THE INDONESIAN - US COOPERATION ON COUNTER-TERRORISM

AHMAD SYOFIAN

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITI KEBANGSAAN MALAYSIA
BANGI

2007
ABSTRACT

Following the Bali blasts of 2002, the Indonesian government intensified its security arrangements to counter the threats of terrorism. Domestic and international efforts have been conducted, one of which is developing closer counter-terrorism cooperation with the US government. Both governments of Indonesia and US have announced their increasingly successful war against radical Islamist extremism and terrorism. However, several evidences in the country have demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the US - Indonesian counter-terrorism efforts achieving the objectives. The complexities in Indonesian - US counter-terrorism efforts have motivated this research to identify and discuss the reasons why the cooperation has been perceived less effective to address the threats of terrorism. This research uses descriptive analysis drawing from primary and secondary data ranging from government official documents, academic literature, newspapers and electronic materials. It discusses several external and domestic problems to the cooperation. This research found that the ineffectiveness of counter-terrorism efforts is caused by the government emphasizing more on the symptoms of the problems and focusing less on particular causes of the problems and domestic impediments such as the influence of conservative and militant ideologies, the networking of foreign or international terrorists, the clandestine military involvement, the motivation for shari’a law implementation, Indonesian porous borders and weak immigration controls and corrupt government agencies.
# CONTENTS

DECLARATION I

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT iii

ABSTRACT iv

ABSTRAK v

CONTENTS vi

LIST OF TABLES x

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xi

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND 1

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT 4

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS 6

1.4 ASSUMPTION 7

1.5 OBJECTIVES 7

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 7

1.7 METHODOLOGY 10

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW 12

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH 16

1.10 OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER 17

1.11 LIMITATION 18

## CHAPTER 2 THE EVOLUTION OF INDONESIAN - US COOPERATION ON THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

2.1 INTRODUCTION 19

2.2 DEFINITIONS 21

2.2.1 Radical Muslim Groups 21

2.2.2 Terrorism and Counter-terrorism 23

2.3 RADICAL MUSLIM GROUPS IN INDONESIA 25
2.4 INTEREST OF INDONESIAN AND US GOVERNMENT

2.4.1 The US' Interest in the Cooperation 28

2.4.2 The Indonesia's Interest in the Cooperation 32

2.5 US - INDONESIAN COUNTER-TERRORISM COOPERATION 34

2.5.1 The Counter-terrorism Cooperation during President Megawati Sukarao Putri 34

2.5.1.1 The Dilemma of Megawati Administration: Between Appeasing Domestic Demands and Foreign Pressures 35

2.5.1.2 Challenge from Internal Administration: Vice President's Political Maneuvers 38

2.5.2 The Counter-terrorism Cooperation during President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono 39

2.5.3 The US - Indonesian Cooperation Programs on Counter-terrorism 42

2.6 SUMMARY 48

CHAPTER 3 ISSUES AND CHALLENGES OF THE INDONESIAN - US COUNTER-TERRORISM EFFORTS

3.1 INTRODUCTION 51

3.2 THE CAUSES OF TERRORISM AND RADICALISM IN INDONESIA 51

3.2.1 The External Factors 52

3.2.1.1 The US Foreign Policies 53

3.2.1.2 The Impact of Iranian Revolution of 1979 and Afghanistan's Struggle against the Former Soviet Union 56

3.2.1.3 The Import of Conservative - Militant Ideologies and Methods from Middle East 58

3.2.1.4 The Supports of Foreign or International Network 61
3.2.2 The Domestic Factors

3.2.2.1 The Political Legacy of New Order Regime to the Rise of Radicalism 63

3.2.2.2 Covert Military Support 66

3.2.2.3 The Motivation for Shari'a Law Implementation 69

3.2.2.4 Religion Based - Communal Conflicts 70

3.3 SUMMARY 71

CHAPTER 4 THE DOMESTIC IMPEDIMENTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION 72

4.2 GOVERNMENT POLICIES VERSUS DOMESTIC IMPEDIMENTS 72

4.2.1 The Indonesian Counter-Terrorism Actions 73

4.2.2 Controversial Outcomes and Symptoms Oriented 75

4.2.2.1 Domestic Resistance to the Anti-Terror Bill due to Traumatic Experience 76

4.2.2.2 Lack of Resources to Secure Indonesian Porous Borders, Weak Immigration Controls and Corrupt Government Agencies 77

4.2.2.3 Weak Central Government 80

4.2.2.4 Poverty or Economically Disadvantaged 82

4.2.2.5 Rivalries between Indonesian Intelligence Agencies 84

4.2.2.6 Lack of Government Control on the Curriculum of Fundamental Islamic Schools 85

4.2.2.7 Poorly-Regulated Banks, Business Environments and Economies Favourable to Money Laundering Activities 86
4.2.2.8 Religious Sensitivity on the Issue of Denouncing *Jihad* and Poso Conflict  

4.3 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE GOVERNMENT'S COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICIES  

4.3.1 The Displacement of Priority of the Indonesian Authority in the midst of the Complex Problem of Terrorism and Radicalism  

4.3.2 The Influence of the US Government  

4.4 SUMMARY  

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION  

REFERENCES  

APPENDICES  

A Paving the Way (1955) - Essay by Sayyid Qutb  
B Sermon by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir in Solo, Indonesia on 18 October 2002
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>US Foreign Assistance to Indonesia (in US $ / 000)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Indonesian - US Technical Cooperation on Counter-terrorism</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>