Laura Roach

Islamic Extremism: Undermining a Fundamentalist Movement in Indonesia

College: COLSA, Major: EREC

Freshman

Editor: Stephanie Weiner
I. Problem

Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world. Eighty-eight percent of its 238 million people claim to practice Islam, which means that the nation is home to more Muslims than all the Arab states combined. Despite the concentration of Muslims, Indonesia is not an Islamic state; it is the third largest democracy in the world.¹ Unsurprisingly, the country has a well established radical Muslim following, with strong ties to al-Qaeda and to Jemaah Islamiyah, a group recognized by the United Nations and the United States as a terrorist organization.² Though Indonesia is a prime location for radical Islam to take hold, there has been a decline in public support for the nation to become an Islamic state since 2004; this is evident from a decline in the number and severity of terrorist attacks, shifting public opinions, apparent dissent within terrorist organizations and the accepted implementation of regulation in Islamic school.

Indonesia has been a hub for Islamic extremism for decades and a target of attacks since before the September 11 attacks on the US in 2001. The country has its own home-grown terrorist organization, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which is capable of operating throughout Southeast Asia and is known to have close connections with al-Qaeda.³ JI was born from Dural Islam (DI) in 1993 with the objective to create a pan-Islamic state in Southeast Asia centered in Indonesia. DI had been an anti-colonial organization that grew into a political opponent of the Indonesian government. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar, the founders of JI, were originally members of DI.⁴ The two men trained at Camp Saddah, the mujahidin training camp in

² Ann Marie Murphy 8
Afghanistan linked to Osama bin Laden.\(^5\) Indonesian authorities have found JI to be responsible for bombings in 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2005.

Before 2001, attacks orchestrated by JI were expressions of domestic discontent with the popular form of government and inter-religious violence, but in the wake of 9/11 bombings have targeted symbols of the West.\(^6\) JI has been implicated in the bombing of a Kentucky Fried Chicken in Makassar in October 2001, the bombing of a McDonald's restaurant in South Sulawesi in December 2002, the October 2002 Bali bombings that killed 88 Australians, the attempted bombing of a KFC in Makassar in December 2002, the Marriott hotel bombing in August 2003, the Australian Embassy bombing in September 2004 and the October 2005 Bali bombings. These bombings are believed to be designed to kill as many Westerners as possible in response to a perceived American and European conceived attack on Islam through the ‘global war on terror.’\(^7\)

The connection between JI and al-Qaeda has influenced the meaning of the attacks orchestrated by JI. Regional and sectarian violence have been common in Indonesia since the colonial era, but al-Qaeda’s involvement in Indonesian attacks indicates the global relevance of the terrorism. According to Petrus Reinhard Golose, the Senior Commissioner of Detachment 88, an Indonesian police squad, al-Qaeda was the primary contributor of funds for the 2002 Bali bombing, the 2003 Marriott Hotel bombing, the 2004 Australian Embassy bombing and the 2005 Bali bombing. A courier had been arrested delivering money to JI from Afghanistan and Pakistan. Golose also claims that al-Qaeda's Khalid Sheik Mohammed, an alleged planner of 9-

---


\(^6\) Arabind Acharya and Rohaiza Ahmad Asi 164

\(^7\) Kim Cragin and Scott Gerwehr. Dissuading Terror; Strategic Influence and the Struggle Against Terrorism. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2005.
11, had personally couriered US$30,000 from Afghanistan to finance the 2002 Bali bombing.\textsuperscript{8} With proof of al-Qaeda backing JI, the idea of a global terrorist network is legitimized, but as studies have shown, many Indonesians are more concerned with domestic issues, such as poverty, than with promoting a pan-Islamic revolution. The bloodshed caused by JI has also disillusioned many Indonesians about the institution of a theocracy.

Dissent within JI is currently speculated by many experts. According to terror analyst Sidney Jones of the International Crisis Group, Jemaah Islamiah, "no longer constitutes a threat to the stability of Indonesia." He believes that since the 2003 Marriot bombings, JI has splintered into smaller groups led by radicals with independent agendas, including the Jakarta bombings of 2009.\textsuperscript{9} Dissonance in JI has also occurred because some members were uncomfortable with the large number of Indonesian Muslims killed in attacks and expressed their concern that the violence was counter-productive, giving the JI a poor public face.\textsuperscript{10}

The Center of Indonesian Muslims for the Study of Islam and Society (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat, PPIM) conducted a survey of practicing Muslims in Indonesia in 2007, questioning them about their perceptions of the US. These polls are fairly representative of how variable Indonesians’ devotion is to the global Islamist agenda. Seventy-seven percent said they would not fight to defend the Muslim communities in Iraq and Afghanistan. Sixty-seven percent do not see the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as attacks on Islam. Eighty-four percent said September 11, 2001 was not justified by US actions in Iraq and Afghanistan and 80 percent said

\textsuperscript{9} Geoffrey Hainsworth 4
\textsuperscript{10} Greg Barton 125
the Bali bombings were not justified though the sites of the attacks represented western decadence.\textsuperscript{11}

Radical Islam has certainly permeated Indonesian culture but the majority of Indonesians claim to practice “smiling Islam” which is a more relaxed form of the faith which combines traditional Islam with regional customs.\textsuperscript{12} For example, a Muslim group on Lombok Island drinks a traditionally concocted palm wine at celebration, though the Qur’an prohibits most alcohol consumption. In Jakarta it is still possible to visit kis, or mystics, who claim to have powers of mind reading and future telling but also claim to be Muslim, though generally paranormal practices that are not directly attributed to Allah are strictly forbidden in Islam. Indonesia even has its own version of 'Oprah.' Her name is Dorce Gamalama, a devout Muslim and post-op transsexual who speaks candidly of sex on her talk-show.\textsuperscript{13} While the PPIM found that of the people surveyed, 53.1 percent supported jailing people who take liberties when interpreting the Qur'an, sharia, Qur’anic law, remains distinct from the laws of the central Indonesian government.\textsuperscript{14} Only certain provinces of the nation attempt to enforce traditional Qur’anic law.

Aceh, located on the northern tip of Sumatra, was the first province granted permission by the national government to establish sharia as criminal law in 1999. Aceh even has a sharia patrol unit with a total of 800 officers.\textsuperscript{15} It is also the home of a strong Islamic separatist force called the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). In the 1950s, after Indonesia gained independence, Darul Islam (DI) led a rebellion across Indonesia to establish an Islamic state. Many Acehnese

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{11} Greg Barton 123  
\textsuperscript{13} Michael Finkel 76-99  
\textsuperscript{14} Greg Barton 123-145  
\textsuperscript{15} Michael Finkel 76-99
\end{flushleft}
joined this rebellion after the incipient Indonesian government failed to declare Aceh a province. In 1959, Jakarta gave Aceh the status of a special territory and the fighting ceased for a short period. Then, in 1976, GAM recommenced violence against the Indonesian military, once again looking for independence; they were displeased with what they perceived to be Javanese economic and political domination.\textsuperscript{16}

GAM has posed a terrorist threat to Indonesia. One of their militant strategies is target sectors of the economy, such as multinational firms, which benefit Indonesia and its security forces. Specifically, GAM has targeted the Lhokseumawe industrial complex by intimidating, kidnapping and killing its workers. They are also responsible for attacks on Aceh's industrial infrastructure such as oil pipelines as well as attacks on civil servants, politicians and the country's education system. According to GAM, the educational system is working to destroy Acehnese culture and history while glorifying the Javanese. The group has burned schools and intimidated and killed teachers.\textsuperscript{17} Recently, these acts of violence have declined immensely, in part due to the acts of the central government.

Ironically, advocates of dissolving democracy and imposing sharia law over the whole nation are able to assert their argument publicly because of democracy. The discussion is held on radio shows and in pamphlets such as Sabili, which conveys anti-Americanism and political Islam.\textsuperscript{18} Radical Islam is also spread through Islamic boarding schools, called pesantren. These schools teach Salafism, considered the purest form of Islam by its adherents, as it was practiced by the Prophet Muhammad and the two generations following him. JI directly owns many

\textsuperscript{16} James Putzel 178
\textsuperscript{17} Arabind Acharya and Rohaiza Ahmad Asi 159-179
\textsuperscript{18} Kim Cragin and Scott Gerwehr
pesantren and is associated with others. One school, the Hidayatullah pesantren, in Balikpapan, has been known as a training camp for JI recruits.\textsuperscript{19}

Despite the prevalence of organizations arguing for an Islamic Indonesia, the nation remains an adamant democracy and the government openly embraces the heterogeneous population. The national constitution recognizes six official religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.\textsuperscript{20} The nation’s motto is "Bhinneka tunggal ika -- Unity is diversity" and, for the most part, Indonesians agree. Support for an Islamic Indonesia is in decline. This is apparent from the reduced frequency of attacks on Indonesian targets since 2005 and polls taken throughout Indonesia, indicating 86 percent of Indonesian Muslims support democracy as the best form of government for the nation.\textsuperscript{21} An effort by Islamic parties to make Islam the state religion was defeated in 2004 and then again in 2009 when President Yudhoyono (SBY) was reelected with 74 million votes which are more votes than any other single candidate has ever received in history.\textsuperscript{22} Recruitment by Jemaah Islamiyah and the prevalence of Islamic extremist schools has also seen a decline.\textsuperscript{23}

The general Indonesian opinion of the US has been turbulent since the Bush administration declared the “global war on terror.” After the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, Indonesians holding positive views of the United States plunged to 15 percent,\textsuperscript{24} but in the wake of the 2004 tsunami and the massive amount of aid donated by the US, 38 percent of Indonesians

\textsuperscript{19} Arabind Acharya and Rohaiza Ahmad Asi 172
\textsuperscript{20} Ann Marie Murphy 73
\textsuperscript{21} Greg Barton 125
\textsuperscript{22} David Lamb. 2010. "RETURN TO INDONESIA." \textit{Smithsonian} 41, no. 1: 46-56. \textit{Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost} (accessed April 15, 2010)
\textsuperscript{24} Ann Marie Murphy 74
had pro-Western views. This may be indicative of ebbing tension between the nation’s Muslims and the West.

Why, with such a strong Islamic influence, has Indonesia remained a democracy? The influence of Islam in Indonesia has been historically inconsistent over time and from region to region. Currently the nation is led by a charismatic mixed-background president who adamantly defends diversity and democracy. He has been active in working with legislature to develop an aggressive anti-terror campaign. The 2004 tsunami in Indonesia allowed this president to show his compassion and ability to diffuse conflict. The disaster also opened up previously closed provinces to receive foreign aid, diluting Muslim anger towards the West. In the eyes of the US government, Indonesia’s success at fighting off the threat of Islamic extremism legitimizes the “global war on terror” because it remains a stable example of democracy and Islam coexisting. SBY promotes the idea of Indonesia as a template for a democratic Muslim nation.

II. Possible Hypotheses

There are many apparent explanations for the decline in Islamic extremism in Indonesia. Regarding individuals, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono may have had the most influence on the pro-democratic views of his people. Domestically, Jemaah Islamiah has had some self-destructive tendencies, such as the Bali bombings. On an international level, the aid provided by the US and other nations in the wake of the 2004 tsunami has turned many Indonesians pro-Western, while destroying some of the most extremist regions. The following hypotheses are promulgated to explain Indonesia’s success at suppressing Islamic extremism:

A. Individual Decision-maker

---

25 Ann Marie Murphy 75
Hypothesis: If the president of a democratic nation heavily influenced by Islam reflects on the attitudes of his people and constructs an independent anti-terrorist campaign, then there will be a decline in radical Islam.

**B. Domestic Determinants**

Hypothesis: If a terrorist organization loses face with the people of a nation by detracting from the tourist industry of that nation, then there will be a decline in radical Islam.

**C. International Environment**

Hypothesis: If a country with a majority Islam population receives an extraordinary amount of foreign aid in response to a natural disaster then there will be a decline in radical Islam.

Both the domestic determinants and international environment are less relevant to how the Indonesia has remained a democratic state.

**Domestic Determinants:** Jemaah Islamiyah is responsible for many bombings in Indonesia: the Christmas Eve bombings in 2000 of over 30 churches, the Bali bombing of October 2002, the Jakarta Marriot Hotel bombing of August 2003, and the Australian Embassy bombing of September 2004. The Bali bombings produced negative feelings in many Indonesians about the Islamic group because many of the casualties were devout Muslim natives.\(^{26}\) The bombings also detracted from the massive tourist industry that supports Bali. The attacks even created dissent within JI’s ranks. After the 2003 Marriot hotel bombing, in which several Indonesian Muslims were killed, many members of JI debated supporting jihad for a pan-Islamic cause at the cost of the lives fellow Muslims. Leadership within JI found it difficult to mobilize members who were skeptical of the Islamist cause, so the leaders turned to DI for new

\(^{26}\) John Sidel 342
recruits. JI undermined its own influence in the region but this is less significant than the influence of Yudhoyono because the president used these events to his advantage, thereby taking responsibility for the anti-extremist response.

**International Environment:** The 2004 tsunami allowed the international community, especially the US, to provide aid to the people of Indonesia and spread pro-Western sentiment. The tsunami also helped the counterterrorism fight. Among the tens of thousands of Indonesians killed by the tidal wave were members of Gerakan Aceh Medeka (GAM), an Islamic insurgency in the province of Aceh, the part of the country hit hardest by the disaster. Forced from their hideouts, the leadership of GAM proved willing to enter a truce with the Indonesian government. Once again, Yudhoyono was able to exploit this event to undermine terrorist groups. He established peace talks that have resulted in elections in Aceh.

**III. Hypothesis**

President Yudhoyono has successfully established an anti-terrorism campaign and exploited events outside of his control to fight the threat of an Islam governed regime. The US has an interest in Indonesia as an example of Islam and democracy working in conjunction with each other, but some Muslims in Indonesia have negative feelings towards the US. Yudhoyono accepts aid from the US but maintains an image of independence from Washington. SBY’s apparently increasing influence over the people of Indonesia generates the following hypothesis:

If the president of a democratic nation heavily influenced by Islam reflects on the attitudes of his people and constructs an independent anti-terrorism campaign, then there will be a decline in radical Islam.

---

27 Arbind Acharya and Rohaiza Ahmad Asi 173  
28 Ann Marie Murphy 78
In this statement, the president’s ability to compose an effective anti-terror campaign is the independent variable while the influence of radical Islam is the dependent variable. The effectiveness of a terror campaign can be measured by a decline in terror attacks and by polls measuring the opinions of Indonesians on foreign policy and democracy.

IV. Case Study

Indonesia has had a tumultuous history fraught with sectarian violence, economic expansions and depressions and authoritarian oppression. Years of military repression which arose from the chaos of the fledgling nation just independent from colonial rule resulted in public distrust of the government institutions. Later, when a legitimate democratic election finally ushered a publically chosen leader, SBY, into power, he faced a nation wary of the military and the police. To initiate a widely accepted terror policy he first had to improve the corrupt and ill-equipped military. SBY's strategy in retaining democracy and fighting terrorism has been diplomatic. He has reached out to domestic Muslim communities as well as those in the Middle East. To remain in good standing with Indonesian Muslims, who still hold some resentment towards the West, he has constructed a careful foreign policy with the US. The two nations work together to fight terrorism in the region but Yudhoyono has publically denied requests from Washington. Yudhoyono has developed an anti-terror task force and has been successful at apprehending many terror suspects. Through these methods, SBY has kept the Indonesian example of democracy intact and even supported by a majority of Indonesians.

Indonesia gained independence from the Japanese on August 17, 1945 at the end of WWII, resulting in a temporary presidential democracy constitution. Over the next four years, guerilla warfare ensued as the Indonesian nationalists fought the Dutch and their allies, who wanted to retain their colonies in the East Indies. In 1949 Indonesia gained complete
independence and in 1950 a temporary parliamentary democracy was established. For the next five years the government was very unstable with constant dissonance between pro-Islamist and secularist forces. The Constitutional Commission failed to write a new constitution. Sukarno, who had been a figurehead as the first president of Indonesia since 1945, intervened and implemented a guided democracy with elements of autocracy over the nation. His regime did not end economic woes or political tensions. He became tied to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and to China. In October 1965, a coup and counter-coup decimated the PKI and replaced Sukarno with General Suharto and the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI), the Indonesian military. Half a million Indonesians died in the violence that put Suharto in power. The New Order marked a transition to a stable, albeit intolerant, government. Sukarno centralized the economy and exploited the natural oil and gas reserves to improve the economy.

The military authoritarianism of the New Order has caused general distrust of the military and the police in the Indonesian public. The survey "Islam and Nationalism: Findings of a National Survey" conducted in 2007 found that only 11 percent of Indonesians trusted legislature, 16 percent trusted police, 22 percent trusted the president and 41 percent trusted religious leaders. The military certainly deserves scrutiny and demands of accountability. In 1984 soldiers opened fire on Muslim demonstrators, killing 23, in what became known as the 'Tanjung Priok' affair. The twelve soldiers indicted for this crime were later acquitted by the Jakarta High Court. In 1991, the TNI killed over 270 unarmed East Timorese in what became known as the Dili massacre. The Indonesian media pointed an accusing finger at the National Intelligence Agency (BIN) for the poisoning of Munir Said Thalib, a prominent human rights

29 Ann Marie Murphy 65
30 Greg Barton 137
31 Geoffrey Hainsworth 133
32 Ann Marie Murphy 69
activist who had exposed military abuses and abductions during the Suharto regime. Many BIN
agents are active or retired military officers.\textsuperscript{33} There is a legitimate fear of giving power to the
military which has proven to be unaccountable and repressive in the past. If military is given
command over counter-terrorism, democracy may never be retained.\textsuperscript{34}

The Asian financial crisis hit Indonesia in 1998 and the economy contracted 13.8 percent, the largest single year contraction of any nation since the Great Depression. The crisis struck
millions into poverty and Suharto was unable to respond decisively. In May of 1998 he was
forced from office. Without the order commanded by Suharto's regime sectarian and secessionist
violence ensued.\textsuperscript{35} For the first time Islamist groups were not viciously repressed by the
authoritarian government and were able to become more prominent.\textsuperscript{36}

In 2004, when Indonesia held its first direct presidential election, SBY won by 61 percent
of the vote.\textsuperscript{37} He was embraced by the US government. Unfortunately, SBY's political party only
commanded 57 seats in the 550-seat DPR, or House of Representatives. The other political
parties formed a coalition to undermine his authority. It was not until Vice President Jusuf Kalla
claimed chairmanship of the Golkar, the largest political party in the DPR, that Yudhoyono was
able to secure enough legislative support to govern.

SBY has been active in passing legislature to reform the military and police. Indonesia is
ranked as the sixth most corrupt nation in the world by Transparency International. Police and
the military have been known to be involved in illegal logging and other crimes.\textsuperscript{38} In a 2005

\textsuperscript{33} Geoffrey Hainsworth 132
\textsuperscript{34} James Putzel 178
\textsuperscript{35} Ann Marie Murphy 69
\textsuperscript{36} Ann Marie Murphy 69
\textsuperscript{37} Geoffrey Hainsworth 128
\textsuperscript{38} Geoffrey Hainsworth 131
survey conducted by the World Bank 82 percent of the 600 manufacturing firms interviewed reported having been required to pay illegitimate taxes. Ministry of Finance officials are reported to routinely pocket government funds. In December 2004, Yudhoyono established the Anti-Corruption Commission (KPK). The agency has the power to name suspects, make arrests and push sensitive cases through an Anti-Corruption Court. The agency has been moderately effective. In May 2005, Yudhoyono set up the Coordinating Team for Corruption Eradication which consisted of 51 prosecutors, police and financial officers and the National Police to assist the KPK. Corruption investigations have delved deep into parliament and the judicial system. Parliamentarians, governors, regents, mayors and justices have all faced indictments on charges of extortion and corruption.39

The president has also taken steps to reform the military, which is known for committing atrocities and defying government control. In December 2005, Yudhoyono announced a requirement that all assignments and promotions be based on merit to empower honest officers and crack down on the corrupt. He confirmed the Bill defining the role of the armed services passed by the DPR on October 1, 2004. The Bill restricted the military's special privileges and limited its role strictly to national defense and security. Ground troops were only allowed in areas 'prone to foreign incursion, rebellion, terrorism or severe social conflict.' The Bill also prohibited military personnel from joining political parties and from taking part in military and business activities. Finally, the law mandated the government takeover of the military's commercial assets within five years. SBY reformed the territorial command structure of the

39 Geoffrey Hainsworth 130
military to allow its participation in the counter-terrorism campaign as well as facilitating law and order on a local level where the national police lacked coordination.\textsuperscript{40}

When the Suharto regime ended, the police were underpaid and ill-equipped. Since SBY was voted into office, they are reformed and in charge of counter-terrorism, including Detachment 88, an elite team.\textsuperscript{41} Eighteen military leaders have been prosecuted by Indonesia's Ad Hoc Human Rights Court and six have been convicted of military atrocities.\textsuperscript{42} By 2005 Juwono Sudarsono, a respected civilian, was Minister of Defense and in control of the TNI.\textsuperscript{43} With a reliable military and police force, Indonesians are able to trust government institutions. SBY's actions towards improving these institutions have made his government more attractive to Muslim citizens, who are less likely to revert to extremism.

So far, Yudhoyono has proven to be an eloquent and passionate leader. The support of his countrymen is apparent from his reelection in 2009 over his populist opponent, Dita Indah Sari. His strategy in regard to terrorism has been proactive and pragmatic. He understands that terrorism is specifically designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victims or object of the terrorist attack. It is meant to intimidate a wider audience such as a political party. Through the publicity generated by their violence, terrorists seek to obtain the leverage, influence and power they otherwise lack to effect political change on either a local or an international scale.\textsuperscript{44} To undermine the effectiveness of terrorism SBY has examined and worked to resolve both domestic and international issues.

\textsuperscript{40} Geoffrey Hainsworth 132  
\textsuperscript{41} Greg Barton 140  
\textsuperscript{42} Ann Marie Murphy 71  
\textsuperscript{43} Ann Marie Murphy 73  
Domestically, Yudhoyono has reached out GAM and the province of Aceh. At the time of the tsunami Yudhoyono was in Jayapura, Papua. He immediately traveled to Aceh to assess the aftermath. Previously Aceh had been closed to foreign journalists and tourists. Yudhoyono opened the region for domestic and foreign aid. On August 15, 2005, in the wake of the tsunami, a peace accord was signed in Helsinki between the GAM and the Indonesian government. GAM agreed to surrender its weapons and followed through with the promise. Since the peace accord GAM has stopped demanding complete independence. In return the government granted them a form of local-self government and the right to eventually establish a political party. Jakarta lifted the ban on local political parties and withdrew Indonesian troops from Aceh in return for the GAM arsenal. This was Yuhoyono’s first act to curb Islamic violence in the nation. His efforts have been successful in diffusing Islamist violence in the province.

In a 2004 study from the Targeting Terrorist Finances Project at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University found that the legal framework to stop the financing of terrorist regimes was advanced for a primarily Muslim country. Indonesia has instituted criminalization of terrorist financing, creation of the authority to freeze funds without prior judicial action, and membership in the terrorist financing convention. In early 2005 the Indonesian authorities did not have a concrete list of al-Qaeda or Jemaah Islamiyah suspects or sympathizers but they did have a list of 15 core operatives. The two 'most wanted' men were

45 Greg Barton 134
46 Arabind Acharya and Rohaiza Ahmad Asi 161
Azahari Husin, the JI alleged explosives expert, and Noordin Mohammed Top, the alleged organizer of the Marriott Hotel bombing. Yudhoyono promised the public to have the suspects in custody within 100 days but the men eluded capture.

In response to the 2005 bombing, Yudhoyono deployed thousands of troops and police to Bali and East and Central Java. Ten thousand photographs of Noordin and Azahari were airdropped into the region and house-to-house searches were organized. On November 9, 2005, police finally tracked Azahari to a house in East Java where he was killed. The police found many explosives, videos of Azahari demonstrating bomb-making and information on JI's recruitment and operational plans. A list of bomb targets was also found.\(^{48}\) Ten days after the raid, the suicide bombers were identified as Misno, Salik Firdaus and Aip Hidayat. Detachment 88, the counter-intelligence unit, announced that six other Noordin followed had been arrested and revealed the names of fourteen potential suicide bombers. Three days later, Dwi Widyarto was arrested in Central Java and charged with providing logistical support to the Bali bombers. He was tried in January with four other suspects. Sixteen more people were arrested in January, confessing to have connections to Noordin. In May 2006, four suspects, Dwi Widianto, Mohammad Cholily, Abdul Azis and Anif Solchanudin, were tried for supplying explosives and other support to the Bali bombers. On April 29, Noordin eluded capture again but his associates, Abdul Hadi, Noordin's chief recruiter, and Gemper Budi Angkoro, a top lieutenant, were killed.\(^{49}\) Noordin continued to conduct terrorist attacks and is considered responsible for the 2009 bombings in Jakarta. This is evidence of the splintering and decentralization of JI. Noordin was killed by Indonesian authorities in September 2009.\(^{50}\) By 2007, police had arrested 300 people

\(^{48}\) Greg Barton 146  
\(^{49}\) Geoffrey Hainsworth 135  
linked with JI, though at least 150 have already been released. Thanks to counter-terrorism efforts by the Indonesian government, JI membership has decreased from about 2,000 people in 2002 to an estimated 900 members in 2007.\textsuperscript{51}

Yudhoyono has also made steps towards reforming Islamic schools to stop the spread of extremism among young students. The government guidelines for schools require that courses on civics, human rights and democracy are taught.\textsuperscript{52} Indonesia is one of several nations that have taken an initiative to reintegrate young jihadis into democratic society. These "reeducation plans" have arisen from the belief that jihadis are victims of indoctrination. Reeducation is conducted by religious scholars who confront the radical Islamists' view of religion in the hopes that they will abandon extremism. These programs often also provide amnesty plans, early release from jail, financial compensation and help finding employment.\textsuperscript{53} Imprisoned militants may also be provided with conjugal visits and scholarships for their children to encourage reintegration into society.\textsuperscript{54}

As was his predecessor, Megawati, Yudhoyono has been faced with two options in forming a relationship with the US in relation to terrorism: either he could support the US global war on terror and gain international support to fight armed separatists in Aceh and domestic terrorists or he could distance himself from the US to avoid criticism from his Islamic opposition.\textsuperscript{55} It is a careful balancing act, satisfying both the US and Muslim Indonesians. Public opinion of the United States is often very low among Indonesians as demonstrated in polls and by Islamic organizations. In a 2006 poll by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, 67 percent of

\textsuperscript{51} Greg Barton 142  
\textsuperscript{52} Michael Finkel 79-99  
\textsuperscript{53} Barack Mendelsohn 121  
\textsuperscript{54} Michael Finkel 79-99  
\textsuperscript{55} James Putzel 177
Indonesians held negative views of the US, compared to 2002 when 61 percent of Indonesians viewed the US favorably.\textsuperscript{56} The United Development Party (PPP), the largest Muslim political party in the country, staged anti-US demonstrations. The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), headed by Muhammed Rizieq vowed to hunt down Americans and Britons in the country. The Islamic Youth Movement (GIP) signed up volunteers to fight alongside al Qaeda in Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{57}

Yudhoyono has been active in devising an anti-terrorist campaign separate from the US 'global war on terror.' Conveying the general public attitude at a May 2006 the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) defense conference in Malaysia, Defense Minister Sudarsono stated that Southeast Asian nations must fight terrorism "on their own terms" or risk being perceived as "lackeys of the US and Australia." One component of Yudhoyono's terrorist policy has been to not officially label Jemaah Islamiyah as a terrorist organization though it is listed by the UN as a part of the 'global terrorist network.' The US and many other nations have declared JI to be a terrorist threat and it is a target of Indonesia's intelligence agency.\textsuperscript{58} This policy is part of Yudhoyono's strategy to publicly defy the US and placate Indonesians' anti-Americanism. Responding to the Bush administration's anger towards this policy both Yudhoyono and Kalla insist that, under Indonesian law, there is no procedure in existence for designating JI as an unlawful organization as it does not legally exist. Indonesian officials also refused to deliver Abu Bakar Ba'asyir to the CIA for interrogation.\textsuperscript{59}

Conversely, the US considers Indonesia to be a beacon of moderate Muslim democracy. Currently, US foreign policy towards the Middle East is reliant on the compatibility of Islam and

\textsuperscript{56} Ann Marie Murphy 74  \textsuperscript{57} James Putzel 179  \textsuperscript{58} Geoffrey Hainsworth 136  \textsuperscript{59} Geoffrey Hainsworth 136
democracy. Relations between the US and Indonesia can be mutually beneficial. When the nations work in conjunction in counter-terrorism they can share intelligence on the global terrorist network. Indonesian-US cooperation can result in more effective anti-terror strategies, due to shared information and training. The US can also be a valuable economic partner for Indonesia, which remains plagued by high unemployment and poverty. Economically speaking, cooperation could result in less Indonesia hatred directed towards the West.

President Yudhoyono has also asserted himself as a leader and example in the Muslim world. In December 2005 at the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Mecca he declared that people can show compassion to those of other faiths, adding “We also need to intensify interfaith dialogue so that we may further tear down the walls of misunderstanding and mistrust - - an undertaking that Indonesia has actively promoted,” in response to fears of growing “Islamophobia” in the world. In 2007, Indonesia hosted a meeting between Sunni and Shiite religious leaders from the Middle East to discuss strategies on halting intra-Muslim violence. The meeting had little influence in Middle East communities though, as Iraqi and Iranian clerics failed to appear. In response to the Danish cartoons published in September 2005 depicting the Prophet Mohammad, Yudhoyono wrote to the world: "Reprinting the cartoons in order to make a point about free speech is an act of senseless brinkmanship. It is also a disservice to democracy. It sends a conflicting message to the Muslim community: that in a democracy, it is permissible to offend Islam. This message damages efforts to prove that democracy and Islam go together. The average Muslim who prays five times a day needs to be convinced that the democracy he is embracing, and is expected to defend, also protects and respects Islam's sacred symbols.

60 Ann Marie Murphy 66
61 CIA Factbook
62 Ann Marie Murphy 78
Otherwise democracy will not be of much interest to him… The global community needs to cultivate democracies of freedom and tolerance -- not democracies of freedom versus tolerance.”

Summary and Conclusions

“We are the fourth most populous nation in the world. We are home to the world's largest Muslim population. We are the world's third largest democracy. We are also a country where democracy, Islam and modernity go hand in hand,” President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono declared in his first major foreign policy speech in May 2005. The success of SBY’s stance on terrorism and Islam is apparent in the relative stability of his government and continued public support for his administration. The most recent attack in the nation was in 2009 in which eight people were killed. It had been the first major bombing since 2005 and is suspected to have been an attack conducted by Noordin rather than a reassertion of JI’s voice. Since the attack, Noordin has been killed by Indonesian forces. This reveals a decline in the frequency and severity of attacks, especially in relation to the rest of the Muslim world; there were over 100 attacks in Pakistan alone in 2009. SBY’s reelection by 74 million votes, more votes than for any other single candidate in history, is another example of how democracy is winning over the possibility of an Islamic state. Finally, 86 percent of Indonesians maintain that democracy is the best way to govern the developing nation.

64 Ann Marie Murphy 71
66 Greg Barton 137
SBY has been very compassionate towards his fellow Indonesians and to Muslims throughout the world. He has diplomatically worked to stem conflict in the archipelago, but he now needs to improve the nation economically. The nation’s GDP is growing but continues to suffer from a 7.7 percent unemployment rate and 17.8 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. If SBY’s democracy can prove to flourish and improve the economic situations of its citizens, then, presumably, the support for democracy will continue and the nation will be a template for Muslim democracies in other areas of the world.

---

67 CIA Factbook
VI. Bibliography


