the provision of food. When the Americans were certain that he had nothing to do with the Taliban he was returned to Libya.

Funding for their projects:

Khallid added that funding for the LIFG came from special projects. In addition, assistance was also provided in kind by fighters in Afghanistan such as Abdul Rasool Sayyaf who had, also assisted through arranging training facilities in Afghanistan.

APPENDIX 1 Corrective Studies On The Concepts Of Jihad, Accountability And Passing Judgment On Others

A brief translation of the key contents of the 417-page book released in September 2009, titled Corrective Studies on the Concepts of Jihad, Accountability and Passing Judgment on Others.

Corrective Studies on the Concepts of Jihad, Accountability and Passing Judgment on Others

Also translated as The Correctional Studies, this is a 413page official document of the already-recanted jihadist group, Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), in which the group's views of fundamental concepts in jihad are revised. In addition, it has been endorsed by prominent Islamist scholars including the Saudi Shaykh Salman Al-Awda and Professor Yusuf Qaradawi. In its preface, LIFG stated that the book was written for the purpose of redemption on their part, and advice for the Muslim community, by sharing from their very own experiences.

Among others, it emphasizes the importance of knowledge and acquiring it from the right sources, especially in matters involving the taking of lives and properties of others. It also indicates that violence is a result of being extreme and ignorant of the major tenets of Islam. Finally, it highlights the danger of passing judgment on people as this can only be done by authorities in Islam, especially when it involves the issue of takfir.

Jihadist groups that recanted and the year they made their recantations public

- 1997: Gama'a Islamiyya of Egypt, also known as Islamic Group (IG)
- 2007: Al-Jihad Organization of Egypt, also known as Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ)
- 2009: Libyan Islamic Fighting Group

List of References

Publications by IG (written by the group's key leaders)

Correction of Concepts Series

- Initiative of the Cessation of Violence: A practical viewpoint and an Islamic perspective

- Highlighting the Shortcomings in the Previous Jihad
- The Prohibition of Extremism in Religion and the Excommunication of Muslims
- -Advice and Explanation in Correcting Concepts Related to Accountability in Islam

The Three Books Series

- The River of Memories
- The Riyadh Bombings: Judgments and Effects
- The Al-Qaeda Strategy: Wrongdoings and Dangers

Islam and the 21st Century Series

- Renewing the Religious Message
- Governance (Al-Hakimiyyah): An Islamic perspective and a practical viewpoint
- The Debate on the Land of Islam and the Land of War: New jurisprudence for a changing world
- Guiding the World: Between ends and means
- An Invitation to Make Peace with the Society
- -The Eventuality of Confrontation and the Science of Anticipation

Other books

- Elucidating Responses on the Questions of the People of the Book
- The Fatwa of Shaykh al-Islam Ibn Taimiyya: A study and analysis
- Implementation of Rulings is the Prerogative of the Rulers: Hudud, declaration of war and jizyah

Publications by EIJ (written by Dr Fadl)

- Rationalizing Jihad in Egypt and the World (2007)
- Exposing the Exoneration (2008)
- Gaza: Waving the Bloody Shirt (2009)
- The Future of the Conflict between Taliban and the US in Afghanistan (2010)
- Publications by LIFG (written by the group's key leaders) Corrective Studies on the Concepts of Jihad, Accountability and Passing Judgment on Others (2009)

APPENDIX 2 Meeting with Representative of the Gaddafi International Charity and Development Foundation

22 MARCH 2010 MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GADDAFI INTERNATIONAL CHARITY AND DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

The representative of the Gaddafi foundation noted that Libya was keen to establish a scholarly institute that would work closely and provide research and analyses support for the security services. He noted that Libya was contemplating the convergence of the internal and external security agencies to form one unit that would handle the security and intelligence framework of Libya.

The panel of international experts present at the meeting advised against it. They noted that a stronger and more steadfast interaction between the security agencies would prevent stove-piping and ensure that collaboration is maintained between and amongst the agencies. This would then translate to effective policies on the ground. There is a desire to have a training institute or an academy that would train personnel on issues pertaining to security. At present there is an established partnership with Nottingham and Sheffield Universities with dual degrees being offered. There are 30 thousand students globally pursuing professional degrees, however most of these international collaborative efforts are in the field of human resource management and the hospitality industry. Most overseas scholars are pursuing degrees in medicine amongst others.

The issue of brain-drain in Libya was briefly discussed. The representative from the Gaddafi Foundation noted that the issue of brain drain was significant especially given that only a few returned back to Libya after they were educated abroad on scholarship. Nonetheless, Libya remained resolute in its attempts to build the capacity of its people. As there was no obligatory period wherein a scholar was bonded to serve in Libya, the graduates would often stay on in the countries where they had pursued their education.

APPENDIX 3 About ICPVTR

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

Mission

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

Core Objectives

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

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

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

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

Core Projects

A. Database

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

B. Capacity Building

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

C. Strategic Counter-Terrorism Projects

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

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

For more information on ICPVTR, visit **www.pvtr.org**

APPENDIX 4 About RSIS

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

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

Graduate Training in International Affairs

Pacific. To accomplish this mission, RSIS will:

RSIS offers an exacting graduate education in international affairs, taught by an international faculty of leading thinkers and practitioners. The teaching programme consists of the Master of Science (MSc) degrees in Strategic Studies, International Relations, International Political Economy and Asian Studies. Through partnerships with the University of Warwick and NTU's Nanyang Business School, RSIS also offers the NTU-Warwick Double Masters Programme as well as The Nanyang MBA (International Studies). The graduate teaching is distinguished by their focus on the Asia-Pacific region, the professional practice of international affairs and the cultivation of academic depth. Over 200 students, the majority from abroad, are enrolled with the School. A small and select Ph.D. programme caters to students whose interests match those of specific faculty members.

Research

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

International Collaboration

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

For more information on the School, visit **www.rsis.edu.sg**



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