THE UNITED STATES – INDONESIAN MILITARY RELATIONSHIP IN COUNTERING TERRORISM IN INDONESIA

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Abstract— This paper focuses in providing an overview of international aid given to Indonesia because foreign aid plays an integral role in the country's securitization terrorism. Terrorism poses a serious threat to Indonesian security. A series of terrorist attacks that caused many people killed since the Bali bombing in 2002 indicate that Indonesia is a conducive country for the terrorist activities. Therefore, the United States government has placed Indonesia as a base for its campaign "the global war on terrorism" in Southeast Asia. Following the incidences of the 9/11 attacks and the 2002 Bali bombings, the US government has provided assistances in countering terrorism in the country. Meanwhile, assistances have also been being provided by the US government to Indonesia in combating terrorism in the country in military aspect. They have a commitment to work together in fighting terrorism. This paper discusses military forms of aid given by the US to fight terrorism in Indonesia.

Keywords— Fight Terrorism, International aid, Securitization, Terrorism, United States.

I. INTRODUCTION

The terrorist was attacked the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington DC on September 11,2001, has been an important turning point not only to the US but the world at large in its mean against terrorism. The greatest was the response to the tragedy itself in front of the emergence of the "global war on terrorism" (GWOT). Using U.S. power, the GWOT became a global discourse which affected many parts of the world (Stohl & Stohl,2007). Hence, in fighting terrorism, the US government has promoted cooperation with other countries around the world. The US government has four pillars in its strategies in combating terrorism are: "a) making no concessions to terrorists; b) bringing terrorist to justice; c) isolating and applying pressure on state sponsors of terrorism; and d) bolstering counterterrorist capabilities by offering anti-terror assistance to foreign governments" (US Department of State, 2005).

The terrorism issues have been considered to be the most important international agenda. It's made a profound impact on National Security of United States. It has also successfully made the President George W.Bush to realize the doctrine of "pre-emptive strike" that changes the USA foreign affair policy in its "war against terrorism". In supporting the four pillars of US counter terrorism strategies, the US government has provided trainings and equipments, special anti-terror task forces has created by the US government, and the intelligence and law enforcement agencies of partner countries have increased. Generally, the aids of US strategies in countering terrorism focus four great deal of concentrations: "crisis prevention, crisis management, crisis resolution, and investigation" (US Department of State; 2004; US Department of State; 2005). In addition, the strategy of US government is to fight the Al Qaeda's ideology and its network in the world (The White House, 2006).

On September 28, 2005, in his statement that entitled 'Fighting a Global War on Terror', President Bush highlights: "1) fighting the enemy abroad; 2) denying terrorists states support and sanctuary; 3) denying terrorists access to weapons of mass destruction; and 4) spreading democracy" (The White House,2005). The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism on February 14, 2003 set these elements being strategy of counter terrorism (The White House, 2003).

In the meantime, the 9/11 attacks and the Bali bombings 2002 have a strong influence on the US policies to Indonesia are: the US Congress authorized the continuation of modest US military aid for Indonesia, referring to the global needs of America's anti-terrorism campaign. Instead of going on to implore for this aid, Indonesia set conditions for accepting it.

Due to the international threat of terrorism especially following the October 12, 2002 Bali bombings, the Indonesian government has required the support of United States in combating terrorism in the country. It is essential to stabilize political and socio-economic in a critical conditions. This rationale for increased economic assistance to Indonesia was very clearly articulated after the Bali incident in the discussions of the Consultative Group for Indonesia, the organization coordinating development cooperation to Indonesia. The Indonesian economy was seriously influenced by the terrorist attacks. These attacks damaged Bali tourist's industry. "Bali is one of the less-developed regions of Indonesia and is heavily dependent on this one industry to provide jobs for a workforce that is otherwise mostly involved in semi-subsistence agriculture. Bali accounts for about 40 per cent of Indonesia's earning from tourism" (Oxford Analytical Daily Brief, 2002).

The terrorist attacked on Bali on October 12, 2002 with three targets, namely the American Consulate in Denpasar, Paddy's Bar in Kuta and the Sari nightclub. The bomb in American Consulate was ineffective, while in Paddy's Bar and the Sari nightclub, bombs exploded all around the area. The bombs were exploded under controlled conditions. Terrorist put bombs into a van that had been parked outside nightclub. Many people especially Australian tourists have been injured or killed as the result of attacks.

A repeat of the 2002 Bali bombings occurred on October 1, 2005 where the police found a document about the Bali attacks in 2005 and its reasons and targets called the 'Bali Project. The first question of the document is "Why Bali? to which the answer was: because it is the attack that will have global impact" (Wockner and Athika,2006). Bali is the Island of tourist that known about by many people around the world, therefore, the Bali bombings had the powerful effect on everyone who will think that the attacks were retaliation against the United States and its allies.

II. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The first and second Bali bombings severely impacted on the island's tourism sectors. A series of terrorist attacks that occurred in Bali and generally in Indonesia had the great impact on the Indonesian tourism industry. The acts of terrorist attacks often target the tourist places for example, cafes, hotels, and restaurants where most notably Western visitors.

Table 1. Countries of Origin of the Victims of the 2002 Bali Bombings

Country	Number of Victims
Australia	88
Indonesia	38
UK	23
USA	7
Germany	6
Sweden	5
Switzerland	3
The Netherlands	4
France	4
Denmark	3
New Zealand	2
Brazil	2
Canada	2
South Africa	2
Japan	2
Korea	2
Italy	1
Portugal	1
Poland	1
Greece	1
Ecuador	1
Taiwan	1
Total	**199**
Plus 1 unidentified victim and 2 bombers	
	202

Source: BBC News,2003.

This condition had serious consequences for the foreign tourists. The tourists were feared to be among victims of the terrorist attacks. "There is a widespread view among tourism analysts that international visitors are very concerned about their personal safety" (Edgell, 1990:119). "And …..tourism can only thrive under peaceful conditions" (Pizam and Mansfield,1996:2). "Political stability and prosperous tourism thus go hand in hand and, though tourism is perceived as being particularly vulnerable to international threats such as terrorism" (Richer and Waugh,1986:238). "Analysts accept that it may be impossible to isolate tourists completely from the effects of international turbulence" (Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996:120). "Security and peace may be crucial for tourism and international travel" (Hall, Timothy and Duval, 2004). These situations are the reasons for the Indonesian Government's efforts in securitizing terrorism through Non-Discursive Action.

The nature of the anti-terrorist mission involves alliances under American leadership: "…the President has made it very clear that the kinds of things that will probably be most successful in the campaign against terrorism are intelligence-sharing, controlling people going across borders, You can't do this, by America alone" (Secretary of State Powell, 2001). Referring to this condition, in the case in combating terrorism, if America needs Indonesia, the price of collaboration should be developed.

III. AIM OF RESEARCH

The main purpose of this paper is to analyze and explain the counter-terrorism measures undertaken by Indonesia in collaboration with the international

community especially the United States to combat terrorism in Indonesia.

IV. METHOD OF RESEARCH

This paper is a theoretical-based qualitative study. It is eclectic and uses several methods including interviews, historical method of study, and document analysis. Essentially, this paper is based on the collection of a large range of primary and secondary sources. Since the current research serve as one of the knowledge bases of Indonesian counter terrorism, the research has concentrated on exploring counter terrorism through content analysis of government documents and speeches. Newspapers and internet research were also extensively used in this study. Another important source was interviews with key Indonesian counter terrorism actors, academicians and other key players. The data gathered here is carefully analyzed, interpreted and explained under the two focal factors of the study, which are, historical of terrorism in Indonesia and their implications on the present condition, and counter terrorism by Indonesian Government both domestic policies and international cooperation policies.

V. ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION

Development Assistance from the United States to Indonesia

On Sept.19, 2001, President Megawati went to Washington to meet President Bush. The two presidents discussed counter terrorism in Indonesia during their meeting. Presidents Bush agreed to provide assistance in securitizing terrorism in Indonesia. The assistance is organized into two parts: military and education.

Military Assistance

Following the 9/11, the US government officially announced to the Indonesian government to increase military assistances in countering terrorism in the country. President Bush had expressed concern about the terrorist attacks to the World Trade Center when President Megawati Sukarnoputri visited the US after the 9/11 attacks. During her visit to Washington D.C., both presidents established the security dialogue especially about cooperation to combat terrorism. "In a joint statement issued September 19, Bush and Sukarnoputri agreed to discuss ways to strengthen bilateral cooperation on counter-terrorism and enhance military and civilian defense relations" (Joint Statement, 2001). The meeting stressed the need to collaboration between two countries in fighting terrorists to strengthen regional peace and stability. Following the meeting, there were several members of the Indonesian military visited to the United States to join training and joint exercises.

In addition, during the two presidents meeting in Washington, Bush stated "he would ask Congress for $400,000 in Expanded IMET[1], a variation of the IMET program that would give Indonesian civilian officials training in defense issues" (Joint Statement, 2001). In the same statement, "Bush opened the door to transfers of certain military equipment by lifting sanctions on commercial sales of nonlethal defense equipment" (Joint Statement, 2001). President Bush asked Indonesia to join in ATA program. ATA or Anti-Terrorism Assistance is a US program for other countries that give training to civilian security and law enforcement personnel in fighting terrorism. The activities of ATA are, namely, training detect bomb, investigating crime scene, securing airport and building, protecting maritime and VIP. In addition, this program also giving the training needs, producing a new idea about curriculum, and giving an instructor to teach the training. The government of US provides the own instructor whose skill in their subject, such as, consultants, private security firms, police associations, and law enforcement agencies from local, state or federal.

The country who receives this program are, namely, a country whose lack human and resources in countering terrorism in its country. The aims of ATA programs, namely, to provide national borders with insurance against the enemy, to make sure that critical infrastructure and national leadership are not damaged or injured or harmed, to find an acceptable solution to a problem of terrorist attacks whose national level implications. There are at least 84,000 foreign security and law enforcement officials from 154 countries who have been being trained since 1983. On October 1, 2001, Indonesian Foreign Minister Hassan Wirayuda stated that "the United States and Indonesia had discussed plans to share information or organize joint training sessions in the fight against terrorism" (Xinhua News Agency, 2001).

Following the 2002 Bali bombing, the Indonesian government responded the GWOT (Global War on Terrorism) strategy by agreed all the policies the US government proposed, such as, the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) personnel participated to investigate possible links between the 2002 Bali bombing, Jemaah Islamiyah and Al Qaeda. In addition, during the investigation, the FBI was helped by team of Australian, British and US police and as a result, Omar al Faruq who has position as an agent of Al Qaeda was arrested in Bogor, West Java and the

[1] The International Military Education and Training (IMET) program is a low cost, key funding component of U.S. security assistance that provides training on a grant basis to students from allied and friendly nations. Funding is appropriated from the International Affairs budget of the Department of State. It is a key component of U.S. security assistance that provides U.S. training on a grant basis to students from allied and friendly nations. The IMET program is an investment in ideas and people which has an overall positive impact on the numerous students trained under the program. For a relatively modest investment, it presents democratic alternatives to key foreign military and civilian leaders (Defense Security Cooperation Agency, 2012).

Indonesian police extradited him to Baghram, Afghanistan.

On October 22, 2003, the US president, George Walker Bush who was the 43rd president of the United States visited to Indonesia to discuss terrorism around the world, particularly in Indonesia and counter terrorism through cooperation between two countries to stabilize the social, political and economic in Indonesia after the first Bali bombing in 2002. President Bush and President Megawati agreed "to enhance their bilateral cooperation in the fight against terrorism, including through capacity building and sharing of information, specifically referring to military-to-military relations" (Joint Statement, 2003).

Generally, strategies cooperation have been being forged between the United States government and the Indonesian government in fighting terrorism in Indonesia through the assistances of the police and security officials, banking regulators, prosecutors, immigration officials, legislators, and others. The programs of counter terrorism under cooperation both countries are, namely:

- $ 12 million for the establishment of a national police counter-terrorism unit;
- $ 4.9 million for counter-terrorism training for police and security officials over the period 2001-03;
- Financial intelligence unit training to strengthen anti-money laundering, train counter-terror intelligence analysts, and an analyst exchange program with the Treasury Department;
- Training and assistance to establish a border security system as part of the Terrorist Interdiction Program;
- Regional counter-terrorism fellowships to provide training on counter-terrorism and related issues to the Indonesian military;
- Military-to-military cooperation is advancing under 2010 Defense Framework Arrangement, as exemplified by the approximately 140 theater security cooperative activities that U.S. Pacific Command and the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) have planned for year 2011. Joint activities that focus on maritime security, peacekeeping, natural disaster response, and humanitarian assistance have also been developed;
- The United States and Indonesia agreed to co-chair the ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM+) Counter Terrorism Experts Working Group; and
- The U.S. Department of Justice Maritime Security Project has provided 19 Marine Police Special Boat Unit patrol boats, which the Indonesian Marine Police have deployed throughout the archipelago (State Department Fact Sheet, 2011).

Moreover, as stated at point 1, $ 12 million for the establishment of a national police counter-terrorism unit, then, the new anti-terror force were established by the US and Australian governments under the Indonesian police. The name of new anti-terror force was Detachment 88. In 2001, "the U.S.Department of Defence spent $2.3 million on its Regional Defence Counterterrorism Fellowship Program training 78 Indonesian intelligence officers in English language, military professionalism, and counterterrorism-related courses" (Joint Statement,2001).

Bilateral relations between Indonesia and America have improved dramatically since 2005. President Bush decided Indonesia to participate in IMET (International Military Education and Training) in February 2005. A big decision from the US government that aim to give the Indonesian government support in fighting terrorism in the country. In response the US's decision, the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono government pledged that his government will support the US's strategies in combating terrorism around the world and particularly in Indonesia. "This was followed by a May 2005 decision to restart non-lethal Foreign Military Sales (FMS) to Indonesia and a November 2005 decision to waive Foreign Military Financing (FMF) restrictions due to U.S. national security concern" (State Department,2006; John,2006). In 2005, the process of improving by the Indonesian government had made great progress in political and economic sectors.

Table 2. U.S. Foreign Assistance to Indonesia

(*In thousands of dollars*)

Account	FY 2006	FY 2007	FY 2008	FY 2009	FY 2010 est	FY 2011 req
CSH[a]	28,017	27,507	25,737	30,500	36,950	36,950
CSH-State	-	-	250	5,250	5,250	5,250
DA	33,212	26,724	70,953	71,000	71,000	142,886
ESF	69,300	80,000	64,474	126,500	65,000	0
FMF	990	6,500	12,872	15,700	20,000	22,000
IMET	792	1,258	1,037	1,547	1,750	1,800
INCLE	4,950	4,700	6,150	6,150	11,570	11,570
NADR	5,542	6,141	5,117	6,450	6,650	7,000
Total	**114.786**	**152.830**	**186,590**	**263,097**	**218,170**	**227,456**

Source: "FY2011 Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations," U.S.Department of State, released August 2011.

a. Child Survival and Health (CSH), Development Assistance (DA), Economic Support Funds (ESF), Foreign Military Financing (FMF), International Military Education and Training (IMET), International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE), Non-proliferation Anti-terrorism Demining and Related Programs Export Control and Border Security Assistance NADR-EXBS, Non-proliferation Anti terrorism Demining and Related Programs Antiterrorism Assistance (NADR-ATA).

In 2002, US provided supplemental appropriation to Indonesia in combating terrorism in the country through the Indonesian national police. A large donation $50 million from the US government to Indonesia in its efforts in countering terrorism in the country. Furthermore, in upgrading policy capability, US gave $47 million and $4 million in training police forces to enforce the law, and $8 million in establishing a special police counter-terrorism unit as well training and equipping them in fighting terrorism (U.S.Dept.of State.2003). "The U.S. Department of State's Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program has also helped trained Indonesia's counter-terrorism policy unit, Task Force 88, which was credited with investigations leading to more than 110 arrests of terrorist suspects" (U.S.Dept.of State.2004).

In training, equipping, and organizing a counter-terrorism unit within the Indonesian National Police had been given funds $8 million by the State Department Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism in 2003 (Joint Statement, 2003). Moreover, the USAID (U.S. Agency for International Development) projects have supported the US policies in helping Indonesia in countering terrorism in the country such as "health assistance, economic growth programs, environmental initiatives, natural resources management, and the development of civil society and democracy" (USAID,2005).

Foreign military sales financing funding for lethal items were banned by bill of US to the Indonesian military in 2003 except the US President states officially to Congress that:

1)The defence ministry of Indonesia is suspending members of the military who "have been credibly alleged to have committed violations of human rights of to have aided or abetted militia group; 2)The Government of Indonesia is prosecuting such offenders and the military is cooperating with such prosecutions; and 3)The Minister of Defence of Indonesia is making publicly available audits of receipts and expenditures of the Indonesian Armed Forces, including audits of receipts from private enterprises and foundations (U.S.Dept.of State.2004).

In 2005, in supporting economic growth, countering terrorism and financial crimes, strengthening tolerance and public diplomacy as well local government, and mitigating conflict, the US gave DA (Development Assistance), ESF (Economic Support Funds), and CSH (Child Survival and Health). Moreover, NADR-ATA or Non-proliferation Anti terrorism Demining and Related Programs Antiterrorism Assistance programs trained the Police Counterterrorism Task Force.

Furthermore, since 2003 to 2005, IMET (International Military Education and Training) programs built the military reform work, cooperation in fighting terrorism was promoted through improved communications with Indonesian military officers and key civilians, mid and senior-level civilian and military officials at professional military education and senior service schools were trained with stress the principles of a democratic, civilian led military.

In 2005, counterterrorism cooperation between Indonesia and the State Department of US for Foreign Operations continued in developing counterterrorism skills of Detachment 88 , for example a) the Regional Defence Counter Terrorism Fellowship Programs have been being followed by Indonesia, for example, intelligence cooperation, and in combating terrorism and maritime security, Indonesia has participated in civil-military cooperation. b) The Theatre Security Cooperation Programs have been being followed by Indonesia with the U.S. Pacific Command. c) Counterterrorism seminars promoting cooperation on security has been being involved Indonesia. d) The exchange of subject matter expert. The US assistances are necessary to strengthen the Indonesian leading role in regional peace and security (United States-Indonesia Military Relations, 2005).

In 2007, the US government through NADR-ATA Counterterrorism Training Program for Indonesia has enhanced investigation, command and control, and management capacity of the Indonesian National Police to expand their Counterterrorism functions. Counterterrorism investigations courses included the basic investigative Preventing, course for Investigating and Interdicting Acts of Terrorism (PIIAT), post-blast investigations (PBI), tailored cyber-terrorism consultations with equipment grants, and protection of digital infrastructure (to include cyber terrorist tracking). For officials in key command and control positions participated in force integration and operational planning training, while crisis management seminars and senior leaders and operational-level tactical commanders followed scenario-driven exercises. Management training includes major case management and senior crisis management. ATA also plans in conducting Antiterrorism Maritime course to improve anti-terrorism capacity in ports and at sea.

NADR Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) for year 2007 implemented these programs. Initial program priorities were to establish a legal/licensing infrastructure for controlling strategic exports as well as ensuring the requisite legal

authorities were in place to enforce these laws. The cost of the program goes up as the level of program implementation expands to include greater emphasis on enforcement (*i.e*. the procurement of detection equipment, as well as specialized inspection, investigative and incident response training), cooperation with maritime border security forces and extends to additional seaports.

Additionally, a NADR Counterterrorism Financing (CTF) fund for year 2007 was used to continue to curb money laundering and funding flows to terrorists and extremists. The U.S. supported the key responsible GOI institutions (the Central Bank, the Financial Intelligence Unit and the National Police) with on the ground U.S. expertise in the form of Resident Legal Advisor from the U.S. Justice Department, a Resident Law Enforcement Advisor, and specialized training programs in countering illicit financial transfers through bulk cash smuggling and cash couriers.

The other programs of closer cooperation between the US and Indonesia in combating terrorism are, namely, establishing a national police counterterrorism unit, police and security officials have received any training in developing their ability, financial intelligence unit has also received any training in strengthening anti-money laundering, counter terror intelligence analysts have been trained to teach them the skills for a particular job, the Treasury Department has been involved an analyst exchange with the US counterterrorism programs, and as part of the Terrorist Interdiction Programs, a border security system was established, as well giving assistances to Detachment 88 to increase its capabilities as discussed above. "Detachment 88 has been responsible for tracking down scores of JI cadre, including Azahari bin Husin, Zarkasih, and Abu Dujana" (McCawley, 2007).

CONCLUSION

The counter terrorism cooperation between the US and Indonesia in improving its law enforcement capabilities to fight the terrorist attacks and terrorism financial continued in 2005. The Indonesian government succeeded to gain public and international confidences including the US government about the abilities in fighting terrorism in the country.

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