



INDONESIA'S COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY

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Abstract:

The author shows that by using Boaz Garnor's approach to appraise the Indonesian counter-terrorism activities will help in measuring and explaining the effectiveness of the war against terrorism. The author also suggests that, while continuing to apply these counter-terrorism policies, the Indonesian Government needs to give more weight on its efforts at several important issues in order to diminish any terror threat stemming from Islamic radical teachings and movements, and maintain its unity.

Keywords: terrorism; Indonesia.

Resumen:

El autor muestra que utilizar el enfoque de Boaz Garnor para evaluar las actividades contraterroristas indonesias ayudará a medir y explicar la efectividad de la guerra contra el terrorismo. El autor también sugiere que, mientras continúa aplicando estas políticas contraterroristas, el gobierno indonesio necesita dar más peso a sus esfuerzos en varios temas importantes para reducir cualquier amenaza terrorista procedente de las enseñanzas y los movimientos islámicos radicales, y mantener su unidad.

Palabras clave: terrorismo; Indonesia.

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Author's note: This paper represents my own personal views.



Introduction

Indonesia, the biggest Islamic population in the world within the history of ethnic and religious conflicts in Ambon-Maluku, Poso-Central Sulawesi and Sampit- Kalimantan, have experienced several terrorist attacks since 2002 – 2005 such as Bali bombing, Atrium mall bombing, J.W. Marriot bombing and Christmas Eve bombing. Most of the attacks had been conducted by a radical Islamic terrorist group, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). The first terrorist attacks, which involved JI, were the wave of Christmas Eve bombings in 2000 in Medan-Northern Sumatera and Batam Island, An even greater insidious threat stems from the willingness of JI members to partake in suicide bombing. The Oct 2002 Bali bombing, Jakarta Marriot Hotel bombing and the recent attack on the Australian Embassy in Jakarta are examples of such suicide missions.²

Recognizing those conditions, Indonesia could become the most fertile land used by JI to seed the most highly virulent and radical homegrown terrorists, a part of ‘War on Terrorism’ second front³. However, threats must be coupled with impact to understand the priority of such issues to Indonesia. The impact of any terrorist attack in Indonesia would be devastating. The consequences of any terrorist attack is also impacting the region, especially Indonesia, and has the potential to significantly tarnish its image as a new good rising democratic state, ruin its economic development which has not been fully recovered from the effect of monetary crisis in 1997, and destroy the unity of the Indonesian state.

Although Indonesian Government does not differentiate between any particular groups conducting terrorism in Indonesia, this paper will only examine terrorist threat of radical Islamic groups in Indonesia since Indonesian anti terrorism law was, more or less, a product of the effect of Bali bombings conducted by Jemaah Islamiyah Group, an Islamic radical group using Jihad as their ideology. Using a variety of open sources, this paper will try to examine Indonesia’s strategy which was applied to counter the homegrown terrorism motivated by radical religious teachings especially on JI and other radical Islamic groups from 2002 to December 2006. It will determine how successful these measures and whether these measures will be still effective to counter the JI terror threats in the foreseeable future. The author will offer Boaz Garnor’s approach to appraise the effectiveness of counter-terrorism measures.

This article will begin with an overview of the JI terrorist threat facing Indonesia and related recent issues. It will be followed by the definition of Andre Beaufre’s Indirect Strategy which is applied by Indonesian Government to counter homegrown terrorists and Boaz Garnor’s theoretical approach in appraising the effectiveness of one’s counter-terrorism measures. Indicators of the effectiveness of the war against terrorism posited by Garnor will be used in defining the success of these measures. The next will be the Indonesian Government’s counter-terrorism measures and its impacts on JI and its affiliates in Indonesia. It will define the extent of success of counter-terrorism measures that Indonesian authorities have claimed. Meanwhile the Indonesian Government has been working hard to take strong and wide-ranging counterterrorism measures which have achieved a measurable operational success but the authorities also recognize that these efforts have not totally diminished the JI

² The Singaporean Government White Book, (2003): “The Jemaah Islamiyah Arrests and The Threat of Terrorism”, p. 6.

³ Ramakhrisna, Kumar and SeeSeng Tan, “Is Southeast Asia a Terrorist Haven” After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism”, *IDSS*, p.4.



terror threat due to several domestic problems that will cause a subsequent counterproductive effect. As further analysis of the effectiveness of counter terrorism the author will show that by using Boaz Garnor's approach to appraise the Indonesian counter-terrorism activities will help better in measuring and explaining the effectiveness of his war against terrorism. The author will also suggest, while continuing to apply these counter-terrorism policies, the Indonesian Government needs to give more weight on its efforts at several important issues in order to diminish any terror threat stemming from Islamic radical teachings and movements, and maintain its unity.

1. Overview of radical Islamic terror threats in Indonesia

“All politics is a struggle for Power”, wrote C. Wright Mills, and “the ultimate kind of power is violence”. Terrorism is where politics and violence intersect in the hope delivering power. All terrorism involves the quest for Power: power to dominate and coerce, to intimidate and control, and ultimately to effect fundamental political change”.⁴ According to Terrorism Website (www.terrorist-research.com), there have been known several categories of terrorist groups in the world at present, as follows: separatist, ethnocentric, nationalistic, revolutionary, political, religious, social, domestic, international or transnational⁵, but since the emergence of the contemporary wave of terrorism in the Middle East in 1968, the world has witnessed three categories of terrorist organizations: ideological, ethno-nationalist, and politico-religious.⁶

In the beginning of 21st century, one such extremist Islamic Organization, Al Qaeda, founded in 1988, motivated by Jihad Ideology after its terrorist attack on New York City on September 11, 2001, has become the most infamous terrorist group in the world. Al'Qaeda had laid close ties with JI since its first leader the late Abdullah Sungkar (along its 1500 members) went to Afghanistan to participate in the Soviet-Afghan War alongside the *mujahadeen* against the Soviet Union. The late Abdullah Sungkar later sent groups of JI members to train with Al-Qaeda.⁷

Historically, the JI traces its roots to the Darul Islam (DI, or 'House of Islam'), an organization which emerged in the 1948 and which fought together with the Indonesian revolutionary army against Dutch colonial rule. After Indonesia gained independence in 1949, DI continued its armed and violent struggle for the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia. The Indonesian Government tried to suppress the group after independence but never completely succeeded. In 1985, during the Soeharto Government, several radical DI elements fled to Malaysia to avoid arrest by the Indonesian Government. There, it regrouped and renamed itself Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). Abu Bakar Bashir took over the JI leadership role in 1999 following the death of Abdullah Sungkar, the founder of JI. Through its links with other Islamic militant groups in South East Asia such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Kumpulan Militan Malaysia (KMM), JI has established itself as a clandestine

⁴ Hoffman, Bruce, (2006): *Inside Terrorism*, New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 254-255.

⁵ “Categories of Terrorist Groups”, at:

<http://www.terrorism-research.com/groups/categories.php>.

⁶ Gunaratna, Rohan,(2002): “Defeating Al'Qaeda: The pioneering Vanguard of The Islamic Movements” in Russel D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer (eds.), *Defeating Terrorism : Shaping the New Security Environment*, Connecticut, Mc. Graw Hill/Dushkin, pp.1.

⁷ The Singaporean Government White Book, “The Jemaah Islamiyah Arrests and The Threat of Terrorism”, p.6.



organization to wage a distorted form of Jihad (or Holy War) to achieve their objective to create an Islamic State in the region and against western oppressors through militant actions.⁸

One of the biggest terror threats faced by the Indonesian Government are the former fighters of Maluku, Poso, Sampit conflicts. Since there are many members of the major jihadist organizations in Indonesia, such as JI, some splinter groups and off-shoots of *Darul Islam* (DI), *Komunikasi Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah* (Sunni Communication Forum), *Lasykar Jihhad* (Jihad Troopers) and others, have involved in ethnic-religious conflicts in Maluku, Poso, and Sampit and see these areas as where "enemies of Islam", JI believes that parts of Maluku, Sampit, Poso have the potential to develop into a *qoidah aminah*, a secure area where residents can live by Islamic principles and apply Islamic law. In their view, such a base could then serve as the building block of an Islamic state. Maluku and Poso thus remain a focus for religious outreach and recruitment efforts for extremists, both local and non-local, the combination of military training and actual combat may have been the most meaningful experience of their lives.⁹ These jihad former fighters and new recruits will be easily motivated by JI to continue to perpetrate terrorist attacks in Maluku or Poso or other places, inside and outside Indonesia territory.¹⁰

After the successive attacks, the Madrid train bombings (March 11, 2004); London train bombing (July 7, 2005); Mumbai train bombing (July 16, 2006), conducted by the homegrown militant radical Islamic suicide terrorist groups to attack the US and the West. Interest was generated by Al'Qaeda's Holy War and there was the willingness of JI members to partake in suicide bombing such as the October 2002 Bali bombing, Jakarta Marriot Hotel bombing and Australian Embassy in Jakarta. Al'Qaeda and, through its links among violent Islamic radicals and extremist organizations including the regional terrorist network Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and its associates, remains a serious security threat to both Western and domestic targets inside or outside Indonesia. Ramakrishna called this threat a "self-regenerating hydra", one that can generate new cells, reconstruct disrupted logistics and funding networks as fast as the existing structures are being dismantled by Governments all over the world".¹¹ Using its connections based on radical school ties and shared training experiences in Afghanistan, the southern Philippines, and Indonesia's Muslim-Christian violence in the former conflict areas of Maluku, and central Sulawesi, these networks may launch suicide bombings.¹²

All these Indonesian extremist Islamist groups recruited by JI to perpetrate terrorist attacks based on their similar visions, to reach politic advantageous aims and to protect their ethnicity and religion, aim to impose Islamic Law as a foundation to establish an Islamic State. Such terrorists can be categorized as an ethno-politico-religious/ideology. This will be the state of affairs in the foreseeable future.

⁸ "Indonesia and Transnational Terrorism", *Current Issues Brief*, (2001), <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/CIB/2001-02/02.cicb06.htm>

⁹ Donohoe, Jenifer, "Diverse responses to proponents of Islamic law indicate democracy is healthy in South Sulawesi Opponents of Islamic Law", at: http://www.insideindonesia.org/edit79/p7-8_donohoe.html *Opponents of Islamic Law*

¹⁰ "Weakening Indonesia's Mujahidin Networks: Lessons from Maluku and Poso", *Asia Report*, n°103, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3751&l=1>

¹¹ Ramakrishna, Kumar and Andrew Tan, (2002): "The New Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prescriptions", in Andrew Tan and Kumar Ramakrishna, *The New Terrorism: Anatomy, Trends and Counter-Strategies*, Times Media Private Limited, pp.19-20.

¹² Indonesia: 2005 Overview, at: www.tkb.org, 29 September 2005, at <http://www.org/MorePatterns.jsp?countryCd=ID&year=2005>



2. Indirect ‘Counter-Terrorism’ Strategy and Indicators for its Effectiveness: Theoretical Framework

2.1. Indirect Strategy

The author believes that in this age there is a definite area of freedom of actions within which any conflict must be kept confined; the boundaries of this area are set by the repercussions which the course of conflict may have upon the national institution. In the case of Indonesian Government’s war against terrorism, efforts on resolving the communal and religious conflicts such as in Poso, Ambon and Sampit as well as measures on countering the separatist movement in Papua and Maluku (also seen as the struggle of maintaining the unity of Republic of Indonesia), the constraining factor of counterterrorism measures was the fear of what Clausewitz meant by “escalation to the limit”. In other words, fear that measures taken by Indonesian authority in reducing and eradicating the threat of terrorism originated from Islamic radical groups might light up a conflagration out of all proportion to the aim, changing Indonesia from a secular state to become an Islamic State or the “*Balkanization*” of Republic of Indonesia.

The strategy of “war on terrorism” applied by the Indonesian authorities can be categorized as ‘Indirect Strategy’ since it seeks to achieve a result by methods other than military victory.^[13] The concept of indirect strategy itself is well explained first by Andre Beaufre, a military Frenchman. This kind of strategy is to differentiate the indirect approach postulated by Liddell Hard. The object of an indirect approach is the achievement of military victory; it is only the preparatory maneuvering for this victory is indirect. In contrast, the essential concept of indirect strategy is that it emphasizes the achievement of the objectives predominantly by methods other than military.^[14]

Beaufre explained in his writing *a’la strategy* that the further characteristic of indirect strategy is that of freedom of action. The main task is to make it sure that the extent of the area of freedom of action can be maintained or if possible increased, while at the same time reducing to the minimum that available to the enemy. However, the freedom of action available is dependent only to small degree upon those operations which may be undertaken within the geographical area of question (interior maneuver), it will be determined almost entirely by factors outside this area, e.g. an estimate of international reactions, of the enemy’s moral *fibre*, and of his sensitivity both to external pressure and to any action which it is proposed be taken and so on.^[15] Thus the likelihood of success of any particular operation is therefore dependent upon the success of action on the world-wide plane (exterior maneuver).^[16]

The exterior maneuver according to Beaufre will be primarily psychological; political, economic, diplomatic and military measures will all be combined and conducted towards the same end. A clear political line is needed to be adopted, and must be in line with international and national laws when conducting these measures. In fact, it is as the general concept of a true operational plan in the psychological field. In the case of a counter terrorism strategy

¹³ Andre Beufre,(1994): “Indirect Strategy in the Nuclear Age”, in *Gerard Chaliand, The Art of War in world History: From Antiquity to The Nuclear Age*, Los Angeles University of California Press, pp. 1023-1040.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1027.

¹⁵ *op. cit.*, p.1023.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1038.



originated from JI and its splinters, radical Islamist groups and all efforts in exterior maneuver must be worked out with the same precision as an operational plan in military strategy. In order to counter the enemy's exterior maneuver the plan must be based upon the vulnerability of the enemy organization (funding and communications systems, psychological taboos for the radical Islamist groups, etc.). In the realm of ideology an offensive line of policy necessarily implies a capacity effectively to attack the weak points in the enemy's ideological system as the starting point. Since at present the Indonesian Government is completely without a psychological striking point at the Ideological Islamist radical groupings, The essential component of his counter ideological measures is to re-establish the prestige of moderate Islamic thoughts and the ones who promote tolerance among other religious groups (Christian, Hindus, Buddhism) and choosing the secular state as the form of Indonesian governance as well as seeing globalization as an opportunity to improve their living conditions and to give more opportunity to seek a better life without fear of losing their traditions, religious values and norms.

In the case of counter-measures of radical Islamist terror threats, its interior maneuver resembles that of counter insurgency. Beaufre argues that the main components of interior maneuver consist of three variables as interrelated factors: material forces, moral forces and time. Terrorism is always weapon of the weak. Both local government and terrorist groups rely upon people to achieve their own objectives. The primary task is whether or not it can be implemented and is to ensure the retention of governmental control (the essential factor) without the use of large scale resources. The utility of military force must be applied proportionally and economically in order to avoid negative effects or to isolate people from the local government. Intelligence plays the biggest role to help realizing this goal. Finally, all operations must be conducted with an eye to their psychological effect both on the enemy and on the civil population. Any reverses suffered must either be concealed or balanced by spectacular success on which suitable emphasis should be laid. This is the task of strategy to find the most economical solution and that of organization to devise a system which will be favorable effort to civilians and intended effect on those targeted to be kept up long-term.

Beaufre further argued that the vital phase of indirect strategy takes place when the first symptoms appear, and psychological factors plays dominant role in assuring the effectiveness of any measures taken in exterior and interior maneuvers. The force of some well-reasoned ideology, the effectiveness intelligence and the meticulously worked out plans for the use of force will help to achieve the intended psychological impact on both the enemy and civilian sides in order to win the war. Recognizing the presence of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their catastrophic effect in our age, Beaufre urged the mastering of the art of indirect strategy in resolving armed conflict.

2.2. Indicators for the Effectiveness of Counter Terrorism

Terrorism cannot be eradicated but it can be contained or reduced. It can be understood since terrorism is a method not a goal. Accepting this notion makes us believe that every Government has to prepare itself from the possibility of terrorist attack in its own territory. Then a question is how we could appraise the effectiveness of counter terrorism efforts in one country. It is argued that if there is no bombing incident that the counter-terrorism measures in-country is effective. This is only half truth since the method of terrorism can be range from hijacking, sabotage, kidnapping, shooting, to poisoning.



Boaz Garnor, an Israeli Scholar, has posited an approach to appraise the effectiveness of counter terrorism measures being applied. He stated that there are four main indices which are important to consider. They are: terrorist operational capability, its motivations to perpetrate terrorist acts, internal morale of the terrorists and their supporters and the morale of the people coping with terrorism.^[17]

A) Terrorist capability

This index examines the degree to which counter-terrorism actions damage (or enhance) the terrorists' ability to perpetrate attacks. Garnor stated that there are several possible impacts caused by counter-terrorism activity on terrorist organization's operational capability. First is damage to the terrorist organization's status among its native population, from which it draws its strength, personnel, and ability to act. Second is damage its status in the international domain, the organization's political achievements in this area, or its political plans and goals. The next is damage to its fundraising process from various sources of financing, laundering the money, and transfer funds to terrorist organization. Other is the disruption of the organization's administrative activities such as interfering organization's activities with regard to enlisting manpower, field preparations, arming, training, and practice, and structural or technology development; or damage to personnel or facilities the organization needs for its ongoing operations. The terrorist organization's capability to commit terrorist attacks will be compromised following an offensive action if, as the organization's ability is likely to be reduced when its numbers have dwindled due to killings or widespread arrests. The last is direct damage to the organization's operational facilities that were specially prepared for committing terrorist acts, or to its infrastructures such as its bases, headquarters, explosives laboratories etc. It also creates substantial damage to the terrorist organization's operational capabilities.^[18]

B) Motivation

This index examines the effect of offensive counter-terrorism measures on the organization's motivation to commit terrorist attack (either because of the impact such measures have on the organization's decision makers and their feelings and desires for revenge, or a result of a change in the organization's balance of interests). In this context it must be considered that the offensive activity is liable, at times, to actually cause an increase in the terrorist's motivation to perpetrate revenge attacks.

C) Internal morale of the terrorism

Offensive counter terrorism measures may have an effect on the internal morale of the terrorist organization's activists and abetting population. This may be expressed in several

¹⁷ Boaz Garnor, "The Counter Terrorism Puzzle: A guide for Decision Maker", *The Interdisciplinary Center for Herzliya Project*, (2005), pp. 109-111.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.



ways: undermining the belief in the just causes laid by the terrorist the organization, undermining the belief in the organization's ability to achieve its goals, undermining the belief in the organization's leadership, weakening their personnel feeling of safety and spreading fear among the organization's activists and supporters. These expressions of internal demoralization could lead to willingness to compromise on the organization's goals and objectives. Internal morale is likely to be one of the factors that diminish the organization's motivation to perpetrate or intensify terrorist acts (alongside its other considerations and interests).^[19]

D) Morale of the people suffering from terrorism

The fight against terrorism should also influence the morale of the public suffering from terrorism and reduce the morale-psychological damage that terrorism has created. Thus counter-terrorism activity should be able to enhance individual and national morale; bolster the public's belief in the nation's ability to achieve its goals and bring calm and safety; enhance the people individual's belief in the nation's leadership; and intensify the nation's resolve to stick to its national goals and defined objectives.^[20]

3. Indonesian Counter-Terrorism Strategy

The Bali blasts were turning points in Indonesian History in combating of terrorism. As a response to the Bali bombings and countering the terrorist threat, especially from the JI terrorism threats and other violent Islamist radical and extremist groups in the future, Indonesia needs a sound strategy. The Indonesia Government has established the general frame of work principles and policies to combat terrorism in the country. The general framework has six principles, as follows: supremacy of law, indiscrimination, independence, democracy, and participation. The policy (strategy) used is direct and indirect approaches.^[21]

3.1. The General Principle

A) Supremacy of law

Supremacy of Law means that a legal framework is always the basis for action. Before the Bali bombings, Indonesia had ratified four international instruments related to the prevention and combating terrorism, namely Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft (1963); Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (1970); Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against Safety Aviation (1979), Chemical Weapon Convention (1993), and Biological Weapon Convention (1972). Additionally, Indonesia has also signed the International Convention for the Suppression of

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.111

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.111

²¹ Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, "Terrorism: A New Fight fo ASEAN", Keynote Speech at the opening ceremony of the 5th ASEAN Chiefs of Police Conference (ASEANAPOL), Denpasar, (17 May 2005).



the Financing of Terrorism (1999), the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1996) and has implemented two resolutions of the Security Council (1368/2001; 1373/2001).^[22]

The Indonesian Government issued two regulations: Regulation In-Lieu of Law No 1/2002 on the eradication of Terrorist Acts; Regulation In-Lieu of Law No.2/2002 on Eradication Terrorist Act in Bali 12 October 2002. In April 2003, The Indonesian Government established a new anti-terrorism Law (Law No 15/2003), which constitutes strong and comprehensive measures in dealing with terrorism threats. This Law defines the acts of terrorism which can be prosecuted by the Government, covers persons, Indonesian citizens, committing terrorist acts in Indonesia and foreign countries, toward foreign countries from Indonesia and vice versa. This Anti-Terrorism Law also introduces punishment ranging from a minimum three years to life sentence to death penalty for those who commit terrorism or assist their actions, authorizes the Government to detain and investigate suspected terrorist for three days based on initial intelligence information; to detain suspected terrorists based on sufficient evidence for a maximum of seven days, empowers the authorities to block bank accounts, to open and examine mail, and to intercept private telephone conversations and other communications of the suspect for sixty days at a time.^[23]

B) Independence

Independence means that while it is necessary for international co-operation to combat terrorism, Indonesia would maintain its independence in reaching conclusions and taking action within its territory. In this regard, all intelligence data, recommendations and views of the international community would be regarded as input. The Indonesian government would not be dictated by foreign powers but rather by professional and accurate proof, through due process and mechanism.

C) Indiscrimination

Indiscrimination means that in combating terrorism, the Government will not be prejudiced or focus its operations toward particular group, either ethnic, religious or interest groups. All citizens would be treated equally before the anti-terrorism law. Should there be one terrorist group targeted by Government, it would be only as a result of its activities and not because ethnicity or religious identities. However, the Indonesian Government also understands that there are several groups in Indonesia that often abuse/misuse ethnic or religion as inspiration for violence.

D) Coordination

Coordination reflects that the threat of terrorism is cross sector and cross-boundary in nature. The effort to overcome it must also be cross-sector and inter-state. Coordination becomes

²² Atmasmita, Romli, Prof. Dr, "Strategy of Combating Terrorism in Indonesia", Paper presented at the *Asia-Pacific Conference Homeland Security Summit*, Honolulu, Hawaii, 14-17 November 2004, *IDSS Resource Centre ND00015 (AR8094)*, (2005).

²³ "Indonesian Anti Terrorism Law" n°. 15/2003", at: <http://www.wirantaprawira.net/law/>, 25 September 2006



essential in fighting terrorism. Nationally, there has to be one cross sector coordinator. The instruction of President Megawati gave the mandate for such coordination to Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs. The coordinator would not take over the existing sector functions, but to harmonize it, make it more efficient and effective, and focus to the common objectives.

E) Democracy

Democracy means that the Government recognized that the wider authority to combat terrorism also opens the potential for the abuse of authority. This principle is an affirmation that the Government would not sacrifice democratic principles for the realization of purely Government authority. Instead, the Government will try to find the right balance for Government authority without abandoning democratic principles. Public control and supervision on the implementation of Government authority to fight terrorism is always open, through the Parliament (Peoples Representatives Council) and through the media and civil society.

F) Participation

Participation reflects the belief that the war on terrorism cannot be won if it is the only agenda of the Government. The wider participation of the public, cooperation between communities, and the public and the Government, is necessary for the country to be free from terrorism. As is applicable in other countries, in certain conditions where the great fear of terror is real, the Government can give early warning to the public to enhance their vigilance especially at places which are threatened by such acts. The Government hopes that the public can become its eyes and the ears and to inform the security and legal authorities if they are aware of an act of terror being planned and prepared. This is important because the initial activities of terrorism are often carried out in the midst of the public's daily life.^[24]

3.2. The Measures

A) Direct action

Intensifying and coordinating domestic intelligence operations

President Megawati issued two Presidential Acts to intensify and coordinate domestic intelligence operations, which could assist Indonesian authorities in finding and uncovering the network of terrorist groups. The first is Presidential Act No 4/ 2002, giving Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs a mandate to coordinate measures in combating terrorism. Based on this mandate, a Desk for coordination of eradicating terrorism (DCET) was established. The main functions of this Desk cover intelligence coordination, law enforcement coordination, international coordination and public information.

²⁴ Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, "Save Our Country from Terrorism", Jakarta, Coordinating Ministry for Political and Security Affairs, (2002), p.7.



The second is Presidential Act No 5/2002, giving the Head of the Indonesian's state Intelligence Agency an authority to coordinate all the activities regarding Intelligence gathering and sharing among various Intelligence Agency such as the Indonesian's state Intelligence Agency (BIN), the Indonesian Police Intelligence and Security Agency (BAINTELKAM POLRI), the Indonesian Armed Forces Strategic Agency (BAIS TNI) and others. This coordination matter is crucial because of the past experiences in which these Agencies tended to work individually.

International cooperation

Indonesia is still facing various domestic problems and internal conflicts but He is eager to enhance his cooperation with regional and other countries in combating terrorism and other forms of transnational crimes. To strengthen and encourage the efforts of combating terrorism, the Indonesian Government has been enhancing its International Cooperation with various countries. In intelligence sharing efforts, such cooperation has been extended from various foreign law enforcement agencies such as FBI, Swedish Police Forces, Scotland Yard, Dutch Police, Japan National Police Agency, ICPO-Interpol and this cooperation helps Indonesian Law enforcement agencies^[25].

In the region, Indonesia has established legal cooperation with other ASEAN Countries such as under the scheme of the ASEAN Security Council (ASC). This cooperation has been strengthened by joint investigation among law enforcement official, such as mutual assistance in criminal matters or extradition or joint investigation.^[26]

Law enforcement to apprehend terrorists

After receiving assistance from the US Government, Indonesian Police established a new special anti-terrorist unit, called Detachment 88. This unit, working together within all components within the Indonesian Police and other state's departments and agency, began to pursue the perpetrators of Bali Bombing and captured a man named Amrozi,. The investigation led to reveal the involvement of Jemaah Islamiyah in Bali bombing and capture other key perpetrators such as Ali Imron, Imam Samudra and Ali Gurfon and the late Dr Azahari Hussein, who was killed during the raid.^[27]

Imposing punitive actions

Based on the Anti-Terrorism Law (No 15/2003), The Indonesian Government has successfully captured more than 200 JI members, the JI-linked Islamic NGO, Kompak, including terrorist financier, Abdullah Sunata. 100 (hundred) of those have been tried. The sentences are ranging from a minimum three years to life sentence to death penalty.^[28] By

²⁵ "Lifting The Veil", *Tempo Magazine*, September 30, 2002 pp.14-23.

²⁶ Atmasasmita, Romli, Prof.Dr (eds) , *Stategy of Combating Terrorism in Indonesia*.

²⁷ "Three more Bali suspects arrested", at: <http://islab2.sci.ntu.edu.sg/njo/terroetimes/balibomb1.html>.

²⁸ *Indonesia: 2005 Overview*.



using the same law, Indonesian Government also have sentenced several perpetrators in Poso Bombing incidents.

B) Indirect Action

Public relations activity

To catch the perpetrators of Bali bombings and other bombings in Indonesia conducted by JI, the Indonesian Police spread the photos of the suspected on public places and gatherings. In responding to any terrorist threat whether it comes from JI or other groups or even it is only a hoax, the Indonesia Government, after receiving the report, sends a response unit directly to search, evacuate and dispose the suspected bombs.^[29]

A wide gap of distrust and misunderstanding has separated the Indonesian Police and regular civilians for decades. Much of the gap has been due to the police's militaristic operating procedures coupled with an arrogant attitude toward civilians. It was further widened by the people's apathetic or, sometimes, violent responses toward the police and attitudes. Understanding this condition, Indonesian Government through Police Department try to close the gap and encourage the participation of people by applying measures based on a deep respect toward human rights and democratic values.

The Bali Community Policing Program involves NGOs and tries to provide an opportunity for local people to assist their respective villages in the facilitation of different security groups e.g. the police and the village's *Pecalang* (traditional guardsmen) who have different values and codes, to work together as unified forces. This program has created a beneficial synergy between the police and local community, making community a better and safer place in which to live, preventing being infiltrated by terrorist groups or radical ideas.^[30]

Actions directed towards the supporting population and people coping with terrorism

The real problems in the effort to prevent another future terror attack in Indonesia seem to be more political than legal. Countering radical Islamist terror threats cannot be addressed through legal and intelligence measures alone but also requires the involvement of other institutions. For example extreme religious conservatism at the grassroots levels cannot be addressed through military operations or law enforcement alone but through the persuasive approach using religious figures. The public must be made aware that the militants are not struggling to enforce Islamic teachings by conducting terror and violent acts, but instead damaging the image of Islam and the Islamic community as a whole and the public must also understand that addressing the terror problem is in Indonesia's domestic interests and nothing to do with the Americans or other Western powers wishes.

Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono urged greater role for moderates in terror fight. He stated that "The government needs to give the moderate Muslim leaders more room to educate people...the society should not be hijacked by small radical groups". In

²⁹ "British embassy bomb threat a hoax", at: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200501>

³⁰ "Bringing the Police closer to the community", *The Jakarta Post*, 23 march 2006, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/Archives/ArchivesDet2.asp?FileID=20060323.R01>



countering Jihad ideology and Al'Qaeda fatwa "Holy War" towards Western people propagated by JI, the Indonesian Government focuses its efforts to deal with the upstream problems such as radicalization in some Muslim schools and to work together with Moderate Islam Groups and Organization such as PB NU, *Muhamadiyah*, *Jaringan Islam Liberal* in order to prevent the dissemination of radical ideology through banning publications deemed to incite hatred and terror^[31]. After seeing the video of Bali suicide bombers, Ma'ruf Amin, Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Deputy Shairman, stated that

From the statements in videos we learn that the suicide bombers are very sincere, yet sincerely ignorant. They do not allow any other alternative discourse to test the validity of their convictions. They may have been misled by certain religious discourse that ultimately serves as a prison for them.³²

MUI understands that Campaigns against the manipulation of religious teachings will produce limited effects if they are designed only as a reaction to the spread of militant ideas. The creation of terrorist minds is not an instant process. It may take years of indoctrination and brain-washing before a terrorist is fully convinced about the essential invalidity of their murderous acts. Intense interaction with foreign militants also seems to be an essential element in radicalization of religious views among Indonesia's homegrown terrorists. Thus the MUI has tried to prevent the raising of new generation of Islamic radical member through its main programs such as clarifying the false perception about Jihad and martyrdom and suicide; visiting *the pesantren* to prevent from being infiltrated by "other parties" who may come up with certain mission. MUI needs to do this since the militant Islamists see Indonesia as a "battle field", this country actually is a peace zone.

One other notion which is generally accepted is that terrorist activities mostly flourished in poor and oppressed countries where the people were desperate and hopeless, although poverty does not equate with terrorism necessarily. But radicalism could be eliminated or at least reduced if we help these desperate people achieve their dreams, their potential and fulfill their basic needs and basic human rights^[33]. This notion is more credible since Amrozi and Imam Samudra, two of the convicted Bali Bomber both come from underprivileged families. Radical Islamic Groups stated that Muslims faced an ideological conflict between fighting injustice and oppression and promoting and preserving life.

The Indonesian Government is fully aware of this dangerous situation, especially after the Asian financial crisis in Indonesia in 1997. Susilo underlined that aside from empowering the moderate Muslim leaders, the government was trying harder to eradicate the causes of radicalism. He said that "The state has to deal with the real condition of Muslims [in Indonesia], their poverty and lack of education...so that they no longer feel sidelined". In other words to address the poverty, Indonesia Government needs to create more jobs^[34].

JI is a politically motivated group which intends to establish a large pan-Islamic state (across southern Asia) and Jihad as their Ideology. Other Indonesia Radical Islamic Groups and several Indonesian Islamic Political Parties want to implement *Syariah Law (Islamic*

³¹ "Indonesia's New Response to Terrorism", *Think Thank News from IDSS*, Issue 11, (March 2006) MICA (P) 218/07/2005, pp.1-2.

³² "Militants should fight jihad in war zones", *The Jakarta Post*, 24 November 2005, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/Archives/ArchivesDet2.asp?FileID=20051124.B09>, 13 January 2007

³³ "Susilo urges greater role for moderates in terror fight": *The Jakarta Post*, 21 October 2003, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/Archives/ArchivesDet2.asp?FileID=20031021.A06>: 17 January 2007

³⁴ "Public involvement crucial in fight against terror", *The Jakarta Post*, 21 October 2005, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/Archives/ArchivesDet2.asp?FileID=20051021.A05>: 13 January 2007



Law) in Indonesia since Moslem population is a majority. According to Ansjad Mbai, Head of the anti-terror desk at the Office of coordinating Minister for political, legal and security affairs stated that this movement cannot be addressed through legal and intelligence measures alone, but also requires the involvement of other institutions. Their aspirations can be channeled through political parties in this democratic country. The opening of dialogue with spiritual leaders and supporters of such ideology in order to get to know what these groups want; what kind of Islamic State and *Sharia* Law they want to implement.

4. The Impact of Counter-Terrorism Measures: How Effective?

4.1. The Success

Ansjad Mbai, Head of the anti-terror desk at the Office of coordinating Minister for political, legal and security affairs stated that Indonesia “War on Terror” emphasizes preventive measures, which start from detection of people who inculcate radicalism, hatred, and hostility against certain groups, religions or nations. The next phase is detection of activities to recruit, train, brainwash and provide equipment and funding for people to perpetuate acts of terrorism. “Public support is pivotal to make intelligence missions a success”.^[35]

After applying the efforts both on direct and indirect actions, according to Indonesian government, the most significant successful efforts of its counter-terrorism measures are in the practices of direct action policy. The indicators of the success are:

- The key perpetrators of Bali bombing have been captured and arrested. These include Amrozi bin H Nurhasyim, Ali Guhfron bin Nurhasyim Muchlas alias Mukhlas, Imam Samudra, and Hutomo Pamungkas alias Mubarok.
- Some key leaders of the terrorist group have been arrested such as : Parlindungan Siregar (arrested in Madrid 13/11 2001), Muhaamad Saad Iqbal (arrested in Matara 9/1 2002), Fathur Rahman Al-Ghozi (arrested in Solo), Imam Samudra, Omar Al-Faruq (key Al-Qaeda figure in Southeast Asia, Kuwait Citizen) and Seyam Reza (Al-faruq superior, German of Arab descent citizen). Hambali alias Riduan Ismamuiddin, the most important JI leader due to his connection with Al Qaeda, was caught by the US and Thailand on 11 August 2003. On November 25, Azahari Hussien, the mastermind of suicide attacks in Indonesia, was killed in shoot-out with the police.
- The investigative process has uncovered the structure of Jemaah Islamiyah organization in Indonesia and Southeast Asia countries, with the *Amir* (Head of state) at the top, on the second level, Regional *Surya* (Consultative council), on the third level, four *MANTIQIs*, followed by, *Mailis Surya* and a number of *Qirdas* and finally, a number of *Fiah* (cells). Each *Fiah* consists of 5 – 7 *Jamaahs* (Islamic congregations).^[36]

³⁵ “Public involvement crucial in fight against terror”, *The Jakarta Post*, 21 October 2005,

³⁶ *The Singaporean Government White Paper* (eds), p.10.



- Based on information gathering, sharing and exchanges, the Indonesian Government had been able to unveil and prevent several plans of JI terrorist attacks.^[37]
- Since many of JI key leaders and members have been imprisoned, the organizational structure of JI has been considerably damaged and weakened.^[38] The inter connection among JI terrorist groups inside Indonesia and other foreign countries has been weakened.^[39]

Other success can also be acknowledged from applying the indirect action policy such as:

- After the death of Azhari there is a changing perception among Islamic leaders about the extent terrorists have manipulated religious teachings in order to justify the killings of innocent people. As further stated by Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Indonesian Scholar, that Indonesia has been relatively successful in fighting terrorism by unifying short and long term approaches. Besides capturing, putting on trial and punishing the suspects, Indonesia has gained support from most clerics to denounce suicide bombings and other terrorist activities as against Islam.^[40]
- The recognition of the terrorist threat among the public is high. Security has become a major concern. Security awareness is also increased. Most of government offices and public buildings as well as private business has checked and rechecked their readiness and alertness to prevent terrorist attacks and to mitigate the effect of terrorist.^[41]

4.2. The Failures

In spite of the success, the Indonesian authority acknowledges that the JI threats have not been totally eradicated, as can be seen from these indicators:

- The JI recruiter, mastermind and bomb expert, Noordin M. Top is still on the run and still pose a threat to public security.
- After the key perpetrators of the Bali bombings were captured, several other bombings occurred, such as the bombing KFC outlet in Manado, North of Celebes Island, on 15 November 2002, the bombing of McDonald's Restaurant and automobile showroom in Makassar, South of Celebes island on 5 December 2002, the J.W. Marriot bombing on 15 August 2003, the Australian Embassy bombing in Jakarta on 9 September 2004, and lastly the second Bali bombing on 1 October 2005.

³⁷ *ICG Asia Report*, n°63, "Jemaah Islamiyah in Southeast Asia: Damaged But Still Dangerous", (2003), p.1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴⁰ "Bomb can't stop terrorism: Analyst", *The Jakarta Post*, 11 September 2006, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/Archives/ArchivesDet2.asp?FileID=20060911.B07>: 18 January 2007

⁴¹ "Pawnshop upgrade security system", *The Jakarta Post*, 6 April 2006, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/Archives/ArchivesDet2.asp?FileID=20060406.G03>: 13 January 2007



- From evidences of several sources it was suggested that JI has recruited several new members from the community in their hiding places.
- Several terrorists involved in Maluku, Poso, and Sampit have been known still possessing their terrorist equipment including fire arms and explosives. They maintain their networks and plan their future attacks.

4.3. Causes of Failures and Counterproductive Effects

According to the Indonesian Government, the difficulties in capturing the terrorists are due to two main factors, as follows: firstly, the terrorists' elusiveness and operate in clandestine manner; secondly, they operate in a very small group of dedicated and talented individuals. This can be proven by their ability to adapt to police counter-measures such as disguising their appearances, using fake identities, and shifting their technology of communication, from using cell phone to e-mail. Indonesia a huge country with more than 13,000 islands and large open spaces and its geography makes it a good place for terrorists to hide. The Indonesian counterterrorism efforts are also compromised by a weak rule of law, serious internal coordination problems and systemic corruption. This can be proven by the ease with which fake identities may be procured and used by several perpetrators of Bali bombings during their runs.

Domestic and international conflicts also affected Indonesia's counter-terrorism efforts. The conflicts in Poso, Ambon, Sampit provided the JI terrorists with suitable places to hide, recruit and train new members. The invasion of US in Iraq and Afghanistan also provoked public sentiments against the West, especially US. These factors made it easier for the terrorist to spread hatred among Indonesian Muslims. It has been noted that the anti-Western propaganda by the terrorist also makes references to some legitimate grievances among Islamic government among Islamic societies—the killing of civilians in Palestine, Iraq, and Afghanistan. They also try to mobilize public sympathy by demonizing authoritarian and repressive monarchies in the Middle East whose collaboration with the west is widely perceived as humiliation to the Arab world. In Indonesia this effect could also be seen after the first Bali Bombing. A conspiracy theory, such as “all the bombings in Indonesia were conducted by CIA's networks to entice Indonesia into “US Global War Campaign” or “Bali bomb was a micro-nuclear explosion” that tended to be believed by general public who lack knowledge or sophistication of such matters and sometimes put the police in difficult situations during the conduct of investigations.^[42]

4.4. Defining the Effectiveness of Indonesian Counter terrorism

Garnor stated that “the War against terrorism is a form of undeclared war; moreover, this is a war without borders in which the front lines and the home front are intertwined.” To examine the success of Indonesian counter-terrorism measures against the Islamic Radical Group's terror threat, according to Boaz Garnor in his book, *The Counter Terrorism Puzzle*, there are four important main indices to be considered, ie : operational capability, motivation to

⁴² “The bomb flashed and exploded like a micro nuke, but our Geiger counters don't show any radiation, Bali Micro Nuke - Lack of Radiation Confuses”, at: http://www.vialls.com/nuke/bali_micro_nuke.htm.



perpetrate terrorist acts, internal morale of the terrorist and their supporters, and the morale of the people coping with terrorist. Comparing these four indices with the Indonesian counter-terrorisms measures policy will answer whether these measures will still be effective to counter the JI terror threats or terrorist attack perpetrated by Islamic Radical groups in the foreseeable future.

A) Damage to the terrorist organization's operational capabilities

The terrorist organization's capability to commit terrorist attacks will be compromised following an offensive action. The organization's ability is likely to be reduced when its numbers have dwindled due to killings or widespread arrests. Other effects are regarding the direct damage to the organization's operational facilities that were specially prepared for committing terrorist acts or to its infrastructures such as its bases, headquarters, explosives laboratories etc. In the case of Indonesian 'war on terror', It is difficult to appraise whether terrorist capability is weakened or not. This is important to understand since many of the JI have been damaged but are still active and dangerous in its Indonesian bases despite the recent arrests and killings of some its top operatives during the detachment 88 raids. Since the dangerous masterminds and bomb experts such as Noordin Top is still at large, it poses a threat to public security. Another factor is that there are still religious conflicts in Poso and Ambon which condition affects the terrorist organization's status among Moslem population especially in both regions, from which it draws its strength, personnel, and ability to act. JI terrorist attacks will continue to be carried out.

Even if there is a disruption in JI organization's administrative activities, it is only temporary. This because its fundraising process is not affected by terrorism measures, there is a system of *Zakat*, *Infaq* and *Sadoqah* as part of Islamic religious duties. Funds can be collected through Mosques owned by Radical Islamic groups. Even the form of direct donations to these Islamic radical organizations cannot be easily controlled by Indonesian authorities so that any organization's activities with regard to enlisting manpower, field preparations, arming, training, practice and structural or technology for its ongoing operations can be maintained. Although JI international image is damaged since UN has listed this organization as a terrorist group, Indonesia has yet to ban this organization due to the meaning of its name.

B) Motivation to perpetrate terrorist attack

The creation of a terrorist's mind is not instant. It may take years of indoctrination and brain-washing before a terrorist is fully convinced about the essential validity of their murderous acts. . It may take years of indoctrination and brain-washing before a terrorist is fully convinced about the essential validity of their murderous acts. Additionally, intense interaction with foreign militants also seems to be an essential element in radicalization of religious views among Indonesia's homegrown terrorists. This is more credible because much evidence shows that JI or other Islamic radical groups have grown since the end of Indonesian President Soeharto' 30 years Regime in 1998. The JI members are still maintaining their networks with other terrorist groups in Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand. Several terrorists involved in Maluku, Poso, and Sampit have also been known still maintaining their equipment which includes firearms, explosives and the maintenance of



networks with other terrorist groups in other countries in the region. It can be said that JI terrorist attacks will continue to be carried out.

Another important point is to be noted that people like Noordin M Top are seen as charismatic leaders by Indonesian Muslims, and he exploits this status. Moreover, in the second Bali blast he takes ordinary people into the mind-set of historical, political and religious grievances and turns them into terrorists. This is especially true for impatient young recruits who do not have a deep understanding of Islam and see their old leaders as lazy men who are not interested in Jihad any more. Noordin has successfully brainwashed the perpetrators of Bali Bombings such as Asmar Latin Sani, Heri Golun, Mochamad Salik Firdaus, Misno. Aep Hidayat Noerdin had made a final step before a “martyrdom operation” in the form of video testament for encouraging and glorifying the “*jihadists*”.^[43] This situation encourages anyone to become involved in terrorism if the environment shapes the conditions.

C) Internal morale of the terrorist and its supporter

Offensive counter terrorism measures may have an effect on the internal morale of the terrorist organization’s activists and abetting population. However, after the capture and killing many of perpetrators and supporters of terrorism in Indonesia, the internal morale of the terrorist and its supporters is still high. It was seen especially after the release of Abu Bakar Bashyir on June 10, 2006. Bashir insists that terrorism aimed at the establishment of traditional Islamic law or *sharia* will actively encourage the violent toppling of the Indonesian government if *sharia* is not enacted^[44].

Other Several security analysts also say that the video testament was a part of Nordin’s strategy to generate more recruits and wider support. They may not be JI but members through induction and they may never use the name of JI but they share a common ideology. Intense interaction with foreign militants also seems to be an essential element in radicalization of religious views among Indonesia’s homegrown terrorists.

Other important points why the internal morale of terrorist and its supporters is still high in Indonesia is that the anti-Western propaganda by the terrorist also makes references to some legitimate grievances among Islamic government amongst Islamic societies—the killing of civilian in Palestine, Iraq, and Afghanistan. They also try to mobilize public sympathy by demonizing authoritarian and repressive monarchies in the Middle East whose collaboration with the west is widely perceived as humiliation to the Arab world. MUI condemned the terrorist attacks on the U.S. and called for Muslims all over the world to unite for a Jihad should America proceed with its plan to attack Afghanistan for harboring bin Laden. The council clarified a day latter that its call for Jihad did not mean that it was urging Muslims to wage physical war against the US.^[45] It is important to note that “Campaigns against the manipulation of religious teachings will produce limited effects if they are designed only as a reaction to the spread of militant ideas. The government and mainstream clerics should not assume they can easily argue against terrorist propaganda simply on the grounds that they

⁴³ Noor Huda Ismail, “Poverty not the cause of terrorism”, *The Jakarta Post*, 5 December 2005, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/misc/PrinterFreindly.asp>, 5 February 2005

⁴⁴ Abu Bakar Bashir (a.k.a. Ba’asyir)”, www.cfr.org, 24 August 2006, at: <http://www.cfr.org/publication/10219/profile.html> Profile: Abu Bakar Bashir (a.k.a. Ba’asyir)

⁴⁵ “MUI softens stance on RI-US”, *The Jakarta Post*, 17 October 2001, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/Archives/ArchivesDet2.asp?FileID=20011017.A07>



represent the view of the majority of the Indonesian people. The persuasiveness of their counter-terror campaign cannot be taken for granted".^[46]

The root causes of terrorism and radical movement are backwardness, poverty, illiteracy, inequality, unfairness in politics and education and the perversion of religious teachings. Furthermore, it is also important to consider that people always take for this for granted because diversity indeed characterizes Indonesia. But with the diverse elements being reduced to uniformity, they have revolted. So conflict tainted with violence has emerged as part of the diversity that previously failed to manifest itself. The uniformity was also reflected in the armed approach as the only way of problem solution." On May 21, 1998, smoldering forces earlier hidden began to raise, some with identities and others in the name of entities. There were those emerging out of oppression, in terms of economy, politics and even humanity as well as cultural marginalization. Post-reform conflicts have now really demonstrated unsound and artificial phenomenon. Today conflicts in Indonesia can be structured as follows: firstly inter regional conflict which have broken out since the enforcement of Law No.22/1999 on regional autonomy and law No. 25/1999 on financial equilibrium; the next is conflict between ethnic groups, religious communities, and between indigenous people and new settlers are still around; the last is at political level and the conflicts are rife at the political elite level. At all these types of conflicts, such clashes are liable to include political supporters and party followers^[47]. A sizeable opportunity of the country's population may not agree with the violence used by the terrorists but they may well sympathize with the legitimacy of any struggle against social injustice and political domination.

D) Morale of the people coping with terrorist

Morale of the people coping with terrorists can be examined through the numerous convictions and tough sentences handed down by the courts. These efforts are a reflection of the Government's seriousness in combating terrorism and its commitment in bringing to justice those implicated in terrorist attacks in Indonesia.^[48] After the JW Marriot bombing, the Australian Embassy bombing, and the release of video Bali suicide bomber, most of the Indonesian people condemned the perpetrators of terrorism in Indonesia. Obviously security has become a major concern. Security awareness is also increased. Most government offices and public buildings as well as private businesses have checked and rechecked their readiness and alertness to prevent terrorist attacks in the mitigation of the effects of terrorist attacks. Do all these trends truly explain morale of the Indonesian people coping with terrorism?

After Madrid Bombing in March 2004 and Mumbai Bombing in June 2005, there were mass demonstrations across the Spain and in India condemning and protesting terrorism, In Indonesia there was no public demonstration condemning such attacks. Indonesian society's unwillingness to stand up and counter the radicals can also be explained in part by the nature of the "Silent Majority" which is inherited from Soeharto Era. Another notion is also noted: since most Indonesians are moderate and secular, they simply assume that their values and way of life will be protracted because they are in the majority; they have little concern that a

⁴⁶ Aleksius Jemadu, "A campaign against terrorism", *The Jakarta Post*, 30 November 2005, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/Archives/ArchivesDet2.asp?FileID=20051130.E02>

⁴⁷ Sulaiman Tripa, "Creating (dis)comford in Indonesia", *The Jakarta Post*, 2 September 2002, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/misc/PrinterFriendly.asp>.

⁴⁸ *Indonesia: 2003 Overview*, www.tkb.org.



fringe minority will ever have the strength to threaten their way of life. Thus they abdicate the responsibility to be proactive. This condition is viewed as window of opportunity for the vociferous minority of radical Islamists to set their own agenda. And the consequence is that the Moderates are constantly catching up.^[49]

Many Indonesian people believe that the lack of democracy has played a role in producing the conditions that are conducive to the emergence of terrorist movements.^[50] In the case of Indonesia, the failure to respond to political reform and law enforcement is believed to have led to the emergence of new terrorists in radical Islamic movements.^[51] On May 21, 1998, after a shooting incident in Trisakti University in Jakarta smoldering forces earlier hidden began to raise, some with identities and others in the name of entities. There were those emerging out of oppression, in terms of economy, politics and even humanity, as well as cultural marginalization. In this reform era conflicts in Indonesia have now really demonstrated unsound and artificial phenomenon. Indonesia has become the battleground on which two different world views will now fight for supremacy. Most Indonesian people agree that it is time for ruthless action against extremism and ruthless action against the root causes of corruption, economic oppression and inertia that have allowed extremism to gain a foothold in Indonesia. It needs the best police and armed forces to operate under democratic control to bring all terrorists operating in Indonesia to swift justice.^[52] But while extremism can be combated in the short term by force, the only long term solution is through social economic and political action to build a prosperous economy and functioning democracy under the rule of law, bring back the nuance of religious tolerance and pluralism in the daily life and activity among the different religious followers in Indonesia as well as the maintenance of the status of Indonesia as a secular state.^[53]

Conclusion

The causes of Indonesian radical Islamic terrorism (also seen as a transnational threat) are multifaceted and complex, and any single response, such as a military response, will only create new problems. A comprehensive and dynamic policy response rather than a coercive one is essential. Such a comprehensive policy should incorporate activities that attack both the symptoms and causes of terrorism. In today's international relations, threats to security are not only military in nature, but also include non military threats such as transnational organized crimes and terrorism. These new threats, of course, require that all a state's security actors operate in a concerted manner.

It is clearer in Indonesian counter terrorism efforts. Improving democratic governance of the security is a societal challenge that requires reformers (military, parliaments) to take into account the specific cultural, political, and institutional conditions of a state. Since the

⁴⁹ Zachary Abuza, "Muslims, Politics, and violence in Indonesia: An Emerging Jihadist-Islamist Nexus", *NBR Analysis* Vol. 15, n°.3 (September 2004), Seattle-Whashington, p.43.

⁵⁰ Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, "Will democracy, security-sector reform discourage terrorism?", *The Jakarta Post*, 28 March 2005, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/misc/PrinterFriendly.asp>.

⁵¹ Yenni Djahidin, "Shifting from 'hard' to 'soft' power", *The Jakarta Post*, 2 April 2005, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/misc/PrinterFreidly.asp>.

⁵² Amien Rais, "Indonesia must act on terrorism: now or never", *The Jakarta Post*, 24 October 2002, at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/misc/PrinterFriendly.asp>.

⁵³ Zachary Abuza, "Muslims, Politics, and violence in Indonesia: An Emerging Jihadist-Islamist Nexus", *NBR Analysis*, p.55.



failures are mainly caused by the domestic factor such as the ability of JI groups to adapt, disguise and diffuse; difficult operational terrains faced by the Indonesian Authorities coupled with limited law enforcement resources, weak interagency relationship, legal issues, and political factors relating to domestic circumstances as well as international events in Middle East and South East Asia Region, and in Afghanistan. This condition makes Islamic radical groups' capability and motivation to spread terror threats in Indonesia is not weakening. Thus from Government perspective, the security sector should be subject to the principles of good governance, such as accountability, transparency, and democratic participation. It also needs a stronger legal framework that suits better prioritization of resources and tighter inter-agency relationships; stronger cooperation with other states across the multiple domains of intelligence, law enforcement, immigration and border control and integrating Indonesia national terrorism financing investigation into regional counter-measure of financing for terrorism strategy

The lack of democracy has played a role, however, in producing the conditions that are conducive to the emergence of terrorist movements. In the case of Indonesia, the failure to respond to political reform and law enforcement is believed to have led to the emergence of new terrorists in radical Islamic movements. Thus empowering law enforcement and democratic political system can be used as a soft tool to mitigate the spread of terrorist. Indirect strategy for countering terrorism applied by the Indonesian Government has brought hope for Indonesian people not only to diminish terror threats but also to create good atmosphere for the importance of supremacy of law and for the calmness of political situation.

Going forward: the success of The Indonesian Government to diminish JI and other Islamic radical groups' terror threat will depend on domestic factors such as: practicing *Pancasila* (Indonesian basic ideology) as the national basic norms; and promoting and prevailing the peaceful meaning of *Jihad*. Thus the effectiveness of direct and indirect approaches in countering the homegrown radical Islamic terror threats conducted by Indonesian Government to maintain and to increase its unity and resiliency will be tested politically or forcefully by radical Islamic group which wants Syariah law to be implemented in Indonesia. And focusing the efforts on this objective will create intended effects on undermining morale of terrorist supporters and bolstering people coping with terrorism.

This article has shown how applicable the usage of Garnor theoretical approach in appraising the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategy. This approach has shown that in spite of many successes have been claimed after terrorism measures on reducing terror threats stemmed from Islamic radical movement in Indonesia being taken, many other issues which are still important to consider and must be resolved to show the effectiveness of its counterterrorism strategy in order to maintain its status as a democratic and secular nation, and preserve its unity

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