

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background

Relations among nations with any kind of reasons whether bilateral or multilateral, cannot be separated from an environmental condition as a place of international relations. Every international relations which happens always show the tendency of dynamic change which is because of the interaction among International Relations' actors or the influence of owned power to achieve the goal of their national interest.

A state will implement its interest outside its territory through foreign policy in which no single states in the world without foreign politics can achieve their interests. Every state will endeavor to safeguard and bring about its foreign interest. Thus U.S which endeavors to maintain their interest in Indonesia by resuming military relations after five years U.S. lifted its military embargo toward Indonesia.

Human rights abuses have long been a major roadblock in U.S.-Indonesia relations. Indonesia's government, especially elements within the Indonesian military, has a tragic record of abuses against its people. Decades of authoritarian rule under Sukarno and Suharto saw violent repression of domestic political opponents labeled as "subversive" elements. Indonesian security forces also violently quelled separatist movements in the provinces of Aceh, Papua and East Timor. A great deal of attention

from the West focused on an elite special operations unit that specializes in counterinsurgency and intelligence named KOPASSUS (an acronym for Indonesian Army Special Forces Command – Komando Pasukan Khusus). KOPASSUS which spearheaded the anti-communist pogrom in 1965 that killed up to 500,000 people was a key force in the 1975 invasion of East Timor and participated in the surge of violence in 1999 as East Timor voted for independence.

U.S-Indonesia military relations have progressively declined over past twelve years, largely due to US concerned over human rights violations committed by the Indonesian military in East Timor in the 1990s. Throughout the 1990s, the balancing act between market development and political and human rights issues continued. The 1991 Dili Incident, in which Indonesian soldiers fired into a crowd of pro-independence East Timor protestors, set off worldwide criticism of Indonesia's armed forces. The U.S. Congress responded in 1992 by canceling the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program for Indonesia and restricting access to foreign military financing.<sup>1</sup>

Thereafter, in 1998, Suharto relinquished power amid growing internal pressure for political, social, and economic reform. He was replaced by Vice President B.J. Habibie, who immediately undertook to address the East Timor issue, offering the East Timorese the choice to elect autonomy or independence. A

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<sup>1</sup> Morse, Jane. 2000. *U.S. policy toward Indonesia and East Timor (A brief overview of U.S. policy since the 1970s)*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State. Available from <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/timor/indoplc.htm>, accessed on 20 October 2010.

referendum was conducted in the province in August 1999 under UN auspices, with the East Timorese overwhelmingly voting for independence from Jakarta. Violence erupted in the days following the referendum, with pro-Indonesian militia destroying much of the infrastructure in the main population centers and displacing around 200,000 East Timorese from their homes and villages. In response, the U.S. Congress passed the Leahy Amendment with the FY2000 Foreign Operations budget, banning military training and weapons transfers until significant human rights progress could be demonstrated.<sup>2</sup>

As the result, the government after Suharto reign made some institutional reformation. Habibie reorganized the National Commission on Human Rights status into Law No. 39/1999 about Human Rights which was previously arranged under Presidential Decree No. 50/1993 about National Commission on Human Rights. The changing status of National Commission on Human Rights did not only make this institution as image of the government's commitment in respecting the human rights but also shows a human rights friendly political configuration.

In order to give solutions of the past and future abuses of human rights which will be categorized as gross violations of human rights, Indonesia formed a Human Rights Court as it is arranged in regulation of Law no. 26/2000. However the presence of the human rights court is related to the international community pressure

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<sup>2</sup> John Haseman and Eduardo Lachica, *"Toward a Stronger U.S.-Indonesia Security Relationship,"* <http://www.usindo.org> (August 2005).accessed on 14 October 2010.

in the case of gross violations of human rights post referendum in East Timor in 1999.

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The presence of the Human Rights Court surely effects on the National Commission on Human Rights that has the right to inquiry upon assumption of the past & future gross violations of human rights. The National Commission on Human Rights then becomes the reliable institution for the victims & their families in their effort to claim justice. While the Human Rights Court as the facilitator to present justice to the society who has become the victim of gross violations of human rights.

Moreover, in the era of President Abdurrahman Wahid (2000-2001), the constitution was amended to include 10 articles of human rights protection although there was still a critic of the enclosed 'non-retroactivity principle'. And up till President Megawati period (2002-2004), Indonesia had ratified 8 out 25 international human rights conventions such as: (a) convention on the Political Rights for Women, (b) Convention on the Rights of the Child, (c) Convention on All Forms of Discrimination against Women, (d) Convention against Apartheid in Sports, (e) Convention against Torture, (f) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, (g) Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and (h) Covenant on

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<sup>3</sup> Bhatara Ibnu Reza, "*Evaluation of Upholding the Human Rights in Indonesia: a Critique to the Indonesian Human Rights Policy and Implementation in Transition Period*", provided by online [http://www.interseksi.org/publications/essays/articles/upholding\\_human\\_rights\\_in\\_indonesia.html](http://www.interseksi.org/publications/essays/articles/upholding_human_rights_in_indonesia.html), accessed on 15 April 2011.

Economic, Social, and Political Rights. Those international conventions had been ratified and adopted to become state laws.<sup>4</sup>

The effort of Indonesian government to uphold human rights was in process. However, the 9/11 terrorist attack incident made the U.S. administration began to think to resume ties with Indonesia.<sup>5</sup> And Under the banner of its “global war on terrorism”, the Bush administration is pushing the Indonesian government to reestablish close military relations with the US, including the possible stationing of American troops in the archipelago. As US-Indonesian military cooperation remains the subject of a ban by US Congress, Washington’s moves have been relatively low-key but nonetheless concerted and insistent.<sup>6</sup>

After six years, U.S. lifted military embargo after went through several steps of normalization process and go on with the re-establishment of full military-to-military relations in November 2005. It also ended a six-year ban on transfers of lethal military equipment and weapons and comes as a direct result of the US-led war on international terrorism.<sup>7</sup> The continuation of this relationship will increase US-

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<sup>4</sup> Mufti Makaanim & Fitri Bintang Timur, “*Democratization and Human Rights in Indonesia: After 12 years Struggle for Human Rights Accountability and Security Sector Reform*”, provided by online <http://forum-asia.org/2010/GAF2010%20-%207.%20Session1-Situation%20of%20the%20Democratisation%20and%20Human%20Rights%20in%20Indonesia.pdf>, accessed on 15 April 2011.

<sup>5</sup> “*Indonesia-U.S. Military Ties Improved on Counter Terrorism Cooperation*”, provided by online <http://www.gtz-legal-reform.org.cn/2010/07/indonesia-us-military-ties-improved-on-counter-terrorism-cooperation/>, accessed on 4 December 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Symonds, “*U.S. administration pushes military presence in Indonesia*”, provided by online <https://www.wsws.org/articles/2002/apr2002/indo-a12.shtml>, accessed on 4 December 2010.

<sup>7</sup> John B. Haseman, “*US Resumes Full Military Relations with Indonesia*,” Asia-Pacific Defense Reporter (December 2006/January 2007).

Indonesian cooperation and better enable Indonesia to become a viable partner in the Global War on Terrorism.

The Bush administration claims that ending the arms embargo and modernizing the Indonesian Defense Force will help Jakarta address mutual security concerns such as terrorism, maritime piracy, narcotics trafficking, pandemic disease, and disaster relief. According to Burns' statement, Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim state and its third-largest democracy, is "a voice of moderation in the Islamic world" and "plays a unique strategic role in Southeast Asia."<sup>8</sup>

Thus the military relations between U.S. and Indonesia experienced the problem for several years affected by U.S. military embargo toward Indonesia, but since 2005 there was not only the revocation of its military embargo but U.S. also wanted to restore military relations in general.

U.S.-Indonesia military relations will be resumed by scheduling many agendas related to the military cooperation between both states which actually have begun step by step from 2005 in which U.S. military embargo was revoked until this year that consist of re-providing military assistance for Indonesian Armed Force (TNI AD), Indonesian Navy Seal (TNI AL), and Indonesian Air Force (TNI AU).

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"U.S. Lifts Indonesia Arms Embargo", provided by online <http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006>, accessed on 10 October 2010.

Moreover, several military cooperation programs for Indonesian special Force (Kopasus) started September 2010.<sup>9</sup>

Based on the phenomena above, this research will concentrate on the military relation between U.S. and Indonesia after the revocation of U.S. military embargo toward Indonesia.

**B. Research Question :**

“Why does the US administration want to restore military relations with Indonesia after the revocation of its military embargo toward Indonesia?”

**C. Theoretical Framework :**

In order to answer the research question with a deeper analysis and explanation for the phenomena above, then theory and concept are necessarily applied. In this case, the writer uses decision making theory, systems theory, and concept of foreign policy.

1. Foreign Policy Concept

According to Plano and Olton, *foreign policy is a strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of state vis a vis other states or international entities aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest.*<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> “RI-AS Tingkatkan Kerjasama Militer”, provided by online <http://www.tvOne.co.id>, accessed on 21 August 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Jack C. Plano & Roy Olton, “*The International Relations Dictionary*”, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc, USA, 1969, page 127.

A specific foreign policy carried on by state may be the result of initiative by that state or may be a reaction to initiatives undertaken by other states. Foreign policy involves a dynamic process of applying relatively fixed interpretations of national interest to the highly fluctuating situational factors of the international environment to develop a course of action, followed by efforts to achieve diplomatic implementation of the policy guidelines.

Major steps in the foreign policy process include:

- a. Translating national interest considerations into specific goals and objectives;
- b. Determining the international and domestic situational factors related to the policy goals;
- c. Analyzing the state's capabilities for achieving the desired results;
- d. Developing a plan or strategy for utilizing the state's capabilities to deal with the variables in pursuit goals;
- e. Undertaking the requisite actions; and
- f. Periodically reviewing and evaluating progress made toward the achievement of the desired results.

The process seldom proceeds logically and chronologically; often several steps in the process may be carried on simultaneously, and fundamental issues may be



reopened when conditions change or setbacks occur. Because situational factors are in constant flux, the policy process is continuous.

“The president proposes, Congress disposes.” That simple aphorism has long described Congress’s role in foreign policy making.<sup>11</sup> The main functions of the Congress in foreign affairs fall within the broad framework of the separation of powers and checks and balances established by the Founding Fathers. These principles were intended to insure that action by one branch of government in the legitimate exercise of its powers would face some form of validating activity in another branch before it could become final.<sup>12</sup>

The U.S. government’s policy to restore military relation with Indonesia has been approved by the Congress by the consideration that Indonesian military (TNI) must be reformed. In addition, the Bush administration, the State Department says:

"Considers the relationship between the United States and Indonesia, the world's third largest democracy, to be of the utmost importance.... As the world's most populous majority-Muslim nation, Indonesia is a voice of moderation in the Islamic world."<sup>13</sup>

The State Department also noted Indonesia's key role in guaranteeing security in the strategic sea lanes" and the progress it has made in advancing its democratic institutions and practices in a relatively short time. And at the same time, the United

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<sup>11</sup> Charles W. Kegley, Jr & Eugene R. Wittkopf, *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, Fifth Edition, St. Martin’s Press, New York, 1996, p 420.

<sup>12</sup> Jack C. Plano & Roy Olton, “*The International Relations Dictionary*”, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc, USA, 1969, page, 140.

<sup>13</sup> “*U.S. Indonesia Military Ties Moving toward Full Normalization*”, provided by online <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchive/display.html>, accessed on 2 September 2010.

States "remains committed to pressing for accountability for past human rights abuses, and U.S. assistance will continue to be guided by Indonesia's progress on human rights, democratic reform and accountability," the State Department said.<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, more contemporary security and strategic interests range from the presence of known terrorist cells in Indonesia with links to global terrorist networks. It is a recent phenomenon in Indonesia and its defeat is now the preeminent interest that US has for this country. Two of the most significant terrorist attacks since 11 September 2001 have occurred in Indonesia, while its government and predominantly Muslim population are perceived as an important support base as the US attempts to build consensus among Muslim nations for its global antiterrorism policies.

## 2. Decision Making Theory

According to Coplin, *decision makers are people who have the role in the process of decision making in term of foreign policy, as well as having legal responsibility and actual influence in decisions making process related to their states involvement in the world society.*<sup>15</sup> Those decision makers consider their foreign policy action influenced by three considerations, which are: domestic politics condition, military and economic capability, and International Contexts (an action of all countries foreign politics in the past, nowadays, and future).

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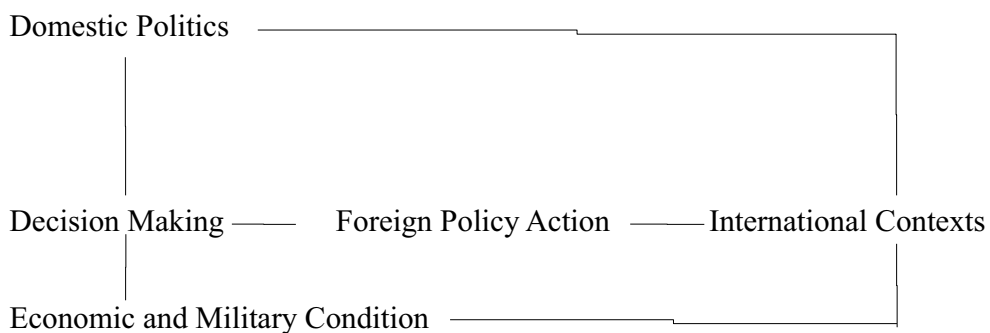
<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> William D Coplin, *Introduction to International Politics: a Theoretical overview*, edited by Marbun, Marsedes 'Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis', Sinar Baru, Bandung, 2003, p 30.

Those three considerations can be explained as follows:<sup>16</sup>

- a) Domestic Politics includes condition and circumstance of the state which will make the decision, namely political condition of the state related to the decision, including cultural factor underlying man's behavior.
- b) Military and economic capability is the situation of military and economy of the state, including geographical factor which always become the main consideration of security defense.
- c) International context is a result of foreign politics of all countries in the past, nowadays, and future which are probably anticipated. In other words, it is related to the condition of a state which become foreign politics purposes and influences of other states which are relevant toward the faced problem.

The following figure illustrates how the factors mentioned above influenced the decision maker to create foreign politics action.



<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Source: William D. Coplin, *Introduction to International Politics: a Theoretical overview*, edited by Marbun, Marsedes 'Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis'.

Based on the theory above it can be concluded that U.S. decision makers have exhorted consideration in deciding the policy to restore military relations with Indonesia after the revocation time of U.S. military embargo in Indonesia, which officially, U.S. lifted its military embargo in Indonesia in 2005, however, the outset of military relations restoration between both countries has begun since the incident of terrorist attack 9/11, in which this incident making a worry for U.S. with the result that U.S. needed to re-strengthen military relations with Indonesia to anticipate the possibility of terrorist attacks in the future jeopardized U.S. citizen and interest as the target of terrorist attacks in Indonesia.

Terrorism is the intentional use of, or threat to use violence against civilians or against civilian targets, in order to attain political aims. The definition emphasizes that terrorism is not the result of an accidental injury inflicted on a civilian or a group of civilians who stumbled into an area of violent political activity but stresses that this is an act purposely directed against civilians. By agreeing to a common definition of terrorism and incorporating it into international law, the international community will have a powerful tool to combat the global war on terrorism through unity of action in a diverse, multicultural world.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Walter H. Kreamer (2004), "*Terrorism in Southeast Asia: a Growing Challenge to Regional Peace, Security, and U.S. Interests*", provided by online <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA423888>, accessed on 15 December 2010.

The existence of terrorism changed the international issue which firstly dominated by human right issue to be the issue of terrorism. This issue has led the U.S. to declare the region of Southeast Asia the second front to in the war against terrorism.

The primary responsibility of U.S. administration is to protect the American people. After several years the 9/11 attacks, transnational terrorist networks and homegrown Islamist terrorists continuo to pose serious challenges to international peace and security. Attacks on U.S. closest allies in Spain and Britain, which were planned by individuals with ties to Europe, North Africa, and South Asia, underscore the reality of a complex global problem that requires a coordinated, comprehensive global response. Terrorists have proven adept at exploiting gaps in international counterterrorism efforts to fund, organize, equip and train their recruits, carry out attacks, and avoid arrest. Given the fast-moving nature of the global terrorist threat, the international community's ability to deal effectively with it will only be as strong as its weakest link. Building the capacity of all countries to counter the terrorist threat, therefore, must be a top priority of the new Administration.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, since September 2001, the United States also has increased focus on radical Islamist and terrorist groups in Southeast Asia, particularly those in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapore. Southeast Asia has been a base for terrorist operations. Al Qaeda penetrated the region by establishing local

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<sup>18</sup> Alistair Millar & Eric Rosand (2007), "*Building Global Alliances in the Fight Against Terrorism*", provided by online [http://www.globalct.org/images/content/pdf/reports/better\\_world.pdf](http://www.globalct.org/images/content/pdf/reports/better_world.pdf), accessed on 15 December 2010.

cells 'Jama'ah Islamiyyah', training Southeast Asians in its camps in Afghanistan, and by financing and cooperating with indigenous radical Islamist groups. Indonesia and the southern Philippines have been particularly vulnerable to penetration by Islamic terrorist groups.<sup>19</sup>

Therefore, Indonesia has always been important in U.S. calculations of security in the Asia Pacific region. The most urgent security issue in Southeast Asia is terrorism. In Indonesia, a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, several terrorist networks, such as Jama'ah Islamiyyah and Malaysian Mujahedeen Group are believed to have ties with Al Qaeda and to have committed terrorist acts in recent years.<sup>20</sup>

The terrorist threat in Indonesia stems from the menace of small cells who have taken advantage of a decline of law and order in the state. Western people especially American citizen became the target of several terrorist attacks in Indonesia, such in the Bali blast. Finally, the incident of Bali bombing removes all doubt that terrorism is a problem within Indonesia, provides a new impetus to resume some degree of military-to-military cooperation. This military cooperation is thought to be divided on the issue of handling the problem of international terrorism.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Bruce Vaughn (2009), "*Terrorism in Southeast Asia*", Congressional Research Service, provided by online <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL34194.pdf>, accessed on 4 December 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Yoon Young-Kwan (2005), "*Toward a New Security Order in Pacific Asia, Japan Center for International Exchange*", provided by online [http://www.jcie.org/researchpdfs/PacificAsia2022/2022\\_Young-Kwan.pdf](http://www.jcie.org/researchpdfs/PacificAsia2022/2022_Young-Kwan.pdf), accessed on 20 December 2010.

<sup>21</sup> Anthony L. Smith (2004), "*U.S.-Indonesia Relations: Searching for Cooperation in the War against Terrorism*", Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, provided by online <http://www.apcss.org/Publications/APSSS/U.S.-IndonesiaRelationsSearchingforCooperation.pdf>,

U.S. policy toward international terrorism contains a significant military component, reflected in U.S. proposal to restore military relations with Indonesia after the revocation of its military embargo. President Bush has expressed a willingness to provide military aid to governments everywhere in the fight against terrorism<sup>22</sup> including Indonesian government which received U.S. aid in the form of economic and military assistance for the sake of countering terrorism.

Thus international context which refers to terrorism issue becomes the main consideration for U.S. to restore military relations with Indonesia. This policy is in order to anticipate the possibility of terrorist attacks which threaten U.S. citizen and interest.

### 3. Theory of Systems

According to Dougherty, *systems is a series of statements about relationships among independent and dependent variables in which changes in one or more variables are accompanied, or followed, by changes in other variables or combinations of variables.*<sup>23</sup>

Independent variable is a concept that used as a foundation to predict or explain other concepts. And dependent variable is a concept that would be explained in a

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accessed on 15 December 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Rensselaer Lee & Raphael Perl (2003), "Terrorism, the Future, and U.S. Foreign Policy", Congressional Research Service, provided by online <http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/report/crs/16601.pdf>, accessed on 15 December 2010.

<sup>23</sup> James E. Dougherty & Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr, "Contending Theories of International Relations: a Comprehensive Survey-3<sup>rd</sup> Edition", Harper Collins Publishers, Inc, New York, 1990, p 136.

theory, it depend on other variables and as a form of the effect from power, influence, and other variables.<sup>24</sup> In this case, the independent variable refers to the issue of international terrorism threat, and dependent variable refers to the U.S.-Indonesia military relations.

Human rights issues dominated the relationship in the early 1990s; with the result that the United States severed military ties with Indonesia due to alleged human rights abuse committed by Indonesian Special Forces during the referendum process in former Indonesian province of East Timor in 1999 that eventually resulted in the secession of the province into an independent state.<sup>25</sup> However, the global war on terror has come to dominate the relationship between Jakarta and Washington, particularly from Washington's perspective<sup>26</sup>. This is due to Indonesia experiencing two of the most significant terrorist attacks since 11 September 2001, and the important influential role Indonesia holds within the global Muslim community as the world's most populous Muslim nation.<sup>27</sup>

Within the current environment of global instability and the ongoing US-led global war on terrorism, it is timely to review and analyze the policy direction that the

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<sup>24</sup> Mohtar Mas' oed, *"Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi"*, Jakarta, 1990, p 108.

<sup>25</sup> *"Indonesia-U.S. Military Ties Improved on Counter Terrorism Cooperation"*, provided by online <http://www.gtz-legal-reform.org.cn/2010/07/indonesia-us-military-ties-improved-on-counter-terrorism-cooperation/>, accessed on 4 December 2010.

<sup>26</sup> Anthony Smith, *"Reluctant partner: Indonesia's response to U.S. security policie"*, Asia-Pacific Centre for Strategic Studies, Special Assessment, March, provided by online <http://www.apcss.org/Publications/pub.html>, accessed on 13 September 2003.

<sup>27</sup> Hugh R. Mcaslan, *"Contemporary United States Foreign Policy towards Indonesia"*, the White House. 2000. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. Washington, DC, provided by online <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA428789>, accessed on 31 January 2011.



US is adopting towards the world's largest Muslim nation, which has operable terrorist cells within its borders and a democracy in its infancy faced with significant social, economic, and security issues.

Therefore, Al Qaeda's attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., on 11 September 2001 had a dramatic effect on how the US now views the world and added a "new dimension to the US-Indonesia relationship".<sup>28</sup> The US-led global war on terrorism now dominates US interests and foreign policy priorities and has re-invigorated US relations with Southeast Asian nations, energizing "America's Asian alliances".<sup>29</sup> Assistant Secretary James Kelly reinforced this assessment with his statement that:

"Long a preeminent policy concern, counterterrorism, or CT as we now refers to it, leaped to the top of the list of policy priorities after September 11."<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, Washington also regards Indonesia as a potential partner in its global counter terrorism strategy. It was expressed in the statements of U.S. Secretary of State's Hillary Clinton during her official tour to several Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia.

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<sup>28</sup> Anthony Smith, *Reluctant partner: Indonesia's response to U.S. security policies*, Asia-Pacific Centre for Strategic Studies, provided by online [www.apcss.org/Publications/pub.html](http://www.apcss.org/Publications/pub.html), accessed on 1 February 2011.

<sup>29</sup> The White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, Washington, DC: provided by online <http://www.state.gov>, accessed on 1 February 2011.

<sup>30</sup> James Kelly, "U.S.-East Asia policy: Three aspects". Speech delivered to a conference conducting a midterm review of President George W. Bush's Asia policy, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC, provided by online <http://www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/2002/15875pf.htm>, accessed on 11 December 2010.

“This region is a set of countries that will be keys to any solutions we pursue on climate change, counter terrorism and so much else,” she said.<sup>31</sup>

The issue of terrorism threat becomes the preeminent policy priority for the Bush administration in Indonesia and Pacific region, with US policy to defeat of terrorist organizations for the region comprising four elements. These elements are military cooperation, support for regional cooperation on antiterrorism, technical and other assistance to strengthen legal and administrative procedures, and an information campaign as part of a worldwide effort to strengthen support for the US in the Muslim community.

Thus the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 became a nightmare for the U.S. and it altered the conception of U.S. National Security. It is necessary to define a new type of threat that necessitates taking preventative steps to eliminate the possibility of terrorist attacks. And the entire concept of the security of the U.S., as an entity has changed.<sup>32</sup>

#### **D. Hypothesis :**

Based on the background and theoretical framework mentioned above, my hypothesis says that the reason why U.S. foreign policy wants to restore military

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<sup>31</sup> “*Indonesia-U.S. Military Ties Improved on Counter Terrorism Cooperation*”, provided by online <http://www.gtz-legal-reform.org.cn/2010/07/indonesia-us-military-ties-improved-on-counter-terrorism-cooperation/>, accessed on 4 December 2010.

<sup>32</sup> Allen L. Sessoms, “*Terrorism after 9/11/01: One American’s Perspective*”, provided by online <http://www.bibliojuridica.org/libros/2/833/12.pdf>, accessed on 15 December 2010.

relations with Indonesia is in order to more effectively combat the rise of International Terrorists network in Indonesia.

#### **E. Method of Research**

This research is classified as qualitative research. According to Moleong, qualitative research is a research aimed to understand social phenomena through accurate description and interpretation.<sup>33</sup>

In order to analyze this thesis, we apply the library research method by using explanative type of thesis in which it collect the secondary data which is conducted through the literature study. This analysis is also supported by the data and information derived from the sources of references including books, journals, newspapers, magazines, websites, etc. and they are scrutinized and synthesized through discussions with the academicians. The internet media also useful in supporting the update data and information which is related to the object of research. These data and information based on the literature study and media are used to analyze the object by implementation of theory and concept.

#### **F. Range of Research**

To make the research effective and focused, I would like to limit the scope of this research between years 2005 until 2010, which is actually the period after the

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<sup>33</sup> Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Bandung, 2005, p 6.

revocation of US military embargo toward Indonesia. Although the analysis will be focused only on that period, the further explanation about the military relation will cover the phenomena that happened in the preceding years that are considered relevant to the need of the research.

### **G. Thesis Outline**

This part is aimed to elaborate the writing systematization of the thesis. This thesis will be presented in accordance with the following outline:

Chapter I. Introduction. This chapter will explain the background of the research, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research method and range, as well as thesis outline, in order to be the prior step to analyze this research.

Chapter II. This chapter will explain the principle of U.S. foreign policy, U.S. policy to establish military forces structure in Asia Pacific regions, foreign aid as the tools of U.S. foreign policy, and the priority of U.S. foreign policy in the era of Bill Clinton, George W. Bush toward Indonesia.

Chapter III. This chapter will explain about the normalization process of U.S.-Indonesia military relations, and the indicator of the normalization process through the data of U.S. assistance for Indonesia.

Chapter IV. This chapter will focus on answering the research question: why U.S. administration wants to restore military relations with Indonesia, in order to more effectively counter the rise of International terrorists in Indonesia.

Chapter V. Conclusion. In this last chapter, the writer will present some conclusions that can be taken from the whole thesis.