

26 and 27 November 2008

Parliament House, Victoria

## Day one: Countering Radicalisation in Democratic States

8.30 am **Registrations**

9.15 am **Introduction**

Dr Sayed Khatab

9.20 am **Welcome**

Mr Mark Duckworth  
Governance and Community  
Department of Premier and Cabinet  
Victoria Government

9.25 am *Eight Years after 9/11: Terrorism Scorecard and Evolving Challenges*

Featured speaker: **Mr Bill Paterson**  
Australian Ambassador for Counter-Terrorism

9.55 am **Morning tea**

10.15 am *Countering al-Qaida Propaganda: Lessons from Muslim Londoners*

Featured speaker: **Mr Bob Lambert MBE**  
Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St Andrews and Research Fellow, University of Exeter, England

11.15 am **Panel one**

**Australian Research Council Asia Pacific Futures Research Network Islam Node Sponsored Postgraduate Panel**

- *The Missing Link? The Role of Religious Actors in Countering Terrorism*  
**Anna Halafoff** (and David Wright-Neville)  
PhD Candidate, Global Terrorism Research Centre, Researcher for GTReC and for the UNESCO Chair in Interreligious and Intercultural Relations – Asia Pacific

- *Perceptions of Extremism Among Muslims in Australia*

**Rachel Woodlock**

PhD Candidate, Centre for Islam and the Modern World, Monash University

- *The Fatwa Against Terrorism: India's Deobandis Renounce Violence*

**Kamala Dash**

PhD Candidate, Monash Asia Institute, Monash University

12.35 pm **Lunch**

1.35 pm

**Panel two**

**Islamism and Democratic States: Perceptions, Representation, and Dialogue**

- *Between the Devil of Radicalisation and the Deep Blue Sea of Militant Secularism: French Society and the Challenge of Violent Radicalisation in the Name of Islam*

**Dr Natalie Doyle**

Monash European and EU Centre, Monash University

- *Ideological Containment: Islamic Extremism and the Option of Theological Dialogue*

**Associate Professor Douglas Pratt**

Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Waikato, New Zealand; New Zealand Associate, UNESCO Chair in Interreligious and Intercultural Relations – Asia Pacific; Honorary Associate, GTReC, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

2.30 pm **Afternoon tea**

2.55 pm

**Panel three**

**Countering Terrorism: The Impact on Democratic States**

- *The New-Old Terrorism Nexus in Southeast Asia and What it Means for Countering Terrorism*

**Associate Professor Andrew Tan**

School of Social Science and International Studies, University of New South Wales

- *Towards a General Counter Terrorism Strategy*

**Dr Sayed Khatab**

Global Terrorism Research Centre, Monash University

- *Using Language Analysis to Enhance Counter-Terrorism Interviewing in Linguistically Diverse Environments*

**Dr Georgina Heydon**

Criminal Justice, School of Humanities, Communications and Social Sciences, Monash University

4.15 pm **Announcements**

**6.30 pm Conference dinner**

**Achelya Turkish Restaurant**

23 Aquitania Way New Quay, Docklands, Melbourne

## Day two: Radicalisation and Religious Activism: International Dimensions

9 am *The Global Rise of Suicide Terrorism*  
Featured speaker: **Professor Emeritus Riaz Hassan**  
ARC Australian Professorial Fellow, Emeritus Professor, Department of Sociology, Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia

10 am Morning tea

### 10.20 am Panel four

#### Religion, Extremism and Policy

- *Australia's National Interest is a Secular Construction: Is 'the National Interest' Compromised by the Ambitions of Domestic Religious Faith-Groups?*

##### **Hugh Wilson**

PhD Candidate, Faculty of Arts (International Relations), University of Southern Queensland

- *The Abu Sayyaf in the Archipelago: Discrediting Islam, Abetting USA Foreign Policy*

##### **Bob East**

PhD Candidate, Faculty of Arts (International Relations), University of Southern Queensland

- *Southern Thailand: A Cosmic War?*

##### **Virginie Andre**

PhD Candidate, Global Terrorism Research Centre, Monash University

11.40 am Lunch

12.40 pm Featured Speaker: **Associate Professor Mark Sedgwick**  
*Collective Memory and Anti-American Sentiment*  
Department of the Study of Religion, Coordinator-Arab and Islamic Studies Unit, Aarhus University, Denmark

### 1.40 pm Panel five

#### Religious Actors and the Struggle for Power

- *New Directions in Political Islam and Kemalism in Turkey*

##### **Ela Ogru**

Global Terrorism Research Centre, Monash University

- *The Geopolitical Implications of the Somali 'Islamic Courts' Activities in the Horn of Africa*

##### **Mohamed Ibrahim**

Chairman, Centre for Research and Dialogue, Mogadishu, Somalia

- *How Important is Religion in South Asian Terrorism?*

##### **Professor Marika Vicziany**

Director, Monash Asia Institute, Monash University

3 pm Afternoon tea

3.20 pm

### Panel six

#### Transmitting Ideology and Theology I: Global Perspectives

- *The Transference of Neojihadism: Towards a Process Theory of Transnational Radicalisation*

##### **Dr Pete Lentini**

Director, Global Terrorism Research Centre, Monash University

- *Re-Interpreting Al Qaeda: A Command-And-Control Perspective*

##### **Leah Farrall**

PhD Candidate, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

4.20 pm

### Panel seven

#### Transmitting Ideology II: South-East Asian Examples

- *From Sermon to Print: Orators and Ideological Contest in Bandung*

##### **Dr Julian Millie**

ARC Fellow, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Faculty of Arts, Monash University

- *Cyber-jihad: The Internet and Terrorism in Southeast Asia*

##### **Dr Anthony Bergin and Dr Carl Ungerer**

Australian Strategic Policy Institute

- *How Indonesian is Indonesian Salafi Jihadism?*

##### **Professor Greg Barton**

Herb Feith Research Professor for the Study of Indonesia, Acting Director Centre for Islam and the Modern World, Deputy UNESCO Chair in Interreligious and Intercultural Relations – Asia Pacific

5.40 pm

### Closing remarks

# Bios and abstracts

## Featured speakers

### Professor Emeritus Riaz Hassan

ARC Australian Professorial Fellow, Emeritus Professor, Department of Sociology, Flinders University, Adelaide

Riaz Hassan is an Australian Research Council Professorial Fellow and Emeritus Professor in the Department of Sociology, Flinders University in Adelaide, South Australia.

In his academic career spanning over 40 years he has conducted research in a number of areas including sociology of housing, sociology of suicide, organisational culture and Muslim societies. He has recently completed a 10 year multi-country study of Muslim religiosity in which he explored key aspects of Islamic consciousness. The findings from this study have been published in, *Faithfulness: Muslim Conceptions of Islam and Society and Inside Muslim Minds: Understanding Islamic Consciousness*.

#### Title of presentation:

*The Global Rise of Suicide Terrorism*

### Mr Bob Lambert MBE

Lecturer, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) University of St Andrews Research Fellow, University of Exeter, England

In December 2007 Robert retired from the Metropolitan Police Service after 31 years service, 28 years of which were spent in operational counter-terrorism and counter-violent extremism. In January 2002, together with a police colleague he set up the Muslim Contact Unit (MCU), with the purpose of establishing partnerships with Muslim community groups both equipped and located to help tackle the spread of al-Qaida propaganda and recruitment in London. In October 2005 he embarked on a parallel academic project, researching key aspects of MCU partnership experience, for a PhD in the Department of Politics, University of Exeter (due for completion in 2009). He is also a member of two related research projects, led by Dr Jonathan Githens-Mazer (Exeter) and Dr Basia Spalek (Birmingham) respectively. In September 2008 he also commenced work as a part-time lecturer at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) at the University of St Andrews. In June 2008 he was awarded an MBE for his police service. He has also been presented with awards by Muslim community groups in the UK in recognition of his work with the MCU.

#### Abstract:

*Countering al-Qaida Propaganda: Lessons from Muslim Londoners*

This paper describes how two minority Muslim groups, Salafis and Islamists, located within London's heterogeneous Muslim communities have played a key and neglected role in countering al-Qaida propaganda in the UK over a long period. Al-Qaida strategists are shown to have had a significant presence in London from 1993 onwards. While Salafi and Islamist opposition to al-Qaida influence was carried out below the counter-terrorist radar until 9/11, thereafter it received some modest support from a small police unit, the Muslim Contact Unit in the Metropolitan Police. However, for many commentators the Salafi and Islamist groups in question are assessed to be extremist or subversive and should not therefore be empowered or legitimated by police. The same commentators would prefer to see other Muslim groups like the Sufi Muslim Council or the Quilliam Foundation empowered as 'counter-radicalisers'. The paper concludes by comparing the strengths and weaknesses of the competing community groups.

### Mr Bill Paterson

Australian Ambassador for Counter-Terrorism

Mr Paterson was Australian Ambassador to Thailand from 2004-2008, and led Australia's response to the 26 December Asian tsunami. Prior to that, he was head of the Southeast Asia Division in Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He has been closely involved in international strategic and security policy, politico-military affairs, intelligence and regional issues as a senior government official. He was Head of the Australian Government's Iraq Task Force in 2002-03 and Head of the Anti-Terrorism Task Force following the events of September 11, 2001. He served as Chief of Staff and Principal Adviser to the Foreign Minister in 2000, and as Assistant Secretary (for Asia, APEC and Trade policy) in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet in 1998-99, during both the Asian financial crisis and East Timor crisis. He has also worked on global issues for the Office of National Assessments. Mr Paterson has had overseas postings in Dhaka, Baghdad, Vienna, Washington, Tokyo and Bangkok. He has served on the Boards of the Fulbright Commission, the Centre for American Studies and is a Fellow of the Australian Institute of Management and an adviser to the Asian Disaster Preparedness Centre. In 2003, he was awarded the Public Service Medal and in 2005 the Humanitarian Overseas Service Medal.

#### Abstract

*Eight Years after 9/11: Terrorism Scorecard and Evolving Challenges*

While we can point to some significant successes in the campaign against terrorism, new challenges continue to arise. Communication, knowledge transfer, recruitment and proselytisation via the internet are particular concerns, as is the interest some groups have in getting access to chemical, biological or nuclear materials. Disruption of terrorist networks can also make it harder to monitor remnants which may remain dangerous.

Overall, the world has become a harder place for terrorists to move and to operate within. International cooperation and capacity-building has played a key part. But the terrorists are adaptable and resilient, so counter-terrorism will need to remain a key element in our security framework and in our cooperation with partners for the long-term. With growing research on the drivers of extremism, better ways of countering the terrorist message and conditions in which terrorism can flourish are being tested and applied, but the impact of these will take time fully to assess.

Australia's counter-terrorism cooperation with its partners in the Asia-Pacific has had a positive impact, but has also assisted in meeting the related transnational challenges of people smuggling, counter-narcotics and organised crime.

## Associate Professor Mark Sedgwick

Department of the Study of Religion,  
Coordinator- Arab and Islamic Studies Unit,  
Aarhus University, Denmark

Mark Sedgwick has numerous publications and vast research and teaching experience in the fields of Islam, traditionalism, terrorism, and sectarianism. With a particular interest in the Sufi traditions, Mark has published two major books in this area, including *Saints and Sons (2005)* and *Sufism: The Essentials*. In 2006, he published a book titled *Islam and Muslims*, which explores Islamic theory and practice across the diverse Muslim world. He is currently involved in a major research project that looks at Islam in the 19th and 20th centuries, arguing them to amount to an Islamic Reformation, comparable to the European Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Alongside his position as Coordinator of the Unit for Arab and Islamic Studies at Aarhus University, Mark is member of the editorial board of a number of publications, including the ABC-Clio Encyclopedia of the World's Religions and Journal of Religion in Europe.

### Abstract

#### *Collective Memory and Anti-American Sentiment*

Anti-American sentiment in the Muslim world derives partly from America's actions and positions, and partly from how they are understood. The second factor is probably more important, and is the focus of this paper. The paper uses the concept of 'collective memory' developed by Jan Assmann, and sketches two different collective memories, that of the West and that of the Arab world. The paper then builds on the contrast between these two collective memories to show how the same event will be perceived very differently in the West and in the Arab world. The paper ends by examining the implications of this for radicalisation. Much jihadist propaganda clearly proceeds from Arab collective memory, but is addressed at Muslims who are not in the Arab world. To what extent do Muslims in Europe, for example, share in European collective memory, and to what extent do they share in Arab collective memory?

## Panel one

### Kamala Dash

PhD Candidate, Monash Asia Institute,  
Monash University

Kamala Kanta Dash is a PhD candidate at the Monash Asia Institute, Monash University. He completed his MPhil in International Relations at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. As an Australia-India Council Fellow in 2007 he visited several universities and presented papers. He has worked with the Hindu Newspaper in Education as a trainer, and as a life skills trainer he has conducted hundreds of workshops. Presently for his PhD he is doing a comparative study of counter-terror policing and police-community engagement in Delhi and Victoria. His other areas of interest are Modern Indian History, Indian Foreign Policy (India-Australia Relations) and Indian philosophy (Yoga).

### Abstract

#### *The Fatwa Against Terrorism: India's Deobandis Renounce Violence*

Since '9/11' and the global war on terrorism that followed, Muslim clerics and intellectuals in India have been under pressure from various quarters to publically denounce terrorism. This demand has come from media, political parties and fellow non-Muslim citizens.

On 31 May 2008, the leading Islamic Seminary Darul-Uloom Deoband (based in Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh) issued a public "Fatwa against terrorism" at a public rally of no less than 100,000 Islamic clerics in Delhi. This paper analyses the background to the declaration, the contents of the Fatwa by the Deobandis and the responses from the ruling Congress Party government, the right wing (Hindu fundamentalist) opposition BJP, the Delhi Police and also Muslim intellectuals. What is the significance of this Fatwa, can the declaration make a difference, and why have terrorist explosions rocked New Delhi since this declaration (most recently, in early September 2008, 5 bombs went off in Delhi)?

### Anna Halafoff

Anna is a PhD candidate and Researcher, the Global Terrorism Research Centre, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University, and for the UNESCO Chair in Interreligious and Intercultural Relations-Asia Pacific.

Her recent appointments have included: Assistant Coordinator, *Globalisation's New Challenge: Social Cohesion in Diverse Communities*, Monash University and Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, UK: Course Co-ordinator, *Introducing Australia: A Course for Clergy New to Australia*, PSI, Monash University and the Australian Multicultural Foundation for DIMA. Assistant Coordinator, *Religion in Conflict and Peace Conference*, UNESCO, Paris and International Outlook, Melbourne; Coordinator, Religion & Peace Program, International Conflict Resolution Centre, University of Melbourne.

Anna holds degrees from the University of Melbourne (BA 1991) and the University of New England (Master of Letters in Peace Studies 2000 and Grad Dip Ed 2005). She is currently a PhD candidate at Monash University, researching *Multifaith Movements in Late Modernity*.

### Abstract

#### *The Missing Link? The Role of Religious Actors in Countering Terrorism*

(Co-authored by Anna Halafoff and David Wright-Neville)

Despite the surge of scholarly interest in terrorism and counter-terrorism in the post 9-11 world surprisingly little attention has been paid to the role of religious actors (especially faith communities and faith leaders) in combating the threat of terrorism. However, the resurgence of religiosity in contemporary politics should not be viewed as an inherently dangerous force. As Appleby has argued, a new secular-religious model of inter-and intra-state diplomacy looms as a development with significant potential to resolve conflict and deny terrorist groups access to communities of support. By drawing on an Australian example, we argue that in societies that have a strong multicultural and multifaith character secular-religious diplomacy pitched at the national and sub-national level can play an important role in the formation of a flexible long-term counter-terrorism strategy.

# Bios and abstracts

## Rachel Woodlock

PhD Candidate, Researcher, Centre for Islam and the Modern World, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

Rachel Woodlock BMus, BA, MIslamStd (Melb) is a researcher and doctoral candidate at the Centre for Islam and the ModernWorld (CIMOW), Monash University. Last year she coordinated two research projects sponsored by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, one looking at the hopes and aspirations of Muslim Australians in Sydney, the other mapping political attitudes among Muslims in Melbourne. Along with academics from the Global Terrorism Research Centre, she regularly participates in Islamic sensitivity training for members of the Australian Federal Police. In 2006, she researched and prepared a report on Iraqi migrants settling in rural Victoria. As well as her academic work, Rachel is a practicing Muslim and volunteers for the Islamic Council of Victoria, giving talks to schools, churches and the wider public on Islam and Muslims in Australia. She has conducted training seminars for young Muslims in Australia and New Zealand for the Islamic Education Trust and writes for the Faith column of *The Sunday Age*. Rachel is married and has a daughter.

### Abstract

#### *Perceptions of Extremism Among Muslims in Australia*

The purpose of the present paper is to ask how Muslims in Australia perceive the existence of extremism in their ranks. Whilst there exists a body of research on the phenomenon of extremism amongst Muslims, a gap has emerged in our understanding of how Muslims themselves perceive extremism in their communities. The present research is based on data collected during 2007 and 2008 among approximately six hundred Muslims living in Sydney, Melbourne and regional Victoria. This sample was asked to respond to the question: "Some people think there has been a rise in extremism among Muslim Australians over recent years, others think extremism is declining—what do you think?" The present paper will analyse responses to that question and discuss whether variables such as age; gender; immigrant status; citizenship status; convert status; employment status; and ancestry impact responses given. In particular, close attention will also be paid to the type and level of extrinsic religious commitment of participants and seek to discover whether these two variables can predict perceptions of the existence of extremism among this sample of Muslims in Australia.

## Panel two

### Dr Natalie Doyle

Monash European and EU Centre/ School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics, Monash University

Natalie Doyle holds a PhD in Politics from Monash University. She is Lecturer in French and European Studies at Monash University, Melbourne, and Deputy Director of the Monash European and EU Centre. Her research and publications have mainly dealt with French social and political thought, classical and contemporary, with particular reference to interpretations of modernity. She has also researched the question of the place of religion in modern European culture and issues of European identity with respect to the European Union. Forthcoming publications include the chapter 'Alternatives within the West: French and British Roads to Modernity' in *Domains and Divisions of European History* (Liverpool University press), co-edited with Johann P. Arnason and 'European integration or acculturation?' in *New Europe, New World*, Pascaline Winand (ed.) (PIE-Lang).

### Abstract

#### *Between the Devil of Radicalisation and the Deep Blue Sea of Militant Secularism: French Society and the Challenge of Violent Radicalisation in the Name of Islam*

In June 2008, the French Council of State upheld the decision made by government authorities that the Moroccan wife of a French citizen living in France with her husband and their three children did not qualify for French citizenship, as a result of a clause in the civil code that allows naturalisation to be refused to a person who is deemed to have failed the criterion of having assimilated into French society, for reasons other than language proficiency.

Newspapers reacted with headlines such as "Moroccan woman in burqa refused French nationality" despite the fact that the judgment of the council of state did not use the word burqa nor made any reference to the type of clothing worn by the person in question. This attempt to connect the judgment back to the controversial law of 2004 banning from state schools the wearing of visible religious symbols or forms of clothing prevented the rationale of the judgment from being conveyed clearly and hence debated. It was based on the assessment that the woman in question and her husband had explicitly expressed their attachment to a literal (Salafist) interpretation of Islam, including a conception of the role of women that precluded her from exercising French citizenship.

The paper will use this latest incident in French public life to explore the difficulties faced by French society when it comes to integrating some of its Muslim citizens. It will explore the French notion of secularity to show what it shares with that of other Western societies and is obscured by a minority, militantly anti-religious interpretation of secularity that harks back to the now obsolete struggle of the state against the Catholic Church. Challenging the perception that France's mono-cultural political culture impervious to cultural diversity, it will explore the specific circumstances which in France have encouraged feelings of victimisation to grow among off springs of Muslim immigrants: those that have not been successful in making the transition to 'post-industrial' forms of employment. These feelings of victimisation have allowed neo-fundamentalist versions of Islam, imported from the Middle East and beyond, to take hold and inspire violent radicalisation. More generally, the paper will explore what this incident reveals regarding the misconceptions that plague the West's assessment of Islamism. The paper will thus argue that although some of the circumstances behind the violent radicalisation of French Muslims are specific to France's history, many in fact exist in all Western countries. Beyond the diversity of models of citizenship, one can detect a common misapprehension of Islamism and inner pathology of Western societies.

## Associate Professor Douglas Pratt

Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Waikato, New Zealand; New Zealand Associate, UNESCO Chair in Interreligious and Intercultural Relations – Asia Pacific; Honorary Associate, GTReC, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

Associate Professor Douglas Pratt (BA *(Auck & Waik)*; MA *(Auck)*; BD *(Otago)*; LTh (Hons) *(NZ)*; PhD *(St And.)*; DTheol *(Melbourne Coll. of Divinity – conferment: 2009)* is Convenor of the Religious Studies programme and Chairperson of the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of Waikato, New Zealand. The New Zealand Associate of the Australian-based UNESCO Chair in Intercultural and Interreligious Relations – Asia Pacific, he is also an Associate of the Centre for the Study of Religion and Politics (CSR/P) at the University of St Andrews, Scotland, and an Honorary research Associate of the Global Terrorism Research Centre (GTReC) at Monash University, Australia.

In 2004 Dr Pratt was Visiting Lecturer in Christian-Muslim Relations at University of Birmingham, and during the academic year

2005-06 he was Visiting Research Fellow at Ripon College Cuddesdon, Oxford, England, and a guest lecturer in Issues in Interfaith Relations for the Faculty of Theology at the University of Oxford. With colleagues from the UK and Iran, Dr Pratt is presently a co-organiser of an international three-year Christian-Muslim dialogue conference series, *Text, Tradition and Identity: Issues of Interpretation in Christian-Muslim Engagement*.

He has a number of published works including *The Challenge of Islam: Encounters in Interfaith Dialogue* (2005) and *Rethinking Religion: Exploratory Investigations* (2003). He is currently the Book Review Editor of the international UK-based journal *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* and an editorial board member and Associate Reviews Editor of *Colloquium* – the journal of ANZSTS.

Dr Pratt is an ordained Anglican Priest and Canon Theologian *Emeritus* of the Waikato Diocese in New Zealand. In 2007 he was honoured by the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand with a Harmony Award for meritorious service to the Muslim community. He has involvements in interfaith activities, especially with Islam, at local, national and international levels.

## Abstract

### *Ideological Containment: Islamic Extremism and the Option of Theological Dialogue*

Islamic extremism is founded on a dualist worldview: the realm of truth and the sacred (dar al Islam) set in opposition to the realm of falsehood, chaos and war (dar al harb). An ideology of contestation underpins Islamist radicalisation. And Islamic political thought is inherently theological; any response to the political ideology that arises from the dualist worldview must necessarily address allied theological perspectives and presuppositions.

In October 2007 an 'Open Letter and Call from Muslim Religious Leaders' emanating from Jordan and entitled A Common Word Between Us and You, was issued to the Christian Church worldwide. What is at the heart of this 'call'? What does it suggest in respect to an Islamic theological counter to dualism? What might it portend for the future of relations with Islam? Does it signal a new era for theological dialogue with Islam and co-operative conjoining in the wider struggle against radicalisation and extremism?

This paper will present a summary of the letter, a critical examination of issues and challenges that are raised therein, and offer a perspective on containing ideological extremism through interfaith theological dialogue as a consequence.

## Panel three

### Dr Georgina Heydon

Lecturer, Criminal Justice, School of Humanities, Communications and Social Sciences, Monash University

Georgina Heydon took her undergraduate degree at Monash University (Linguistics and Visual Arts), completing her B.A. Honours with a thesis examining police interviews with children. This was followed by three years postgraduate study at the University of Melbourne (1998) and Monash University (2000-2002) where Georgina completed her PhD in 2002 on the discourse of police interviews with adult suspects. She taught at the Engelsk Institut, Århus Universitet, Denmark before returning to Monash University in 2003 as a postdoctoral research fellow. In 2005, she joined Monash University 's Language and Learning Services (Arts) for a period of two years where she worked with students from across the Arts Faculty offering support in academic writing and research methodologies. Georgina became a research fellow in Criminal Justice with the School of Humanities, Communications and Social Sciences in 2007, where she is presently employed as a lecturer in the new BA (Criminal Justice) degree.

Georgina is also a consultant for the Monash Forensic Linguistics Consultancy and has provided training for the Australian Federal Police in advanced investigative interviewing.

## Abstract

### *Using Language Analysis to Enhance Counter-Terrorism Interviewing in Linguistically Diverse Environments*

The critical importance of language analysis has emerged as a central concern for researchers developing cutting edge models of police investigative interviewing over the last decade. Recent research in the field of police interviewing states unequivocally that to elicit high quality information in interviews, '[t]he most important factor...is the questioning techniques' (Powell & Snow, 2007, p. 57). Powell and Snow found that a lack of research into the specific linguistic features of investigative interviews is exacerbating the difficulty many police practitioners experience in framing appropriate questions. Moreover, the application of intercultural research to policing in Australia has revealed a specific gap in the abilities of police agencies to address the communicative needs of officers working within ethnically diverse communities (Eades, 1994; Pickering, Wright-Neville, McCulloch, & Lentini, 2007; Powell & Bartholomew, 2003). Therefore, it is of critical importance that research is

focussed on the preparation and delivery of training in intercultural communication for police investigators working in areas of major crimes and counter-terrorism units. This paper will examine the specific ways in which the linguistic analysis can contribute to effective training programs for officers undertaking investigative interviewing in a linguistically and culturally diverse environment.

Eades, D. (1994). A case of communicative clash: Aboriginal English and the legal system. In J. Gibbons (Ed.), *Language and the Law* (pp. 234-264). Harlow: Longman Group.

Pickering, S., Wright-Neville, D., McCulloch, J., & Lentini, P. (2007). *Counter-terrorism policing and culturally diverse communities – Australian Research Council Linkage Project*. Melbourne: Monash University.

Powell, M., & Bartholomew, T. (2003). Interviewing and assessing clients from different cultural backgrounds: Guidelines for all forensic professionals. In D. Carson & R. Bull (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology in legal contexts* (2nd ed., pp. 625-643). Chichester; Hoboken, NJ: J. Wiley.

Powell, M., & Snow, P. C. (2007). Guide to questioning children during the free-narrative phase of an investigative interview. *Australian Psychologist*, 42(1), 57-65.

### Dr Sayed Khatab

Research Fellow, Global Terrorism Research Centre, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

Graduated in Cairo, Sayed Khatab obtained his MA and PhD in Politics (Middle East) from the University of Melbourne. He participated in research and teaching in various capacities including Islamic political thought, Islamic fundamentalism, political movements, Human Rights, and Arabic Language for special purposes in a number of institutions of higher Learning including Melbourne, Monash, and RMIT universities. He produced several publications and was awarded an Australian Academy of Humanities Fellowship and Australian Research Council Discovery Project grant.

Over 2004 and 2005, he participated in a major research project at RMIT and Borderlands Cooperative Inc., and is currently involved with Oxford in a major project about "political theory beyond the canon". He writes regularly for SBS Arabic Radio and is often invited by the media for comments on Middle East-related issues. He has delivered several public lectures on the Middle East, political Islam and its related issues of international relations in various

# Bios and abstracts

occasions. He has reviewed many books and scholarly articles for leading publishers.

Dr Sayed Khatab's research interests include: Middle East, Islamic Political thought, fundamentalism, theory of government, Islamic law and politics, Democracy in Islam, human rights, and counter-terrorism related issues.

Among his recent publications, include 'The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb: The Theory of Jahiliyyah (Routledge, 2006); 'The Power of Sovereignty: The Political and Ideological Philosophy of Sayyid Qutb' (Routledge, 2006); and 'Democracy in Islam', Routledge 2007 (with G. D. Bouma). He has just submitted a book on al-Qa'ida: The Theological and ideological Bases of al-Qa'ida's Political Tactics will be published by Harvard in 2009.

At present, Khatab is completing a volume 'The Ideological War Within al-Qa'ida: A Translation of Dr Fadl's Rationalisation of Jihad in Egypt and the World' – forthcoming, Harvard.

## Abstract

### *Towards a General Counter-Terrorism Strategy*

It is well established that radicalism sustains terrorism at its roots. The impact of terrorism on national and human security has been real enough while the war on terror still raging without a clear end. Seven years of the war on terror have passed, without burying this new enemy. This paper seeks to generate new understandings on how to defeat terrorism, by means of counter ideas to radicalism and extremism. It outlines the theme and framework of a general counter terrorism strategy. It argues that terrorism cannot be successfully challenged purely by security and military means. The paper suggests that terrorism is a transnational phenomenon of ideological dimension and should be challenged with the same weapons and on the same levels, both on a local and global scale.

## Associate Professor Andrew Tan

School of Social Science and International Studies, University of New South Wales

Andrew T H Tan is Associate Professor in Social Science and International Studies at the University of New South Wales. Supported through the Strategic Priority Fund, he does research full-time on defence, terrorism and Asian security issues. He was previously Senior Lecturer in Defence Studies, King's College London, and taught at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, Watchfield, UK. Educated in Singapore, Cambridge and Sydney (where he obtained his PhD), his advice on regional security issues is sought after by governments, corporations, universities and research institutes.

His 36 journal articles and book chapters, and 12 book reviews have appeared in leading refereed academic journals such as Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, Terrorism and Political Violence, Contemporary Security Policy, Panorama, Contemporary Southeast Asia, International Affairs, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, International Relations of the Asia Pacific, Harvard Asia Quarterly, Defence Studies, Korean Journal of Defense Analysis (a Taylor and Francis journal) and Asia-Pacific Review.

He has also written, edited or co-edited ten books. His sole-authored book, Security Perspectives of the Malay Archipelago: Security Linkages in the Second Front in the War on Terrorism, published by Edward Elgar, UK, has been described by Professor Stephen Walt, Dean of Harvard's JFK School as a major contribution to our understanding of regional security, and Shigekatsu Kondo, Executive Director, National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo as a superb navigator for us to cope with this turbulent region. His other sole-authored or edited publications include: *A Political and Economic Dictionary of South-East Asia* (London, Europa), *The Politics of Terrorism* (London: Routledge), *The Politics of Maritime Power* (London: Routledge), and *A Handbook of Terrorism and Insurgency in Southeast Asia* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar), among others. His forthcoming books are: *The Global Arms Trade* (London: Routledge), and *US Strategy Against Terrorism* (forthcoming).

## Abstract

### *The New – Old Terrorism Nexus in Southeast Asia and What it Means for Countering Terrorism*

Following 9-11, the USA was galvanised to act, convinced it had to take the war on terrorism to its sources, including in Southeast Asia, the so-called 'Second Front' in the global war on terror. The emergence of the 'New' religious terrorism, as outlined by Hoffman, has been epitomised by the links established by Al Qaeda within the region and the careful support and nurturing it provided to local jihadist groups. The regional network, the Jemaah Islamiah (JI) has an operational contour that includes Australia. But the 'New' terrorism has had to counter the established 'Old' terrorism motivated by ethno-political causes that long predated the emergence of Al Qaeda. This tension between religion and nationalism indicates the need to better understand the fundamental motivations or grievances that underlie terrorism as well as the need for a comprehensive 'hearts and minds' approach to countering terrorism. These lessons have been reflected in the recent adoption by the US of a comprehensive strategy modeled in part upon the lessons of the Malayan Emergency, as outlined in the US Army Counterinsurgency Manual and the US National Defense Strategy. Southeast Asia has long practiced, to varying degrees of competence, the utility of this approach but the West, including Australia, needs to be very careful about the problems and prospects of this strategy. Essentially, not only is it a long-term ideological struggle requiring commitment and patience, what the Southeast Asian states have also learnt is that this approach is not just about offering carrots. The necessary sticks involved may not be palatable to Western democracies.

## Panel four

### Virginie Andre

PhD Candidate, Global Terrorism Research Centre, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

Virginie Andre is a PhD candidate and researcher with the Global Terrorism Research Centre at Monash University. Virginie's research is focusing on the framing of separatist terrorism in Southern Thailand. Related areas of research are security, disarmament, conflict resolution, ethno-nationalism, separatism, democracy and military, especially in Thailand and Southeast Asia. Virginie conducted fieldwork in Thailand in 2007 and 2008 and met with key actors who are shaping an understanding of the conflict in Southern Thailand. She has also worked with NGOs and in Thailand on conflict resolution issues. Before coming to Monash University, she was project officer for the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) in Brussels, and worked for the Asia-Europe Foundation in Singapore.

#### Abstract

##### *Southern Thailand: A Cosmic War?*

In the 1970s secessionists in Southern Thailand described the Thai state as 'colonialist' constituted by 'Siamese fascist officials' who had 'illegally colonised Patani'. The flavour of this discourse shows the importance of historical context in shaping the way resistance movements interpret their own struggles. In the case of the resistance groups in Southern Thailand, it reflects the influence of the wider international anti-colonial movement and its embrace of nationalism and socialism. Translating these concepts into a political agenda was complicated by the centrality of Islam in defining the grievances of the Patani Muslims. Islam was the reason they were considered marginal by wider Buddhist society and hence it was Islam that became a core identity marker and the fulcrum upon which the resistance movement grew. Merging the predominately secular themes of anti-colonialism with Islam was complex, and as a result for much of its existence the insurgency failed to define clearly an ideology beyond the general maxim of 'liberating the homeland' to create the Republic of Patani. By the onset of the twenty first century situation had changed and although the goal remained the same for many Thai Muslims it was based on firmer ontological ground. By defining itself in Islamist terms, the separatist movement managed to distance itself from the secular concepts that defined the Thai state ('nationalism') and which precluded support for its struggle from other states ('sovereignty'). The objective now is the

creation of Al Faton Darussalam [Islamic Land of Patani] by "purging all Siamese infidels out of our territory to purify our religion and culture" (HRW, 2007: 45). In short, the shift in terminology indicates an ideological shift in the way the insurgents frame the conflict but also, more importantly, in their identification of the 'enemy'. The 'liberation of the Republic' has now evolved into a 'struggle to liberate an Islamic Land'. From being a 'colonialist' and 'fascist' state, the Thai state has assumed the status of 'infidel'. The insurgents' embrace of Islamism as the organising principle of their resistance is progressively transforming the conflict into what Juergensmeyer has called a 'Cosmic War' (Juergensmeyer, 2003).

This paper will further explore this ideological shift by analysing for the first time primary sources such as propaganda leaflets, interviews and insurgent interrogation reports that were collected during recent fieldwork in Southern Thailand between 2006 and 2008.

### Bob East

Bob East graduated with honours in international relations from the University of Southern Queensland in 2006. His dissertation title was Negotiating for Peace: The Bangsamoro and the Government of the Republic of Philippines. He is presently a doctoral candidate at the same university. His PhD dissertation is titled "Redefining Domestic Counterinsurgency, Post 2001, Sulu Province, Republic of Philippines". Bob has had two papers refereed and published, and a third is in print. His publications are:

- *The Bangsamoro: Fighting for Freedom during the War on Terror: the Muslim Independence Movement of the Southern Philippines.* (2005)
- *The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF): a Profile of Determination.* (2006)
- *The Abu Sayyaf. Terrorism in Sulu Province, Republic of Philippines: or a convenient Presence.* (2008). In print.

At this time there are only four academics in Australia who have an intimate knowledge of the Muslim issues in the Southern Philippines. No Australian academic has made a detailed study, or indeed detailed research into contemporary issues of the Sulu Tausug Muslims: Bob hopes that his research will enable a better understanding of these issues.

#### Abstract

##### *The Abu Sayyaf in the Archipelago: Discrediting Islam. Abetting USA Foreign Policy*

The Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), a fundamentalist al-Qa'ida linked Muslim terrorist organisation, predominately domiciled in the three Philippine Provinces of the Sulu Archipelago, has been responsible for Killings and kidnappings all supposedly in the name of honouring the greater cause of Islam. This paper examines the rise and gradual demise of the ASG to the stage where its existence at this time, is at the best, minimal in Basilan Province, and questionable in Sulu Province. The paper argues that the ASG has abandoned its original founder's goal of establishing an independent Islamic State in the southern Philippines, opting now for hiraba rather than Jihad. And this in turn allows the Philippine Arroyo Administration to pursue its domestic counterinsurgency policies in the predominately Muslim provinces of the Sulu Archipelago, by likening the actions of criminals who discredit Islam to the more acceptable liberation insurgency actions of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). Furthermore the criminal actions of the ASG only help to give legitimacy to the USA's military presence in the Sulu Archipelago, and legitimacy to their counterinsurgency foreign policies, which are, in part, an extension of their 'Global War on Terror'. The paper finds that for peace to return to the Sulu Archipelago it is imperative that the USA withdraw its forces from the Sulu Archipelago. And the Arroyo Administration must allow the Philippine National Police, not the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), to pursue the criminals, thugs and liars who purport to have commitments to a higher cause.

# Bios and abstracts

## Hugh Wilson

PhD Candidate, Faculty of Arts (International Relations), University of Southern Queensland

Hugh Wilson came to Australia from the UK in 1973, working mainly in the transport industry as a 'roads scholar'. Marriage, and later children, brought a work change, towards greater political involvement in the community as a trades union official for seven years. In the interests of an improved life-work balance swap with Judith, Hugh (happily) exchanged paid work for home-duties, becoming the primary carer to their three children while Judith resumed her career. Having packed their youngest child off to primary school, Hugh enrolled at USQ Toowoomba and undertook undergraduate studies in journalism, public relations and international relations. Having graduated, Hugh enrolled in a Master of Arts (Asian Studies) working with the Queensland Firefighters' Union on 'globalisation' and 'human security' matters concerning the impending free trade agreement with China and the possible impact on firefighters. Arising from this research came questions concerning Australia's 'national interest', which has led Hugh to his current PhD research on the role played by faith and religion on Australia's foreign and trade policy development during the Howard years. Hugh is a recumbent tri-cyclist and cycle activist in Toowoomba and at USQ.

### Abstract

*Australia's 'National Interest' is a Secular Construction: Is 'the National Interest' Compromised by the Ambitions of Domestic Religious Faith- Groups?*

This paper focuses on Australia's national interest, which is primarily concerned, in the first instance, with national security. It explores selected influences that might impact upon the national interest. In particular, it addresses the emerging influence of, and awareness about, the presence and role of religion and faith in shaping national and international security debates. Specifically, it explores if and how Australia's national interest might be shaped by certain religious groups and actors within and beyond Australia. It considers whether the actions of these groups, who recognise a higher sovereignty than that of the elected Commonwealth government, could result in the national interest being at least partially appropriated to promote the partisan interests of a generally unacknowledged trans-national/global 'religious nation'. It queries whether such a challenge to the contemporary national interest could be at the expense of the more traditional notions that have, to date, framed the secular Australian nation-state, its constructions of the national interest, and issues relating to Australia's national security in the current global 'post-September 11' security climate.

## Panel five

### Mohamed Ibrahim

Chairman, Centre for Research and Dialogue, Mogadishu, Somalia

Mohamed Ibrahim is a Monash University graduate who has worked in the IT industry for the past 20 years in Australia and the Middle East. He is now an independent researcher, with a keen interest in the use of IT&T for development, the role of NGOs and civil societies in developing countries, Islamic movements in the developing world and the role, and the Sunni/Shia theological differences (if any?).

### Abstract

*The Geopolitical Implications of the Somali 'Islamic Courts' Activities in the Horn of Africa*

Scholars, journalists, intelligence agencies, and security forces around the world intensely research, write and talk about Jihadist activities. But what exactly does 'Jihadist activities' mean? Who are the Jihadists? Do they really have regional dimensions?

This paper attempts to shed some light on this ancient and yet contemporary phenomenon, tracing the religious, political and other sources of 'Jihad'? Is 'Jihad' what really motivates Islamic movements? I will cover the recent developments in the Horn of Africa region to elaborate this point taking into account many factors that are said to inspire Islamic movements and Jihadists worldwide as well as factors that are specific to the region such as the rise of the 'Islamic Courts' in Somalia, who have been making headlines lately. Who and what are the 'Islamic courts' in Somalia? Why is it important to understand their current and future role in the geopolitical stability of the Horn of Africa? And why is important to understand them to update and expand our knowledge in this field.

Certainly there is a need to rethink the way 'jihad' and related activities are analysed. Perhaps we should seriously look into all the factors that contribute to what we consider to be a 'Jihadist activities'. For example, in the Horn of Africa, many seem to confuse 'Jihadist activities' with classic clanism and nationalism conflicts or even resource management issues. Then there are those who lack deeper and sophisticated understanding of Islam who want to achieve their objectives whatever that might be via violence; are these really 'jihadists'? Are there any constant variables, structures that we can identify that make these groups unique?

Using the Somali 'Islamic courts' in the Horn of Africa as a case study, this paper will also cover similar movements in Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere to contribute to our understanding of the regional dimensions of the Jihadist activities.

## Ela Ogru

Global Terrorism Research Centre, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

Ela Ogru BA (Hons), MA (Politics) completed her Masters degree by research at Monash University in 2007, with a dissertation titled 'Turkish Nation-Building and the Development of Kurdish Nationalism: Marginalisation and Integration of Identity'. Prior to this, she completed her Bachelor of Arts (Politics and Philosophy), and Honours year in Politics (also at Monash), examining the development of Palestinian nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s.

Upon completing her Masters last year, she worked for the Centre for Studies in Religion and Theology at the School of Historical Studies, Monash University, as a research assistant and tutor. She is currently working for the Global Terrorism Research Centre (GTRc), Monash University, as a researcher, centre administrator and tutor. She co-authored *Perceptions of Multiculturalism and Security in Victoria* with Pete Lentini and Anna Halafoff, a GTRc report prepared for the Department of Premier and Cabinet, and has since been assisting with the program *Faith and Media Training* – a media training course for faith leaders facilitated by GTRc, the UNESCO Chair in Interreligious and Intercultural Relations, Globe Communications and the Victorian Multicultural Commission.

Ela has had a particular focus on Turkish and Kurdish politics, and her main research interests include nationalism, religion, political violence, terrorism, identity construction, politics of social inclusion/exclusion, issues of radicalisation and de-radicalisation.

### Abstract

*New Directions in Political Islam in Turkey: Kemalism in Transition*

Political Islam has entered a new space in mainstream political arenas in Turkey. Following almost a century of committed state exclusion from public spheres, some Islamist organisations are now interacting more freely within new boundaries set by the state. These Islamist organisations however, are generally not ones that seek radical change or the implementation of Sharia. Rather, they advocate a somewhat closer connection between Turkish political and state culture with Islam. Such organisations

seek to counter the rigid secularism of the Kemalist modernisers, and have in some ways offered more progressive solutions to existing crises such as Kurdish claims to identity rights and Turkey's accession into the European Union. The changes that have taken place as a result of this are both symptomatic of -and have further contributed to -a transition in the Kemalist ideology of the Turkish state.

## Professor Marika Vicziany

Director, Monash Asia Institute, Monash Asia Institute

Marika Vicziany is Professor of Asian Political Economy and Director of the Monash Asia Institute. She has a doctorate from SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) and has published 15 monographs and over 100 academic papers in international journals and various books. Her expertise is on mass poverty, development, human security, regional security, religion-communal relations in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and western China. Her most recent book *Kashgar: Oasis City on China's Old Silk Road* (Frances Lincoln, London, 2008 October) deals with the Uygurs of Xinjiang in China's far west. It is a photographic essay of daily life and the cultural monuments of the region- illustrated with photographs by John Gollings, Australia's best known architectural photographer. This is part of an international project with Chinese and Australian scholars, including the renowned authors George Michell and Tsui Yen Hu.

### Abstract

#### *How Important Is Religion In South Asian Terrorism?*

This paper explores the interplay of religious identity with notions of justice, citizenship and socio-economic class in the bombings that have occurred in India since the destruction of the mosque at Ayodhya in early December 1992. Family loyalties, it argues, have played an important role in recruiting and holding together terrorist groups in South Asia. This provides the logistical foundation for sustained violence, which is fuelled by notions of injustice.

## Panel six

### Leah Farrall

PhD Candidate, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

Until recently Leah Farrall was a senior Counter Terrorism Intelligence Analyst with the Australian Federal Police and the organisation's al Qaeda subject matter expert. During her time at the AFP Leah worked on domestic counter terrorism investigations as well as serving as the senior Intelligence Analyst in the AFP's Jakarta Regional Cooperation Team (JRCT) in Indonesia.

Prior to joining the AFP Leah taught at the University of Queensland, where she coordinated the Terrorism and Insurgency in World Politics course. Leah currently specialises on terrorist use of information communications technology for operational and propaganda purposes. She has presented extensively on this topic to a range of government and academic forums. Her current research interests are terrorist operational networks, radicalisation and de-radicalisation trajectories, militant salafist propaganda and recruitment, social network analysis and computer forensics.

Leah has also worked in private industry in Hong Kong SAR, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. She is currently a private consultant while writing up her PhD on Reconceptualising al Qaeda and the evolution of militant salafist jihad.

### Abstract

#### *Re-Interpreting Al Qaeda: A Command-And-Control Perspective*

The recent debate on al Qaeda's operational structure between two leading terrorist specialists, Marc Sageman and Bruce Hoffman, highlighted a key problem with the state of the art. Their debate centers on whether al Qaeda operates primarily as a leaderless jihad movement, or a more traditional terrorist organisation, controlled by a strong centralised hierarchy. Yet, neither Hoffman nor Sageman has undertaken any substantive research in the very arena where al Qaeda's post 2001 operational structure manifests: the internet. The result has been added confusion for the field of counter terrorism studies and an underwhelming contribution to counter terrorism practices.

By using primary source material drawn from the internet, which reveals al Qaeda communication with a key member of the Toronto 18, this presentation will show that both Sageman and Hoffman have fundamentally misunderstood al Qaeda's operational structure and processes. In doing so, it will explain the underpinnings of al Qaeda's command and control structure, which governs relations between its core leadership and its peripheral human 'base'.

### Dr Pete Lentini

Director, Global Terrorism Research Centre, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

Dr Pete Lentini (BA, Rhode Island; PhD, Glasgow) is Director and Co-Founder of the Global Terrorism Research Centre (GTRC), Monash University, and the Founder and Convener of the Master of Counter-Terrorism Studies program. His research interests include neojihadism, counter-terrorism and radicalisation in Australia, political violence and reconciliation in Chechnya, comparative extremisms and apocalyptic traditions. He previously lectured at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, Birmingham University and the Central European University (Prague Campus). He has published in leading peer reviewed journals and edited collections on terrorism and extremism, cultural and subcultural politics, and Russian politics, and he edited *Elections and Political Order in Russia* (1995) and (with Marika Vicziany and David Wright-Neville) *Regional Security in the Asia Pacific: 9/11 and After* (2004). At present he is completing a volume *Neojihadism: Towards a New Understanding of Terrorism and Extremism?* (forthcoming, Edward Elgar). Pete has previously served as an Associate Dean (Research) for the Faculty of Arts, and Head and Deputy Head of School of the School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University. Monash has also presented him with awards and commendations for teaching, postgraduate supervision, and professional service in community- and industry-based research and scholarly engagement.

# Bios and abstracts

## Abstract

### *The Transference of Neojihadism: Towards a Process Theory of Transnational Radicalisation*

Identifying the causes of terrorism and radicalisation continues to be a contentious issue within the social and policy sciences. However, it is unfortunate that while most scholars agree that there are diverse terrorisms, encompassing various political, religious and other forms of ideologies and objectives, that their attempts to understand terrorism, and how people become radicalised to commit terrorism, tend to fall exclusively into single factor explanations: political, economic, religious and individual motivations, as well as particular individuals' influence and contributions. However, Richard A. Peterson's production of culture perspective (1976, 1990), argues that while it is important to identify the importance of individuals and unique antecedents in generating social and cultural changes, that significant movements and cultural innovations result from a confluence of multiple, over-lapping components or 'constraints', ranging from new technologies, legal developments, occupational careers, organisational and other factors. Additionally, David Arquilla and John Ronfeldt argue that contemporary conflict embraces five core dimensions: technological, organisational, doctrinal, social, and narrative (2001). Drawing on materials from websites, published testimonies, legal documents and other materials, this paper will adapt and apply Peterson's perspective to neojihadism – a distinct late twentieth-century and early-twenty-first-century form of ideological expression, subculture, and militancy that combines novel understandings and interpretations of Islamic theology and jurisprudence, with other non-Islamic forms of social organisation and interaction (Lentini 2008). Its aim is to generate an understanding on how neojihadism's participants and adherents create this new culture and subculture, but most importantly, how they embrace and enact its principles and become radicalised as active agents through a global transference of ideology, theology, images and narratives.

## Panel seven

### Professor Greg Barton

Herb Feith Research Professor for the Study of Indonesia, Acting Director, Centre for Islam and the Modern World -School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University, Deputy UNESCO Chair in Interreligious and Intercultural Relations – Asia Pacific

Dr Greg Barton joined at Monash University as the *Herb Feith Research Professor for the Study of Indonesia* in January 2007, based in the school of Political and Social Inquiry (PSI) in the Faculty of Arts. Prior to that he had worked for a year as an Associate Professor at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) in Honolulu, Hawaii. Before that he was an Associate Professor at Deakin University where had worked since 1993. He developed and taught courses in the Politics stream on *Political Leadership, Global Islamic Politics, and Society and Culture in Contemporary Asia*, and earlier, in the Religious Studies stream, on Islam and Christianity.

Greg has internationally recognised expertise in Indonesian social movements, politics and religion. His knowledge of Indonesian politics and society, especially of the role of Islam as both a constructive and a disruptive force, is internationally recognised. In particular his work on progressive Islamic thought and its contribution to civil society and politics, together with his writing about Jemaah Islamiyah and other radical Islamist groups in Indonesia, is regarded as being on the cutting edge of his field. He has long studied the politics of reform, democratisation and regime-change in Indonesia. Researching his biography of Abdurrahman Wahid through the years of Reformasi, post-Soeharto election campaigning, and the rise and fall of the Wahid presidency, and subsequent research through the Yudhoyono presidency, afforded him a unique perspective from which to observe and analyse Indonesia's political culture. This has contributed to him becoming one of Australia's leading analysts and commentators on Indonesian politics and current affairs. His opinions have been sought from a wide range of officials within departments of the government of Australia and its allies and he is frequently advised to address small groups analysts and larger meetings in business, media, civil society and government circles in Australia, Indonesia, Singapore and America.

## Abstract

### *How Indonesian is Indonesian Salafi Jihadism?*

In the wake of the October 12, 2002 bomb attack in Bali much of what was written about the previously overlooked peak Southeast Asian Jihadi terrorist group Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) tended to simplify the relationship between JI and al-Qaeda. Even today, many writers continue to portray JI as 'al-Qaeda's Southeast Asian division'. The reality is, of course, rather more complex. The leading figures in JI broadly subscribe to the same Salafi Jihadi doctrinal and ideological tenets as the leadership of al-Qaeda but the organisation operates separately from al-Qaeda and is largely motivated by local concerns. This paper seeks to understand the character of JI's Salafi Jihadism and the extent to which it can be characterised as "al-Qaedaism". It examines evidence of Jihadi ideological penetration into Indonesia and addresses the following questions:

- i) How prolific are major Jihadi ideological writings in Indonesia in 2008 and beyond? (Are they still being found in both Arabic and translated into local languages.)
- ii) What is the nature and extent of the Jihadi web presence in Indonesia.
- iii) To what extent do Jihadists in Indonesia pay attention to the plight of international Jihadi clerics (Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, Abu Qatada, Abu Hamza al-Masri, Nasr al-Fahd, etc. – are these familiar figures to the rising generations of Indonesian jihadist community and if so, how did they come to be?).

It concludes with reflection on what this tells us about the future of JI and Jihadi Islamism in Indonesia and Muslim Southeast Asia.

## Dr Anthony Bergin and Dr Carl Ungerer

Australian Strategic Policy Institute

Dr Anthony Bergin is the Director of Research Programs for ASPI. He is responsible for the Institute's research and publications programs on defence and international security issues. Dr Bergin was most recently Associate Professor of Politics, University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) in Canberra. From 1981-1985 he taught political science at the Royal Australian Naval College. From 1991-2003 he was the Director of the Australian Defence Studies Centre (ADSC). He is the author and editor of a number of important works including *Future Unknown: the terrorist threat to Australian maritime security* (ASPI, 2005), *Naval Power in the Pacific* (Westview, 1993), and *The Pacific Patrol Boat Project: a Case Study in Defence Cooperation* (ANU, 1994).

He has written extensively on a wide range of national security and ocean policy issues.

Dr Carl Ungerer is the Director of the Australian National Security Project for ASPI. Prior to joining ASPI, Carl was a lecturer in international relations at the University of Queensland. His previous appointments include Foreign Affairs and National Security Advisor to the Leader of the Australian Labor Party (2002-2004), senior Strategic Analyst in the Office of National Assessments (1999-2002) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (1993-1999). Carl has published widely on foreign policy and national security issues, including *The Politics of Nuclear Non-Proliferation* (co-edited, 2001) and *Australian Foreign Policy in the Age of Terror* (edited, 2008).

## Abstract

*Cyber-jihad: The Internet and Terrorism in Southeast Asia*

The internet plays an increasingly important role in the dissemination of terrorist propaganda and materials. Leading al-Qaeda strategists have long demonstrated the importance of the internet as a tool of communication. Scholars have argued that for al-Qaeda's senior leadership, the physical sanctuary of the Afghan/Pakistan border region has been replaced by the virtual sanctuary of the internet. More recently, the internet has been identified as a potential source of recruitment and radicalisation among Muslim communities in Western countries. Although there is a growing body of research on this problem as it is manifested in Europe, the Middle East and North America, less attention has been given to the jihadist internet problem in Southeast Asia and how it affects neighbouring countries such as Australia. This paper, drawn from a collaborative research partnership between ASPI and the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at Nanyang University in Singapore, examines the nature and extent of terrorist internet use in Southeast Asia and identifies a set of national and regional policy responses.

## Dr Julian Millie

ARC Fellow, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University

Julian's major research interest is the Islamic culture of Indonesia in general, and cultural production connected with religious gatherings in particular. He completed undergraduate study in Indonesian language and culture at Monash University, Melbourne, and also holds a graduate diploma in Arabic from the University of Melbourne. Between 2001 and 2005 he was a PhD researcher in the Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), Leiden University, the Netherlands. He defended his thesis, entitled *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual reading and Islamic sanctity in West Java*, in February of 2006. In April of 2007, Julian commenced a three year Australian Research Council Fellowship for the project entitled 'Preaching Islam in Indonesia: Publics, Performers and Politics'. His major publication to date is *Bidasari: Jewel of Malay Muslim Culture* (KITLV Press, 2004).

## Abstract

*From Sermon to Print: Orators and Ideological Contest in Bandung*

The city of Bandung has a class of Islamic figures who specialise in delivering oratory. This is a fulltime profession: some high-profile orators commonly speak at three engagements per day. Oratory is not, however, the only medium through which these figures are meaningful for the Bandung public, for the city's Islamic community is supplied with a constant stream of articles, books and pamphlets written in their names.

These orators are not, however, authors in the traditional sense. Most of them never write at all. Their oratories are recorded and transformed into writing by members of organisations which use the profiles of orators to help disseminate their messages. This transformation of oratory into written text is usually motivated by either commercial or sectarian agendas. The process sees the face-to-face medium of oratory combine with local print media in a celebrity system that provides an infrastructure for the pursuit of commercial agendas but also for ideological contest.

This paper, which draws on Millie's recent fieldwork experiences in West Java, argues that this process has implications for our understanding of how the texts that form the substance of ideological contestation in Indonesian Islamic society are created.