AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA COUNTER-TERRORISM

COOPERATION

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Abstrack

Bali bombing 2002 is a tragic phenomenon for both countries, Australia and Indonesia. Bali bombing killed 202 peoples, which are 88 Australian and 33 Indonesian. This event becomes a critical phase for the Australia-Indonesia security cooperation after the East Timor incident in 1999. Australia initiates several programs to support Indonesian counter-terrorism effort. Indonesia also faces a challenge after m 1999. The Indonesian police—as the main body of law enforcement—do not have any experience in combatting terrorism. Australia facilitates the USA—as principal actors of global counter-terrorism—to support Indonesia’s counter-terrorism policy. Australia and Indonesia have reached formal security cooperation with the ratification of Lombok treaty. This paper will examine Australia-Indonesia security cooperation in the respond to a terrorist threat using Islamic radicalization theory and regional security complex theory.

Keyword: Australia, Indonesia, terrorism, counter-terrorism, Islamic radicalization and security cooperation.

1 Dosen Ilmu Hubungan International
October 12, 2002, a bomb exploded on the most popular Australian tourist's nightclubs, which are Sari Club and Paddy's Club. The explosion instantly killed 202 people, who are 88 people were Australian, and 38 people were Indonesia. The second bomb had exploded ten minutes after the first bomb exploded. The second bomb exploded in the US Consulate General in Bali, 10 miles from the first bomb site. Although the second bomb did not take any fatalities, unfortunately, the first bomb was a catastrophic incident for both countries, Australia, and Indonesia. Exactly one year, one month and one day after 9/11 attacks on WTC New York City, Bali bombing took place on the most popular tourist destination in Indonesia. This kind of suicide bombing is very popular among law enforcement and intelligence community around the world. Police investigation leads to the single primary suspect who committed this terrible crime, which is Islam extremist group. Indonesian intelligence and Indonesian national police have confirmed this suspicion several days after the event, and then Indonesian police arrested many members of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) correspondingly (Singh, 2004).

Bali bombing created much controversy in Indonesian because JI is one of the clandestine networks of a terrorist group that never appears in public before. The substantial issue that cultivates in Indonesia is about a connection between the Islamic community and Islam religions itself with a terrorist group. The main suspicion about the link between Islam and terrorism marked by the rises of Islam extremist group in 1999, such as Islamic Defender Front (FPI). FPI has known for their violent act in several places, also their provocation of Islamic superiority. Besides FPI, the allegation of Islam as the primary reason for terrorism is coherent with an arrest of several Islamic clerics by Indonesian police. The concept of jihad in Islam constitutes public confusion of terrorist activity in Indonesia whether the minority group in Islam is responsible for this kind of action or majority group of Islam is responsible. The former president of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid clarified that the existence of the Islamic terrorist group such as JI in Indonesia is just conspiracy created by the US and Zionist conspirator under Global War on Terror issue (Singh, 2004). Wahid's statement shifts huge debate among Indonesian politicians, because of the Indonesian government main agenda at that time is to eliminate all of the threat from terrorist groups. This agenda also involves Australian government,
which is constantly giving many aids to the Indonesian government to fight terrorism. The Australian government already considered terrorism in Indonesia as their primary interest. Consequently, the Indonesian government received $10 Million Australian dollar funding that consists of a terrorism assistance package for supporting Indonesian government counter-terrorism program (Gyngell, 2008). This package is continually increasing and become the primary resource of the Indonesian government for creating several programs in order to fight terrorism. The most remarkable program is the creation of a unique detachment unit that specialized in anti-terror under the Indonesian national police command. The Australian Federal Police, CIA, US Federal Bureau of Investigation, US Secret Services and US Diplomatic Security Services have trained this detachment. This detachment also has another funding from US government also receive modern and latest weapons, technology also information from the US government.
The Islamic extremism is an old phenomenon in Indonesia, which happened before Bali Bombing. The most prominent Islamic extremist group in Indonesia is the Darul Islam (DI) and Aceh Freedom Movement (GAM) (Singh, 2004). These groups already made a rebellion and performed separatism toward the government of Indonesia, and already fight against the Indonesian Army for decades. Islamic extremism cannot be separated with the Indonesian demographic and political landscape. Indonesian is a pluralistic country with multi-ethnic people living together. Moreover, almost of 90% of Indonesian are Muslim with variety sects and schools of thought (Smith, 2005). Islam then becomes a political tool for the government to control people and maintain order. Even though there are Islam extremist groups and orthodox Islamic groups that still exist among Indonesian people, the government successfully maintains stability toward controlling this group respectively. The Indonesian government faces extreme resistance from the Islamic community because of an allegation that coming from these groups, which emphasizes US government and the Australian government intervention to the Indonesian government. This contention becomes a primary justification for obstructing the police investigation, especially when involving Islamic clerics. Islamic radicalization is caused by two aspects, which are macro level and micro level (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). In the macro level, radicalization caused by trigger events that come from the three general issues, which are political, economic, and cultural. In the micro level, radicalization is caused by two important part of human life, which are a social and individual factor. In the social sphere, radicalization could be through interaction with the social environment also could be through social identification that leads an individual to sense a social problem surrounding. On the other hand, the individual is the most important object in the radicalization process. The Radicalization process will make Individual contemplate and reached the devotion phase. When the terrorist candidate has reached devotion stage, suicide bombing can be performed.

Security became the principal interest of the Australian government shortly after Bali bombing. It is because of one million Australian tourists visit Indonesia every year. Australian government persuades Indonesian government with giving aid and supervision to eliminate any security threat domestically. The Australian government initiates a
program that accommodates active cooperation with law enforcement in Indonesia, this program called Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JLEC) (Gyngell, 2008). This cooperation additionally creates a possibility of an Australia's supervision and training to the Indonesian law enforcement. With this collaboration, the Australian government could request a terrorist target list to the local authority. Furthermore, it also becomes a tool for intelligence sharing with the Indonesian intelligence agency. JLEC is coherent with regional security complex theory and explained two countries relationship, which is geographically close (Buzan & Waever, 2003). Moreover, this approach determined how the Indonesia and Australia behavior in responding to a security threat. Bali bombing is not only about a threat to Australian tourist in Indonesia but also become a domestic threat to the Indonesian national security. The regional security complex theory affirmed that relations between Australia and Indonesia are a form of complex regional cooperation. This argument constructed from how Australia persuades Indonesia government to slaughter Indonesian citizen if involved in the terrorist activity.

Financially, Australia is the most prominent donor for the Indonesian economy, and the Australian's aid to Indonesia is not exclusively for security aspect. Security aid to the Indonesia is a crucial financial source for Indonesian law enforcement. The special detachment anti-terror called Anti-Terror Detachment 88 is funded by Australian aid to Indonesia. The Special Detachment 88 has the latest weaponry and advanced technology specifically to hunt and eliminate terrorists in Indonesia. This detachment also trained by FBI, US Secret Service, US Diplomatic Security Services (DSS) also CIA due to Australian facilitation to the US government. Therefore, this detachment also handles ‘special request' from Australia that covers most wanted terrorist list. The Australian intelligence agency also maintains cooperation with the Indonesian intelligence agency in order to observe any recent activity of terrorist groups. This partnership reached more significant step with the ratification of the Lombok Treaty between the Indonesian foreign minister and Australian foreign minister in 2006. This treaty will accommodate an openness of intelligence agency between the two countries.

**Terrorism: Threat and Ramification**
Australian intervention in East Timor on 1999 is a strong reason for many terrorist attacks on Australian facilities and citizens. Australian intervention is defined as an attack on Islam. Besides that, Australian military participation in the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan becomes another reason Jemaah Islamiyah included Australia on their target list. Islam Extremists group define Australia as ‘West symbol’ in Southeast Asia, which is the threat to Australia very undeniable. On the other hand, Indonesia is not included on the Jemaah Islamiyah target list, which means Indonesia, not the enemy of them. Bali bombing is the turning point for both countries because this attack was very lethal and catastrophic. Bali bombing victim is the deadliest terrorist attack in the Indonesian history. After Bali bombing, the Indonesian government decided to declare frontally combating terrorism, domestically and regionally. The Indonesian government has been starting to formulate many regulations to support counter-terrorism since 2002. The Presidential decree on 2002 become the first legal basis for counter-terrorism policy, and this order has legislated into national law by the Indonesian house of representative on 2003.

In shorts, Indonesia and Australia connected by one compelling interest, which is counter-terrorism. The ramification of Bali bombing is a repressive action of counter-terrorism policy that leads the creation of many repressive tools. One of the repressive tools that used by the Indonesian government is Special Detachment 88 Anti-Terror, which is an implementation of Indonesia-Australia agreement on counter-terrorism policy. This detachment is the law enforcement unit that specializes in counter-terrorism and trained by the best law enforcement agency of US government. This detachment becomes popular among Indonesian people as the icon of counter-terrorism effort, and this detachment occasionally holds an extrajudicial power to exterminate terrorist suspects. Australia, on the other hand, could not make their citizens stop visit Indonesia.

The terrorism should be responded by eliminating the threat domestically, directly from the source of terrorism itself. Therefore, Australia needs to persuade and supports Indonesia to eradicate terrorism, it does not mean by direct intervention, but more like encouraging Indonesia to be more aware of this issue.
Terrorism cannot be separated from human behavior because naturally, human behavior tends to perform an act to show their existence (Sukabdi, 2015). Terrorism is an example of an action to change something by force. Terrorists are influenced by the strong belief in something, in this case, terrorists firmly believe in their religion. Most of the Islamic terrorist strongly believe that Islam could not thrive peacefully, which means in order to make a progress terrorist need to perform an act that can engage people. Terrorists also think that their actions are a form of full devotion to their religions. This fundamental mindset used by terrorist to recruit member and brainstorms other members respectively. Most of the terrorists who committed suicide bombing believe in their death was the form of sacrifice to gain advantages in the afterlife phase. They believe that with sacrifice their life to the religion, therefore, God will grant happiness and a better life to them. This phenomenon coherent with the fact that showing most of the suicide bombing performer come from a poor environment, uneducated family and mentally young.

Australia and Indonesia conclude that the source of terrorism is not merely about religion and 'west sentiment.' Australia understands the root of terrorism in Indonesia and becomes supportive to solve the Indonesian development problems. Australia implemented many policies that support Indonesia financially, economically and socially. Australia is not only focused on help how to fight terrorism directly but also focused on how reducing poverty and educating the Indonesian citizens. Correspondingly, Indonesia also realizes that to the problem of terrorism is also a mental problem. The terrorist who never performs a destructive act that captured in the particular facility could perform de-radicalization process towards another terrorist. The Indonesian government provides the de-radicalization process for terrorists who never perform such a destructive action. The de-radicalization process is vital for terrorists who have radical and extremist teachings because of these teachings they could become a significant threat in the future. The Indonesian National Police and Ministry of Justice subsequently, create the particular unit that could implement advanced de-radicalization and re-educate convicted terrorist. This group will be responsible for turning terrorist become a different person and could become a crucial intelligence asset for the Indonesian government.
Australia-Indonesia Cooperation

Shortly after Bali bombing 2002, a new counter-terrorism strategy has already proposed to the President of Indonesia Megawati Soekarnoputri. This strategy consists of an improvement in several aspects of counter-terrorism policy in Indonesia, such as a new method of investigation, the bigger role of law enforcement also abolished military domination to the law enforcement domination. The plan originally intended as directs implementation of the law that separate military and national police. The older system, military domination toward any security and defense policy is absolute. Typically, Military has a central role in strategic issues, including terrorism. Nevertheless, after the People Consultative Assembly passed a bill in 2000, which require a formal separation of military and law enforcement, terrorism became Police jurisdiction. In consequence, Indonesian national police have a new duty to eradicate terrorism in Indonesia. Unfortunately, Indonesian national police never hold this kind of function before.

On the other hand, Australia understands that the Indonesian police never have the experience to eradicate terrorism. Indonesian police have never been trained how to combat terrorism. Also, Indonesian police barely have weapon and technology. Australia becomes an important facilitator of Indonesian police with US government. This facilitation would become a major phase of Indonesian police to implement counter-terrorism policy. Indonesian police have trained by US federal agency such as CIA, FBI, DSS and Secret Services in order to improve the performance of Indonesian police so that counter-terrorism in Indonesia could be optimally implemented. Besides that, Australian provides Indonesian police with the generous funding of the four-year counter-terrorism program, which is worth 10 million Australian dollars (Gyngell, 2008). This funding increased 100% in the 2004 and additional funding from US Diplomatic Security Services in the same year.

The assistance from The US is vital for combating terrorism at that time. Indonesian has a trouble of arranging any security relationship with the US because of human right violations in 1999 – the embargo was lifted in 2005. The support from the US government that the Indonesian police demand is not only about weapons and arms, but also about the intelligence report, technology, and other strategic information, which are vital for the continuity of Indonesian counter-terrorism. Australia plays a significant role in facilitating
US federal agency to support the Indonesian counter-terrorism efforts. The implementation of counter-terrorism cooperation between Australia and Indonesia reached the highest phase when the Lombok treaty ratified in 2006. This agreement has become a significant improvement of Indonesia-Australia relations since the East Timor incident in 1999. The Lombok Treaty also creates a possibility of sharing an intelligence report correspondingly, which could determine the terrorist activity and funds. In consequence, the implementation of the Lombok treaty makes Indonesian police has an enormous source for combating terrorism.

With the support from Australia, counter-terrorism in Indonesia works very optimally and efficient. Australia also gives particular interest to several Indonesian citizens who strongly suspected as a terrorist. Abu Bakar Baashir is the prominent example of particular Australian interest. He is one of the radical clerics which recruiting many prominent terrorists including the leaders of Bali bombing 2002. Abu Bakar Baashir became a government fugitive since 1983. He has sentenced nine-year incarceration because of subversive actions against the Indonesian law by Indonesian Supreme Court (Jones, 2010). He escapes to Malaysia to avoiding incarceration, in Malaysia he started to preach radical teachings to several prominent terrorists in Malaysia. He became a popular preacher among Islamic radical groups in Malaysia. Because of that many terrorists testify that they know and following Baashir teachings. Abu Bakar Baashir came back to Indonesia in 1999 and captured by the Office of Attorney General of Indonesia in order to commence imprisonment sentence by the Supreme Court. Baashir sued that verdict because he thinks that Supreme Court verdict was obsolete. Once again, he succeeded to avoid incarceration for the second time. In 2005, police arrested Baashir for the terrorism charge and had a connection with Bali bombing terrorist. Unfortunately, Police failed to convince the court that Baashir is guilty of terrorism charge. He just sentenced 26 months for an immigration violation, and he freed from prison in 2006.

Australia expressed disappointment to the Indonesian government because of Baashir released in 2006. Australia believes that Baashir connected with Al Qaeda network and Australia want Baashir to be incarceration again with longer duration because he potentially becomes the threat to Australian security. In 2010, Police arrested Baashir
again, at this time Baashir charged with the stronger allegation of terrorism. Baashir was suspected funding terrorist group in Aceh, and Baashir sentenced 15 years incarceration by the court because of his connection with terrorist activity in Aceh. The Australian government successfully persuades the Indonesian government to detain Baashir with longer incarceration duration. This is a shred of evidence that Australia is paying attention to the counter-terrorism effort in Indonesia. Australian intelligence confirmed Baashir's involvement in the terrorist activity. Australian intelligence investigation of Baashir's bank account becomes vital evidence in the court. After Baashir trial, Australian intelligence continuously provides Indonesian police with valuable information regarding terrorist activity.

**Conclusion and Future prospect**

Terrorism is a complex phenomenon. It could be a security threat, political instability or just ordinary murder case. Combating terrorism is not just about arresting the terrorist suspects and sent them to jail. It is about solving society problems, such as poverty, education, and social environment. Indonesia is a country that becomes a secondary target of terrorism because initially, the primary target of terrorism is Australia. When the bomb exploded in Bali and killed many peoples, it becomes a catastrophic disaster for both countries. Indonesia has faced political and economy instability since 1990, also experiencing a new ‘democratic system.’ Under amended constitution, military and police have formally separated in order to implement civilian supremacy to the political system. Terrorism is old phenomena in Indonesia, and terrorism has always handled by the military since Indonesian independence in 1945. Under the amended constitutions, police, and the other law enforcement agencies have to handle terrorism. The lack of experience in combating terrorism is the primary reason terrorism risen in Indonesian in 2002. The national police –as the main body of Indonesian law enforcement– do not have a proper resource, ability, tool and technology to eradicate terrorism. Respectively, Australia understands this problem and learns that the Indonesian military is the only executor of terrorism in the old system. Australia was negotiated the US government –as the principal performer of counter-terrorism in the world– to help Indonesia eradicates terrorism. At that
time, Indonesia and US government have had a serious problem that affected bilateral cooperation. The US government has embargoeed Indonesia since 1999 because of human right violations in East Timor. Australia is playing an important role to convince the US government that Police was an independence institution under amended constitutions in 2002. Australia also urges the US government to give special training, weapon, and technology to combating terrorism. The US government with Australia's facilitation provides Indonesian police what they need. The US government sent several federal agencies such as CIA, FBI, DSS and Secret Services to give proper supervision, provide a weapon, share an intelligence report and technology to Indonesian police. Thus, the real implementation of this cooperation is the creation of Special Detachment 88 Anti-Terror. This unit is very efficient in combating terrorism in Indonesia, because of the support from the Australian and US government.

On the subject of counter-terrorism effort, certainly many obstacles obscuring Police duty. The allegations of human right violations are one of the problems that Indonesian police face during the formal investigation of terrorism (Choiruzzad, 2013). Islamic community at that time accused Indonesia police used torture and abusive method to the terrorist suspect. Besides that, there are many terrorists killed in action without formal trial of justice that increases public suspicion to the Indonesian police. Correspondingly, a massive arrest of Muslims in Indonesia and aggressive raids of Islamic places quickly connected with Islamophobia. This suspicion becomes stronger in accordance with the released several terrorist suspects because of insufficient evidence. On the other hand, many Islamic radical groups concluded that counter-terrorism policy in Indonesia is a conspiracy of US and Australia to destroy Islam in Indonesia. They also accused that the US and Australian government using Islam as a scapegoat for their problem of terrorism. The Indonesian police could manage this issue elegantly and create stability among the Islamic communities in Indonesia through the openness of their investigations. The media has given permission to report any update and trial process of all terrorist suspect to the public. Every evidence that concluded from police investigation has declassified to the media in order to give precise information of terrorist indictment. The famous Latin proverb, ‘Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum' is mentioned by many Indonesian law
experts in the response of terrorism trial. This motto represents that there is no justification for who committed terrorism primarily causing a hundred casualties. Even though terrorists sometimes use religion as their justification, the court must not give any excuse and provides justice to the victims and suspects. Finally, three principal actors of Bali bombing executed by the firing squad in 2008. Moreover, the other suspect has imprisoned with different verdicts.

In 2005, the US government lifted the embargo to Indonesia. This event opens new possibilities of more advanced cooperation. One year later, Australia and Indonesia agreed on security cooperation called the Lombok treaty. This treat is the first formal cooperation between Australia and Indonesia on the security issue. With this agreement, Indonesia and Australia would maintain a close relationship and robust coordination of counter-terrorism effort in Indonesia. The Indonesian government also continuously makes many improvements in the counter-terrorism policy. The creation of central command for counter-terrorism called National Anti-Terrorism Agency in 2010 is the latest development. With this agency, Indonesia intends to combine all resource and effort from police and military to overcome terrorism. This organization also holds an extra-judicial power to perform a repressive action for the sake of national security. This agency also directly manages any financial support and non-financial support from the Australian and US government exclusively. In the future, counter-terrorism policy would be much effective and efficient because of improvement of bureaucracy.

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