

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem Background

Terrorism has existed for at least 2,000 years. The word of terrorist and terrorism derived from Latin word 'terrere' whose means to make tremble¹. The word of terror can evoke the fearful feeling. So, every terrorism activity will make fearful feeling and tremble to the heart of its victims. Terrorism provides a means by which the weak can confront much stronger opponents. It offers a vast potential payoff: the ability to evoke fear and alarm and inflict pain and suffering in the hope of compelling agreement to demands made².

Even though there is no universal acceptance for terrorism definition, but in fact terrorism becomes the biggest of today's world issue. It is very possible that one person's terrorist is another's freedom fighter. In some cases, terrorist is also labeled to every group or people who confront the hegemonic power of one state which is dominating international arena.

In the late of this five years, much of political and media debate has focused its concern on terrorism. It is triggered by the most terrible attack to the U.S. homeland since the second world war, called as 9/11 (pronounced "nine eleven") tragedy. Nineteen terrorists' whose affiliation to terrorist group in Afghanistan named Al Qaeda were accused behind the scenario and they must be responsible to this attack. 'The show' was begun when the terrorists', working in teams of 4

¹ Abdul Wahid, et.al., *Kejahatan Terorisme Perspektif Agama, HAM dan Hukum* (Bandung: Refika Aditama, 2004), 22.

² Bruce Hoffman, "Terrorism" in *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia*, 2004 ed.

or 5, hijacked four commercial passenger jet airliners on the sunny morning of September 11, 2001. The first and second hijacker's crew crashed two of the airlines into the twin towers of World Trade Center in New York City, one plane into each tower. The buildings burst into flame and then collapsed, killing thousands. The third hijacker's crew smashed their plane into the Pentagon, headquarters of the U.S. military in Arlington, Virginia. The hijackers of the fourth airliner apparently intended to hit another target in the Washington, D.C. area, but passengers on the plane realized what was happening and fought back. This airplane crashed in a field in rural Pennsylvania. In addition to the nineteen hijackers, 9/11 tragedy had killed 2,973 people and 24 people were reported missing and presumed dead³.

"America under Attack," that was the theme of CNN broadcasting in 11 September 2001. CNN reported all development of 9/11 aftermath in 24 hours and put the title "America under Attack" under the TV screen. In that day, United States citizens felt their country was being under attack. They displayed the values of courage, heroism, patriotism, sympathy, generosity and national unity that were unseen before.

As the result of 9/11 attack, President George W. Bush declared that America was now in war. But the war that has just been declared is the unconventional war towards the unclear and unseen enemy which never discussed before in the international law. This new format of war was named 'the war on terrorism' with the main target Al Qaeda as the organization responsible for September 11 attack

³ Tom Gjelten, "September 11 Attacks," in *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia*, 2004 ed. See also "September 11, 2001," in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*.

as well as all people, organization and government that harbor and support Al Qaeda's members.

Bush asserted that the top priority of his administration would be a campaign to end terrorism. The governments around the world were told that they had to decide whether to stand with the United States in this antiterrorist effort or face U.S. wrath. That warning came to be known as 'the Bush Doctrine'. Bush said the United States would not only target the terrorist organizations themselves, but also those governments that support them. "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make," Bush said. "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime."⁴

Bush left the world with two difficult choices: either with the U.S. or with terrorist. There are only black and white without possibility of another color. Even, Washington will never tolerate any country in the position of 'non-alignment' nor 'free and active'.

Eventhough most of the countries reaction upon the Bush Doctrine was almost the same, they supported and preferred to join with America, however there were seven countries that ignored the Bush Doctrine - and later they called as 'the axis of evil' -, notably: Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan and Syria.

It was so surprising by seeing the fact that the first head of government that visited America after September 11 was President Megawati Sukarnoputri the President of the Republic of Indonesia. One week after the tragedy on 17

September 2001, The President of the most populous Moslem country in the world visited the White House to give the condolence to U.S. citizens and now became the first U.S. ally in the war on terrorism in Asia. Megawati seemed not influenced by President Bush statement some hours after 9/11 attack that he used the term of 'Crusade' to fight against terrorism which, of course, stabbed to the hearth of every Moslem.

The daughter of Anti-Americans former President Sukarno now had shown to the world that it was safer to stand behind the U.S. than took a risk to hide behind the terrorists. People saw that Indonesia didn't have the brave hearth anymore to use its foreign policy cornerstone that was very famous during the cold war era which called as 'free and active' foreign policy.

What was the benefit for Indonesia to join with the U.S. alliance in war on terrorism? Well, John Gershman, director of Global Relations Program in Interhemispheric Resource Center showed pretty data in which U.S. 'carrot' has flowed to Indonesia for about 500 million US \$ (<http://www.fpif.org>). This money was still the beginning reward to the Indonesian government which signed the new relationship of U.S. – Indonesia ties in war on terrorism.

The Indonesian government totally involved with U.S. coalition in the war against terrorism after Bali Blast tragedy. On 12 October 2002, members of Jemaah Islamiyah, a terrorist organization which had cells in countries across Southeast Asia and believed to receive support from Al Qaeda, detonated a truck bomb outside a nightclub on the Indonesian island of Bali. The explosion killed nearly 200 people and injured 300 more. The greatest numbers killed in the

bombing, however, were Australians⁵. Series of bombing by terrorists were also happened after Bali Blast such as Marriot Hotel blast in Jakarta in 2003 and the Australian Embassy bombing in 2004.

Bali Blast and another bombing throughout Indonesia had convinced Megawati's administration to declare the war on terrorism. Finally, Megawati found her best timing to provide Executive Order no. 1/ 2002 about Fight against Terrorism as Criminal Activity. This regulation was ratified by Indonesian Parliament and became Indonesian Anti-Terrorism Law on April 4, 2003 entitled the Republic of Indonesia Law no. 15/ 2003 about Fight against Terrorism as Criminal Activity.

No longer after the regulation was announced, The Police had arrested more than 200 terrorist suspects, and Jemaah Islamiyah was no longer organizational threat, though individual member maybe. Nearly all of the key perpetrators of the major terrorist attacks such as Bali Blast, Marriot Hotel bombing and Australia Embassy bombing, had been caught, tried, convicted and sentenced. Law enforcement officials, diplomats and intelligent agents from the United States, Australia and Europe said that Indonesia has been "a huge success story" in war on terrorism⁶.

In order to support the war on terrorism in Indonesia, on Thursday, 26 August 2004, The Jakarta Police unveiled a special new squad tasked to help protect the capital city from terrorist attacks named 'Anti-Terror Detachment 88'. A senior

⁵ Dennis Piskiewicz, *Terrorism's War with America*. London (London: Greenwood Press, 2003), 138.

⁶ Raymond Bonner, "News Analysis: Indonesia hailed for effort on terrorism." *The New York*

police official announced that similar anti-terror squad would be formed at all provincial police headquarters across the country.

The Singapore newspaper, The Straits Times, reported that Detachment 88 was an elite Indonesian police counter-terrorism force being established in courtesy of American expertise and money. Anti-Terror Detachment 88, known as Delta 88, was sponsored by Washington's Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) initiative. Washington has so far agreed to give US\$12 million towards their training. Mr. Gary Laing, an ATA programme manager, said another US\$6 million to US\$12 million might be made available in 2005. In addition to the funds, the US government was also supplying the elite unit with top-of-the-line weaponry and communications equipment. Gluck-17 handguns, AR-10 sniper rifles and Remington 870 shotguns join the M4 sub-machine guns to complement 88's arsenal⁷.

According to the U.S. Department of State, throughout 2003, Indonesian police officers received training in both investigative and response techniques to enhance their capabilities to combat terrorism. In July, 30 Indonesian National Police (INP) officers completed an intense 15-week counter-terrorism investigation course sponsored by ATA. In October, 24 officers graduated from the Crisis Response (SWT) course and 15 from the Explosive Incident Countermeasure course. The Indonesian officer-students enrolled in the three classes attended a state-of-the-art training school approximately 30 miles south of Jakarta, which was equipped with ATA-funded "shot house" for simulating

⁷ Robert Go, *Jakarta Swat Team Ready for Action* (accessed February 21, 2006); available from http://www.indonesia-house.org/focus/militar/2003/12/121003jakarta_SWAT_team_ready

hostage situations, a number of rages and other facilities. Graduates of these courses became the core members of the first national-level Indonesian National Police (INP) counterterrorism special detachment. This group was designated as "Special Detachment 88 Anti-Terror." The number "88," culturally a double lucky number in Indonesia, also represents a phonetic approximation of "ATA"⁸.

Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) Program that supported Delta 88 is a cooperative effort of the U.S. Department of State with foreign law enforcement officials. It has trained over 36,000 foreign police and security forces from 142 countries around the world in measures designed to combat, deter, and solve terrorist crimes. Congress authorized ATA Program in 1983 as part of a major initiative against international terrorism⁹.

ATA is a special assistance program that provides both military and security training. Trainers in ATA Program are all Americans, mostly ex-cops or military. Training is similar to that given in the United States to SWAT units. The countries that join to this program will also receive very luxurious weapons. Brigadier-General Pranowo Dahlan, Detachment 88's commanding officer, said, "These are weapons (Delta 88 weapons) that we've not had before. The men realize they are in a very special position by belonging to this elite group."¹⁰

Countries that join ATA Program should fulfill some requirements, including human rights consideration. According to Chapter 8 of Part 2 of the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) Section 573 (b) requires that the Assistant Secretary of

⁸ U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism* (accessed February 21, 2006); available from <http://www.iwar.org.uk/cyberterror/resources/patterns-of-global->

State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor be consulted when choosing countries that will receive ATA assistance, and when determining the nature of the assistance to be provided¹¹.

Even though human rights consideration is a part of requirements for country who wants to join ATA program, however, the Indonesian National Police's Special Detachment 88 could receive numerous amounts of money, training and weaponry equipment through ATA Program. This phenomenon was very strange because of Indonesia was formally still in the U.S. military training and weaponry embargo as the result of the human rights violation in Indonesia.

If we trace back some years ago, the U.S. military training and weaponry embargo on Indonesia was the result of the international community reaction for the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili in 1991. The public pressure delivered the U.S. to ban the military and weaponry aid as a sanction to the Indonesian military (TNI) that killed more than 270 people in a protest at Santa Cruz, East Timor. As a direct result of grassroots pressure, the U.S. Congress cut off Indonesia's International Military Education and Training (IMET) aid in October 1992. The legislation became law as part of the Fiscal Year 1993 (FY1993) Foreign Operations Appropriations Act and was re-enacted in FY1994 and FY1995¹².

In July 1993, the State Department, under congressional pressure, applied the weaponry banning by blocking a transfer of U.S. F-5 fighter planes from the Jordan to Indonesia, citing human rights concerns. In early 1994, the State

¹¹ Latin America Working Group Education Fund, *Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA)* (accessed June 1, 2006); available from <http://www.ciponline.org/facts/ata.htm>.

¹² Frida Berrigan, *Indonesia at the Crossroads: U.S. Weapons Sales and Military Training*. (accessed February 21, 2007); available from <http://www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms/reports/inda101001.htm>

C. Purpose and Benefit of Research

This research has many purposes, i.e.

1. To describe the U.S. government involvement in the establishment of Anti-Terror Squad of Indonesian National Police Special Detachment 88 (Delta 88),
2. To explain determinants of the U.S. government support to Delta 88,
3. To explain the shift of the U.S. government interest in Indonesia from focusing on human rights issues to its concern on the war against terrorism issues.

Academically, this research will provide the better understanding of current relationship between Indonesia and the U.S. government. Beside that, this research also has practical benefits as consideration for the Indonesian Government or the Indonesian Parliament in implementing its anti-terrorism policy in the future.

The role of foreign government in Indonesia's security system shows that the Indonesian government is less independent, less professional and less confidence to face terrorism in its own territory. This research will motivate the Indonesian government to make its own anti-terrorism security system that is more independent with no intervention from foreigners.

The better understanding about the shift of the U.S. government interest in Indonesia will warn and make conscious the Indonesian government that the United States role in Indonesia is always based on its own interests that sometimes less benefit to Indonesian national interests.

Department banned the sale of small arms and riot control equipment to Indonesia. While in 1995 and 1996, they expanded the ban to include helicopter-mounted equipment and armored personnel carriers¹³.

The unnatural situation of military and weaponry relationship between Indonesia and the U.S. still ran until 2005 when the U.S. lift the banning and ran the normalization ruling for military training in February 2005 and for weaponry in May 2005. Therefore, the U.S. support for military training and weaponry to Indonesian Anti-Terror squad Special Detachment 88 during 2003 and 2004 became the big question.

B. Research Question

Why did the U.S. government support Delta 88 while Indonesia was still

D. Theoretical Framework

1. Theory of Decision-Making in Crisis

The term crisis comes from the Greek *krinein*, meaning to separate. A medical crisis is a turning point in a serious illness toward either recovery or death. In international politics, the turning point may be between war and peace.

Scholarship and analysis in world politics has stipulated more specific meanings for crisis. At least three alternative definitions deserve attention, i.e. systemic crisis, international confrontation crisis, and governmental decision-making crisis.

In the third orientation to crisis, the focus is on a single country. Governmental or decision-making crisis involve an event or other stimulus that poses a severe problem for the policymakers and possibly their constituents. Definitions of crisis emphasize properties of the situation facing the policymakers, usually as they are perceived by the decision makers. According to Charles F. Herman, they are three properties in crisis situation: high threat, short time, and surprise. More specifically, a crisis involves the combination of high threat to basic goals of the policymakers, short time before the situation evolves in a manner undesired by them, and appearance as a surprise (i.e., a lack of expectation that the situation would occur)¹⁴. The difference among crisis situation and the other situations in international politics is illustrated in the situational cube following.

¹⁴ Charles F. Hermann, "Crisis," in *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, ed. Joel Kugelberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 205-206.

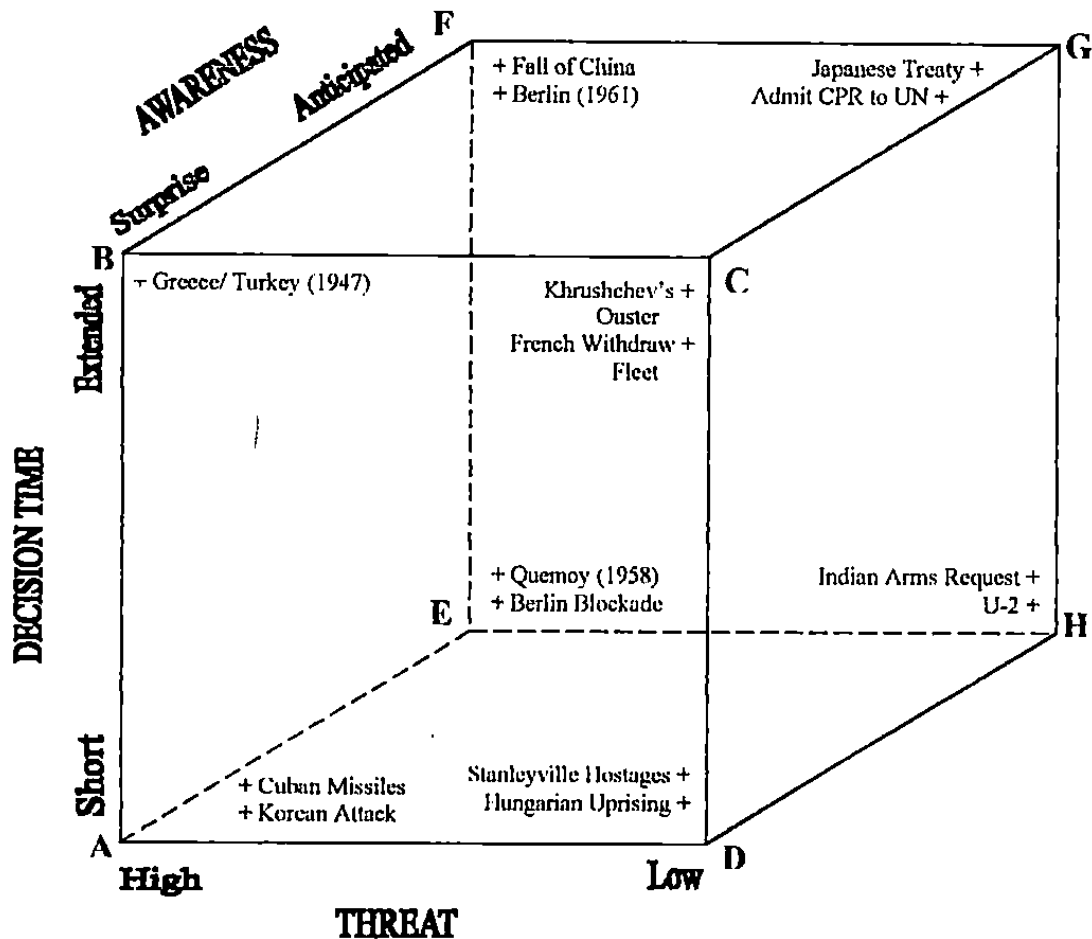


Figure 1. Charles F. Hermann's situational cube representing the three dimensions of threat, decision time, and awareness with illustrative situations from the perspective of American decision-makers.

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|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. Crisis situation
High threat/ Short time/ Surprise | E. Reflexive situation
High threat/ Short time/ Anticipated |
| B. Innovative situation
High threat/ Extended time/ Surprise | F. Deliberate situation
High threat/ Extended time/ Anticipated |
| C. Inertia situation
Low threat/ Extended time/ Surprise | G. Routinized situation
Low threat/ Extended time/ Anticipated |
| D. Circumstantial situation
Low threat/ Short time/ Surprise | H. Administrative situation
Low threat/ Short time/ Anticipate |

Source: Charles F. Hermann, "International Crisis as a Situational Variable," in *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, ed. James N. Rosenau (New York: Free Press, 1969), 415.

To explain the crisis behavior of decision makers, Charles A. McClelland has noted that analysts of international crisis behavior have focused on five

approaches: (1) definition of crisis; (2) classifications of types of crisis; (3) the study of ends, goals, and objectives in crisis; (4) decision-making under conditions of crisis stress; and (5) crisis management¹⁵.

The U.S. government support to Delta 88 was unnatural decision that could not be decided in a normal situation. By supporting Delta 88, the U.S. had clearly abused (ignored) its own decision to ban on military training and weaponry transfer to Indonesia as decided in Foreign Appropriations Act FY 2000 (there are five general provisions about military and weaponry embargo on Indonesia within this act)¹⁶. The situation was exactly the same with Charles F. Hermann explanation that said in a crisis situation, with its extreme danger to national goals, allow the decision makers to ignore usual bureaucratic procedures¹⁷.

By using the theory of decision making in crisis, the writer is going to explain that the U.S. government support to Delta 88 is the result of crisis situation within the U.S. government after 9/11 tragedy. The Black September (9/11 tragedy) is the worst attack from the U.S. 'enemy' to the United States homeland since the Second World War that threatened the high-priority goal of the U.S. government, notably its national security. The tragedy had stimulated the security crisis in the U.S. homeland and panic throughout society. The U.S. foreign policy, then, was very affected by the crisis behavior of its decision makers.

¹⁵ James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1990), 489.

¹⁶ John M. Miller and Karen Orenstein, *Senate Passes Appropriations Bill Restricting U.S. Military Assistance to Indonesia* (accessed February 21, 2007); available from <http://www.etan.org/news/2000a/2appropri.htm>.

¹⁷ Charles F. Hermann, "International Crisis as a Situational Variable," in *International Relations and Foreign Policy*, ed. James M. Rosen, (New York: Praeger, 1962), 116.

2. Alliance Theory

According to Robert E. Osgood, an alliance is a “latent war community, based on general cooperation that goes beyond formal provisions and that the signatories must continually estimate in order to preserve mutual confidence in each other’s fidelity to specified obligations.”¹⁸ Thus, alliances have usually been formed in international context in which conflict, or the threat of conflict, is present¹⁹.

Stephen M. Walt discussed about the background of the establishment of an alliance in his “balance-of-threat” theory of alliance formation. Walt argued that states are primarily concerned with their own security. Therefore, states seek security from threat rather than from power. As result, states tend to balance against strong or threatening powers by allying against them²⁰.

However, Randall L. Schweller criticized Walt’s theory and launches a new theory as a refinement of Walt’s. Schweller argued that the emergence of an alliance is because of, among other things, the status quo states. As he illustrated the status quo states in zoology of states as the Lions, he argued that the status quo (satiated) states tend to form an alliance as the self-preservation of values already possessed. Schweller argued that satisfied powers will join the status quo coalition even when it is the stronger side. An alliance for satiated states by this mean will

¹⁸ Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, *op. cit.*, 450. quoted from Robert E. Osgood, *Alliances and American Foreign Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), 19.

¹⁹ Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, *loc. cit.* quoted from J. David Singer and Melvin Small, “Alliance Aggregation and the Onset of War, 1815-1945,” in *Alliances: Latent War Communities in the Contemporary World*, ed. Francis A. Beer (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

²⁰ Stephen M. Walt, “Testing Theories of Alliance Formation: The Case of Southwest Asia,” *International Organization*, Vol 42, No. 2 (1988): 275-316.

occur automatically as a tool to achieve self-preservation of values already possessed²¹.

By using the alliance theory, the writer is going to explain that the war on terrorism has made the U.S. government feel threatened and less confident so that they attempt to build an alliance with Indonesia regardless the weaponry and military banning on Indonesia. As a result of this alliance, the U.S. government supported the establishment of Anti-Terror Squad Special Detachment 88 within Indonesian National Police. In another side, Indonesia agreed to join with this alliance and received the U.S. government support in the form of the establishment of Delta 88 because of the insecure situation after some bombing blasts that happened in Indonesia. According to George F. Liska, nations join alliance for security, stability, and status²².

²¹ Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 72-107.

²² Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, *loc. cit.*

E. Hypothesis

By supporting Delta 88, the U.S. government has abused its own decision to give the military and weaponry embargo on Indonesia. However, the U.S. support to Delta 88 is the result of crisis situation within the U.S. government after 9/11 tragedy. Since September 11, 2001, all of the U.S. national interest has shifted into how to win the war against terrorism.

The U.S. government support to Delta 88 is determined by the Indonesian government position as a member of U.S.-led alliance against terrorism. By supporting Delta 88, the U.S. wants to maintain its alliance and gets the support in War on Terrorism so that it will enhance the U.S. confidence in War on Terrorism.

Based on considerations above, the writer proposes two hypotheses:

1. The more crisis situation in the U.S. government, the more possible the U.S. government ignores or abuses the regulation that is made by itself.
2. The more support the U.S. government gives to Delta 88, the more confidence the U.S. government faces the War on Terrorism in Indonesia.

F. Method of Research

This thesis works based on deductive logic. In the science, there are two important elements: logical integrity and empirical verification. In deductive logic, the theoretical expectations were borne out by empirical reality²³.

To explain the problems and verify the hypothesis based on empirical reality, the writer will use library research method. The writer will get the information from collecting references in forms of books, encyclopedia, magazines, newspapers, and journals. In addition, the writer will also use various data from internet since some information and data dealing with the topic forwarded are only available through the internet. Then, the data collected will be analyzed by using some theories preferred.

G. Range of Research

To make the discussion focus, the writer will limit the time in which research held. It helps preventing subject from being expanded. In this thesis, the writer will focus the discussion on the establishment of Delta 88 in 2004 as the result of Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) Program to Indonesia that was started in 2003.

In order to explain the shift of the U.S. interests in Indonesia which is symbolized by the establishment of Delta 88, the writer will show the dynamic of the U.S. – Indonesia ties in pre 9/11 (from 1991 – 2000) when the U.S. confronted the Indonesian government through military and weaponry embargo due to East Timor issue.

²³ Earl D. Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research* (USA: Wadsworth Publishing Company,

H. System of Writing

The outline of this thesis is described following:

CHAPTER I discusses about problem background, research question, purpose and benefit of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, range of research and system of writing.

CHAPTER II discusses about the U.S. military and weaponry embargo on Indonesia that was triggered by Santa Cruz massacre in 1991 in Dili, East Timor. This chapter covers discussion about the U.S. – Indonesia ties before 9/11 and shows the U.S. position that stood in opposite or *vis a vis* with the Indonesian government because of Human Rights issues.

CHAPTER III discusses about the establishment of Anti-Terror Squad of Indonesian National Police Special Detachment 88 and the involvement of the U.S. government upon this squad.

CHAPTER IV explains determinants of the support of the U.S. government to Delta 88. By using the relevant data, the writer is going to explain that the U.S. support to Delta 88 is the result of crisis situation of the U.S. government after 9/11 tragedy and the emergence of some terrorist attacks targeting U.S. interests at home or abroad. The current situation of the U.S. – Indonesia ties with the establishment of an alliance against terrorism also determine the support of the U.S. government to Delta 88.

CHAPTER V