THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA – REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA BILATERAL COOPERATION THROUGH ANTI-TERRORISM ASSISTANCE (ATA) PROGRAM TO COUNTER TERRORISM ACTIVITIES: THE STUDY ON JEMAAH ISLAMIYAH TERRORIST ORGANIZATION IN INDONESIA

(2002-2007)

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THESIS ADVISER RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This thesis entitled “The Implementation of the United States of America – Republic of Indonesia Bilateral Cooperation through Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program to Encounter Terrorism Activities: The Study on Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist Organization in Indonesia (2002-2007)” prepared and submitted by Dwini Fernanda Dangari in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Bachelor of Art in International Relations in the Faculty of Humanities has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirement for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense.

Cikarang, Indonesia, May 2017

Recommended and Acknowledged by,

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declared that this thesis, entitled “The Implementation of the United States of America – Republic of Indonesia Bilateral Cooperation through Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program to Counter Terrorism Activities: The Study on Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist Organization in Indonesia (2002-2007)” to the best of my knowledge and belief, an original piece of work that has not been submitted, either in whole or in part to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, May 2017

Dwini Fernanda Dangari
PANEL OF EXAMINER APPROVAL SHEET

The Panel of Examiners declare that the thesis entitles “The Implementation of the United States of America – Republic of Indonesia Bilateral Cooperation through Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program to Counter Terrorism Activities: The Study on Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist Organization in Indonesia (2002-2007)” that was submitted by Dwini Fernanda Dangari majoring in International Relations from the school of Humanities was assessed and approved to have passed the Oral Examinations on May 2017.

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ABSTRACT

Title: The Implementation of the United States of America – Republic of Indonesia Bilateral Cooperation through Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program to Counter Terrorism Activities: The Study on Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist Organization in Indonesia (2002-2007)

Terrorism is an important issue for states to address. This was influenced greatly by the attack on the 11th September of 2001 to the World Trade Center, USA. Since then, the United States of America have played an active role in addressing the issue of terrorism all over the world. Indonesia, as the largest Muslim population in the world was deemed as a potential target for the spreading of terrorist ideologies, and the United States was keen in developing cooperation between the two states prevent the spreading of terrorism ideology. This thesis will analyze the implementation of the cooperation between the U.S and Indonesia, through the Anti-Terrorism Assistance program, specifically in countering the spread of Jamaah Islamiyah. This thesis will analyze the concept of security, bilateral cooperation, based on the perspective of realism. This research was conducted from November of 2016 until May of 2017, through the use of qualitative method of analysis. The writer uses sources such as books, news sources, journals, and also electronic sources as a reference to build this thesis.

Keywords: Terrorism, Jamaah Islamiyah, Anti-Terrorism Assistance, U.S-Indonesia Bilateral Cooperation, Security.
ABSTRAK


Keywords: Terorisme, Jamaah Islamiyah, Anti-Terrorism Assistance, Kerjasama Bilateral AS-Indonesia, Keamanan.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1 Background of the Study

In today’s world, the act of terrorism has often become a common worldwide headline in the news, and has recognized as one of major threats towards states national security. Yet the development of terrorism in today’s world could easily have the global network to control and organize the operations in several states that cross the boundaries of the state and be considered as crimes that involved the international community. As the terrorism became the global phenomenon, the definition of terrorism as it affected by social-cultural and political situation of the society itself. According to Alex P. Schmidt, the act of terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring that use the repeated method of violent action that used by the individual, group or states actors for the economic or political reason whereby not make the direct target as the main target. It has been categorized as one of transnational crime because political is not become the only one target of terrorism but it is separated to humanity and can be a threat to national security for all nations.

The U.S experienced direct terrorist attack that gave big impact to its foreign policy. The tragedy on September 11, 2001 as known as 9/11 that related with Al-Qaeda led by Osama bin Laden caused many people died. That tragedy impacted to the increasing awareness of terrorism issue all around the world. The act of terrorist that attacked the U.S in 2001, has given influence to global security and international system. Nine days after terrorist attack in Washington Trade

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3 The term of U.S is referring to the United States. Thus, this thesis will use the term for further discussion.
Center (WTC) and Pentagon on September 20, 2001 President of the United States, George W. Bush in a speech before a joint session of Congress declared the U.S foreign policy to become more focus on terrorism issue. At that time, he also launched the words “War on Terror” for the first time. On his speech, Bush said how the U.S will fight and win to against terrorist.

“Americans are asking, how will we fight and win this war?
We will direct every resource at our command—every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war—to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.”

Bush further emphasized to the world to make decision, either they with the U.S or against them, as it is quoted

“Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make: Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorist. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.”

Since the U.S launched the global on terror campaign, the government has set the strategy in order to combating terrorism act into its national strategy on 14 February 2003 with the following strategy which are fighting the enemy abound, spreading the democracy values, denying the terrorist access toward mass destruction weapons and denying the terrorists state support. In order to combating terrorism, the U.S government produced four pillars or principles guide as its strategies, which are:

5 Ibid.
1. Making no concessions to terrorists and strike no deal
2. Bringing terrorists to justice for their crimes
3. Isolate and apply pressure on states that sponsor terrorism to force them to change their behavior
4. Bolster the counterterrorist capabilities of those countries that work with the U.S and require assistance.

The U.S government implemented the four principles of U.S counterterrorism strategies by providing trainings and equipment, special anti-terror task forces that was created by the U.S government itself, and the last but not least is the intelligence and law enforcement agencies.\(^\text{10}\) The U.S war on terrorism objective indeed has been conducted cooperation with several states in order to provide the assistance for the law enforcement, intelligence, military and education, and diplomatic activity to against terrorist through the Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program.\(^\text{11}\) The objective of ATA is to provide the assistance for the coalition partners to take strong yet decisive action against the act of terrorism by providing the relevant equipment, technical advice and valuable skill in the field of crisis management, cyber terrorism, bomb detection, dignity protection, airport security, border control, police management, kidnap intervention, pipeline security, countering terrorist financing and response to the act that involving weapons of mass destruction.\(^\text{12}\) Since the establishment of ATA in 1983, the program indeed has provided the assistance for over 31,000 foreign security and law enforcement personnel from 127 countries in order to fight the act of terrorism threat.\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^{11}\) Ibid.


One of the states that the U.S sees needed to provide the assistance in order to combat the threat from terrorism act is Indonesia. In the U.S perspective, Indonesia, as the biggest Muslim country in the world played the important role to promote the idea of Islamic and democracy could go hand in hand. On 19 September 2001, President Megawati visited Washington to meet with President George W. Bush to discuss the bilateral relation among them. The meeting, however, resulted to the agreement of to strengthen the bilateral cooperation that based upon the shared democratic values and a common interest in promoting religion stability and prosperity. As the result of the meeting, Bush requested to the U.S Congress to provide the bilateral assistance approximately $130 million with the special focus to assist Indonesia effort on legal and judicial reform, U.S $400,000 for expanding International Military Education and Training (IMET) and provide $10 million for the police training." On the ‘Joint Statement between the U.S and Indonesia’ released by the White House on October 22, 2003 stated that;

“President Bush expressed the strong support of the United States for Indonesia's democratic transition and reforms, and welcomed Indonesia's progress toward becoming a mature and stable democracy. Both Presidents agreed that, as the most populous majority-Muslim nation, Indonesia is a powerful example that democracy and Islam can go hand in hand”.

The bilateral relation to counter terrorism between the U.S and Indonesia can be seen as the effort of U.S strategy to strengthen coalition and partnership in which aim to against the threat from the terrorism organization such as Al-Qaeda. The cooperation was arranged by implementing the Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program under the U.S Department of Bureau Counter Terrorism in which provide the assistance to the Indonesian National Police (POLRI)

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through the establishment of Special Detachment 88 (Densus 88) in order to combat the threat of terrorism.\textsuperscript{17}

I.2 Problem Identification

As the largest Muslim and third biggest democratic country in the world, U.S sees that the bilateral cooperation with Indonesia in combating the act of terrorism would give the benefit for both states, regional and international community\textsuperscript{18} in line with the interest of U.S which is confronting Al-Qaeda terrorist networks in Southeast Asia.\textsuperscript{19} According the Joint Statement between The U.S-Indonesia on 19 September 2001, President Bush invited Indonesia to join Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program.\textsuperscript{20} U.S believed that as stated on Joint Statement of Republic of Indonesia – United States of America President:

"...The two countries are bound by a broad based-democratic partnership based on equality, mutual respect, common interest and shared values of freedom, pluralism and tolerance..."\textsuperscript{21}

U.S Secretary of State, Colin L. Powell stated that the bilateral cooperation between U.S and Indonesia gave the significant impact towards the U.S effort on combating the terrorism threat, particularly for the regional security since the Al-Qaeda has spread its network in the Southeast Asia. He further stated that:

"We talked about our counter-terrorism efforts and our military-to-military programs. I’m pleased that as a result of the leadership shown by President Megawati we are able now to start down a road toward greater military-to-military cooperation and more work with your police forces as you deal with those elements within every society these days that are determined not to respect the rights of

\textsuperscript{18} Secretary’s Remarks : Remarks With Indomesia Foreign Minister Raden Mohammad Marty Muliana Natalegawa on February 17, 2014 in Jakarta, page 2
\textsuperscript{20} Wise, William M, "Indonesia’s War on Terror", USINDO, pg 26, August 2005
\textsuperscript{21} Prof. Dr. Djohermansyah Djohan, Ma, Hubungan Bilateral Indonesia-Amerika Serikat Pada Era Presiden Barack Obama, page 11
people, not to respect democracy, but to undertake terrorism as a way of pushing their evil agenda..."22

On 12 October 2002, Indonesia suffered from the terrorist act of bombing in Bali that took place in three different places which are Paddy’s Irish Bar, Sari Club, and the U.S Consulate with 202 people died and most of them were Australians, other foreign tourists, and also local people.23 The Bali bombing increased the Indonesian government awareness of the terrorist threat to its national security, and became a first step for the how Indonesia address the issue of counterterrorism.

In response to Bali bomb, Indonesian government agreed on the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) assistance through the Global War on Terror (GWOT) to investigate the possibility of the involvement of Islamic Militant group, particularly Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Al-Qaeda. The FBI investigated resulted to the involvement of JI with arrestment of Omar Al Faruq as a senior member of Al-Qaeda and also a key link with Jemaah Islamiyah in Bogor, West Java.24 On 25 October 2002, the United Nation Security Council Resolution 1267 listed JI as the terrorist organization associated with Al-Qaeda and Taliban.25

Jemaah Islamiyah, the terrorist organization that established by Abu Bakar Ba’asyir and Abdullah Sungkar in 1993 aims to establish Islamic State in Southeast Asian countries which would include Malaysia, Southern Thailand, southern Philippines, Singapore and Indonesia.26 In Indonesia, JI had the sub-organization associated with Jemaah Ansharut Tawijd (JAT), Mujahidin Indonesia

Timur (MIT), and Mujahidin Indonesia Barat (MIB) that shared origin under Darul Islam.  

In Indonesia perspective, JI existence perceived as the threat towards its national philosophy which Pancasila. The Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003 that followed changed became Country Reports on Terrorism written how the reaction of Indonesian Government toward terrorist activities in Indonesia after Bali bombing:

“The terrorist bombings in Bali on 12 October 2002 that killed 202-mostly foreign tourists-and the bombing of the J.W. Marriott Hotel in Jakarta on 5 August 2003 that killed 12 forced the Indonesian Government into action. The Government, led by the Indonesia National Police, has taken effective steps to counter the threat posed by the regional terrorist organization Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which has ties to Al-Qaida. Indonesian police have arrested 109 suspected JI members-most in 2003-including suspects in the Bali attacks, the Marriott attack, and other criminal acts linked to terrorism.”

Meanwhile, the U.S perceived JI as a threat with listed JI as Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTOs) by the US Secretary of State under Bureau of Counterterrorism on 23 October 2002. There are effects by designed as FTOs following:

1. Support our efforts to curb terrorism financing and to encourage other nations to do the same
2. Stigmatizes and isolates designated terrorist organizations internationally
3. Deters donations or contributions to and economic transactions with named organizations
4. Heightens public awareness and knowledge of terrorist organization
5. Signals to other government our concern about named organizations.

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30 Ibid.
After the Bali bombing, President Bush visited Indonesia to strengthen the bilateral cooperation in order to combat terrorism, including through capacity building and information sharing, and referring to military-to-military relations by improving civil military relations.\textsuperscript{31} One of programs under the U.S government and the Indonesia government in fighting terrorist activities in Indonesia through the assistances of the police and security officials and giving U.S $12 million for establishment of a national police counter-terrorism unit with the establishment of Special Detachment 88 Anti-Terror (\textit{Densus 88}) to provide the rapid respond personnel toward terrorist attacks. According to the Indonesian Police Headquarter Anti-Terror, Brig. General Pranowo the number of 88 was taken from largest number of casualties of Bali Bombing.\textsuperscript{32}

Densus 88 have an important role in combating terrorists in Indonesia. According to Country Reports on Terrorism in 2004 by the U.S Department of State, Densus 88 arrested approximately two dozen of terrorist suspect at that time. It is including the person that suspected as senior regional terrorist network Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), former instructors at JI training camp, financiers of attacks, and the people who joined with JI to carry out attacks.\textsuperscript{33} The Islamic Militant group Jemaah Islamiyah was responsible for terrorist attacks in Indonesia such as in Bali bombing in October 2002, was bombing attack at Indonesia Parliament and JW Marriot Hotel in Jakarta in 2003, the Australian Embassy in September 2004 and Bali bombing II in October 2005.\textsuperscript{34}

Densus 88 has made a big step on their operation of counterterrorism by arresting several key JI terrorist operatives included JI \textit{amir} Ustad Syahreni as known as Zarkasih and JI senior operative Abu Dujana as known as Ainul Bahri.


\textsuperscript{32} Indonesian Police’s Detachment 88, Retrieved from http://indonesiaeliteforces.tripod.com/id37.html on January 3 2017


The Afghanistan veteran Zarkasih as the JI amir and a former leader of JI was part of JI's central command and was involved in several JI attacks in recent years, and did not escape from Densus 88 operations.\(^{35}\)

From figure 1.1 shows how the actors interconnecting one another. The 9/11 caused the major changed on United States foreign policy with the launched of “War on Terror” to fight against terrorism, above all Al-Qaeda through seeking the coalition with other states by providing the assistance. Yet, Indonesia also experienced terrorist attack on October 2002 in Bali by JI that caused the increasing concern of Indonesian government towards the terrorist threat. Thus, United States offers the bilateral partnership to Indonesia under ATA framework in order to address the terrorist organization activities namely JI.

The U.S. State Department stated that Hambali, one of the member of JI that was involved in bomb attack was the head of Jemaah Islamiyah's regional *shura* and act as the Al-Qaeda's operations director for East Asia region. According to U.S and Asian Intelligence Officials, Hambali played the most important leadership role in Jemaah Islamiyah until his arrest in 2003. A report published claimed that he was the group's operational chief and closely involved in several terrorist plots. U.S. officials announced on August 14, 2003, that he was arrested by Thai authorities in Ayutthaya, about sixty miles north of Bangkok, and handed over to the Central Intelligence Agency.

Jemaah Islamiyah and Al-Qaeda are linked through expertise, some joint membership, and financial support that had approximately $500,000 for use in their operation. Even though JI operation is not controlled by Al-Qaeda, they had their own agenda. In January 2003 Richard Boucher as the United States Department of State Spokesman said:

"Information indicates that Hambali was involved in a 1995 plot to bomb eleven U.S. commercial airliners in Asia and directed the late-2001 foiled plot to attack U.S. and Western interests in Singapore,"

After Abu Bakar Ba’asyir was released from jail in June 2006 due to his involvement in Bali attack, he stressed that democracy values and Islam are unsuitable and continue implement *sharia* law and aim to against US and Western as the targets in Southeast Asian countries.

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37 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
41 Indonesia: *The Hotel Bombings*, International Crisis Group, Policy Briefing, Asian Briefing No94, July 24, 2009
I.3 Statement of the Problem

Following the issues that have been elaborated above, the problem of this thesis would be define as follow,

“How did the Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program implemented under the U.S-Indonesia Partnership Framework to counter Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorism Activities in Indonesia (2002-2007)?”

I.4 Research Objectives

The purpose of this research is to analyze the U.S – Indonesia partnership to countering terrorism through Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) as the way of Indonesia to counter Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia.

I.5 Significance of Study

This study aims to understand the U.S-Indonesia partnership to counter terrorism through Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) as the way of Indonesia to countering Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) terrorist organization in Indonesia.

I.6 Theoretical Framework

In this research, a series of significant theory and concepts would be applied to gain the exact perspective in understanding the issue as well as gaining the comprehensive answer of the problems.

I.6.1 Structural Realism Theory

Structural realism also known as neo-realism is an enlargement of the Classical realism paradigm. In which Classical Realists argues that the human nature is indeed the main reason of the states to struggle in pursuing power and to maximize the states’ resources that later will cause the conflicting behavior in in-

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42 Structural realism first conceptualized by Kenneth Waltz in his book ‘Theory of International Politics’ (1979)
International relations by human failing. On the other hand many scholars argue that human nature is not the main reason of the human failing, in which this argument motivated Kenneth Waltz to further enlarge classical realism and created the conceptual Structural Realism as the improvement of classical realism theory. He argued that human nature is not the main reason that drives the states behavior to pursue power but the environment which influence the states behavior to pursue power as the tool to survive and self-help within the international system. However both classical and structural realism explain the international system as anarchy in which there is no higher power than the states itself. Anarchy system resulted in security of states as it is believed there are no authority is above or higher than states itself to maintain the rule, order and to provide the security in the system.

Waltz explains in the structural realism, the ‘structure’ is the main factor that influences the states intention. Structural realism believes that the international system is not hierarchy (ordering principal) but anarchy (no authority is above states) (as shown in Figure 4).

![Figure 1.2 International System is Anarchy](image)

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45 Ibid.
As it is explained that international system is anarchy, states will maximize and seek power to protect itself from threats of another state as there will be no guarantee that the other states will not use its power to attack one another.  

Mearsheimer argued;  

“That power is a means to an end and the ultimate end is survival that will led to weak states fear to strong states’ intention, strong states to fear rising states’ intention and neighbors to fear one another’s’ intention.”  

In structural realism Kenneth also explain there are two ways that can be used by the states to pursue power in international system’s structure; first choice is by maintaining its share of world power through balance of power (Defensive Realism) and second by pursuing a hegemony power through maximizing its power (Offensive Realism). Further, Mearsheimer also emphasized five assumptions of international system, as following:  

1. International system is anarchic but not necessary means as a chaotic situation,  
2. Great power possess offensive military capability, which have the possibility to intervene other powers,  
3. States’ can never be certain about other states’ intentions. No state can guarantee the decision of other states to not use its offensive military capability,  
4. States survival in anarchic world is the main objective of great power,  
5. Every great power is a rational actor.  

In anarchy world, states are aiming to protect its national unity, political independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty over domestic and/or foreign threat to their national security by preventing the potential threat that could undermine the states survival by bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The perspec-

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47 Ibid.  
48 Ibid.
tive of structural realism allows the five mentioned assumptions to be utilized in
the analytical process throughout the research. In this, analyzing the status of the
relationship between the United States and Indonesia can be explained more
through the concept of anarchy and the condition of hegemony in the international
structure. The U.S role as a global power influences the decision for the United
States to be involved in cooperation with the Indonesia, for the sake of security,
which will be elaborated further in this theoretical framework.

I.6.2 The Concept of Security

The concept of security is related to individual or societal value system. It
is not an independent concept (Brauch 2003, p.52). According to Buzan;

“Security is taken to be about the persuit of freedom from
threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain
their independent identity and their functional integrity
against forces of changes, which they see as hostile. The
bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably in-
cludes a subtanssial range of concerns about the condi-
tions of exisitance”.49

International crimes such as terrorism, human smuggling, environmental crime,
human rights violations, etc. showed the increasing and develop into the issues of
international security.50 According to Arnold Wolfer, security distinguished be-
tween objective and subjective dimensions.51 In objective dimension, security is a
condition when a state might perceive itself as secure but on the other hand it is
not (peace of mind). While the subjective dimension means free from fear (ab-
sence of fear). Based on the realist assumptions, the dominant concern of states is
security that force is the major instrument, that governments preserve their unity
as they interact with another, threats to security should be prevented or at least
managed to make achieved the security (Nye 1988, pp. 6-8). The combination ef-

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Publishing.
Remaja Rosdakarya.
Science, 485.
fort is the only way to achieved security (Booth 1999, p.41). It means security needs trust among actors that started from a certain level of predictability that needs to be achieved by sharing commitments.

I.6.3 Bilateral Cooperation Concept

In bilateral cooperation there will be various national interests of the states that cannot be fulfilled on their own. International relations have proven the interdependence of the nation. The presence of cooperative relations between states has been recognized by many studies (Keohane and Nye 1977; Wendt 1999; Hoffman 2006). International relation is a shape from interaction of the actor in international system. The interaction itself will be emerging if there are relations based on the same interest among states. The bilateral cooperation can be held in many fields such as economics, politics, culture, and security. However, on this research the writer will only focus on the bilateral relation on security field in order to combat terrorism. According to K.J Holsti there are variables that need to be focus in bilateral relations:

1. The quality and quantity that own by the country.
2. Skill of capability to support various purposes.
3. Threat credibility and interdependence.
4. The level of needs and interdependence.
5. The responsibility among decision makers.\(^52\)

International Relations defined as global relations that include all of the relationships that overstep the state borders. Bilateral relation is the simple relation if seen by the number of countries doing the interaction. In bilateral relation there only two states which share the same interests. According to Caporso, bilateralism is another approach and conceptions of how this world is organized, with the cooperation between two sovereign states; “Bilateral cooperation is a form of interaction and transaction that occurred directly between two countries that confront

In US-Indonesia bilateral cooperation, the cooperation is driven by same interest which goes against terrorism in order to defend their sovereignty. Conducting a bilateral relation is not apart from the agreement that reached of both countries that their interaction is driven by their national interest, in the attempt to conduct their foreign affairs. A national aims pursued by a state could be seen from the national interest formulated by state’s government elite.

**I.7 Scope and Limitation of Study**

Realizing the condition of Republic of Indonesia to protect their national security from terrorist activities and influence of The United States policy “War on Terror” based on the same vision to combating terrorism that make both of the countries held bilateral cooperation to counterterrorism. This research would be limited to the implementation of Anti-Terror Assistance (ATA) program between US-Indonesia in combating JI as terrorist movement, started from 2002 when the establishment of Densus 88 Anti-Terror that used to combating terrorist movement in Indonesia until its major successes in breaking up terrorist cells linked to JI in 2007.

**I.8 Research Methodology**

This research is designed as descriptive research, focusing on fact finding inquiry. The methods are chosen as for the main objectives of this research would be to portray accurately the characteristic of a particular situation (Kothari, 2004). Through conducting a comparative and correlation means towards the available data, a qualitative analysis would be further conveyed to make critical evaluation in regards with the problems stated through the questions. The instruments used in this research are not limited to printed version but also helped by electronics finding, especially from the internet.

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I.9 Thesis Structure

I.9.1 Chapter I Introduction

This chapter will talk more about the foundation of the topic and problems which include of the background of the study, problems identification, research question, significance of the study, theoretical framework which used to analyze the problems, scope and limitation of the study and also thesis structure. As the fundamental of the thesis, the first chapter will focus on explaining the way of thinking how the problems exist and solve on that time frame.

I.9.2 Chapter II The US-Indonesia Bilateral Relations in Countering Terrorism in Indonesia

This chapter the writer will further elaborate the bilateral relation of the US-Indonesia in order to counter terrorism in Indonesia. This chapter will focus on the stance and interest of both US and Indonesia in the development of the bilateral cooperation in facing the rise of terrorism in Indonesia.

I.9.3 Chapter III The Development of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia

This chapter will explain and elaborate the history of JI first establishment in Indonesia and how JI later became a threat to both Indonesia national security, and also the United States of America.

I.9.4 Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) Training Program as the Effort of Indonesia in Combating Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) Activities

In this chapter the writer will provide an analysis of the implementations taken through the policy of counterterrorism in the form of the ATA program in Indonesia. This chapter will also elaborate further in the kinds of implementation of the ATA program, the criteria, and the development of the ATA program in Indonesia.
I.9.5 Chapter V Conclusion

In this chapter, the writer will elaborate the findings of the thesis, and provide a summary of the conclusions of the thesis. This chapter will elaborate the main points of each chapters of the thesis, and conclude them.
CHAPTER II

The U.S-Indonesia Bilateral Relations in Countering Terrorism in Indonesia

II.1 The U.S. Global War on Terror: Post 9/11

The United States Global War on Terror begun after the World Trade Centre (WTC) twin building in Washington D.C and Pentagon in New York attacked by an terrorist organization namely Al-Qaeda on 11 September 2001. The direct attack to the U.S territories by Al-Qaeda that led by Osama Bin Laden not only claims thousands of casualties, but furthermore caused the major changes on U.S foreign policy. President George W. Bush on his speech stated that in regard to the 9/11 event as

“These terrorists kill not merely to end lives but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way”

The U.S global war on terrorism officially began on 20 September 2001 through President Bush speech on a joint Session of the Congress on the United States Response to the Terrorist Attacks of September 11. He stated that;

“Our war on terror begins with Al Qaida, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.”


In the aftermath of 9/11 and to address the terrorist organization activity that perceived as the threat towards the United States sovereignty and people, the U.S government launched the National Security of Strategy on September 17, 2001. In regard to the terrorist threat, the National Security Strategy stressed on several points following:

“The NSS is careful to specify a legal basis for pre-emption: international law recognizes "that nations need not suffer an attack before they can lawfully take action to defend themselves against forces that present an imminent danger of attack." There's also a preference for pre-empting multilaterally: "The United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community." But "we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting pre-emptively against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country".”

As 9/11 caused the major shift on United States foreign policy, the United Stated became more focused and concerned on combating the terrorism act in order to protect U.S national security. Under the President Bush administration, the United States intended to make the War on Terrorism as the central foreign and defense policy of United States. The tendency of U.S to change and yet to address the current threat has shown that states foreign policy are flexible and changeable depending on the situation with the objective to gain the highest benefit from its outcomes. Indeed, President Bush stated that the United States of America give the international community two choice in line with the United States effort on combating the act of terrorism, as it quoted:

58 Ibid.
“...Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make: Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorist. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.”

The U.S Global War on Terrorism becomes the base of every decision that took President Bush administration policy making after 9/11 attacks. In the post-9/11, the foreign policy of U.S has shown the direction of the U.S attitude towards the terrorist organization, as following:

1. Terrorism cannot be fought in the conventional ways, means the country in the condition in the permanent war and the president could always purpose larger range of activities that may needed by the administration with the label of terrorism.

2. The mission determines the coalition; referring toward the successful US-led coalition in the beginning of the mission. Terrorist have targeted the alliance and it will be used to push harder the terrorism acts.

3. The acts of the Global War on Terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq are affecting one and other; media role in promoting the importance of these symbiosis relations between both acts. Emphasis to legitimize and push harder the issues through nationalism and cleared roles of NATO in maintaining U.S.’s superiority and dominance in the European states in both foreign and military policies.

In order to prevent and prepare for the future attack from terrorist organization, U.S has improved the ability and capacity of law enforcement that used as the primary tools. The U.S government under President Bush administration transformed their military and strengthening the national security institutions to

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wage the War on Terror and secure their homeland. In his statement on September 28, 2005 with entitled ‘Fighting a Global War on Terror’, President Bush has emphasized few points which are:

1. Fighting the enemy aboard
2. Denying terrorists states support and sanctuary
3. Denying terrorists access to weapons of mass destruction
4. Spreading democracy

Indeed, one of the U.S global war on terrorism strategy on combating the terrorism act is through by the coalition with other states under the ATA framework by providing the assistance to the coalition partner.  

II.2. The Development of Indonesian Counter Terrorism Capabilities

II.2.1 Pre-Bali Bombing I

In the early independence, Indonesia have experienced the emergence of separatism movement that cannot be distinguished from terrorism development in Indonesia. Not only are such separatism movement motivated by ethnicity such as the Free Papua Movement (OPM) or the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), but there are also by religious motives such as Darul Islam (DI) and the Republic of South Molucca (RMS). Slow response given by the government under President Soeharto on the Asian financial crisis in 1997 made the emergence of demonstrations and social movements that argue the national political transformation and the imple-

68 Ibid
mentation of three political issues namely corruption, collusion, and nepotism in Soeharto regime.\textsuperscript{69}

During Indonesia political transition period, when the President Soeharto replaced by his vice president Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie in May 1998, the violence that used religious motives emerged. The religious typical of Indonesia make a strong appeal of religious group. There are the inter-ethnic conflicts that actually were motivated by religious sentiments, such as that happened in Molucca, Poso, and South Kalimantan. Each of the the movements emerged to support their own belief such as Laskar Jihad (Holy Warriors)\textsuperscript{70} or Laskar Jundullah (the Soldier of God)\textsuperscript{71} that appeared to support Islam, Laskar Kristus (the Christian Warriors)\textsuperscript{72} and the radical Dayak people\textsuperscript{73} emerged to support Christianity and Kaharingan Hinduism. The variety of tactics and strong ideological make the Muslim militias become more apparent.\textsuperscript{74}

By October 1999, President Abdurrahman Wahid established an anti-terror desk in the State Coordination Intelligence Agency (\textit{Badan Koordinasi Inti Il M Genra, BAKIN}), which then become \textit{Badan Intelijen Negara} (the State Intelligence Agency, \textit{BIN})\textsuperscript{75} since the institution was believed to hold important role to coordinate the armed forces, the police, and also the civilians units. However, it brought internal competition in its institution since a number of members of the


\textsuperscript{73}Stanley ed., (2000): Konflik Etnik di Sambas, Jakarta: ISAI


BIN was from military officer instead from police and civil under the leadership of aide A.M. Hendropriyanto.

Under President Wahid, there were several terror attacks in response to the political measures by the President at that time. The beginning of August 2000 a bomb exploded at the residence of the Philippines Ambassador in Jakarta that possibly linked to separatist rebels in the Southern Philippines and in the mid-September 2000 a large explosion occurred at the Jakarta Stock Exchange. The credibility of President Wahid was challenged by the act of terror. However, President Wahid responded to the challenge by firing General Rusiharjo as the National Police Chief, who was considered incapable of arresting the perpetrators. The new tension created by President Wahid with both institutions, Armed Forces and Police that should stop the acts of terror and resolve communal conflicts. The bomb explosion occurred during Christmas Eve in 2000 in the light of tension between the Armed Forces and the Indonesian Police, followed by the fragmentation of the national political coalition. At that time, President Wahid could no longer identify which group was the true national threat and made himself a ‘public enemy’ for almost all groups due to his controversial style. President Wahid soon lost his credibility to convince the public that the old forces of the pro-

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81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.
Soeharto or radical forces of particular religious/ethnic groups were the real threats to the national interests.83

After President Wahid stepped down, Megawati came to power and developed a more systematic policy and started to establish relationships with other countries within Southeast Asian Region by signing “ASEAN Declaration on Joint Action to Counterterrorism” on November 2001.84 As well developing bilateral relations with U.S which in September, 2001 the United States of America experienced terrorist attack by Al-Qaeda terrorist organization led by Osama bin Laden.85 The attack has impact to the changed international politic constellation with tendency more existence of the U.S as hegemonic country.86 This tragedy is more develop as global issue after the policy Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) has been released by the U.S President George W. Bush.87 In the implementation the U.S demanded support from the international community to work together in order to fight against terrorism. The declaration “either you are with us or against us” stated by President Bush did not gave other choice to the other states, except only giving their support or not join with the U.S alliance in fight against the terrorists. Indonesia was responsive regarding the tragedy that facing by the U.S. Not long after the incident, Megawati Soekarnoputri as the President of Indonesia have sent a letter to President Bush that expressed of condolence and Indonesia’s statement that condemned the attack as inhuman act.

“All I heard and witnessed and saw what happened, the tragic events in New York and Washington, I immediately

issued a statement which strongly condemned these attacks, which were very inhumane. And afterwards I sent a letter to President Bush expressing my condolences. So this is the position of my government on this issue. So it’s very clear.”

The same thing is repeated by Megawati during her visit to Washington on 19 September 2001. The statement is based on Indonesian stance against any form of violence as a means to achieve a political goal, as stated by President Megawati that,

“Indonesia has always been against violence. Anything that related to violence, including acts of terrorism, we will definitely be against it.”

The global campaign of the U.S to fight against terrorism became a turning point for the reinforcement of anti-terror unit that was carried out by Indonesian National Police. This was a strategy to gain support and aid from Western countries in terms of war campaign against terrorist. The military, since year of 1994, faced embargo on weapons and education cooperation for military officers from Western countries due to human rights abuses in East Timor, Aceh, and Papua. Besides that, the Police was considered capable to develop an anti-terror unit in the future.

II.2.2.2 Post-Bali Bombing I

As the largest Muslim-majority countries in the world, Indonesia is not free from the threat of terrorism. Indonesia has experienced a number of terrorist attacks that aim to establish the Islamic state that based upon the sharia law. In Christmas Eve 2000, there was bombing attack targeting churches that spread

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across thousand kilometers in Indonesia territory, which are in Jakarta as the capital city of Indonesia, Sumatra, and also East and West Java.\textsuperscript{91} The big step from Indonesia government under President Megawati to against terrorist movement in Indonesia was taken after Bali Bombing in 2002 that targeting western tourist.\textsuperscript{92} Before the attacked in Bali 2002 Indonesia has suffered several terrorist attack since 1957 when there were a massive military campaign contained the rebellion by the Islamic extremist, DII/TII (Darul Islam Indonesia/Tentara Islam Indonesia).\textsuperscript{93} However at that time the existence of terrorist movement in Indonesia was denied by the Vice President of Indonesia, Hamzah Haz in 2002 by stated:

\begin{quote}
"Indonesia had never experienced the kind of terror that occurred in Bali until now - and in terrorist bombings in many cities of Indonesia. We haven’t yet found the link with the Islamic groups which exist in Indonesia. That’s why the police and I have previously said there is no terrorist network in Indonesia." \textsuperscript{94}
\end{quote}

In order to respond the campaign of Bali Bombing I, the Government of Indonesia published the Presidential Decree Number 4/2002 on Anti-Terror, which was improved by the National Policy on counter-terrorism in form of a Secondary Law (Peraturan Pengganti Undang-undang--Perpu) No. 1 and 2 in same year. The responsibility of the Presidential Decree and the Secondary Law lies at the Coordinating Ministry of Politics and Security in form of the Coordinating-Desk of Counter-terrorism. The desk had full legitimacy based on the Minister Decree of the Coordinating Ministry, which was signed by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Number 26/Menko/Polkam/11/2002.

\textsuperscript{94} Haz, H. (2002, October 23). (E. Williams, Interviewer)
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<td>2004-09-09</td>
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<td>10 182</td>
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<td>2004-10-14</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Private Citizens &amp; Property</td>
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</table>
From the figure above, it shown Indonesia have experienced with the terrorist attacks since 2002 until 2007. However, before the government raised their awareness of terrorism, Indonesia centered on the rise of domestic political turmoil, including demands for independence of some regions such as Papua and

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Aceh, make the government pay more attention on separatism issue that is crucial for Indonesia at that time. It is recognized by Indonesian government officials stating that separatism “the most pressing security threat, not terrorism”. It is make the terrorists group can freely doing their operation, such as recruiting and training while hiding behind the separatism issue.

II.3 The Development of United States-Indonesia Bilateral Cooperation

II.3.1 The Beginning of the Cooperation

The act of terrorism seemed as the potential threat for the U.S to pursuing power and maximize its resources after the tragedy of 9/11. That made the U.S government became more focus on terrorism by creating global campaign to fight against terrorism or “Global War on Terror” (GWOT) as their foreign policy. The GWOT became a global discourse which affected the capacity and ability of foreign law enforcement to deter the threat from terrorists. Through its foreign policy the U.S government is aiming to protect its national unity, political independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty over the threat of terrorism to their national security by bilateral partnership through Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program.

As the lead U.S. Federal Agency in the fight against international terrorism, the Department of State has built and sustained a broad international coalition to identify, uncover, and uproot terrorist cells; destroy terrorist groups and networks; and make support for terrorism untenable. Many coalition governments that strive with us to eliminate terrorism, however, do not have the capability to

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confront terrorism as effectively as is needed. To bring the war against terrorism to its ultimate conclusion, the United States and other countries with know-how and resources are helping less able partners to meet the challenge. The United States, with its unparalleled ability to provide cutting-edge counterterrorism training and assistance to key partners around the globe, must continue to take the lead.

Under President Megawati’s administration, she visited Washington to discuss counter terrorism in Indonesia with the U.S President George. W Bush on September 19, 2001. The visit of the world’s largest Muslim nation’s leader on Washington and denouncing terrorism was a powerful statement, stated by the U.S. government as following statement;

“As a leader of the world’s second and third largest democracies, President George W. Bush and President Megawati Soekarnoputri today vowed to open a new era of bilateral cooperation based on shared democratic values and a common interest in promoting regional stability and prosperity. They agreed that a strong bilateral partnership between two countries will benefit both nations, the region, and the international community.”

During the meeting President Bush agreed to provide assistance in securitizing terrorism in Indonesia that organized into two parts which is military and education. The U.S has an interest to ensure its own security through the elimination of threat in other states. This kind be seen with the continuing aid for counter terrorism in other foreign countries.

“To strengthen Indonesia’s law enforcement capability, President Bush also committed, subject to Congressional approval, to provide $10 million in police training.”


Furthermore, President Bush asked Indonesia to join Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program to combat terrorism in its country. On October 1, 2001 Indonesia Foreign Minister Hassan Wirayuda stated that “the United States and Indonesia had discussed plans to share information or organize joint training session in the fight against terrorism.” From the statement above, it shown Indonesia commitment in countering terrorism activities that have become a threat for Indonesia national security.

As the part of the U.S government strategy to fight the Al-Qaeda’s ideology and its network in the world, the U.S gave their attention to radical Islamist groups in Southeast Asia that are known to have ties with the Al-Qaeda terrorist network that establish local cells, training, financing and cooperating with indigenous radical Islamic groups in the region. As the countries who has experienced terrorist attack, the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia held bilateral cooperation to counterterrorism as one of the way of the U.S strategies to powerful coalition between nations against terrorism. Indonesia as the third biggest democratic country and also the largest Muslim population in the world could become powerful example that democracy and Islam can go hand in hand.

The U.S introduced an initiative called Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) for other countries who lacked human and resources in combating terrorism in its country. In 1983 the ATA program was authorized by the Congress and it has become the preeminent provider of antiterrorism training to expand the skills and

The program gave training to civilian security and law enforcement personnel in fighting terrorism by instructors whose skill in their subject, such as consultants, police associations, private security firms, and law enforcement agencies from local, state or federal provided by the U.S government. The program has trained and assisted over 84,000 foreign security and law enforcement officials from 154 countries since its inception. Training giving by the ATA program may be initiated by the U.S government or requested by the potential participant government.

The policy guidance for the ATA program provides by the State Department Coordinator for Counterterrorism (S/CT). There are criteria for participation to qualify countries for training and related assistance.

1. The country is categorized as critical or high threat for terrorism and cannot adequately protect U.S facilities and personnel in the country (including officials, business people, students and tourists) or needs assistance to counter terrorists who might threaten the U.S homeland.
2. The country is served by a U.S air carrier or is the last point of departure for flight to the United States.
3. There are important policy interests, which may be supported through the provision of antiterrorism assistance
4. The country is not in violation of human rights legislation.

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The resulted of training activities during ATA program have given techniques that the Indonesian National Police to develop the skills and knowledge in facing terrorism threats directly.

**Figure 2.2. Top 10 Recipients of ATA Funding, Fiscal Years 2002-2007**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<td>21,467</td>
<td>7,779</td>
<td>6,182</td>
<td>10,049</td>
<td>17,149</td>
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<td>4,507</td>
<td>3,786</td>
<td>6,083</td>
<td>3,294</td>
<td>54,609</td>
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<td>10,517</td>
<td>8,782</td>
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<td>6,988</td>
<td>44,362</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7,981</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>India</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>3,586</td>
<td>2,466</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>11,190</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>2,207</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>4,471</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11,883</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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</table>

Source: United States Government Accountability Office “Report to the Ranking Member, Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives”

From the figure 2.2, the top recipients of ATA allocation ranged from about $11 million to about $78 million for fiscal years 2002-2007. Based on it, Indonesia was rank 4th with total allocation about $40 million in fiscal years 2002-2007.
CHAPTER III

The Development of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia

III.1. The History Jemaah Islamiyah

III.1.1 The Emergence of Darul Islam

The motion to establish the Islamic State of Indonesia (Negara Islam Indonesia (NII)) has already existed since 1920s when the party’s agenda of the Islamic Nationalist party (Partai Serikat Islam) focus changed from relieving the indigenous people of Indonesia from colonial mistreatments to create independent state of Indonesia based on Islamic precepts, which are Koran and Hadist. In 1927 Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo joined the party, and less than a decade he had become secretary of the party’s executive committee, chairman of branch in West Java, and also as the vice president of the central board. At the national level, in November 1945 he was nominated as the secretary of the executive committee of Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Council of Indonesia Muslim Associations, henceforth referred to as Masyumi) and also became a party delegate for the Komite National Indonesia Pusat (KNIP) in the following year that pushed him to focus on national politics. Kartosuwiryo returned to West Java and refused the position of minister of defense in the Republic’s government to lead the anti-Dutch resistance when the Dutch military attacked on West Java in July 1947.

The Periangan Regional Masyumi Information Office (Dewan Penerangan Masyumi Daerah Periangan) published the speech of Kartosuwiryo which was titled “Haloean Politik Islam” (The Political Goal Islam) in August 1946 that provides a detailed vision of Masyumi’s strategy to achieve independence and to en-

112 Ibid.
113 Ibid.
sure a relevant role for Islam in the future of the state as the part of Masyumi’s political agenda. Kartosuwiryo argued that, during the revolution, the ummah should strive to build a Doenia Islam, Dar-oel-Islam, or ad-daulatul Islamiyah as a “new world” that fully conformity with the Qur’an as the way to maintain the possibility the rise of communism, socialism, or nationalism to political ascendency. In the vision of Doenia Baroe/Dar-oel-Islam there are none references to the outside of the world that before was understood as an Islamic political entity in the 1930s and early 1940s which spreading to Indonesia archipelago than later it is only understood in terms of nationalism. This such condition made Kartosuwiryo deeply concerned about the unity of the anti-colonialism that make him not support to establish an Islamic state by parliamentary way and also strongly condemned fanaticism;

“Easily threaten the unity of the nation and of the struggle, result in splits and betrayals that are especially unwished for in these times when all citizens ought to feel obliged to join the National Revolution”

In 1946, there was a national revolution that actively fomented by Kartosuwiryo with aim to win independence from foreign domination. The term of revolution and jihad was expressed the fight for independence. Kartowuwiryo declared to defense and build national sovereignty was the duty and responsibility of each Muslim. Kartosuwiryo’s take on politics became increasingly focused on Indonesia and West Java after the invasion of the republican territory of West Java in July 1947. The Renville agreement signed on January 17, 1948 by the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia with the United States of America as the mediator that resulted the area of West Java become under controlled by a Dutch and free from the presence of Indonesian military.

Darul Islam was established in West Java in February 1948 by Kartosuwiryo than later on expanded to Aceh, South Sulawesi, and South Kalimantan

115 S.M. Kartosuwiryo, Haloean Politik Islam.
116 Renville Agreement Document Retrieved from http://www.republikmalukuselatan.nl/download.php?file=YXJjaGllZi1kYXRhLzEvNC8xX2FsYnVtL2RvY3VtZW50ZW4vMy5wZGY= on March 31 2017
in 1950s.\textsuperscript{117} The separation of West Java from the territory of Indonesian Republic considered as one of crucial factors the emergence of Darul Islam and Tentara Islam Indonesia.\textsuperscript{118} On December 19, 1948 the Dutch released their second aggression by invading Central Java, coming into Yogyakarta, and capturing the cabinet of Indonesian Republican including the President and Vice President, Ir. Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta that make the movement of UN Committe of Good Offices became limited while the major cities in Java and Sumatra were controlled by the Dutch. The aim of the Dutch to establish \textit{de facto} authority pushed Kartosuwiryo further to establish an Islamic State.\textsuperscript{119} As a high pressure of international community’s on the Dutch government was forced to release the cabinet officials as well as accelerating the process to sovereignty transfer that signed on May 7, 1949 regulated by the statement of Rum-Van Royen.\textsuperscript{120} The formation of a federal state of Indonesia (Republik Indonesia Serikat, RIS) by December 31, 1949 under the symbolic leadership of the Dutch Queen as the sanction of the transition. On August 7, 1949 Kartosuwiryo proclaimed to create the Negara Islam Indonesia (NII) as a reaction of the events.\textsuperscript{121}

After the army of republicans withdraws to Central Java, the Islamic militia stayed in West Java to fight against the Dutch troops and also Indonesian forces led by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo since they felt betrayed by the government of Indonesia, they began to attack Indonesian forces and refused to integrate into regular army.\textsuperscript{122} The Darul Islam rebellion in West Java was followed in Kalimantan and more significantly in South Sulawesi in 1950, led by Kahar Mu-


\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.


zakkar and in 1953 in Aceh led by Daud Beureueh. To response the movement of Darul Islam, Soekarno established a Council of Ulamas in 1958 in West Java with the former regional military commander as the head of the council. The arrested and the execution of Kartosuwiryo in 1962 make the rebellion of Darul Islam in West Java officially ended.

III.1.2 From Darul Islam to Jemaah Islamiyah

The origins of JI began in 1960s when JI founder, Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba’asyir demanding to establish of sharia (Muslim Law) in Indonesia. JI founder considered themselves as the ideological heirs of the Darul Islam (DI). Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba’asyir were arrested for their ties with DI on November 10, 1978. They were released on appeal after receiving nine year prison sentences in 1982. Three years later the decision reversed by the Indonesian Supreme Court that make both of them fled to Malaysia in 1985 to evading the prison sentences. During the escape, Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba’asyir established Jemaah Islamiyah in 1993 in Malaysia with primary goal to create Islamic state encompassing Indonesia, Singapore, the southern Philippines, Malaysia, Australia, Brunei Darusalam, and southern Thailand. In Malaysia the former also set up a base of operation and began to send Indonesian and Malaysi-

129 Ibid.
an to joined training and fight against the Soviet army and in Afghanistan. The people who send to the battlefield in Afghanistan gained important skill that helped the transformation of Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba’asyir network. Some of the training camps were affiliated with Al-Qaeda. As stated on The Congressional Research Services (CRS) report for Congress;

“In 1985, Baasyir and Sungkar fled to Malaysia, where they set up a base of operations and helped send Indonesians and Malaysians to Afghanistan, first to fight the Soviets and later to train in Al Qaeda camps. Sungkar and Baasyir formed JI in 1993 or 1994, and steadily began setting up a sophisticated organizational structure and actively planning and recruiting for terrorism in Southeast Asia. Sometimes in the mid-1990s, Sungkar and Baasyir apparently began to actively coordinate with Al-Qaeda.”

Jemaah Islamiyah relocated to Indonesia during the political transition in 1998 when President Suharto resigned on May 1998 after more than 30 years lead Indonesia. A month after return to Indonesia, Abdulah Sungkar died of natural causes that make Abu Bakar Baasyir control the organization by himself. At the same year, Abu Bakar Baasyir became the head of the governing council of the Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) with the same purpose which is the implementation of Islamic law in Indonesia. Meanwhile, in 1999 and 2000 conflict erupted between Christian and Muslim in Indonesia, specifically in Ambon (Moluccas) and Poso (Central Sulawesi). The conflict itself gave advantages to JI

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135 Ibid.
to do the recruitment, training, and fund local mujahadeen fighters to involve in the conflict.\textsuperscript{136}

### III.2 Jemaah Islamiyah Structure and Operations

Jemaah Islamiyah approximately has 500 to several thousand members to conduct their operation although there is no exact number by any reliable sources.\textsuperscript{137} On the top of JI’s hierarchy, there are Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba’asyir as “spiritual leaders” or \textit{amirs} that appoint and preside over governing, fatwa, and the shura or the advisory council. The shura itself is divided into 5 sub-shuras that have leader and operational objective in each of it.\textsuperscript{138} First shura have a task to manage the training of members in tactical combat and explosives in day of operation. The operatives are often sent to Afghanistan to joined with Al-Qaeda training camps. Second Shura is more focused on communications, especially to maintain the webpage for the group. For the network security issue is the task of the third shura, which focuses on intelligence/counter-intelligence operations of JI. The issues that related with group financial is maintained by the fourth shura. While the task of fifth shura is to set up the recruitment for potential jihadist members. The group established informal institutions of higher learning in order to recruit its members.\textsuperscript{139} In its school which known as “madrassas”, the students study the Qur’an and Hadist in great detail and many of the students are willing to participate in the jihadist movement with extreme interpretations.\textsuperscript{140} The founder of JI, which is Abu Bakar Ba’asyir was explained how he has interpreted ‘Jihad’ in their operation on below;


\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.


“There is no nobler life than to die as a martyr for jihad. None. The highest deed in Islam is Jihad. If we commit to Jihad, we can neglect other deeds, even fasting and prayer.”

The structure of JI is not only separated based on the operational objective but it also has several regional command in Southeast Asia that known as Mantiqis. There are four Mantiqis that have different functions through independent operation cell. It makes the U.S and its allies difficult to track the members of JI activities. Additionally, most of the Mantiqis have connections with the regional Islamic separatist movements such as Kumpulan Majahidin Malaysia (KMM), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).

**Figure 3.1 Map of Jemaah Islamiyah Operation**


> From figure above it shows Mantiqi 1 is covering peninsular Malaysia, Singapore and Southern Thailand that provide economic resources to support JI operations.

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and linked with Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM). In Mantiqi 2 its included Indonesia territory which is Java and Sumatra that consider as Jihadi operation target area that on the other hand also become the center of JI to have links with another regional group, named Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI). The Philippines, Brunei, Eastern Malaysia, Kalimantan and Sulawesi (part of Indonesia territory) covers in Mantiqi 3 that responsible to get armaments and explosive materials needed. It is also linked with other Islamic separatist movement, known as Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). While Mantiqi 4 which is Papua and Australia is primarily a small recruiting area for exiles from Indonesia and is not very well developed. Before arrested in 2003, Hambali was the head of the Mantiqis.144

Table 3.2 Major Attacks of Jemaah Islamiyah in Indonesia 2002-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number of Victims</th>
<th>Fatalities</th>
<th>Injured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>October 12, 2002</td>
<td>Paddy’s Irish Bar and Sari Club in Bali</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 5, 2003</td>
<td>J.W Marriot Hotel in Jakarta</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 9, 2004</td>
<td>Near the Australian embassy in Jakarta</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2, 2005</td>
<td>Jimbaran Bay and Kuta, Bali</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Timeline: Indonesia Bomb attacks145

Based on the Table 3.2 there were four major attacks by Jemaah Islamiyah from 2002-2005. The attacks in Bali night clubs on October 12, 2002 caused 202 people death make it was the biggest number of fatalities during the attacks of


Jemaah Islamiyah in Indonesia. The table also shows how JI set ‘soft target’ as their target operations such as on the attacks in Paddy’s Irish Bar and Sari Club in Bali, J.W Marriot Hotel in Jakarta on 5 August 2003, and also in Jimbaran Bay and Kuta on 2 October 2005

According to the report of Malaysia and Singapore intelligence, JI received approximately $130,000 dollars from Al-Qaeda between 2006-2001 to support JI conduct their operation.\(^\text{146}\) Regarding the successful of attack in Bali 2002, Al-Qaeda was impressed with the tactical success of JI operation that make they sent $100,000 for JI future attacks.\(^\text{147}\) Besides Al-Qaeda, JI also received funding through Islamic charities, shell companies, Hawala, gem smuggling, and extortion/kidnapping.\(^\text{148}\)

### III.3 The Linkage Between Jemaah Islamiyah and Al-Qaeda

The Al-Qaeda terrorist network has made significant inroads into the Southeast Asia region since 1990s. The appearance of Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia is to set up local cells that supporting the network’s global operations, mostly headed by Arab members operations that plotted attack against Western target. These agents also provided safe haven for other operatives fleeing U.S intelligence services. In the early 1990s the cells of Al-Qaeda in Manila by Mohammed Jamal Khalifa was founded. Afterwards they expended their cells to Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. Al-Qaeda’s leadership also has taken advantage of Southeast Asia’s generally tax financial controls to use various countries in the region as places to rise transmit, and launder the network’s funds.\(^\text{149}\)

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\(^{147}\) Ibid.

\(^{148}\) Ibid.

In 2002, according to one of prominent expert on Al-Qaeda, Southeast Asia was the center about one-fifth of Al-Qaeda organizational strength.\textsuperscript{150} Al-Qaeda local cells worked to cooperate with local Islam radical group such as Jemaah Islamiyah by providing financial assistance and training for these group. The ideology and methodology of Jemaah Islamiyah was strongly influenced by Osama bin Laden.\textsuperscript{151} Jemaah Islamiyah was listed by the United Nations (UN) on 25 October 2002 in accordance to paragraphs 1 and 2 of resolution 1390 (2002) as JI being associated with Al-Qaida or the Taliban through financing, planning, facilitating, preparing or perpetrating of acts or activities by, in conjunction with, under the name of, on behalf or in support of Al-Qaida (QDe.004).\textsuperscript{152}

The targets of JI much like the other partners of Al-Qaeda that set the ‘soft target’ as the primarily targets to attacks which with less security. Those location that include as primary concern are government affiliated business offices with limited security staff abroad with either official government employees or known US contractors, symbols of US economic power (private US based companies), US schools abroad, and water/electrical supplies used abroad by primarily western travelers/business persons. Before JI use a term of ‘soft target’ to set their attacks, JI was selected western embassies spread throughout Southeast Asia and United States naval bases as their ‘hard targets’.\textsuperscript{153} However, the attack on 9/11 in New York and Washington D.C make the U.S military in high alert. These make JI


changed its targets in 2002 when they attacked night club in Bali, and make 202 people death, most of them was foreigner.\textsuperscript{154}

Table 3.1 Countries of Origin of the Victims of the 2002 Bali Bombings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>199</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plus 1 unidentified victim and 3 bombers</td>
<td><strong>202</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bali death toll set at 202 (BBC News)\(^{155}\)

Even though Jemaah Islamiyah has ties with Al-Qaeda, JI was independent organizations that have their own operation decision, built its links with other terrorist groups, neither local nor international.\(^{156}\) During late 1980s and early 1990s both of its organizations have a shared experience of training or fighting in Pakistan and Afghanistan. In a ties between JI and Al-Qaeda there was JI’s chief of operations that became a key figure linking JI and Al-Qaeda, which name is Nurjaman Ridwan Isamuddin a.k.a Hambali, who was also a member of Al-Qaeda that arranging training for JI members in the camps of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and resulted the arrest of a number of JI members in Singapore have admitted attending such camps. As a member of Al-Qaeda, Hambali was also linked to the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 by facilitated the visit of several Al-Qaeda operatives to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in January 2000 including two person that involved in hijacking and crashing America Airlines Flight 77 into the Pentagon, Khalid al-Midhar and Nawaf al-Hazmi.

Besides Hambali, there was also another key JI figure with links to Al-Qaeda that attended training camp of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan between 1993 and 1994 and one of JI’s main bomb makers, named Fathur Rohman al Ghozhi who


was shot and killed in 2003 by the Philippine police.\textsuperscript{157} On October 23, 2002 the U.S Secretary of State designated Jemaah Islamiyah as Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) that will curtail support for terrorist activities and also pressuring its group to get out from the terrorism business.\textsuperscript{158}


CHAPTER IV

Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) Training Program as the Effort of Indonesia in Combating Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) Activities

IV.1 Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA)

The Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) was established as the United States effort on countering the terrorist threat by providing training and equipment assistance that authorized by Foreign Assistance Act 1983.\textsuperscript{159} Through the ATA program, The Foreign Assistance Act 1983 give the right for the United States President to provide the assistance for the law enforcement in foreign countries to deter nor counter the terrorist activities such as kidnapping, bombing, assassination, hostage taking and hijacking. During the presentation of Director of Combating Terrorism office, Ambassador Robert. M Sayre to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on 14 April 1982, stated that the purpose and objective of ATA program are as follows:\textsuperscript{160}

1. To enhance the skills capacity and capability of friendly countries law enforcement.
2. To strengthen the bilateral cooperation between the United States with the friendly countries through offering the direct assistance in the area of mutual concern.
3. To increase the respect of friendly countries law enforcement towards human right through assistance on modern and humane methods of effective preventive anti-terrorism techniques.

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.
Yet, the United States has been set some general criteria for the friendly countries that will received the ATA training program which are

1. Experience the actual or potential terrorist threat.
2. Have the commitment to participate in countering terrorism activities.
3. Willing to have the bilateral cooperation with the United States government against terrorism.
4. Meet with the United States legislative criteria on human right record.

Through the ATA training program, the friendly countries has received the comprehensive of training in the course of crime investigation, maritime security, dignitary protection, bomb detection and other course that aim to equip the foreign law and security enforcement with the capacity and capabilities in counterterrorism. The training would include ATA program, the country that received the United States assistance is expected to perform these following capabilities, which are:

1. Protection of national borders, critical infrastructure and the national leadership.
2. Resolve and respond to the act of terrorist incident.
3. Investigation and prosecution of the responsible parties for conducting terrorist activities.
4. Response to the attack of weapon of mass destruction.
5. Management of kidnaping incidents.
6. Response to terrorist incidents that resulted in the mass casualties or fatalities.

In the perspective of the United States, the effective effort in combating terrorist threats lies on the framework of international cooperation would include

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to the information exchange, discouraging the terrorist group support and restriction on the control of weapon and explosive movement.\textsuperscript{164} According to Anthony Cordesman, Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at CSIS (Centre for Strategic and International Studies) U.S that the terrorist organization such as Al-Qaeda has shown its ability to divide and provoke a conflict between the West and the Islamic world with the ability to cross the nation boundaries and the use of political and cultural differences as the weapon.\textsuperscript{165} Thus, the importance of international cooperation in combating terrorists is needed.

### IV.2 Indonesia Efforts in Combating Terrorism (2002-2007)

#### IV.2.1 An Overview

The timeframe of 2002 to 2007 has served as the major changes and shifts on the effort of Indonesian political and social atmosphere in combating the emergence of threat from the domestic Islamic jihadist namely Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) that has transnational terrorism networks with Al-Qaeda. Within the period of 2002 to 2007, Indonesia had suffered from deadly bombings with the foreign tourists, above all United States and its allies as the main target led to the increasing awareness of Indonesia government towards the threat posed by terrorist organization and the importance of international cooperation in combating terrorism.

Indonesia’s effort in combating terrorism or widely known as war on terror begun after the tragedy of Bali Bombing I on 12 October 2002 that forced Indonesian government to take any necessary actions in order to minimize and prevent further direct attack in its territory. First, President Megawati issued two decrees in order to address the terrorist threats which are Government Regulations in Lieu of Law (Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang (Perpu)) No. 1/2002 on the Eradication of Criminal Acts Terrorism and No. 2/2002 on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism in the Relation to the Bomb Explosion Incident in


Bali. In the chapter III section 6 and section 7 of Perpu No. 1/2002, define terrorism as it quoted:166

‘Section 6 [Basic definition of criminal act of terrorism]
Any person who intentionally uses violence or the threat of violence to create a widespread atmosphere of terror or fear in the general population or to create mass casualties, by forcibly taking the freedom, life or property of others or causes damage or destruction to vital strategic installations or the environment or public facilities or international facilities. Sentence: death penalty or life imprisonment or imprisonment for 20 (twenty) years at the maximum or 4 (four) years at the minimum.

Section 7 [Definition of intention to commit terrorism]
Any person who intentionally uses violence or threats of violence to create widespread atmosphere of terror or fear in the general population or to create mass casualties by forcibly taking the freedom, life or property of others or causes damage or destruction to vital strategic installations or the environment or public facilities or international facilities. Sentence: Maximum imprisonment of life sentence.’

Second, the establishment of counter terrorism coordinating desk through the Presidential Instruction No. 4/2002 on Terrorism Crime that followed by the instruction to Coordinating Minister of Political, Legal and Security Affairs No. 26/Menko/Polkam/II/2002 on Establishment Coordination Desk of Combating Terrorism.167 Later the Coordination Desk was established on 23 December 2002 that aim to formulate the necessary policy, national strategy and operational stages in combating terrorism.168 The Head of the Coordination Desk, General Ansyaad Mbai stressed the objective of Coordination Desk into three which are:169

169 Ibid.
1. Coordinate and enhance integration in preparing and formulating the Government’s policy and strategy, including intelligence activities, in combating terrorism.

2. Coordinate activities in the area of investigation and prosecution, as well as other legal steps necessary to fight terrorism.

3. Coordinate international cooperation for institutional and capacity building through technical, police and intelligence cooperation.

Third, bilateral cooperation with the United States under the framework of Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) training program. As explained in IV.1, ATA program designed to give the comprehensive capacity and capability to friendly countries, in this case is Indonesia in combating terrorist threat. As stated in ‘Summary of Counterterrorism Proposals for Jakarta’, as it quoted:

“Indonesia, and Jakarta in particular, has suffered from a string of terror bombings over the past two years. The United States and Indonesia are committed to assisting each other in this fight. We will be undertaking a long term-security and counterterrorism program with Indonesia.”

Through the ATA program, Indonesian government effort in combating the terrorism act, above all Jemaah Islamiyah Indonesia government received following aid and assistance, namely:

1. $12 million in order to establish national police counter-terrorism unit.

2. $4.9 million for counter-terrorism.

3. Financial intelligence unit training program that cover the anti-money laundering, train counter-terror intelligence analysts and an analyst exchange program with the Treasury Department course.

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4. Training and assistance to establish a border security system as part of the Terrorist Interdiction Program.
5. Regional counter-terrorism training.
6. Military-to-military cooperation that included the joint activities in the area of maritime security, natural disaster.
7. Security, peacekeeping, natural disaster response, and humanitarian assistance have also been developed.

In accordance with its function in Law Number 2 of Article 5, paragraph 1, which stated that Indonesia National Police is a tool of the state that plays a role in maintaining security and public order in which is upholding the law and providing protection, guidance and service to the community in the framework of maintaining internal security. According to the Indonesia constitution stated above, the US-Indonesia partnership through ATA has utilized Indonesia National Police roles to upholding the country security.

The counterterrorism effort of Indonesian government during 2002-2007 led to the adopted Obama administration civilian approach to counter-terrorism through the establishment of BNPT (National Counter-Terrorism Agency, Badan Penanggulangan Terrorisme) in July 2010 under Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010 with the aim that delivered by now retired Inspector-General Ansyad Mbai, who was appointed as the head of the agency:

“Policy, strategy and national programs in the area of counter-terrorism; co-ordinate relevant government agencies in implementation and implementing policies in counter-terrorism; and establish Task Forces comprising elements from relevant government agencies in accordance with their respective responsibility, function and authority”

173 Villarosa, S., & Hwang, D. C. (2011, November 17). Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Indonesia:
USINDO Brief A Publication of the United State-Indonesia Society, 2
175 Ibid.
BNPT have a function as a “terrorist’s crisis Centre” if there are the event of terrorists attack and assist President to formulate the policy and also have to deal with the incident and its aftermath by taking necessary operational steps. The agency can request for Indonesian armed forces (Tentara Negara Indonesia, TNI) assistance in dealing with terrorist threats, that situation beyond the Indonesian National Policy capacity.\textsuperscript{176}


After the tragedy of Bali bombing I, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) has been listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by United States Secretary of State a Madeleine Albright on 21 October 2002 in accordance to Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) section 219.\textsuperscript{177} INA section 219 stated in order to include an organization as the FTOs, these following criteria have to be fulfilled, which are:\textsuperscript{178}

1. The organization must be a foreign organization.
2. The terrorist activities must be engaged by the organization.
3. The terrorist organization activities threaten the United States national interest and security.

Indeed, the general criteria of FTO above has explained why JI falls under the category of FTO and become the focus of ATA program in Indonesia.

The development of ATA training program in Indonesia officially begun since 2003 with establishment of National-Level Counterterrorism Task Forces as known as Special Detachment 88 Anti-Terror (hereafter, Densus 88 AT) after the


General Police Da’i Bachtiar issued a Decree No30/VI/2003 on June 2003. The Densus 88 AT establishment, however, to expanding the capability, skill and capacity of Indonesian law enforcement to counter the terrorist threat, above all JI. Although Indonesia already has the anti-unit namely First Squad of Gegana under the Police Paramilitary unit, but the First Squad of Gegana were considered not effectively address and response the new terrorist organization threat in the post-9/11 since the Tentara national Indonesia (Indonesian Armed Forces, TNI) had faced the embargo in weapons and military training by Western Countries due to the Human Right issues. One of the fundamental bases to recruit new recruitment as a member and personnel of Densus 88 AT for the development and formulation of special anti-terror unit are personnel should have never been assigned to Aceh, Papua, and East Timor, to prevent any collision of human rights.


In order to prepare for the training program in 2003, there were transferred of arms, equipment, ammunition, supplies and explosive into Indonesian national Policy Training Academy in Megamendung, West Java with the facilities of 100 meter and 300 meter ranges, 360 degree shot house, explosives bunkers and secure arm storage building.\textsuperscript{182}


Table 4.1 ATA Training Program for Indonesia in 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Training Program</th>
<th>Duration (Month)</th>
<th>Number of Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Counterterrorism Investigation course trained by FBI</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>30 police investigators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crisis Respond team</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>24 INP Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explosive Incident Countermeasures</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>15 INP Officers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The ATA training program in 2003 divided into two phases. First, 15 weeks of Counterterrorism Investigation course that was attended by 30 police investigators trained by FBI in April 2003 and graduated on 18 July 2003. Second, Crisis Response Team attended by 24 Indonesia National Police (INP) officers and Explosive Incident Countermeasures attended by 15 INP with seven weeks of course on 8 September 2003. Thus, the aim of the program is to prepare six Crisis Response teams, three Counterterrorism Investigations and three Explosive Incident Countermeasures teams by 2005.

Based on the course stated above, Densus 88 is expected deliver as a reliable anti-terror unit. Since the establishment of Densus 88 in 2003, Densus 88 AT has played critical and important role in countering the terrorism threats. The first Densus 88 AT task was to investigate the J.W. Marriott car bombing in Jakarta on 5 August 2003 that killed 13 people wounded 15 people. Yet, the Densus 88 AT successfully discover the JI militant group involvement after the forensic re-

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184 Ibid.
185 Ibid.
187 Ibid.
sult found the similarity of the bomb ingredients, potassium chlorate chemical that used in Bali Bombing I.\textsuperscript{188}

Table 4.2 ATA Training Program for Indonesia in 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Training Program</th>
<th>Duration (Month)</th>
<th>Number of Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Tactical Commander’s Crisis Response team</td>
<td>January-February</td>
<td>24 INP Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-Blast Investigation</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>24 INP Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weapon Mass Destruction (WMD) course</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>24 INP Officers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Antiterrorism Assistance Program Report to Congress for Fiscal Year 2004.\textsuperscript{189}

In 2004, the ATA training programs continue in order to equip the INP capability to counter the terrorism threat. In the year of 2004, ATA had conducted Post-Blast Investigation, Tactical Commander’s Crisis Response Team and Weapon Mass Destruction (WMD) course that aim to equip INP with the capability to conduct its own anti-terrorism training program in the course of tactical operation and operational planning.\textsuperscript{190} In addition to provide the capability to conduct INP own training program, ATA had trained and equipped 156 INP personnel in the course of Crisis Response Team with 96 personnel graduates, Explosive Incident Countermeasures with 30 personnel graduates and Counterterrorism Investigation with 30 personnel graduates that form as the core of Densus 88 as the antiterrorist response unit.\textsuperscript{191} As the development of ATA program shown the


\textsuperscript{191} Ibid.
positive impact towards Indonesia effort on countering terrorism, ATA further plan is to conduct a nine week course of preventing, interdicting and Investigation Acts of Terrorism to the INP personnel.

Furthermore, in 2004 Densus 88 had contributed in the effort to the arrest of 130 suspected Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) terrorists and yet arrested the 12 JI assassination team that want to attack the ambassadors of USA, Australia and Britian, Indonesia public figures and foreign business executives.\textsuperscript{192} In addition to that, Densus 88 successfully arrested JI field commander, Rois also known as Iwan Darmawan\textsuperscript{193} on November 23, 2004 that responsible for the Australian Embassy attacks in Jakarta with three bombs and explosive that killed 9 people.\textsuperscript{194}

Table 4.3 ATA Training Program for Indonesia in 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Training Program</th>
<th>Duration (Month)</th>
<th>Number of Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Bomb Disposal unit and Antiterrorism Executive Forum</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>18 INP Seniors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crisis Response team</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>72 INP Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explosive Incident Countermeasures</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>15 INP Officers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Antiterrorism Assistance Program Report to Congress for Fiscal Year 2005.\textsuperscript{195}


The development of ATA program continues in 2005 with the main objective to assist and equip the INP with the capacity and capability to interdict, prevent and investigate the terrorism acts that in line with the development of regional Crisis Response Team detachments. The ATA training program in 2005 divided into three main courses which are Six Weeks of ATA Crisis Response Team (CRT) that were attended by 72 personnel, Explosive Incident Countermeasure attended by 15 INP bomb disposal unit and Antiterroism Executive Forum that were attended by 18 INP seniors.

Indonesia shocked by the Bali bombing II in October 2005. Following the same pattern of 2003 and 2004, Densus 88 led the investigation to arrest the responsible party towards the bombing act in Bali. Yet, the Densus 88 was able to arrest Dr. Azahari bin Husin that alleged as the technical masterminds behind the Bali bombings 2002 in Batu, Malang, and East Java.196

Table 4.4 ATA Training Program for Indonesia in 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Training Program</th>
<th>Number of Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Counterterrorism Investigation</td>
<td>279 Police Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crisis Response team</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explosive Incident Countermeasures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs197

In 2006 through skill that have got from ATA training for fiscal year 2006, Densus 88 almost caught another terrorist kingpin, Noordin M. Top, in a raid at Dusun Binangun, Wonosobo, Central Java. Noordin got away from the pursuit of Densus 88. The attack was a gunfight between the Densus 88 and terrorist group

and police succeed to arrest two people and pick two others. Later, Noordin M. Top was death on the arrestment process by Densus 88 on 8 August 2009.198

Table 4.4 ATA Training Program for Indonesia in 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Training Program</th>
<th>Number of Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Counterterrorism Investigation</td>
<td>279 Police Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crisis Response team</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explosive Incident Countermeasures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs.199

A year later, precisely on 22 March 2007, the Densus 88 raided the terror group in Central Java and succeeded to discover the biggest bomb and weapons network since the last 30 years in Sleman, Yogyakarta, and catch seven accused owners of the weapons, depositor, and assemblers. In the attack, two perpetrators were killed when trying to run away. Following the success to discover the network of Central Java group, Densus 88 also succeeded to arrest and paralyze Abu Dujana alias Ainul Bahri, Commander of Military Wing Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), and Zarkasih, the new Spiritual Leader of JI on 9 June 2007.200 The arrest lobs the name of the Densus 88 and prove that Indonesia have reliable and professional anti-terror unit.

Thus, the existence of the Densus 88 has to become a professional unit capable to run better role according to the duty and function. Referring to the Decree of Head of Indonesian Police Force No. 30/VI/2003 dated 30 June 2003 on the

duty and function of the Densus 88, the Police was specifically ordered to overcome the increasing terrorism in Indonesia, especially with modus of suicide bombings. It means, the Densus 88 is an executor to overcome domestic terror, as decanted in Law of Anti-Terror.

The good bilateral cooperation held by the U.S-Indonesia in counterterrorism resulted in the expended program to train, fund, and equip Densus 88 in the U.S.-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership: Engaging the Non-Government Sector in 2009 on the section of the U.S-Indonesia Security Relationship. Due to the aggressive intelligence collection techniques, international funding, and police officers skill, Densus 88 has captured or killed a large number of terrorists and has been able to successfully prevent to conduct the terrorists operation.

In this chapter, the writer has discussed the bilateral cooperation between the U.S and Indonesia, and the development to further improve complexity of relationship. Deeper cooperation between the two states would provide new perspective for both states. For the U.S, is to develop deeper relationship in security with a developing country, and also extending the U.S influence in the Asia-Pacific Region. For Indonesia, this would provide a framework in managing security and its cooperation, especially with a global power. This framework developed with the U.S will enable faster and better cooperation with Indonesia, and also in determining the common values. This also provides an institutionalized cooperation for future cooperation for example in capacity building.

The result of the counter-terrorism cooperation has reduced the capacity of the terrorism organization in Indonesia to a great extent. There are only branches

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203 Ibid.
and splinter cells of the remnants of Jamaah Islamiyah, and they lack the resource and capacity to launch an attack in Indonesia post the Bali Bombing of 2005. A part of the counter-terrorism policy that has been identified is the prevention of the radicalization agenda being spread by the terror groups. Anti-western agenda was ineffective in raising sympathy, and their actions have caused more domestic casualties, rather than foreign. The lack of leadership within the Jamaah Islamiyah also caused the downfall, with decreasing funding and resources to support their organization’s activities and missions. With groups being smaller also, the splinter cells of the organization are also a problem for the Indonesian security forces to maintain.

IV. 3 Strategic Cooperation and Evaluation of ATA Program in Indonesia

In structural realism Keneneth Waltz argued that environment is the main reasons that influence state behavior to pursue power as the tool to survive and self-help within the international system. Here the terrorism act that happened in international system became a threat to the U.S national security that influence the U.S government under President Bush administration launched ‘Global war on terror’ as their foreign policy in order to prevent terrorist attack in the future. Based on the realist assumptions, the dominant concern of state is security. It means threats to security should be prevented or at least manages by the combination efforts of states where there are needs trust among actors to make achieve security. Bilateral cooperation is one of combination effort that can be used by state. According to Caparso “Bilateral cooperation is a form of interaction and transaction that occurred directly between two countries that confront certain mutual interest. Which in the U.S-Indonesia bilateral cooperation, the cooperation is driven by same interest which goes against terrorism in order to defend their sovereignty through ATA program.

A powerful coalition between nations is one of the U.S strategies to against terrorism since it is not a short war to win in order to achieve national security and prevent terrorist future attack into their homeland. Besides to protect its national
security, in the same time through ATA program the U.S government strengthened their bilateral relations with the partner countries that cooperate with, including Indonesia. Indonesia became important alliance for U.S to promote the idea of Islamic and democracy could go hand in hand since Indonesia is the biggest Muslim population and also third biggest democracy country in the world. Based on the same perception Indonesia perceived in every terrorism act there will be innocent citizens that will be killed and it is a must for the government of Indonesia to maintain and enforce sovereignty also protect its citizen from any kind of threat from both domestic and/or foreign threat. In order to eradicate terrorism act in its territory Indonesia develop future strategy that deals with:

1). Defeating terrorist act and its organizations
2). Increasing public awareness of terrorism issue
3). Decreasing poverty, political, regional conflicts and others factors that can be exploited to justify terrorism
4). Increasing efforts on a national scale to defend sovereignty, national territory, and also national interest.

Since Indonesia joined ATA program in 2001 that managed by the U.S Department of State’s Bureau of Counterterrorism, Indonesia has improved the capacity and capability of their Indonesian National Police to fight directly against terrorist in the field through Densus 88. As the result of ATA training program, Densus 88 successfully arrest senior members of JI that linked with several major attacks that happened during 2002-2007.

However, despite Indonesia already has their own Anti-terror unit and law that regulate about terrorism issue Indonesia still experienced several major attacks by JI after Bali bombing 2002. It is because there are several factors that

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207 Ibid.
challenging Indonesia to implementing its counterterrorism policy effectively, which are:\(^{209}\)

1. Limitation in developing concrete social economic programs and insufficient budget allocated;
2. Lack of coordination between regional and central governments in meeting public needs, particularly those of victim families;
3. An overt tension between members of the Armed Forces and the Indonesian Police in conflict areas in relation to the mobilization and deployment of soldiers and the provision of facilities;
4. Lack of attention to productive and convincing public communication; and
5. The overlapping of multiagency task forces in supporting the policy and the detection of the potential problems.

In addition, since the aim implementation of ATA program is to prepare the INP to counter threat of terrorism and yet as the timeframe of bilateral cooperation under ATA program happened only for several years which is 2002-2007, it is difficult for Densus 88 itself to eradicate all terrorist groups or activities in Indonesia since to fight against terrorism is not a short war to win.

The efforts of Indonesia to counter terrorism through ATA program could become more effective if the challenges that occurred on the implementation of Indonesia counterterrorism policy can be solve by Indonesia government in order to prevent terrorist attack in the future.

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CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

Terrorism is a significant issue in the world of international relations. As a form of threat against the security and the well-being, states today have put a large amount of attention and resources into properly addressing the matter, and preparing to face terrorism. During the turnover of the century, the fight against terrorism began its major shift in the territory of the U.S. As a major power, the direct attack into United States territory in World Trade Center (WTC) and Pentagon on September 9, 2001 by Al-Qaeda has forced United States changes its foreign policy to more focused on the issue of terrorism and protect its national security. Through the 9/11 event, United States launched the ‘Global War on Terror’ campaign in which determine under the President Bush administration asked other nations to join them to fight against terrorism. The War on Terror by the U.S is not a short war and to win the war the U.S government had institutionalized their strategy for long-term success. One of the strategies is the action of powerful coalition between nations against terrorism.

Indonesia, as one of the largest states with the demographic of Muslim was labeled as a potential hotbed for breeding terrorism by the U.S of America. Before the 2002 Bali bombing, the government of Indonesia was relatively reluctant in defining terrorism as a threat of its national security. One of the reason for it was the domestic politic turmoil that was occurring all over the country, including demands for independence of some regions such as Papua and Aceh, make the government pay more attention on separatism issue. However, it was changed after the terrorist attack in Bali 2002 which caused the death of 202 people, which most of them were the foreign tourists that became ‘soft target’ of terrorist organization known as Jemaah Islamiyah with aim to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. The roots of the establishment of Jamaah Islamiyah in Indonesia is closely tied with separatist movement which is Darul Islam whose existence since the early Independence of Indonesia.
In order to conduct the operation, JI has linked with other terrorist organization which is Al-Qaeda regarding their financial, training activities and equipment. Not only linked with Al-Qaeda, JI also connected with the regional Islamic separatist movement such as Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KKM), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). Jemaah Islamiyah was designed as Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) by the U.S Secretary of State under Bureau of Counterterrorism on October 23, 2002.

In 2002 Indonesia through its National Police joined the program that created by the U.S government to assist the countries whose lack human and resources to fight against terrorism, named ATA program. Since joining in ATA program, Indonesia have its own anti-terrorist forces known as Special Detachment 88 Anti-terror (Densus 88) in 2003 that have big role in countering terrorism in Indonesia by investigating and arresting the terrorist, especially the member of Jemaah Islamiyah. The existence of Densus 88 is now being referred as an example of how to face the threats of terrorism globally.

The writer has laid the theories based on the case study, in order to support the analysis. Analyzing the security and bilateral cooperation within the perspective of realism can provide an insight of how and why states conduct cooperation for the issues related to security, especially when facing a non-traditional threat specifically like terrorism. Realism allows to analyze the interest of states as a means to seek survival that is through cooperation. Neo-Realism is used in this thesis, as a basis to analyze the position of the U.S as a global power in the international hegemony, and how that affects to seek security for themselves by implementing cooperation among weaker states.

To conclude, this thesis is a summary of how the U.S and Indonesia bilateral cooperation under the framework of ATA affected the both of states on combating the terrorism threats. The cooperation between the two states have indeed impacted the existence of counterterrorism policies in Indonesia. As the interest of the U.S is to prevent the widespread of radical Islamic ideologies that can be derived as terrorism, while Indonesia’s interest to maintain the sovereignty and secu-
rity against threats of terrorism is also influential in developing the cooperation between the two states. However there are still several challenges that have to face by the Indonesia government to implement counterterrorism policy in Indonesia to make its policy become more effective.
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