

**THE SUPPORT OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO  
ANTI-TERROR SQUAD OF INDONESIAN  
NATIONAL POLICE SPECIAL DETACHMENT 88**



**MUHAMMAD QOBIDL 'AINUL ARIF**

**20030510051**

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITY OF MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA**

**Undergraduate Thesis**  
**THE SUPPORT OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO**  
**ANTI-TERROR SQUAD OF INDONESIAN NATIONAL**  
**POLICE SPECIAL DETACHMENT 88**

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree  
Sarjana Ilmu Politik (S.IP) in the Department of International  
Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science of  
University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta



**MUHAMMAD QOBIDL 'AINUL ARIE**

**20030510051**

**Department of International Relations**  
**Faculty of Social and Political Sciences**  
**University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta**

**Endorsement Page**

This Undergraduate Thesis entitled:

**THE SUPPORT OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO  
ANTI-TERROR SQUAD OF INDONESIAN NATIONAL POLICE  
SPECIAL DETACHMENT 88**



Name : **Muhammad Qobidl 'Ainul Arif**  
Student Number : **20030510051**

This Undergraduate Thesis has been examined and endorsed by the Board of Examiners from the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science  
University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

On:  
Day/Date : Saturday, May 5<sup>th</sup> 2007  
Time : 11.00 a.m.  
Place : Laboratory of International Relations B,  
University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Board of Examiners:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bambang'.

**Dr. Bambang Cipto, MA**  
Adviser/Chief of Examiner

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dian'.

**Dian Azmawati, S.IP**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Harwanto'.

**Dr. Harwanto Dahlan, MA**

## ABSTRAIT

Avant 9/11 tragédie, les Etats-Unis - les relations de l'Indonésie étaient dans la nuance de la confrontation plutôt que de la coopération. La confrontation a été déclenchée par la question d'East Timor, particulièrement après tragédie de Santa Cruz. En 1991, plus de 200 civils de la pro-indépendance est de Timor avaient été tués et torturés par la force indonésienne d'armée (TNI) dans une protestation au cimetière de Santa Cruz dans Dili, Timor est. En conséquence, le gouvernement des États-Unis a imposé l'embargo de militaires et d'armements au gouvernement indonésien.

Cependant, tout au long de 2003 et de 2004, quand l'Indonésie était toujours dans l'embargo de militaires et d'armements, le gouvernement des États-Unis soutenait censément l'établissement d'une unité de force d'élite dans le Détachement Spécial 88 d'Anti-Terror Squad appelé par l'Indonésie qui également connu comme Delta 88 ou Densus 88.

Le Delta 88 censément a été commandité par le programme d'aide du l'Anti-Terrorisme de Washington (ATA). Le côté plus léger de l'intervention des États-Unis sur le Delta 88 peut être tracé de son nom. Ce peloton spécial a été appelé le Détachement Spécial 88 de " parce que le placement est venu du programme d'aide d'Anti-Terrorisme, et son acronyme, ATA, aux Indonésiens ressemblés à de 88.

D'ailleurs, l'auteur a supposé fortement que l'établissement du Delta 88 de 2004 n'était pas purement l'initiative indonésienne de gouvernement, mais au contraire c'était l'initiative du gouvernement des États-Unis basé sur l'appropriation supplémentaire pour le terrorisme combattant en exercice budgétaire 2002 (P.L.107-206/H.R. 4775).

Pour expliquer les phénomènes ci-dessus, l'auteur a fondé deux causes déterminantes du soutien gouvernemental des États-Unis au Détachement Spécial 88 de peloton d'Anti-Terror pendant l'embargo de militaires et d'armements sur l'Indonésie, exemple la situation de crise du gouvernement des États-Unis et l'alliance des États-Unis avec le gouvernement indonésien dans la guerre sur le

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

﴿الحمد لله رب العالمين﴾

S.IP candidates often begin their list of acknowledgements with members of their thesis committee. I would like to thank Dr. Bambang Cipto, MA for advising and helping me through a tumultuous time. Thanks to Suryanto, S.Pd, MH.Sc, the director of American Corner as well as my language consultant, for his kindness to correct my thesis during his journey in Malaysia. Bu Dian Azmawati, S.IP, the director of International Class and my second adviser, motivated me to finish this thesis and gave me the time to write during my activities as a tutor in International Class. Drs. Harwanto Dahlan MA, the most senior lecturer in International Relations Department as well as my examiner, assured me that the more perfect thesis should be the more often it is criticized by the experts. Professor Noel Tracy, Chair of International Program Committee in Flinders University Australia, helped me to examine my thesis proposal and enlightened me with his advises. It was really a rare opportunity to attend the course with an expert like him. Indeed, I hope this thesis justifies the confidence all of them in me.

Special thanks to the big family of Drs. Muhammad Kholis Miharjo and Umi Rochmah. For my brothers and sisters: Etik Musyrifah, SH., Moh Afif, S.Pd., Dra. Khusnaini Arifah, M.Si., Ahmad Mutahid, S.Pd, Esti Lailatul Faizah, S.Pd., Anang Prasetya, S.Pd., Fivy Miftahiyah, SE., Mu'ammarr Khadafi, SE, Muhammad Waston Alhikami, S.Pd., Evi Murti Wardani, S.Pd, Kholishotul Fauqiyah Umi Saptanti, S.Pd.I., and Isma'il Tayib, SH.I. Finally I can add the bachelor degree behind my name as like as theirs.

Allah gives me the great pleasure with the presence of Cipanas family. Babeh Jamhur Al Jawawi and Ibu Enung Nurhayati, thanks for your prayer that always accompany me during the writing process. My brother Andi Utomo and his wife Teh Ani, thanks for your greeting. Teh Ade and his husband, I hope this thesis will make you know me much better. Dik Wawan, Chrisna said, "Enakau masih

MOTTO

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

*“I believe I am right with the possibility that I am wrong, and I believe you are wrong with the possibility that you are right.”*

*(Al Imam As Syafi'i)*

*“To say is easy, to do is difficult, to understand is more difficult, and to make one understand is the most difficult.”*

*(Dr. Sun Yat Sen)*

*“One of the first things I think young people ... should learn how to do is see for your self and listen for your self and think for your self.*

*Then you can come to an intelligent decision for your self.”*

*(El Hajj Malik El Shabazz Malcolm X)*

*“Mad kings, mad actors, mad world ...”*

*(William Shakespeare)*

*“The answers today to the questions you'll be asked tomorrow.”*



anak sekolah satu SMA...” Dik Kukuy, Ninis, and the funniest baby in Cipanas Supra Y, I hope someday they will know that my motivation to write this thesis was increaser when I saw their faces. Finally, special thanks and dedication for neng gelieus, may Allah bless our big family forever.

It was the great journey in studying International Relations with the existence of International Class that I involved in. Therefore, let me thank to the big family of International Class academic year 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006, all IC’s tutors: Mbak Atin, Brother Irawan Jati, Hari Kurniatama, La Ode Suhamdih and for the only IC administrative staff, Mbak Atik.

I owe my debts to my closely friends that always care and support me to write this thesis. Special thanks for my classmate Cahyaning Fitriastuti, may Allah give you his syafa’at since your indispensable help to me. For Daru Ismond alias Momon, thanks for your language editing, signore. All of my friends in Baitu Tsaqiif boarding house: Amika, Gani, Agung, Alan, Fery and Sulthon, I hope you will follow my step to graduate from this university as soon as possible. For my friends in El-Kautsar boarding house: Yoga, Fahlul, Jefri and Dony, it was the unforgettable memory to stay in a beautiful boarding house with all of you. For Bening Crew: especially for Holy (Spirit^\_^), Ukhti Zubaedah, Widya, Ani Hidayati, Susi, Nonik, Al Akh Zainal, Arif Buncu, Danu, Dona and the ‘biggest’ person in the 1<sup>st</sup> period of Bening crew Hadi Bom-bom, may Allah collect us together in the here after to stay in his heaven. At last, I would like to thank to all members of Sahabat Perpustakaan who permit me to resign from SP management to focus on my study. These are people to whom this thesis could be dedicated

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>TITLE</b> .....	i
<b>ENDORSEMENT PAGE</b> .....	iii
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	iv
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	v
<b>MOTTO</b> .....	vii
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	viii
 <b>CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION</b>	
A. Problem Background.....	1
B. Research Question.....	9
C. Purpose and Benefit of Research .....	10
D. Theoretical Framework .....	11
E. Hypothesis.....	16
F. Method of Research .....	17
G. Range of Research.....	17
H. System of Writing .....	18



**CHAPTER II: THE DYNAMIC OF THE U.S. – INDONESIA TIES  
BEFORE 9/11: TOWARDS THE U.S. MILITARY AND WEAPONRY  
EMBARGO TO THE GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA**

A. East Timor issue and Santa Cruz tragedy .....	19
B. The U.S. confrontation to the Indonesian government through military and weaponry embargo .....	27
C. 1999 referendum and stronger embargo to Indonesia.....	32
D. Review of the U.S. - Indonesia ties from 1975 until 2000 (pre-9/11).....	35

**CHAPTER III: THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT  
OF SPECIAL DETACHMENT 88 IN INDONESIA**

A. The Black September and its impact on the U.S. – Indonesia ties.....	37
B. The War on Terrorism in Indonesia .....	42
C. Inside Anti-Terror Squad Special Detachment 88 .....	45
D. Delta 88: the U.S. initiative, not Indonesia .....	50
E. Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program of Department of State: Delta 88 contributor .....	54
F. Delta 88 “show time”: the “good boy” masterpieces .....	59

## **CHAPTER IV: THE DETERMINANTS OF THE U.S. SUPPORT TO ANTI-TERROR SQUAD SPECIAL DETACHMENT 88**

A. The crisis situation of the U.S. government.....	62
1. The real threat to the first national priority .....	62
2. The need of a quick decision in a short time.....	66
3. 9/11 attacks and 10/12 Bali bombings as a surprise to U.S. policymakers.....	70
4. The crisis behavior of the U.S. government after 9/11 .....	74
B. The U.S. alliance with the Indonesian government in the war on terrorism .....	81
1. Determinants of the establishment of U.S. alliance against terrorism .	81
2. Enhancing the confident through the support to Delta 88.....	86

## **CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION**

1. Summary .....	91
2. Suggestion.....	96

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1. Charles F. Hermann's Situational Cube .....	12
Figure 2. Charles F. Hermann's Situational Cube (with modification).....	63
Figure 3. Terrorism Becoming More Lethal .....	68
Figure 4. Decision matrix of the U.S. government support to Delta 88 .....	79
Figure 5. Randall L. Schweller's peacemakers of states .....	85

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Assessments of Promoting and Defending Human Rights in Other Countries as a Foreign Policy Goal for the United States: Leaders and the General Public, 1978-1994 .....	30
Table 2. International Military Education and Training (IMET) for East Asia and Pasific .....	41
Table 3. The Victims of Bali Bombings on October 12, 2002 .....	65

## LIST OF APPENDIXES

Appendix 1. Embassy Jakarta Telegram 1579 to Secretary State, 6 December 1975 [Text of Ford-Kissinger-Suharto Discussion].....	xii
Appendix 2. Memorandum for Brents Scowcroft from Clinton E Grager on Indonesian Use of MAP in Timor.....	xxiv
Appendix 3. FY 2000 Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill Language Passed on Indonesia and East Timor (5 General Provisions) .....	xxvi
Appendix 4. The Antiterrorism Assistance Program: Report to Congress for Fiscal Year 2003 .....	xxx