

FORUM

论坛

Terrorist rehabilitation: a global imperative

恐怖分子改造：全球的当务之急

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Introduction

序言

Rehabilitation is to help someone return to normal life by providing education, training, and therapy. Those exposed to and convinced by terrorist ideology do not lead normal lives. They adopt the writings and speeches of ideologues that espouse hatred and transform themselves. Whether they are operational terrorists or extremist supporters, they believe that violence and other extreme measures are acceptable means to bring about political change. Terrorists and their supporters are not mainstream but are extreme. To facilitate their return to the mainstream from the extreme, they must be rehabilitated. Unless a terrorist is rehabilitated before his release from custody, he is likely to pose a security threat to the government and a societal threat to the community upon his return. As his belief system did not undergo change, he is likely to contaminate others with his ideals and recruit them to advance his cause.

改造是通过提供教育、培训和心理治疗来帮助那些被恐怖主义意识形态影响并深信不疑而无法正常生活的人重回正常生活状态。他们受仇恨理论倡导者的作品和演讲影响改变了自己。无论他们是军事行动的恐怖分子还是极端主义的支持者，他们都认为暴力和其他极端措施是可接受的实现政治变革的手段。恐怖分子及其支持者不是主流，而是极端分子。为了促使他们从极端回归主流，**定必须要**对他们进行改造。除非恐怖分子在被释放前被改造成功，否则他很可能在返回后对政府构成安全威胁，对社区构成社会威胁。由于他的信仰体系没有变化，他很可能传播恐怖主义思想**污染影响**他人，并招募他们来推进他的事业。

Unlike economically-motivated criminals, brief or prolonged incarceration is unlikely to change the belief system of ideologically-driven terrorists. Terrorist rehabilitation is different from criminal rehabilitation. Those terrorists or supporters released from custody have repeatedly offended after their release. This includes those detained and released from the US detention facility in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The Muslim world perceived the Guantanamo Bay as revenge by the US and not as justice by them and, as such, many returnees received a hero's welcome in their own countries. Upon release, the terrorists who were not transformed or experienced

radicalization during detention, advocated, supported, or committed acts of violence. As those detained in Guantanamo Bay were not rehabilitated, they often remained committed to the philosophy of Al Qaeda and its associated groups.

恐怖分子与经济动机的犯罪不同，短期或长期监禁不太可能改变他们受意识形态驱使的信仰体系，恐怖分子的改造不同于囚犯的改造。那些恐怖分子或其支持者在获释后重蹈覆辙，包括那些在古巴关塔那摩湾美国拘留中心被监禁并释放的恐怖分子。穆斯林世界认为关塔那摩湾是美国的报复行为，而不是正义行为，甚至很多获释的恐怖分子在他们自己的国家受到英雄礼遇。在拘留期间没有被改造或经历激进化的恐怖分子，获释后仍会主张、支持或实施暴力行为。那些被拘留在关塔那摩湾没有被改造的人，他们往往仍然忠于基地组织及相关组织的理念。

Rehabilitation is the answer to two grave challenges the world is faced with today. First, Al Qaeda and its family of groups that specifically target Muslim populations. The contemporary wave of violence and counter violence produces terrorist recruits and extremist supporters. Those exposed to the vicious ideology believe in the philosophy and methodology of Al Qaeda. They need to be ideologically and theologically rehabilitated.

当今，恐怖分子改造是世界面临两项重大挑战的答案。首先，基地组织及其家族专门针对穆斯林群体。当代暴力和反暴力的浪潮催生了新的恐怖分子和极端分子支持者。暴露在恐怖主义意识形态环境中的人相信基地组织的哲学和方法论。需要在意识形态和神学方面对其进行改造。

Second, contemporary detention and prison conditions contribute to radicalization. Unless detainees and inmates are kept in isolation, they become susceptible to indoctrination and training by fellow detainees and inmates. In most penitentiary and detention facilities, detainees and inmates are housed communally. In some facilities, both criminal inmates and security detainees are co-located leading to an exchange of skills and will as well as co-recruitment and alliances that persist after release.

其次，当代拘留所和监狱的环境也促使激进主义盛行。除非被拘留者和囚犯被单独关押，否则他们很容易受到其他在押人员的影响和培训。大多数监狱和拘留设施的囚犯和被拘留者都是混住在一起的。在一些设施中，刑事犯人和由于安全因素被拘留的人员关押在一起，这导致他们进行技能和意志的交流并且在获释后不断招募同僚并且结盟。

The reverse of radicalization in custody is rehabilitation. To address the above mentioned problems, rehabilitation should be made available in every facility housing terrorist detainees and inmates. After examining the practices of terrorist rehabilitation programs, this paper argues why a global regime on terrorist rehabilitation is necessary.

监禁中激进化的相反面是改造。为了解决上述问题，每个关押恐怖分子和囚犯的设施都应提供改造服务。在考察了恐怖分子改造计划的项目实践后，本文论证了为什么有必要建立一个改造恐怖分子的全局机制。

The context

语境

The global campaign against terrorism has been dominated by an overwhelming kinetic response. The lethal operations have temporarily disrupted terrorist operational infrastructures but have not disrupted the conceptual infrastructures driving extremism and terrorism. The modus operandi to catch, kill, and disrupt terrorist organisations is having a boomerang effect. Although the operational capabilities of terrorist groups have been reduced in some theatres, the motives and intentions of the terrorists to fight back have grown, protracting the fight.

一直以来，全球反恐运动以压倒性的致命军事行动为主导。这些行动暂时破坏了恐怖分子行动的基础设施，但没有破坏推动极端主义和恐怖主义概念的基础设施。抓捕、击毙和瓦解恐怖组织的方法正在产生自食其果的效果。虽然恐怖主义集团在某些战区的作战能力已被削弱，但恐怖分子反击的动机和意图却有所增长，延长了战斗时间。

In some countries, soft power has been cast aside as hard powers are wielded. The combination-- smart power-- is used only by a very few nations. Whilst the use of operational measures should not be disregarded, an equal amount of attention has not been given to the strategic fight—the battle of ideas. Ideological and intellectual infrastructures form the foundations of the terrorist movements. As the environment remains permissive, ideology remains the lifeblood of contemporary terrorist groups and movements. Terrorist ideologies can only be de-legitimised by ideological and theological refutation. To safeguard the next generation of youth from the lure of fighting and the appeal of extremist ideology, counter ideology must be incorporated into the counter-terrorism toolbox. Ideally, the two counter-ideology prongs of community engagement and rehabilitate operational terrorist rehabilitation should be used in parallel.

在一些国家，软实力已被抛诸脑后，取而代之的是硬实力的施展。只有极少数国家才会采用软硬结合的智慧力量—思想之战。虽然不应忽视军事行动的做法，但战略层面的斗争—思想斗争却没有得到均衡的关注。意识形态和知识基础设施构成了恐怖主义运动的基础。由于环境的纵容，意识形态仍然是当代恐怖组织和运动的命脉。恐怖主义意识形态只有通过意识形态和神学方面的驳斥才能去合法性。为了保护下一代年轻人使其免受战斗诱惑和极端主义意识形态的吸引，必须将反极端意识形态纳入反恐工具箱。理想情况下，社区参与和恐怖分子改造这两项反意识形态措施应同时并用。

By building community-based programs that aim to engage indoctrinated extremists and rehabilitate operational terrorists, regeneration of violence can be prevented. These programs can be built in partnership with the government. Terrorist rehabilitation is a vital tool in the fight where incarcerated terrorists are engaged to recant, repent, and express remorse for their thoughts and acts of violence.

通过建立旨在让被洗脑的极端分子重新认识自我、帮助恐怖分子改造的社区项目来防止暴力再次发生。可以与政府合作开展这些项目。恐怖分子改造是一项打击恐怖主义活动至关重要的手段，它要求被拘留的恐怖分子摒弃恐怖思想和暴

力行为，并为此忏悔。

The background

背景

There are over 100,000 convicted and suspected terrorists languishing in penitentiary and detention centres from Europe to the Middle East and Asia. Although there are vocational and educational programs to rehabilitate criminals, there are very few initiatives to rehabilitate terrorists. Though terrorist rehabilitation has been the topic of significant interest and debate from academic circles in the US to officials in Europe, there has been very little effort to examine the concepts, the processes, and the outcomes of terrorist rehabilitation. Despite significant study into terrorist mindsets and the ideologies driving them, terrorist rehabilitation remains the exception worldwide. Terrorist rehabilitation is not the norm.

从欧洲到中东乃至亚洲，被定罪的恐怖分子和涉嫌恐怖主义犯罪的人员共超过10万，他们在监狱和拘留所饱受折磨。虽然有改造囚犯的职业技术和教育项目，但很少有针对恐怖分子的改造方案。从美国的学术界到欧洲的官员，虽然恐怖分子改造一直是人们非常感兴趣并且备受争议的话题，但几乎没有人试图去研究恐怖分子改造的概念、过程和结果。尽管人们对恐怖主义心态及其驱动力进行了大量研究，但恐怖分子改造在世界范围内仍然是例外。恐怖分子改造并非常态。

During the Bush presidency, the US had an opportunity to start a rehabilitation program in Guantanamo Bay (Gitmo). Instead, the US earned the anger of the Muslim world by portraying images of muffled and chained men wearing orange jumpsuits. Gitmo should have been divided into two sections, one of them being a section where detainees who cooperated received counselling, learnt livelihood skills, played with their children, and met with their families. When released the Gitmo detainees were more radicalised than when they were bought in. As there was no rehabilitation program it was very seldom that, upon release. Detainees gave up their ways. As the battlefield of the mind was not addressed, nearly 100 former detainees have returned to the fight. President Obama signed a decree on 22 January 2009 ordering the closure of the detention centre. Most countries receiving the Gitmo detainees have no rehabilitation programs. Thus, there is an urgent need for countries to develop rehabilitation programs.

在布什总统任期内，美国有机会在关塔那摩湾(Gitmo)启动一个改造项目。但是，美国通过描绘一个被蒙住眼睛、带着镣铐，穿着橙色衣服的男子形象，引起了穆斯林世界的愤怒。关塔那摩湾本应该被分为两个区域，在其中一个区域，被拘留者可以配合接受辅导、学习谋生技能、与他们的孩子玩耍，并可以与家人会面的区域。被拘留在关塔那摩湾的恐怖分子获释时往往比被逮捕时更加激进。因为没有改造计划，极少的恐怖分子在获释后改变之前的行为方式。由于没有解决心理战场的问题，近100名之前被拘留的恐怖分子已经重返战场。2009年1月22日，奥巴马总统于签署了一项法令，下令关闭拘留中心。大多数接收关塔那摩湾被拘留者的国家都没有改造计划。因此，各国迫切需要制定改造计划。

Egypt pioneered the idea of religious rehabilitation in the 1990s. Al Azhar

scholars and other counsellors as well as the historical leadership of al Gama al Islamiyah al Masri (Islamic Group of Egypt) began to influence detainees and inmates to abandon violence and build peace. Programs for rehabilitating communist terrorists in Malaysia and Singapore were developed in the 1960s and 1970s but these were not elaborate. Communism in Asia was not a global threat and religion was not the basis for the ideological mindset in that era. Resolution of the problem at the time was contextual. After realising the scale of the threat following the Al Oaeda attacks on the US on 11 September 2001, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Uzbekistan, Indonesia, and Malaysia developed national rehabilitation programs. Since then the process of detainee and inmate rehabilitation has been gaining popularity worldwide. As a new frontier in counter-terrorism practice, rehabilitation programs have provided degrees of success in countries that have adopted them. Some programs, such as those in Singapore, have been developed with community participation where clerics and scholars have volunteered to counsel detainees and other well-meaning individuals and institutions have provided for the detainee families. In such counter-terrorism and extremism initiatives, participation and ownership by the community is an important first step in the right direction.

埃及在 20 世纪 90 年代率先提出了宗教改造的理念。爱资哈尔大学的学者和其他顾问，以及埃及伊斯兰集团 (Islamic Group of Egypt) 的历史领导人，开始感化被拘留者和囚犯放弃暴力，建立和平。20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代，马来西亚和新加坡制定了改造共产主义恐怖分子的计划，但这些计划并不详细。亚洲的共产主义不是全球性的威胁，在那个时代，宗教也不是意识形态思维模式的基础。当时问题的解决是有时代背景的。2001 年 9 月 11 日，基地组织对美国发动袭击后，新加坡、沙特阿拉伯、伊拉克、乌兹别克斯坦、印度尼西亚和马来西亚意识到基地组织的威胁，制定了国家级的改造计划。从那时起，被拘留者和囚犯改造项目在世界范围内越来越流行。作为反恐实践的新前沿，开展改造项目的国家取得了一定程度的成功。一些项目，例如新加坡政府在社区参与下制定的项目，神职人员和学者自愿为被拘留者提供咨询，其他善意的个人和机构为被拘留者家庭提供援助。在此类反恐和极端主义举措中，社区的参与和社区拥有参与权是朝着正确方向迈出的重要第一步。

Why terrorist rehabilitation?

为什么改造恐怖分子？

Rehabilitation should become a complementary strategy in the ongoing fight against terrorism and extremism. Today, many arrested terrorists are not considered as requiring treatment. They are either treated as criminals or prisoners of war. However, unlike common criminals, terrorists carry an ideology, The mind is the most powerful weapon against their enemies and opponents. By unlocking the mind, a terrorist can be made to reflect and re-examine his own ideas and thoughts. This is why terrorist rehabilitation is unique. Still in an experimental phase, terrorist rehabilitation requires visionary leadership, government-community partnership, and a well-resourced specialist program of dedicated and trained staff.

改造应该成为当前打击恐怖主义和极端主义的补充策略。如今，普遍认为许多被捕的恐怖分子不需要改造。他们被当作囚犯或者战俘对待。然而，与普通囚犯不

同，恐怖分子带有意识形态。思想是打击敌人和对手的最具威力的武器。通过解放思想，可以促使恐怖分子反思和重新审视自己的观念和思想。这就是为什么恐怖分子的改造是独特的。恐怖分子的改造仍处于试验阶段，该项目需要由几个关键因素推动：有远见的领导、政府与社区的伙伴关系，资源充足的敬业专家和训练有素的工作人员。

Terrorist rehabilitation is based on the theory that mere punishment through imprisonment is not enough to permanently reform and facilitate their re-integration into society upon release. Particularly for the Islamist terror detainees, the ideological debate or religious counselling sessions are a very important component of the rehabilitation program. This is because their behavior and ways of thinking are based on an incorrect understanding or misinterpretation of Islamic concepts. Hence, the counselling sessions serve to provide them with the correct understanding of Islam and its leading concepts. This correct understanding will not only forestall future criminal acts. But will also convince them that such behavior is inappropriate and misguided. Consequently, this may bring about genuine feelings of remorse and repentance, hence permanently removing the source of motivation for their involvement in terrorist and extremist-related activities.

恐怖分子的改造是基于这样的理论，即仅仅通过拘留的惩罚措施不足以永久性地改造他们，也不能在获释后帮助他们重新融入社会。特别是对于被拘留的伊斯兰恐怖分子，意识形态辩论或宗教咨询研讨会是改造计划的重要组成部分。这是因为他们的行为和思维方式是基于对伊斯兰概念的不正确理解或曲解。

因此，咨询研讨会旨在让他们正确理解伊斯兰教及其核心概念。这种正确的认识不仅会防止未来的犯罪行为，还会使他们认识到这种行为是不恰当的，被误导的。因此，恐怖分子可能会真诚忏悔并改过自新，这样就可永久消除他们参与恐怖主义和和极端主义相关的活动的动机来源。

The global threat coming from violent extremist ideology requires captured terrorists to be rehabilitated before they are released. Unless they abandon the idea of violence before they are released, they will contaminate others with their ideas and support and commit act of the violence. The disengagement strategy used should incorporate incentives, re-education, and rehabilitation. As an essential element in the fight against extremism, detainee and inmate rehabilitation is the reverse of terrorist indoctrination. De-radicalization is both detainee and inmate rehabilitation, and community engagement. Such de-radicalization initiatives can proactively and reactively counter the contemporary wave of extremism.

来自暴力极端主义意识形态的全球威胁要求被捕的恐怖分子在获释前要进行改造。除非他们在获释前放弃暴力的想法，否则他们会用恐怖主义思想污染别人并支持和实施暴力行为。采用的脱离策略应结合激励、再教育和改造。作为打击极端主义的一个基本要素，对被拘留者和囚犯的改造是恐怖主义教化的相对面。去激进化既包括被拘留者和囚犯的改造，也包括社区参与。这种去极端化举措可以积极主动地应对当代极端主义浪潮。

To share global best practices, build a network, and chart the future of terrorist

rehabilitation, Singapore hosted the first International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation (ICTR) from 24-26 February 2009. Organised by the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research and the Religious Rehabilitation Group of Singapore, the three-day international conference included 200 delegates and participants from 20 countries that have existing and aspiring rehabilitation programs. The world's leading practitioners and scholars on detainee and inmate rehabilitation presented at this conference. Security and intelligence specialists, psychologists, religious counsellors, social workers, and other practitioners active in the process of rehabilitating extremists and terrorists all participated. To learn from global best practice and understand the gaps in knowledge, the national programs shared their experience and future plans. The conference was designed not only as a listening and learning event but also an event that will allow participants to focus on the steps to be undertaken in the near future. The understanding gained, the knowledge developed, and the network built aimed at taking rehabilitation to a national level to building support for establishing a global regime in terrorist rehabilitation.

2009年2月24日至26日，新加坡主办了首届重建恐怖主义国际会议，该会议旨在分享全球最佳做法，建立网络，规划改造恐怖分子项目。这次为期三天的国际会议由国际政治暴力与恐怖主义研究中心以及新加坡宗教改造小组举办，有来自20个国家的200名代表和与会者参加，这些国家已有恐怖分子改造计划或者有意向启动该项目。在被拘留者和囚犯改造方面，世界领先的从业者和学者出席了这次会议。安全和情报专家、心理学家、宗教顾问、社区工作者和其他积极为极端分子和恐怖分子改造的从业人员都参加了会议。为了学习全球最佳实践并了解知识差距，国家项目分享了它们的经验和未来计划。这次会议不仅是一次倾听和学习的活动，而且是一次使与会者能够集中精力在不久的将来要采取的实际行动的活动。获得理解、发展知识和建立网络的目的是将恐怖分子改造工作提高到国家级，为建立全球化制度提供支持。

The “human terrain” is key

The contemporary wave of ideologically-driven violence presents a series of new challenges. Most of our countries have built the skill and will to fight using security and intelligence services, the military, and enforcement authorities. However, most countries have not adequately developed the ideological and intellectual understanding, knowledge, and structures to counter the conceptual terrorist infrastructures. To reduce the immediate threat, operational terrorists should be hunted. But, for strategic peace, the reality of the world needs to be corrected. For success, the government should understand that human terrain is the key.

“人类地形”是关键

当代意识形态驱动的暴力浪潮带来了一系列新的挑战。我们大多数国家已经建立了利用安全和情报部门、军队和执法机构进行斗争的技能和意志。然而，大多数国家还没有充分发展意识形态和知识的理解、理论和结构来对抗概念上的恐怖主义基础设施。为了减少迫在眉睫的威胁，应该追捕参与军事活动的恐怖分子。但是，为了战略和平，需要纠正世界的现实。要想成功，政府应该明白，人类地形是关键。

Unlike the previous generation of threat groups, Al Qaeda understood the importance of the human terrain and placed a premium on using new media and technology to spread its message. Many years have passed since Al Qaeda attacked America's most iconic landmarks on 11 September 2001, but governments are still best at using lethal, kinetic, and hard power. By investing heavily in operational counter terrorism—catch, kill, and disrupt—we cannot win the fight in totality. To reverse the current global trend, greater strategic capabilities to win hearts and minds and platforms for engagement should be built. The future is about preventing the creation of extremists and terrorists through community engagement and offender reintegration into the community through rehabilitation.

与上一代的恐怖集团不同，基地组织了解人类地形的重要性，非常重视利用新媒体和技术来传播其信息。自从2001年9月11日，基地组织袭击了美国最具标志性的地标建筑，多年之后，政府仍然最擅长使用致命的、动态的硬实力。在反恐行动中投入大量资金——抓捕、杀害和瓦解——我们无法赢得这场战斗的胜利。要扭转当前的全球趋势，就必须增强赢得人心的战略能力，建立接触的平台。未来要通过社区接触来防止极端分子和恐怖分子的产生，并通过改造来让囚犯重新融入社会。

Terrorism presents the tier-one national security threat to most countries. No country is immune from the threat of extremism or its vicious by-product, terrorism. Even if governments built the most capable military, law enforcement, and national security agencies, no government can guarantee total security from terrorism, the threat is diverse, complex, and global. Truly transnational threats, terrorism, and extremism permeate territorial borders and communities. If any single country or region is producing terrorists and extremists, other countries and regions will remain at risk. There should be recognition that no country is too big to secure itself without the cooperation of others. Similarly, no country is too small when it comes to contribution to global security.

恐怖主义是大多数国家的首要安全威胁。没有哪个国家能够免受极端主义及其恶性副产品——恐怖主义的威胁。即便各国政府建立了最强大的军事力量、执法机构和国家安全机构，也无法保证完全杜绝恐怖主义的威胁，因为威胁是多样、复杂且全球性的。真正的跨国威胁、恐怖主义和极端主义渗透到了各个国家和地区之间。如果任何一个国家或地区在培养恐怖分子和极端分子，那么其他国家和地区就会处于危险之中。应当认识到，没有他国的合作，任何一个国家，无论多强大，都无法确保自身安全。同样，在为全球安全方面做贡献时，任何国家都不必觉得贡献渺小。

Currently, cooperation and collaboration are largely on the operational arena and not at the ideological frontier. To make rehabilitation a part of the solution at a global level a more concerted effort is needed. More than ever before, the world needs expertise and dedication to make this transition from local to regional, and national to international.

目前，合作与协作主要在军事领域开展而非意识形态前沿。要在全球将改造

工作纳入解决方案中，需要更加齐心协力。如今，世界比以往任何时候都更需要专业知识和奉献精神以实现从地方到区域、从国家到国际的转变。

The neglected battlefield

被忽视的战场

Today, the most significant terrorist threat emanates from a global movement, underpinned by a violent politico-religious ideology. Political incompetence drives it, and religious misinterpretation legitimises it. Members of this movement seek to overturn regimes they consider to be apostate through violent and undemocratic means. The local and international grievances of the Muslim masses are exploited to help construct a picture of a modern world hostile towards Islam and Muslims. The threat driven by a volatile ideology can never be adequately addressed by military and law enforcement actions. A paradigm shift must occur.

如今，最为严重的恐怖主义威胁源自一个全球性的运动，该运动以暴力性的政治宗教意识形态为基础。政治上的无能推动了这一运动，宗教意义的曲解使其合法化。该运动的成员试图通过暴力和非民主手段推翻他们认为是叛教的政权。当地及国际穆斯林民众的不满情绪被利用，从而构建出一幅对伊斯兰教和穆斯林怀有敌意的现代世界的图景。由动荡的意识形态所造成的威胁绝非仅靠军事和执法行动就能妥善应对的。必须要有一种典范式的转变。

A terrorist suffers from exposure terrorist propaganda and indoctrination. A vicious by-product of society, perhaps he was more of susceptible and vulnerable to the terrorist message than other members of society. By skillful approaches and interviews, it is possible to map the detainees' ideological, theological, and intellectual makeup, as well as his orientations and inclinations. After discerning the terrorist narrative that prompted him to cross the line, the factors that radicalized him to hate, conceive, plan, prepare, and attack can be identified. The understanding and knowledge to strategically fight the contemporary wave of radicalisation and violence rests within that terrorist. Rehabilitation allows communication with the captured terrorist, challenging his thoughts and ideas, as well as allaying any misgivings he might harbour. Such an approach will eventually defeat terrorism by decreasing the need for militaristic means.

恐怖分子深受恐怖主义宣传和教化的影响。作为一种社区的恶性产物，或许他本身比其他社会成员更易受恐怖主义思想的影响。通过巧妙的策略和访谈，有可能弄清被拘留者的意识形态、宗教信仰和知识构成，以及他的倾向和偏好。在认清促使他越界进而犯罪的恐怖主义叙事之后，能够识别出使他内心仇恨，构想、策划、准备并发动袭击的那些激化因素。从战略上对抗当代激进化和暴力浪潮的理解和知识，都可应用于这名恐怖分子身上。改造允许与被捕的恐怖分子进行交流，挑战他的思想和观念并消除他可能怀有的任何疑虑，这种做法最终将通过减少对军事手段的需求来击败恐怖主义。

The battlefield of the mind is the neglected battlefield. A strategic investment, fighting the battlefield of mind is less costly. Extricating the negative thoughts and replacing them with realistic thoughts is a more humanitarian approach. Making

terrorist rehabilitation mandated by law will have other benefits. It will reduce humiliation, abuse, and torture, routine in most detention facilities and penitentiaries in the developing world.

思想战场是被忽视的战场。在思想战场上战略投入的成本更低。摒弃消极思想并用现实的思想取而代之是一种更人道的做法。将恐怖分子改造工作纳入法律会带来其他好处。这将减少发展中国家的拘留所和监狱中常见的羞辱、虐待和酷刑现象。

Modes of rehabilitation

改造方式

Rehabilitation requires engaging the beneficiary on all its facets. A successful program must recognise all modes of rehabilitation. Within each mode of rehabilitation, there are various styles. The four principal modes of rehabilitation are: religious rehabilitation; psychological rehabilitation; social rehabilitation and vocational rehabilitation.

改造需要受益人在各个方面参与。一个成功的项目要承认所有的改造方式。每一种改造方式都有不同的风格。四种主要的改造方式为：宗教改造、心理改造、社区改造和职业改造。

Religious rehabilitation

宗教改造

Every religion promotes peace and harmony, and values tolerance. However, religious ideology has been used to provide legitimacy in the justification for violence. Although all the great religions teach us compassion, tolerance, and moderation, religion is misused in the process to influence and convince people. In the past two decades we have witnessed terrorism stemming from the propagation of deviant versions of Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Sikhism. Only the religious teachers and scholars can correct this by addressing incorrect interpretations and incorrect teachings. Many terrorists believe that the US, its allies, and its friends are deliberately attacking Islam and killing Muslims. They are made to believe that the West is the “Satan” and a religious obligation binds them to attack the US, its allies, and its friends. Through the imposition of an extremist and militant interpretation of Islam, the terrorists are committed to re-establishing the Caliphate.

每个宗教都提倡和平与和谐，崇尚宽容。然而，宗教意识形态为暴力行为提供了正当性。尽管所有伟大的宗教都教导我们慈悲、宽容和克制，但在影响和说服人们的过程中，宗教被滥用了。在过去的二十年里，我们目睹了源于印度教、犹太教、基督教、佛教和锡克教的非正常版本的传播。只能由宗教教师和学者纠正错误解释和不正确的教义。许多恐怖分子认为，美国及其盟友故意攻击伊斯兰教，杀害穆斯林。他们被迫相信西方是“撒旦”，宗教义务迫使他们攻击美国及其盟友和朋友。通过强化极端主义和激进的伊斯兰教解释，恐怖分子致力于重建哈里发王朝（阿拉伯帝国）。

To derive legitimacy for their struggle, they interpret the Qur'an and other religious scriptures in a manner that portrays them as the true guardians of Islam. Learned Islamic scholars and clerics have the understanding, knowledge, and

authority to correct the Islamic misconceptions a terrorist holds. Unfortunately, among religious communities, the realisation of the dangers of extremist ideas has not been significantly and adequately addressed. Only the clerics of religion are equipped to address this urgent issue. If the right formula is not applied, the terrorist message will spread to epidemic proportions. A systematic methodology is needed to bring the misguided back to the right path, Singapore's Religious Rehabilitation Group produced two manuals in 2004 and in 2009 to aid religious counselling of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) detainees held by the Internal Security Department (ISD), the security and intelligence service of Singapore. In addition to imparting structured counselling sessions, the detainees are provided with religious texts to correct their misconceptions about Islam. In addition to the Our'an, books on Tafsir (exegesis of Our'an), Hadith (sayings and deeds of Prophet), Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), and Sirah (the Prophet's history) are provided.

为了使得斗争合法化，他们对《古兰经》及其他宗教经典进行解读，他们把自己描述为伊斯兰教真正的守护者。博学多才的伊斯兰学者和神职人员具备足够的知识，理解和权威来纠正恐怖分子对伊斯兰教的误解。遗憾的是，在宗教群体中，对极端主义思想危险性的认识并未得到显著和充分的重视。只有宗教教师才具备解决这一紧迫问题的能力。如果不采用正确的方案，恐怖主义信息将会以惊人的速度传播开来。需要一个系统的方法引导误入歧途的人回归正常，新加坡宗教改造小组在 2004 年和 2009 年分别编写了两份手册，以协助新加坡国内安全局（ISD）所羁押的伊斯兰祈祷团（JI）成员进行宗教咨询改造。除了提供结构化的辅导课程外，还为这些被拘留者提供了宗教典籍，以纠正他们对伊斯兰教的误解。除了《古兰经》，还有《古兰经》注释（对《古兰经》的阐释）、《圣训》（先知的言论和行为）、《教法》（伊斯兰法理学）以及《教法学》（先知的历史）等书籍。

In the process of religious rehabilitation, the terrorists' errors in thinking and their worldview need to be eradicated. This includes their tendency to think in a binary mode (I am good, everyone else is evil) and a sense of exclusivity (us versus them mentality). Second, there is a need to shatter the myths surrounding misunderstood Islamic concepts e.g., glorifying suicide bombing as a form of Jihad in the name of God and the concept of allegiance and non-allegiance in which terrorists believe that their loyalty is only to God, His Messenger, and Muslims who abide to their interpretation of Islam, while demanding that Muslims hate and do not have any association with non-Muslims or "impure" Muslims.

在宗教改造的过程中，需要消除恐怖分子的错误思维模式及其世界观。这包括他们倾向于以二元对立的方式思考（我是好人，其他人都是邪恶的）以及排他性思维（我们与他们对立的心态）。其次，需要打破那些围绕着被误解的伊斯兰概念所形成的谬论，例如将自杀式爆炸以上帝的名义美化为圣战的一种形式，以及强化忠诚与不忠诚的概念。他的使者，要承认他们对伊斯兰教教义的解释，并且要憎恨非穆斯林或与“不纯洁”的穆斯林有任何联系。

After extricating the negative ideology and concept, there is a need to replace them with the accurate mainstream religious concepts including the true meaning of Jihad

in Islam and the correct way to treat non-Muslims. Finally, terrorists are to be immunised against future challenges by providing them a wholesome understanding of religion.

在摒弃消极的意识形态和观念之后，需要用正确的主流宗教观念来取代它们，这包括伊斯兰教圣战的真正含义和对待非穆斯林的正确方式。最后，通过让他们对宗教全面正确理解，使恐怖分子能接受未来的挑战。

The services of Ustazahs (female clerics) are also made available to counsel wives. In some cases, the husbands have tried to indoctrinate the wife and the children with extremist beliefs and thoughts. As the husband went through a period of exposure to deviant teachings, the wife must be supported to understand that the husband has been propagating an incorrect understanding of the faith. Counselling extended to the wife must challenge the benefits of propagating extremist thoughts and beliefs within the family. In the future, the wife must neither propagate nor facilitate such views within the family. Some wives, especially those who attended similar classes, were highly exposed to radical ideology. When the husbands became very secretive, wives were left confused by their husband's ideology and behaviour. As such, it is necessary for wives to be provided with religious counselling. Some of the children of the JI members were exposed to the JI ideologies. To prevent them becoming a new generation of JI members, mothers are counselled with the aim of facilitating the recognition of errors and enabling them to promote a correct understanding to guide their children to follow the correct principles.

乌斯塔扎（女性神职人员）也可以向恐怖分子的妻子提供咨询服务。有时候，丈夫试图向妻子和孩子灌输极端主义的信仰和思想。由于丈夫曾经接触邪教教义，妻子必须得到支持才能明白丈夫一直在传播错误的宗教理解。在家庭中，对妻子的咨询服务必须挑战传播极端思想和信仰的好处。此后，妻子不能宣传也不助长恐怖主义思想。一些妻子，尤其是那些参加过类似课程的，受激进意识形态的高度影响。当丈夫变得非常神秘时，妻子会被丈夫的意识形态和行为困惑不堪。因此，有必要为妻子提供宗教咨询。一些伊斯兰祈祷团成员的孩子接触到了伊斯兰教的意识形态。为了防止她们成为新一代的“JI”成员，母亲们接受了咨询辅导，目的是帮助她们认识到错误，并促使她们树立正确的认识，以此引导孩子遵循正确的原则。

Through a combination of tools, a terrorist who needs help can be reformed. While psychological, vocational, and social and family rehabilitation can change one's heart and mind, the most powerful is religious rehabilitation. Religious rehabilitation has the power to unlock the mind of a detainee or an inmate. It has the power to make a beneficiary of rehabilitation repent, become remorseful, and re-enter the mainstream.

通过多种手段的结合，一个需要帮助的恐怖分子可以被改造。虽然心理、职业、社区和家庭的改造可以改变一个人的心灵和思想，但最强大的是宗教改造。宗教改造具有打开被拘留者或囚犯心灵的力量。它有能力使被改造的受益者痛改前非并重新融入主流社会。

Psychological rehabilitation

心理改造

The psychologist adds an important dimension to the rehabilitation process. Psychology enables us to understand why some cross the line and kill. The methodology involves psychological profiling, assessment, and solutions. From a psychological perspective, it is much easier to change behaviour with rewards than with punishment. Introducing a carrot to accompany the many sticks we have means that the reformation of terrorists may be less costly. By showing the beneficiaries that they can benefit from both denouncing a violent ideology and from adopting prosocial behaviour/ideology, their reasons to fight will be nullified.

心理学家在改造过程中增加了一个重要的维度。心理学使我们能够理解为什么有些人越界杀人。方法论包括心理分析，评估和纠正措施。从心理学观点来看，奖励比惩罚更容易改变行为。在现有的“大棒”之外再加上“胡萝卜”，意味着改造恐怖分子的成本可能会更低。通过向受益的被改造人展示他们可以从谴责暴力意识形态并亲社区行为/意识形态中获益，他们的战斗理由就不复存在了。

The captured terrorists must be convinced that their imprisonment or detention is to allow them to participate in a rehabilitation program. They must be assured of getting all the help they need to understand their current situation and how to avoid falling into the same behavioural patterns that trapped them in the first place. For this, they must be given access to enter into dialogue with qualified clerics and scholars of Islam. Their genuine concern for the suffering of Muslims in places such as Gaza and the West Bank, Iraq, and Afghanistan must not be dismissed as extremism. On the contrary, it should be considered as a window that can provide greater understanding as to how the mind works. This will present counsellors with the opportunity to strengthen the poor reasoning capacity and poor communication skills most of them are known to have. Whenever they manifest emotional attachment to a certain issue, counsellors must help them develop a realistic attitude to deal with the issue and seize the opportunity to diminish extremist thoughts, beliefs, and behaviour. With all these benefits, rehabilitation becomes not a choice but a must.

必须让被抓获的恐怖分子相信，将他们监禁或拘留的目的是为了让他们参与一项改造计划。他们要相信能得到所有必要的帮助，这样才能了解自身当前的困难处境以及如何避免重蹈当初使他们陷入困境的那些行为的覆辙。为此，他们应该有与合格的伊斯兰教教士和学者进行对话交流的机会。他们对加沙地带、约旦河西岸、伊拉克和阿富汗穆斯林等地遭受苦难的深切关怀不应被视为极端主义。相反，应将其视为一个窗口，有助于增进对他们思维方式的理解。这将为咨询师提供机会强化他们大多数人的较差的推理能力和沟通能力。每当他们对某个问题表现出情感依恋时，咨询师要帮助他们培养一种现实的态度来应对该问题，并且要抓住机会削弱极端主义思想、信仰和行为。有了这些好处，改造工作不再是一种选择，而是一种必然。

Social rehabilitation

社区改造

When the head of a family is detained, he ceases to be the breadwinner of the family. As the family starts to suffer, both the wife and the children need assistance to survive.

Social rehabilitation becomes essential because the family is traumatised by the detention. Social rehabilitation addresses the concerns of the family: the means of livelihood for the family; the need for school for the children; and making sure the wife and children have a roof over their head. Then family rehabilitation becomes a part of social rehabilitation.

当一家之主被拘留后，他就不再是这个家庭的经济支柱了。随着家庭状况经济恶化，妻子和孩子都需要帮助。这个家庭因拘留事件而受到了创伤，社区改造变得至关重要。社区改造解决家庭的关切问题：养活家人的办法；孩子上学的需求；以及确保妻子和孩子有栖身之所。然后家庭改造就成为社区改造的一部分。

As a part of the community aftercare initiative, wives should be visited by community and social workers. Children should not be socially isolated or treated as if everyone in the family is a terrorist. It becomes necessary to take care of children in a way where the children do not form the next generation of terrorists. By preventing isolation and trauma. The family's reintegration into society is facilitated.

作为社区善后服务计划的一部分，社区和社工应当探访妻子。孩子们不应被孤立于社区之外，也不应被当作整个家庭成员都是恐怖分子那样对待。要以一种不会让孩子们成为下一代恐怖分子的方式来照顾他们。通过防止孤立和伤害，有助于家庭重新融入社会。

As a part of social rehabilitation, social workers assigned to the program provided the children with required play items and helped them with school. To give them strength to live, the community and social workers regularly visit and motivate them. It is important to engage the family mentally and socially to prevent a build up of anger and resentment. Otherwise, it would create the opportunity for extremists and extremist groups to reach out to them. To deny bitterness and counter extremism, community and social workers provide aftercare by way of jobs, monetary assistance, and a fresh outlook. By the time the detainee is released, the family is also transformed, Even after release, community and social workers should continue to work with the family.

作为社区改造的一部分，负责该项目的社工为孩子们提供所需的玩具物品，并帮助他们完成学业。为了让他们拥有活下去的勇气，社区和社工会定期探访并鼓励他们。重要的是要让家庭在精神和社交方面都融社会，防止愤怒和怨恨的积聚。否则，这会给极端分子和极端组织创造机会援助他们。为了消除怨恨并对抗极端主义，社区和社工通过提供工作、经济援助和全新的前景提供后续关怀。当被拘留者获释时，家庭也会发生转变。即使在获释之后，社区和社工也应该继续与家庭合作。

Singapore's Inter-Agency Aftercare Group is a voluntary community effort between different Malay/Muslim agencies and organisations that provide assistance to the families of the detainees., including their wives and children. Within the aftercare framework, the unique approach by these agencies and organisations is aimed at supporting the families of detainees during this difficult period. Yayasan Mendaki (YM), Association of Muslim Professionals (AMP), and Taman Bacaan focus on their

specialised expertise, consolidate expert areas, and coordinate efforts between different agencies for the benefit of the client. YM covers the educational program and assistance in the form of tuition fee subsidy or program fee waiver that it provides to the families. In addition to coordinating with Taman Bacaan and AMP to help the families, YM also refers such families to relevant national agencies (e.g., CDCs, MOE, FSCs, and MUIS) and Malay/Muslim Organisations (e.g., TAA) for financial assistance. In addition to crisis-management initiatives, AMP assists spouses and children providing family counselling.

新加坡的“跨机构援助小组”是一项由不同马来族裔、穆斯林机构和组织自愿参与的社区行动，旨在为被拘留者的家属提供援助，包括他们的妻子和子女。在善后框架内，这些机构和组织所采取的独特方法在这段艰难时期为被拘留者的家属提供支持和帮助。Yayasan Mendaki (YM)、穆斯林专业人士协会 (AMP) 和 Taman Bacaan (新加坡马来青年读书会) 专注于各自的专业特长，整合专家领域，并协调不同机构之间的合作，以造福客户。YM 涵盖了教育项目，以及学费补贴或课程费用减免等形式提供援助提供给家庭。除了与 Taman Bacaan (新加坡马来青年读书会) 和 AMP (穆斯林专业人士协会) 协调帮助家属外，YM 还将此类家庭转介给相关的国家机构 (例如，CDCs、MOE、FSCs 和 MUIS) 和马来族裔/穆斯林组织 (例如，TAA) 以获取经济援助。除了危机管理，AMP (穆斯林专业人士协会) 还为配偶和子女提供家庭咨询援助。

Vocational rehabilitation

职业改造

To reintegrate the detainees and inmates back to society, they need to be guided and prepared through the development of skills and educational attainment. Designed to provide necessary skills for a job, vocational rehabilitation imparts skills useful to detainees and inmates upon release. This ranges from teaching them metal and woodwork, carpentry and masonry, dairy farming and agriculture, computer and language skills, and self-study and distance education. Unlike the other modes of rehabilitation, vocation rehabilitation runs a security risk. To minimize the risk, detainees and inmates are not taught certain skills such as electronics, a capability that could be used to build circuitry for bombs.

为了使被拘留者和囚犯重新融入社会，要通过技能培养和提升教育来进行指导和准备。职业改造旨在为被拘留者和囚犯提供就业所需的基本技能，帮助他们在获释后能够胜任工作。包括教他们金属加工、木工、建筑工、奶牛养殖和农业、计算机和语言技能、自学和远程教育等方面的知识和技能。与其他改造方式不同，职业改造存在安全风险。为了降低这种风险，被拘留者和囚犯没有机会学习某些技能，比如电子技术，因为这种技能可以制造炸弹的电路。

More than in any other country, under the careful guidance of Major General Douglas Stone, vocational rehabilitation was developed in Iraq to an unprecedented level. Working with OSS, a US Department of Defense contractor specialising in rehabilitation, and the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research in Singapore. Dr Stone's vision and mission created renowned resident expertise. After release, 'Picasso', a former Al Qaeda detainee in Iraq with a talent for

art was recruited by OSS to teach art. A master theoretician and practitioner of rehabilitation, Dr Stone built a wide-ranging program in Iraq, from which governments interested in creating rehabilitation programs continue to benefit. Coupled with vocational rehabilitation, the integration of art, dance, song, and other cultural expressions into the rehabilitation package broadened the horizons of the detainees. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia established a care centre in a suburb of Riyadh with games, cooking, and the study of arts. A beneficiary of the centre, Mohammed Dousery, a Guantanamo detainee for six years, said:

在所有国家中，伊拉克在这方面所取得的成就最为显著，这得益于杰出的指挥官道格拉斯·斯通（Douglas Stone）少将的悉心指导。在 OSS 的协助下，伊拉克的职业改造工作达到了前所未有的高度。与专门从事改造工作的美国国防部承包商以及新加坡国际政治暴力与恐怖主义研究中心合作，斯通博士的愿景和使命造就了卓越的驻地专家人才。在获释后，“毕加索”——一位曾在伊拉克被关押的前基地组织成员，因其艺术天赋而被 OSS 招募负责教授艺术。作为改造领域的理论家和实践者，斯通博士在伊拉克建立了广泛的改造项目，吸引了众多有意创建改造项目的政府机构并且持续受益。职业改造、艺术、舞蹈、歌曲等文化元素的融合，拓宽了被拘留者的视野。沙特阿拉伯在利雅得郊区设立了一个护理中心，提供游戏、烹饪和艺术学习等服务。该中心的受益者、在关塔那摩湾被关押了六年的穆罕默德·杜塞里（Mohammed Dousery）表示：

The centre prepared me to engage gradually with the rest of society. You can't go directly from Guantanamo bay to normal life, This is an extremely difficult thing, and everything changes, Saudi changes and so does the rest of the world. I have a great wife, and she is encouraging me to try and forget Guantanamo and she says to me: forget that prison, you are a new man and you have a new life in front of you and you have your family. Focus your concerns on this. This makes me feel much better (Al Jazeera News2008, July 9).

该中心让我做好了逐步融入社会的准备。你不能直接从关塔那摩湾过渡到正常生活，这是一件极其困难的事情，一切都在变化，沙特变了，世界其他地方的情况也是如此。我有一位很棒的妻子，她鼓励我尽量忘记关塔那摩湾，她说：“忘掉那座监狱吧，你是个全新的人，你面前有全新的生活，还有你的家人。” 把注意力集中在这些事情上让我感觉好多了。（《半岛电视台新闻》2008 年 7 月 9 日）

The five compounds, each with capacity for 1200 people, support reintegration back into Saudi society. The beneficiaries, as they are called, are able to swim, play football, table tennis, and TV games. In an air-conditioned tent converted into a dining hall that serves traditional food, they engage in dialogue. In vocational rehabilitation, as in other modes, the range of activities is limited only by human imagination.

这五处设施，每处可容纳 1200 人，旨在帮助人们重新融入沙特社会。他们被称为受益人，在这里可以游泳、踢足球、打乒乓球以及玩电视游戏。在一个帐篷改造而成的提供传统食物的空调餐厅里，他们进行了对话。在职业改造方面，与其他模式一样，活动范围仅受限于人类的想象力。

A working model

工作模式

There are practical difficulties in developing a universal model to rehabilitate terrorists seeking to justify their actions through Islam. To start with, Islam comes to every country in different ways. As such, there is a need to understand diverse values and traditions of the Muslim community. How they practice Islam, how they relate to each other, and how they see the world. The economic context, political environment, and unique language and culture make standardisation a challenge. Just as the security landscape in every country is different, so terrorists are also different. As the conditions of capture, treatment, during incarceration, as well as release differ, there will not be one stand rehabilitation program. A government can develop a standard model but it will be applicable to a specific threat group at a specific place and time. Every rehabilitation program operates in the context of a community. Although criminal justice and prison systems are unique to different countries, an approach to rehabilitation must exist. Instead of a standard model, a working model on rehabilitation should consider a number of essential aspects.

要开发一个适用于改造所有恐怖分子的、让他们通过伊斯兰教来使他们的行为合法的通用模型，存在一些实际困难。首先，伊斯兰教传入每个国家的方式不同。因此，有必要了解穆斯林群体的各种价值观和传统。他们如何实践伊斯兰教、如何相互关联、如何看待世界。经济背景、政治环境以及独特的语言和文化使得标准化成为一个挑战。就像每个国家的安全形势各不相同一样，恐怖分子也各不相同。由于被捕的条件、待遇、拘留期间以及释放的条件不同，不会有统一的改造方案。政府可以开发一个标准模型，但它只在特定地点、时间适用于特定威胁群体。每个改造方案都是在社区背景下进行的。虽然各国的刑事司法和监狱制度不同，但必须有一种改造方法。不是一个标准模型，一个关于改造的实用模型应该考虑一些关键方面。

First, those selected to undergo rehabilitation should be viewed as beneficiaries and no longer as inmates or detainees. Most security prisoners and detainees are treated poorly, at times harassed, and even tortured. Most guards have preconceived notions of how to train detainees and inmates that lead them to act aggressively towards them. As most penitentiaries and detention centres have no rehabilitation space, the potential beneficiaries should be relocated to a facility that mirrors society. As the beneficiary is to be released back in to society, he should no longer be isolated but engaged. To build understanding and create a channel for peaceful articulation of differences, an environment conducive for dialogue with the beneficiary should be created.

首先，那些被选中接受改造的恐怖分子应当被视为受益人，而非囚犯或被拘留者。大多数由于安全原因被抓捕的囚犯和被拘留者被恶劣对待，有时遭到骚扰，甚至遭受酷刑。大多数狱警对如何培训被拘留者和囚犯有先入为主的观念，这导致他们对这些人采取攻击行为。由于大多数监狱和拘留中心都没有改造空间，潜在的受益人应当被转移到一个能反映社区环境的场所。因为受益人要重返社区，所以不应将他们孤立，而应当让他们参与进来。为了建立理解并为和平表达分歧创造渠道，应当营造一个有利于与受益人对话的环境。

Second, rehabilitation should begin on day one of arrest. If the captured terrorist is beaten, he is likely to harbour a grudge and is very likely to remember the treatment meted out to him. Even the best form of interview with a detainee is rapport based. Threats and torture are unlikely to yield truthful information. Rehabilitation is a painstaking process that requires patience, dedication, and reflection.

其次,对于被捕的恐怖分子,应当从其被捕的第一天起就开始对其进行改造。如果他被打,那么此人很可能会心怀怨恨,并记住他被残酷对待。即便是对被拘留者进行的最佳形式的审讯也是基于和谐关系。威胁和酷刑不太可能获取到真实的信息。改造是一个艰苦的过程,需要耐心、奉献和反省。

Third, rehabilitation is a collective effort not only by investigative officers and operations officers but by the clergy and the academia. Although it involves different interest groups working together, the most crucial part of rehabilitation is the public private partnership between security and intelligence services and the clergy. It is of paramount importance to build a lasting relationship between the government holding the detainees and inmates and the clerics and scholars committed to protecting their faith from misinterpretation and misrepresentation. Unless government and clergy work together to create the most crucial platform, the rehabilitation program will fall apart.

第三,改造工作是一项集体努力,不仅需要调查人员和执行人员的参与,还需要神职人员和学术界的配合。尽管这涉及到不同利益群体的协同合作,但改造工作的最关键部分在于安全和情报部门与神职人员之间的公私合作关系。关押被拘留者和囚犯的政府机构与神职人员、学者之间的建立持久关系至关重要,因为神职人员和学者致力于保护被拘留者和囚犯的信仰不被误解和歪曲。除非政府和神职人员携手合作,共同搭建起最关键的平台,否则改造计划将会失败。

Fourth, as religious justification was used to bring about the concept of hate and violence, counselling by the clergy should be an essential part of the program. In the West, where church and state are separate, there is a reluctance to use religious counsellors. By neglecting this crucial dimension, other modes of rehabilitation are unlikely to work. Government should cast aside their suspicions and find a channel to better understand and work with the clerics. The clergy must be exposed to witness what terrorism has done to individuals, and decide for themselves the impact of distortion on the terrorist, having strayed from the right Islamic teachings. When it becomes apparent that a few minorities are casting a bad image on the religion, there will be many clergy members volunteering to protect Islam. Then, working with terrorists becomes the responsibility of clergy keen to uphold the dignity of the religion itself. Members of the clergy must be careful not to project their own school or orientation as the right interpretation of Islam as that will lead to discord between the clergy. Clerics from the diverse schools and orientations should join hands and work together to fight a common threat.

第四,由于宗教理由被用于催生仇恨与暴力的概念,神职人员提供的咨询应当成为该计划的重要组成部分。在政教分离的西方,人们不太愿意使用神职人员

作为咨询顾问。由于忽视了这一关键方面，其他形式的改造措施不太可能奏效。政府应当摒弃他们的疑虑，找到一种途径更好地理解并与神职人员合作。神职人员必须亲身经历恐怖主义对个人造成的伤害，并自行判断偏离伊斯兰正统教义的恐怖分子所产生的影响。当少数群体给宗教带来不良形象这一情况变得明显时，会有许多神职人员自愿保护伊斯兰教的尊严。那么，与恐怖分子合作就成了神职人员维护宗教尊严的责任。神职人员必须谨慎行事，切勿将自己的学派或倾向作为伊斯兰教的正确解读而加以宣扬，否则会导致神职人员之间的分歧。来自不同学派和不同取向的神职人员应当携手合作，一起应对共同的威胁。

Fifth, successful rehabilitation requires the continuous study of the evolving terrorist narrative and ideology as well as their perceived and real grievances and aspirations. It requires access to studies by other programs and institutions. Terrorists and their supporters thought that they could help Muslim brothers by doing lihad in Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Palestine, Chechnya, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Clerics and scholars should develop an intellectual capacity to rebut this ideology and deliver an Islamic alternative to travelling and fighting in conflict zones. The response should be a rebuttal to correct the deviation that says that Jihad permits killing non-Muslims. Instead, an alternative can be proposed to support the humanitarian work in Gaza and Kashmir. Energy and resources can be committed to work peacefully to rebuild the lives and property of those who have suffered in conflict zones

第五，成功的改造工作需要持续关注不断演变的恐怖主义叙事及其意识形态，以及人们所感知到和实际存在的不满与诉求。这需要获取其他项目和机构的研究。恐怖分子及其支持者认为，他们可以通过在索马里、伊拉克、阿富汗、巴基斯坦、巴勒斯坦、车臣、泰国、印度尼西亚和菲律宾等地开展军事活动来帮助穆斯林兄弟。神职人员和学者应当培养批判这种意识形态的智力能力，并提供伊斯兰主义的替代方案，以替代在冲突地区进行游击战的行为。应对措施应当是对这种歪曲言论的反驳，纠正其声称“圣战”允许杀害非穆斯林的这种观点。相反，可以提出另一种方案来支持在加沙和克什米尔的人道主义工作。应当投入精力和资源，通过和平方式重建那些在冲突地区遭受苦难人们的生活和财产。

Sixth, constant training and education of the professional and support staff at the rehabilitation centre is essential. Whether it is a guard or a sports instructor, no one should be assigned to the rehabilitation centre without undergoing an orientation course. Even momentarily, if a guard on duty mistreats a beneficiary, the goodwill built by others will be damaged. There is no standard textbook to rehabilitate a terrorist. As terrorist rehabilitation is a new discipline, it is necessary to nurture a culture of research where a specialist team will constantly learn, develop, and refine the existing understanding and knowledge. Terrorist rehabilitation is neither an exact science nor a romance. Rehabilitation is an obligation, a science, and an art. As such a rehabilitation centre should never be run by a bureaucrat but should be run by a dynamic leader. As beneficiaries differ from one another, it requires creative leadership, not classical bureaucracy at work. It is essential to evaluate successes and failures and maximise successes and minimise failures.

第六，改造中心的专业人员和辅助人员必须接受持续不断的培训和教育。无论是警卫人员还是教练，不能安排没有接受过入职培训课程的人到改造中心工作。哪怕是一小会，如果值班警卫对受益人进行不当对待，他人所建立起来的良好声誉也会受损。没有标准的教科书可以用来改造恐怖分子。由于恐怖分子改造是一个新兴的学科，有必要培育一种研究文化，即由一个专家团队不断学习、发展和完善现有的理解和知识。恐怖分子改造既不是一门精确的科学，也不是一种浪漫的故事。改造是一项义务、一门科学，也是一种艺术。因此，改造中心不应由官僚来管理，而应由一位充满活力的领导者来管理。由于受益人彼此不同，需要创新性的领导方式，而不是传统的官僚作风来运作。必须对成功和失败进行评估，并最大限度地实现成功，减少失败。

Seventh, trained, dedicated, and expert staffs are needed to classify and profile the detainee and inmates. Before selection as a beneficiary of the rehabilitation program. It is necessary to assess if the terrorist is a high, medium, or low risk. It is also necessary to profile his education, his family, the depth of his operational involvement and ideological commitment. Both his involvement and ideology are not dependent on his level of education (low, medium, or high) but are dependent on the degree of his exposure. Even the most educated are susceptible to the message of a charismatic preacher. Like love, ideology makes terrorists and supporters blind. As the degrees of indoctrination and commitment differ, government experts, together with clerics and scholars, should work on a structured program and a tailored syllabus for each of the beneficiary. Otherwise the message will not reach the beneficiary and the investment will be wasted.

第七，需要训练有素、尽职尽责且经验丰富的工作人员来对被拘留者和囚犯进行分类和分析。在将其选为改造计划的受益人之前，有必要评估这名恐怖分子属于高、中、低风险中的哪一等级。还需要对其教育背景、家庭情况、参与行动的程度以及意识形态的坚定程度进行分析。他参与恐怖活动的程度和意识形态并不取决于其受教育程度（低、中或高），而是取决于他受蛊惑的程度。即使是受教育程度最高的恐怖分子也可能受到一位魅力型传教士所传达信息的影响。就像爱情一样，意识形态会让恐怖分子和其支持者变得盲目。由于灌输程度和忠诚度不同，政府专家、神职人员和学者应当针对每位受益人制定结构化的计划和量身定制的教学大纲。否则，信息无法传达给受益人，投资也将付诸东流。

Eight, resources are needed to create an environment conducive for counselling. As most detention and penitentiary facilities are over-crowded and their conditions are exceptionally poor, the environment is not conducive for rehabilitation. As such, governments should invest resources to construct new facilities or relocate the beneficiaries to appropriate facilities. As opposed to mass and group counselling, one-to-one counselling will involve a dialogue in a comfortable room. Seated on a sofa, the preacher and the beneficiary will sip tea, eat dates, listen to each other and discuss matters of interest from God to the Our'an and Islam to Muslims. If mass counselling is being carried out, it is necessary to determine the target audience. It is necessary to structure the message being delivered by looking at to whom we want to talk and about what we want to talk. There should be continuous assessment of the

beneficiary/beneficiaries to assess how well they are responding to counselling.

第八, 创造有利于咨询的环境需要资源。由于大多数拘留所和监狱过于拥挤, 条件特别恶劣, 环境不利于改造。因此, 政府应该投入资源建设新的设施或将受益人安置到适当的设施里。与集体和团体咨询相反, 一对一咨询要在舒适的房间里进行对话。传教士和受益人坐在沙发上, 喝茶, 吃枣子, 互相倾听, 讨论感兴趣的事情, 真主, 古兰经, 伊斯兰教和穆斯林。如果进行集体咨询, 就必须确定目标对象。有必要通过观察决定我们想要与谁交谈以及想要谈论什么来构建要传递的信息。应该对受益人进行持续评估来评价他们对咨询的反应情况。

Ninth, no rehabilitation program will achieve its desired impact unless the government works to counter the extremism dormant in the community. While the reverse of radicalisation in custody is rehabilitation, the reverse of radicalization outside detention is community engagement. Ideally, the blueprint for winning hearts and minds should come from debriefing and deprogramming detainees. Terrorist rehabilitation holds the key to inoculating communities against the contemporary wave of extremism and terrorism. During rehabilitation, counsellors can elicit from the beneficiary the content of counter-terrorist propaganda targeting and affecting the community.

第九, 除非政府致力于打击潜伏在社区中的极端主义, 否则任何改造计划都无法达到预期的效果。在拘留期间, 激进的相对面是改造, 而在拘留之外, 激进的相对面是社区参与。从理论上讲, 赢得人心的蓝图应该来自于被拘留者的汇报和改造情况。帮助社区防范当代极端主义和恐怖主义浪潮的关键是恐怖分子改造。在改造过程中, 咨询顾问可以从受益人口中引出针对和影响社区的反恐宣传内容。

Tenth, no one can guarantee that a person's mindset can be changed through rehabilitation. To ensure he will not become a contaminant upon release, it is necessary to support his gradual reintegration into society. Even before final release, the beneficiary should be placed in a halfway house where he can spend time with his family and friends and remain committed to peace. To prevent rejuvenation of extremist ideas and thoughts, the counselors that helped in his transformation should remain in contact with him. If the milieu is hostile, the revival of earlier beliefs will lead him to violence again. A classic example is Said Ali al-Shihri, alias Abu Sayyaf, a detainee released from Guantanamo in November 2007, who went through the Saudi rehabilitation program. After he was approached and recruited by the Yemeni branch of Al Qaeda, he travelled to Yemen where he was appointed deputy leader of Al Qaeda in Yemen. He participated in the bombing of the US Embassy in Sana in September 2008 that killed 16 people. Abu al-Hareth Muhammad al-Awfi, alias Muhamad Attik al-Harbi, another Saudi beneficiary who joined Al Qaeda in Yemen, returned home after the clergy and his family spoke to him. As there is no methodology to read the mind or to test if the beneficiary has been transformed after treatment, there will always be lapses in judgement and assessment. High rates of recidivism will adversely impact on the reputation of the program.

第十, 没有人能保证个人的心态可以通过改造发生改变, 为了确保他在获释

后不会成为污染物，有必要支持他逐渐重新融入社区。即使在最终获释前，受益人应该被安置在中途之家，在那里他可以与家人和朋友共度时光，并继续致力于和平。为了防止极端主义思想的复兴，帮助他改造的顾问应该与他保持联系。如果环境是不利的，早期信仰的复兴将导致他再次使用暴力。一个典型的例子是 Said Ali al-Shihri, 又名 Abu Sayyaf, 2007 年 11 月从关塔那摩获释的囚犯，他参加了沙特的改造项目。基地组织也门分支与他接洽并招募了他，他前往也门，并被任命为也门基地组织的副领导人。2008 年 9 月，他参与了美国驻萨那大使馆爆炸案，造成 16 人死亡。Abu Al - hareth Muhammad Al - awfi, 又名 Muhammad Attik Al - harbi, 另一个沙特受益人，加入了也门的基地组织，在神职人员和他的家人与他交谈后，他返回了家乡。由于没有读心术或测试受益人在改造后是否转换思想的方法，因此在判断和评估方面总是会有失误。高累犯率会对项目的声誉产生不利影响。

Eleventh, it has already been mentioned that the government and the ulema have to work together for a successful rehabilitation program. However, other than the government and the ulema, we also need to understand the importance of the establishment of specialised centres of academic research in political violence and terrorist research. As ideology is evolving, constant research and analysis is needed to both produce and update rehabilitation manuals. The academic community generates new ideas, looks at the antecedents, looks at success and failure, and scans, analyses, and fills potential gaps. Academics look beyond the immediate and the urgent, and provide strategic direction. For instance, by reviewing detainee debriefings, academic specialists can formulate the counter-ideological arguments to rebut the terrorist narrative aimed at de-radicalising the detainee as well as the community. Building a partnership between government, the Muslim community, and academia is at the heart of a successful rehabilitation program. Thus, academic research centres will provide an avenue that focuses on problems of understanding global terrorism and its occurrences, while at the same time providing databases and resources from which both the government and the ulema can gain. At the same time, these centres can become training facilities to nurture research-oriented scholars specialising in terrorism both among the asatizah and the non-asatizah community.

第十一，前面已经提到，政府和乌里玛必须共同努力才能成功地实施改造计划。然而，除了政府和乌里玛，我们还需要明白在政治暴力和恐怖主义研究中建立专门的学术研究中心的重要性。随着意识形态的演变，需要不断进行研究和分析，以编制和更新改造复手册。学术团体产生新的想法，研究前因，研究成功和失败案例，观察、分析和填补潜在的空白。学者的眼光超眼前，提供战略方向。例如，通过审查被拘留者的情况汇报，学术专家可以制定反意识形态的论点，旨在反驳被拘留者和社区去激进化的叙述。建立政府、穆斯林社区和学术界之间的伙伴关系是一个成功的改造计划的核心。因此，学术研究中心将提供一个途径，专注于理解全球恐怖主义及其发生的问题，同时提供数据库和资源，政府和乌里玛都可以从中获益。与此同时，这些中心可以成为培训设施，在阿萨蒂扎社区和非阿萨蒂扎社区中培养专门研究恐怖主义的研究型学者。

Twelfth, formulate, implement, and manage a comprehensive security

framework to rehabilitate the detainees and inmates. This should involve both security and religious screening of staff. Depending on the environment, it is necessary for professional and support staff to be routinely and, if necessary, continuously screened. The beneficiary should be closely monitored during counselling sessions and also when with family and other visitors as well as fellow detainees and inmates. If there is any suspicion that a beneficiary has not fully transformed and will return to violence, he should not be released. It is necessary to understand that rehabilitation should never be the end goal. Safety of the community is the ultimate objective. Early release should be regarded as a breach of security. After release, the beneficiary should be monitored to ensure that he does not return to violence. In a conflict zone, there are inherent difficulties in monitoring a terrorist that has been released. By releasing a beneficiary to a tribal elder and to the family, and by making him swear an oath on the Qur'an and to a religious figure, mechanisms have been developed to enhance compliance. A fully-transformed beneficiary is a strategic weapon in the fight against terrorism and extremism. If successful, upon release, every beneficiary can play his role in spreading the message of peace.

第十二，制定、实施并管理全面的安全框架，帮助并改造被拘留者和囚犯。应当包括对工作人员进行安全和宗教方面的审查。根据具体情况，专业人员和辅助人员应当接受常规审查，必要时应持续审查筛选。应当密切监测受益人在咨询期间，与家人、其他访客、同案犯和服刑人员相处时的情况，如果怀疑受益人尚未彻底改过且会重蹈覆辙实施暴力行为，就不能将其释放。必须明确，改造绝对不能成为最终目标。社区的安全才是最终目标。提前释放应被视为违反安全规定。释放后，应当对受益人进行监控，以确保他不再实施暴力行为。在冲突地区，监控一名恐怖分子存在固有困难。可以将其释放给部落长老和其家庭，并要求他在《古兰经》面前向宗教人物宣誓，建立促进遵守规定的机制。一个完全转化的受益人是打击恐怖主义和极端主义斗争中的战略武器。如果成功的话，在获释之后，每个受益人都能够发挥传播和平信息的作用。

Challenges

挑战

There are multiple challenges in initiating, building, and sustaining national programs.

在启动、建设和维持国家项目方面存在多重挑战。

First, the government should understand that religious justification was used to bring about the terrorist mind. Furthermore, the government should understand that Islam is never the driver, but that Islam has been misinterpreted and misrepresented to legitimise violence. As such, the role of the ulema is at the very core of dismantling the concept of hate and violence harboured by operational terrorists and extremist supporters. This understanding should generate willingness by every government to bring Islamic scholars and clerics-those learned and knowledgeable about Islam to the front line.

首先，政府应明确，宗教理由被滥用衍生了恐怖主义思想。此外，伊斯兰教从来都不是罪魁祸首，而是因为错误理解和扭曲了伊斯兰教而使暴力合法化。因此，乌里玛（穆斯林学者、宗教领袖）的作用是消除军事行动的恐怖分子和极端

主义支持者怀有的仇恨和暴力概念的核心。这样应该会促使各国政府愿意将伊斯兰学者和神职人员——那些有伊斯兰教学问和知识的人带到反恐前线。

There must be recognition that a theologian is as important as a counter terrorism practitioner. Without Islamic scholars and clerics, we can fight operational terrorism but not its precursor and generator, namely ideological extremism. However, most governments treat terrorism as a mere law enforcement issue and extremism as a non-issue. Church and state are separate in the West, the group of nations with a global reach, staying power, and discipline to fight terrorism. As such there is reluctance in North America, Europe, and Australasia, to bring in Islamic scholars and clerics to the forefront in matters of state. Government also has difficulty in identifying the rightful scholars suitable to staff who can lead the ideological fight. Without having negative thoughts about religious leaders, government must understand the reality on the ground and start to work with them.

我们必须认识到，神职人员和反恐工作者同样重要。如果没有伊斯兰学者和神职人员，我们可以打击恐怖主义军事行动，但却无法打击恐怖主义前身和根源，即极端主义意识形态。然而，大多数政府将恐怖主义视为执法部门的问题，极端主义不是问题。在政教分离的西方，拥有在打击恐怖主义方面具有全球影响力、持久力和纪律的国家集团。因此，在北美、欧洲和澳大利亚，政府不愿意让伊斯兰学者和神职人员参与前沿的国家事务。但是政府也很难找到合适的学者来领导反恐思想斗争。政府不应该对宗教领袖有消极的想法，而是必须了解实际情况，并开始与他们合作。

Second, through training and education Islamic scholars and clerics should develop a full understanding of the ideology and psychology of detainees and inmates. Scholars and clerics know about Islam and Islamic law (sha'ria) but they do not know the religious understanding of the terrorists. Even if the government identified scholars and clerics with the right attitude, they need to be trained. The training should cover two principal areas: first, terrorist ideologies, and the linkages between ideology and operations; and second, the skills of psychological counselling, especially listening patiently to the inmate or detainee. Islamic scholars and clerics must be equipped with the ability to understand Islamic concepts as understood by the terrorists, especially their misinterpretation and misrepresentation. They should examine the writings and speeches of ideologues of hatred and violence, especially how Abu Mohamed al Magdisi and his followers perceive Islam and how Osama bin Laden's followers understand Jihad as holy war.

第二，通过培训和教育，伊斯兰学者和神职人员应充分了解被拘留者和囚犯的思想和心理。学者和神职人员了解伊斯兰教和伊斯兰教法（sha'ria），但他们不清楚恐怖分子对宗教的理解。即使政府确认了态度正确的学者和神职人员，也要对他们进行培训。培训应包括两个主要领域：第一，恐怖主义意识形态以及意识形态与行动之间的联系；第二，心理咨询的技巧，尤其是对囚犯和被拘留者的倾诉要耐心。伊斯兰学者和神职人员必须具备理解恐怖分子所理解的伊斯兰教的

能力，尤其是他们误解和扭曲的部分。他们应该审查仇恨和暴力理论家的作品和演讲，特别是 Abu Mohamed al Magdisi 和他的支持者如何看待伊斯兰教，以及 Osama bin Laden 的追随者如何理解 Jihad 为圣战。

Third, without a vision and without resources and a strategic direction, no program that requires a long-term investment will succeed. For a rehabilitation program to be successful, long-term commitment is a must. Rehabilitation comes with the notion that a country must gain a greater understanding from others and provide more resources. For instance, the Saudi Interior Ministry spent 1.7 billion riyals to construct five modern headquarters and high-tech security prisons in Riyadh. Jeddah and the eastern region, and Abha, Oassim in 2008. Prince Nayef bin AbduAziz, Minister of the Interior, and his son, Prince Muhammed Bin Nayef, the Assistant to the Interior Minister for Security Affairs oversaw the establishment of nine centres for rehabilitation, which began in a centre near Riyadh. In addition to the special facilities for housing families and meeting visitors, high-tech class rooms, and libraries for reading and studying were built. A special committee oversaw specialists in security, sports, Islamic law, social science, and psychology drawn from government and university working together.

第三，没有远见、资源和战略方向，任何需要长期投资的项目都不会成功。改造计划要想成功，必须有长期承诺。改造的概念是，一个国家必须从其他国家获得更多的理解，并提供更多的资源。例如，沙特内政部花费 17 亿里亚尔在利雅得建造了五座现代化总部和高科技安全监狱。以及 2008 年吉达和东部地区，Abha, Oassim。内政部长 Nayef bin AbduAzi 王子和他的儿子，内政部长安全事务助理 Muhammed Bin Nayef 王子监督设立了九个改造中心，这些中心开始于利雅得附近的一个改造中心。除了为家庭提供住宿和接待访客的特殊设施，还建造了高科技教室和供阅读、学习的图书馆。特别委员会监督来自政府和大学的安全、体育、伊斯兰法律、社区科学和心理学专家的工作。

Classifying the terrorists

恐怖分子分类

As different levels of extremism require different levels of response, government should be able to differentiate between terrorist leaders, members or operatives, and supporters and sympathisers. Just as there are circles of extremism, so there are multiple target audiences. Counter-terrorism practitioners, Islamic scholars, and academic specialists should work together to develop a program and a syllabus that can be tailored to every category --from extremists that advocate and support to the terrorists that kill, maim, and injure. As not all detainees are identical in their understanding, it is necessary to divide them into leaders, operatives, and supporters. For instance, many foot soldiers do not know about ideology. When a terrorist is detained, he is assessed. As each of these categories requires different approaches, the detainee is categorised into high, medium, and low risk.

由于不同程度的极端主义需要不同程度的响应，政府要能区分恐怖分子领导人、成员或执行人员、支持者和追随者。正如存在极端主义圈子，也存在多种目标受众。反恐工作者、伊斯兰学者和学术专家应该共同努力，制定一个适合每一类人

的项目和教学大纲—从拥护和支持者到杀害、致残和伤人的恐怖分子。并非所有被拘留者的思想都是相同的，因此有必要将他们分为领导者、执行者和支持者。例如，许多士兵不知道什么是意识形态。当一个恐怖分子被拘留时，要对他进行评估。由于不同类别的恐怖分子需要不同改造的方法，因此被拘留者需要被划分为高、中、低风险。

High risk: Mostly spiritual and operational leaders. They are usually those that form the core. They believe in the ideology and they do not want to move from it despite many counseling sessions. Such people are very few. But they had contact with and received direct inspiration from the terrorist leadership. Even though Mullah Omar never completed his religious education and Osama bin Laden had no formal religious education, many terrorists received instruction and guidance from them. They regard a poorly-educated Afghan or a Saudi as more important than a scholar or cleric from their own country. They believe that their beliefs are correct. It is necessary to use the most prominent ulema to talk to them and allow them to reflect and repent. When released, they are the most susceptible to return to violence.

高风险：主要是精神和行动领导者。通常是他们是核心人物。他们相信这种意识形态，尽管进行了多次咨询，但他们不愿意放弃这种意识形态。这样的人很少。但他们与恐怖主义领导人有接触，并直接受到他们的鼓舞。尽管 Mullah Omar 未完成他的宗教教育，Osama bin Laden 也没有接受过正规的宗教教育，但许多恐怖分子还是接受他们的指示和领导。他们认为一个没有受过良好教育的阿富汗人或沙特人比来自自己国家的学者或神职人员更重要。他们相信自己的信仰是正确的。有必要让最杰出的乌里玛与他们交谈，让他们反思和忏悔。一旦获释，他们最容易回归暴力。

Medium risk: Operatives and the experts that form the bulk of the membership. They are ideologically and operationally active. They experience hatred and are ready to commit violence. They will always look for justification and an interpretation that suits their current mindset. They have usually served long in the organisation. They know the ideology and accept it. They can be rehabilitated. In a few cases, it is debated if there was genuine transformation or strategic calculation. There are cases where they tried to mislead the counsellor by agreeing with the religious counsellor with the intention of gaining an early release.

中风险：行动人员和专业人才构成主体成员。他们在思想上和行动上都很活跃。他们经历仇恨，并准备实施暴力行为。他们总是会寻找符合他们当前心态的理由和解释。通常他们在组织中服务了很长时间，了解并接受这种意识形态。他们可以被改造。少数情况下，人们还在争论这些人是真正改造成功还是恐怖分子出于战略考量。有些情况下，为了得以提前获释，他们会试图假装赞同宗教顾问的意见来误导他们。

Low risk: Active and passive supporters. They are mostly foot soldiers, inactive members, and those that are not involved in crimes. They do not know the ideology. They joined thinking that their peers (relatives, colleagues, and friends) were fighting for Islam. They completely believe that whatever they do is justified by religion. Some provide money without realising that their contributions have been used to

purchase arms.

低风险：主动和被动的支持者。他们大多是士兵，不活跃的组织成员，以及那些不参与犯罪的人。他们不了解意识形态。他们认为他们的同伴（亲戚、同事和朋友）正在为伊斯兰教而战。他们完全相信一切所作所为都有宗教依据。有些人提供了资金，却不知道到他们的捐款用来购买武器。

After a process of assessment, a suitable cleric or psychologist is assigned to counsel the beneficiary. The beneficiary is continuously assessed; it is essential to identify difficulties. Are these personality-related factors or dangerous ideology? Is he still sympathetic to jihadist ideology? What is his worldview? The process of rehabilitation is long and multifaceted.

经过评估过程后，会指派一名合适的神职人员或心理学家为受益人提供咨询。对受益人要进行持续评估；识别困难是很重要的。这些是与个性有关的因素还是危险的意识形态？他还赞同圣战意识形态吗？他的世界观是什么？改造的过程是漫长而多方面的。

Towards a global regime **面向全球体制**

The US, the nation leading the global fight against terrorism, was late in buying into the idea of rehabilitation. After 9/11, the US leadership did not see rehabilitation as a solution. Although the US invested expertise and resources to build a rehabilitation program in Iraq, as a government, the US did not espouse the concept of rehabilitation. Building on the success of Task Force 134 in Iraq, there is some interest on the part of the US to initiate a similar program by Task Force Guardian in Bagram, Afghanistan. At this point in time, there are more countries that do not believe in rehabilitation compared to the countries that embrace and promote it. A number of other countries including Israel do not believe that terrorists can be ideologically rehabilitated.

领导全球反恐斗争的美国，很晚才接受改造理念。9/11 之后，美国领导层并不认为改造是一种解决方案。尽管美国投入了专业知识和资源在伊拉克建立了改造计划，但作为政府，美国并不支持改造的概念。在 134 特遣部队在伊拉克取得成功的基础上，美国方面有兴趣在阿富汗巴格拉姆启动类似的项目。此时，与接受和促进改造项目的国家相比，不相信改造的国家更多。包括以色列在内的一些其他国家并不认为可以改造恐怖分子的意识形态。

To make terrorist rehabilitation a global imperative, there must be agreement that rehabilitation is a part of the global solution to solve the problem. The key to establishing a global rehabilitation regime is to build a sufficient number of national rehabilitation programs. A road map towards establishing national programs includes establishing the following elements.

要使改造恐怖主义成为全球性的当务之急，就必须认同改造恐怖主义是全球解决问题的方法的一部分。建立全球改造制度的关键是建立足够数量的国家改造方案。制定国家规划的路线图包括确定以下要素。

First, a common database. An information repository—a common pool of

resources—was launched by Singapore Law and Second Minister for Home Affairs K. Shanmugam at the inauguration of the first International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation on 24 February 2009. The p4peace portal has both a public and a restricted interface. The password-verified restricted section for practitioners and scholars is a dedicated space for counter-ideology content that focuses on terrorist rehabilitation. This includes a database of articles, papers, and other documents for use by practitioners and scholars. P4peace solicits contributions and writings by delegates and their colleagues on counter ideology that focuses on rehabilitation.

首先是公共数据库。2009年2月24日，新加坡法律和内政部第二部长 K. Shanmugam 在首届国际反恐改造会议开幕式上启动了一个信息储存库—共享数据库。p4peace 门户有公共和受限接口。从业人员和学者通过密码验证可进入限制区，这是一个专注于恐怖分子改造的反意识形态内容专用空间。是一个供从业者和学者使用文章、论文和其他文件的数据库。P4peace 征集与会代表和他们同事对反意识形态和重点关注改造问题的贡献和著作。

Second, exchange of personnel. Governments worldwide lacked both human expertise and material resources to start ad hoc rehabilitation initiatives and structured rehabilitation programs. One of the most effective methods to build capacity to rehabilitate terrorists is to exchange personnel. Exchange of personnel will lead to information sharing on systems, modes, and best practices of terrorist rehabilitation. Capacity building helps raise new, and improve existing, capabilities of detainee and inmate rehabilitation. Countries with rehabilitation programs can either attach or second their specialist staff to support countries keen to build rehabilitation programs. Likewise, countries keen to build rehabilitation programs can learn from countries with rehabilitation programs. Such exchanges will also enable countries with ad hoc programs to build systematic programs and countries with no programs to initiate programs.

第二，人员交流。世界各国政府缺乏专职人才和物质资源来启动特别的、有组织的改造计划。建立改造恐怖分子能力的最有效方法之一是交换人员。人员交流可以共享信息：有关恐怖分子改造的系统、模式和最佳做法。能力建设有助于萌发改造恐怖分子的新思想、提升现有的改造能力。有改造计划的国家可以派遣或调度临时专业人员支持渴望建立改造计划的国家。同样，渴望建立改造项目的国家可以向已有改造项目的国家学习。这种交流还可以使有临时项目的国家建立系统的项目，使没有该项目的国家启动项目。

Third, joint research, publication, education, and training. Joint research into the terrorist mindset, psychology, use of religion, and other areas could pave the way for collaboration in more challenging areas. For terrorist rehabilitation to be successful, all the staff of the program should be oriented. As a specialist discipline, clerics, scholars, psychologists, security, and intelligence professionals, prison guards, and other servicing the program should be trained. While courses on counselling skills could range from seven months to one year, a course on counter extremism and counter terrorism can be exchanged either to impart training or to receive training. When conducting courses, countries with fully-fledged rehabilitation programs could

invite staff from countries keen to initiate rehabilitation programs to participate. As the number of specialist trainers is limited, some courses could be jointly conducted. A successful rehabilitation program requires the government, academia, and community to work together. Without well-trained dedicated, dedicated, and motivated staff a national program cannot succeed. Together with the Religious Rehabilitation Group of Singapore, the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research hosted the first International Course on Terrorist Rehabilitation in August 2009.

第三，联合研究、联合出版、联合教育、联合培训。联合研究恐怖分子的思维方式、心理状态、宗教使用和其他领域，可以为更具挑战性的领域开展合作铺平道路。要想恐怖分子改造成功，就要重视项目的所有工作人员。作为一门专业学科，神职人员、学者、心理学家、安全和情报专业人员、监狱警卫和其他为该项目服务的人员都应接受培训。咨询技巧的课程由7个月至1年不等，而有关反极端主义和反恐的课程则可以相互转换传授或接受培训。在开展课程时，拥有完善改造计划的国家可以邀请开展改造计划国家的工作人员参加。由于专业培训人员数量有限，有些课程可以联合举办。成功的改造计划需要政府、学术界和社区的共同努力。没有训练有素、敬业、有奉献精神 and 积极进取的工作人员，国家改造计划不可能成功。2009年8月，新加坡国际政治暴力与恐怖主义研究中心与宗教改造小组共同举办了第一届国际恐怖分子改造课程。

Four, transfer of expertise and resources. Without a vision and strategic direction, no terrorist rehabilitation program can succeed. For a rehabilitation program to be successful, a long-term commitment of intellectual and material resources is a must. The program in Egypt died because the resources diverted. In contrast, governments from Uzbekistan, Singapore, and Saudi Arabia have allocated significant resources. Although Malaysia, Indonesia, and Yemen have allocated resources, they need to have a full-time, dedicated specialist staff focusing exclusively on terrorist detainees and inmates. To make terrorist rehabilitation a global imperative, wherever possible, countries need to share the expertise and resources with countries that lack them. As of 2009, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Thailand, and the Philippines expressed an interest in building programs. To build a global regime to rehabilitate terrorists, governments with the expertise and resources need to pave the way and create a path for other nations. Every successful program requires a long-term investment of intellectual and other resources.

第四、专业知识和资源的转移传播。没有愿景和战略方向，任何改造恐怖分子的计划都不可能成功。改造计划要获得成功一定要长期投入知识分子和物质资源。埃及的改造项目因为资源被挪用而夭折。相比之下，乌兹别克斯坦、新加坡和沙特阿拉伯政府已经分配了大量资源。虽然马来西亚、印度尼西亚和也门政府已经分配了资源，但它们需要有专职人员负责被拘留的恐怖分子和囚犯。为了使改造恐怖主义成为全球的当务之急，各国必须尽可能分享专业知识和资源给这方面欠缺的国家。截至2009年，巴基斯坦、孟加拉国、泰国和菲律宾表示有兴趣建立改造项目。为了建立一个改造恐怖分子的全球制度，拥有专业知识和资源的政府需要为其他国家开辟、铺平道路。每一个成功的项目都需要人才和其他资源的长期投资。

Five, sharing of experience. Every national rehabilitation program is country specific. Saudi Arabia, for instance, supports of the beneficiary to enter mainstream life, and would therefore look for wives for the detainees and also buy them cars, homes, give them jobs, and assist them in starting businesses. To change the mindsets, there is sustained family pressure to transform. Some have made use of the benefits and gone back to violence. Instead of seeking to replicate national models, what would be useful is to draw lessons and adapt them to specific country conditions. However, there are many common areas for collaboration from research into key Islamic concepts misinterpreted by the terrorists to the assessment progress or non-progress of rehabilitation.

第五、经验分享。每个国家的改造方案都是单独定制的。例如，沙特阿拉伯支持受益人融入主流生活，因此会为被拘留者娶妻，并为他们买车、买房、提供工作并帮助他们创业。有持续的家庭压力要求他转变思想观念。一些人利用这些好处重新走上了暴力之路。与其寻求复制模式，不如吸取经验教训并使其适应具体的情况。然而，从恐怖分子误解的关键伊斯兰概念的研究到对改造进展情况的评估，有许多共同的合作领域。

Six, an international advisory council. To sustain momentum, to ensure common interest, and to create synergy, it is necessary to create an international advisory council of practitioners and scholars. The council will determine membership, set modalities, and provide strategic direction to the community of terrorist rehabilitation practitioners and scholars. The council will plan and prepare for an annual international conference on terrorist rehabilitation. This conference should continue to serve as a platform to project to the world the message of rehabilitation.

第六、国际咨询委员会。为了保持动力，确保共同利益，创造协同效应，有必要建立一个由实践人员和学者组成的国际咨询委员会。该委员会将确定成员资格，制定模式，并为恐怖分子改造从业人员和学者提供战略指导。该委员会计划筹备一次关于改造恐怖主义的年度国际会议。会议应继续作为向世界宣传改造信息的平台。

To make terrorist rehabilitation a global imperative, the government needs to move from a cooperative to a collaborative model. While preserving their unique identities they must be willing to advance common interests. To have universal acceptance of an idea such terrorist rehabilitation, the understanding of the community of nations, especially the West, is paramount. In moving towards a United Nations convention making it mandatory for member countries to pass legislation, the nations that constitute the UN needs to be convinced. This will require a step-by-step approach of formally and informally educating governments and intelligentsia, building a significant number of national rehabilitation programs and initiatives, and eventually approaching the UN.

要使改造恐怖分子成为全球当务之急，政府需要从合作转为多层次协作模式。在保持其独特身份的同时，必须愿意促进共同利益。要使人们普遍接受这种改造恐怖主义的思想，对国际社区，特别是西方的理解是至关重要的。要想达成一项联合国公约，强制要求成员国通过立法，就必须说服联合的各个成员国。这

需要一个循序渐进的方法，对政府和知识分子进行正式和非正式的教育，建立大量的国家级改造计划和倡议，并最终推向联合国。

Conclusion

结论

After 9/11, Western-led kinetic, lethal, and punitive approaches have emerged as the dominant strategies to fight terrorism. These tactical and operational responses have produced mixed result. Although several important terrorists have been killed or captured, the strategic threat has not diminished. Soon it will be ten years since the terrible attacks in New York and Washington DC. Unless governments share and adopt non-kinetic, non-lethal measures to fight terrorism and extremism, the threat will persist. Ideology driving violence, including terrorism, is growing. Unless the ideology in the environment and inside the mind of the terrorist is dismantled, the threat is likely to persist in the foreseeable future. Terrorist rehabilitation is a classic example of using smart power. It is neither soft nor hard power. It is a combination of not only integrating our laws to detain and hold but also using our goodwill and judgment to correct the misled and the misguided. As no one is born an extremist or a terrorist. It is necessary to reverse the global trend of radicalization.

9/11 之后，西方主导的动态、致命和惩罚性的方法已经成为打击恐怖主义的主要战略。这些战术和军事行动产生了复杂的结果。虽然几名重要的恐怖分子已被击毙或抓获，但战略威胁并未减少。纽约和华盛顿特区的恐怖袭击即将过去十年了。除非各国政府共同采取非冲突、非致命的作战方式来打击恐怖主义和极端主义，否则威胁将持续存在。包括恐怖主义在内的意识形态助长了暴力。除非外部环境和恐怖分子思想中的恐怖主义意识形态被消除，否则在可预见的未来，这种威胁很可能会持续存在。改造恐怖分子是运用巧实力的经典案例。它既不是软实力，也不是硬实力。这是一种结合，不仅要整合拘留和监禁的法律，还要用我们的善意和判断力去纠正误入歧途的人。没有人生来就是极端分子或恐怖分子。有必要扭转全球激进化的趋势。

Rehabilitation is a holistic program. For rehabilitation to work, community engagement is as important as the four modes of rehabilitation. The confluence of those two domains must take place to bring about successful rehabilitation. The most crucial partnership is that between government and community. As communities produce extremists and terrorists, the participation of the community in the fight against extremism is essential. Law enforcement, intelligence and the military can help, but ultimately the community must defeat terrorism. Without community participation, where the ulema and other secular leaders take the lead, no program can succeed. There should be synergy where the government works with the community elite to create an environment hostile to the terrorists and unfriendly extremists.

改造是一项全面的计划。要使改造工作发挥作用，社区参与与四种改造模式同样重要。必须把这两个领域结合起来才能改造成功。政府和社区之间的伙伴关系最关键的。极端分子和恐怖分子产生于社区，因此社区参与打击极端主义的斗争至关重要。执法部门、情报部门和军方可以提供帮助，但最终必须由社区**打击**败恐怖主义。没有社区参与，没有乌里玛和其他非宗教领导人的引领，任何项目

都不可能成功。政府和社区精英应该协同合作，创造一个与恐怖分子和不友好的极端分子相反的环境。

The Islamic world has yet to play the frontline role in both countering extremism and its vicious by-product, terrorism. As religion has been misused and abused, the Muslim world looks up to Saudi Arabia to debunk the terrorist ideology. The Royal Family, religious scholars, and ulema in Saudi Arabia should give a bold mandate, resources, and direction to the Muslim world. Other strong referral points should be Egypt and Pakistan, where radical movements have emerged and festered. Unless the ulema in Muslim-majority countries such as Indonesia, Bangladesh, Jordan, and, Algeria speak up, a segment of the Muslim community will continue to consider Osama bin Laden, Dr Ayman al Zawahiri, Abu Bakar Bashir, and Abu Mohamed al Maqdisi as their ulema. More than ever before, Muslim nations face a grave challenge. For success, a coordinated and collective effort is needed.

伊斯兰世界尚未在打击极端主义及其恶性副产品——恐怖主义方面发挥一线作用。随着宗教被误用和滥用，穆斯林世界期待沙特阿拉伯揭穿恐怖主义意识形态的真相。沙特阿拉伯的皇室家族、宗教学者和乌里玛应该给穆斯林世界一个明确的使命、资源和方向。其他大力推荐的应该是埃及和巴基斯坦，这两个国家的激进运动已经出现并恶化。除非穆斯林占多数的国家，如印度尼西亚、孟加拉国、约旦和阿尔及利亚的乌里玛站出来说明情况，否则穆斯林社区的一部分人仍然视 Osama bin Laden、Ayman al Zawahiri 博士、Abu Bakar Bashir 和 Abu Mohamed al Maqdisi（滥用穆斯林教义的恐怖分子）这些人为乌里玛。穆斯林国家比以往任何时候都面临着严峻的挑战。要取得成功，需要协调一致的集体努力。

In most Muslim-minority governments, the greater challenge rests with government. Muslims have little or no channels to the government. As counter terrorism is within the realm of national security, to successfully target the conceptual terrorist infrastructures the government has no option but to invite Muslim leaders, elders, and the elite to work together. Governments must take the initiative and create bridges and pathways: by opening doors, inviting participation, and making them belong to the country, their identity will become a national Muslim identity. To foster government-community partnership towards building a viable program, the government should take the lead. At the beginning, initiatives to engage Muslims will only have the support of a handful of genuine Muslim leaders and institutions. With success and time, more volunteers will join and greater participation will ensue. The Singapore government's approach in building a close partnership between its Muslim minority communities in countering terrorism is a good model to learn from and adopt.

在很多穆斯林为少数民族的政府中，更大的挑战在于政府。穆斯林很少或根本没有渠道与政府沟通。由于反恐是在国家安全的范围内，为了成功地打击恐怖主义概念的基础设施，政府别无选择，只能邀请穆斯林领导人、长老和精英们共同努力。各国政府必须积极行动，建立桥梁和途径：通过敞开大门，邀请参与，使穆斯林成为国家的一部分，他们的身份认同将成为一种国家的穆斯林身份认同。政府应该发挥带头作用促进政府与社区的合作，建立一个可行的项目。一开

始，与穆斯林接触的倡议只得到少数真正的穆斯林领导人和机构的支持。随着成功和时间的推移，有更多的志愿者加入，随之而来有更多的人参与。新加坡政府在少数穆斯林群体之间建立密切伙伴关系以打击恐怖主义的做法是值得学习和采用的良好模式。

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