Chapter 2

Southeast Asia and Terrorism—Terrorist Networks Revealed

Although the September 11 terrorist attacks against the United States built the international coalition against terrorism—through the recognition that terrorism is a threat to world peace—the major powers are concerned about U.S. unilateralism. As America's hard-line policy toward Iraq has been increasingly evident, wariness toward the Bush administration has grown worldwide.

While China and Russia support the United States in the war against terrorism, they are opposed to U.S. unilateralism. China is also concerned about the growing U.S. presence in Southeast Asia, but finds itself with no means to deter U.S. aggrandizement.

The United States recognizes that Southeast Asia, with its large Muslim population, is a strategic region in the war against terrorism, and the U.S. military presence there, as well as military aid, is increasing. While these countries understand that U.S. military assistance is necessary to prevent Islamic terrorism, they continue to oppose, for domestic political reasons, the deployment of U.S. forces in their countries.

Even though members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have been actively cooperating in preventing terrorism within the region since September 11, they have little to show for their efforts because of domestic political constraints and the limited capabilities of their law enforcement authorities. On October 12, 2002, a terrorist bombing in Bali, Indonesia, claimed more than 180 lives, the most casualties from a single terrorist attack since September 11. This incident revealed the limited capabilities of Indonesian law enforcement agencies, as well as the vulnerability of governance in Indonesia. It is likely that external powers, such as the United States and Australia, might intervene possibly lowering confidence in President Megawati Soekarnoputri's government.

1. Concerns about U.S. Unilateralism

(1) The U.S. Response

Since the September 11 terrorist attacks, the Bush administration has forged an international coalition for a war against terrorism and has cast a large net to capture al-Qaeda operatives. On the day following the attacks, the United Nations declared that terrorism was a threat to world peace and stability, and the U.N. Security Council (UNSC) adopted Resolution 1368 calling upon the international community to help prevent future terrorist attacks. In response, major powers including China joined the international coalition against terrorism. Responding to UNSC Resolution 1373, leaders of eight major powers gathered for the Group of Eight (G8) summit and agreed to block the flow of funds to terrorists by freezing their assets and by clamping down on money laundering. More importantly, the G8 members agreed to tighten arms export regulations to prevent terrorists from obtaining weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

In March 2002, the U.S. Department of State released a summary of U.S. and coalition actions since September 11, 2001, stating, in part: (1) the United States had received 46 multilateral declarations of support; (2) 17 countries had deployed more than 16,000 troops to the U.S. Central Command's area of responsibility; (3) 136 countries had offered various types of military assistance; (4) 142 countries had ordered freezing the assets of suspected terrorists and terrorist organizations; (5) 190 countries had expressed their willingness to do likewise; (6) nearly 1,000 al-Qaeda operatives had been arrested in more than 60 countries.

A G8 summit in Kananaskis, Canada in June 2002 issued a statement entitled "The G8 Global Partnership against the Proliferation of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction," declaring that G8 countries will continue their efforts to block the flow of funds to terrorists and toughen measures to check the proliferation of WMD. This statement is aimed at strengthening G8

cooperation to prevent the acquisition and development by terrorists of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, missiles, and related materials, equipment and technology. It also seeks the cooperation of non-G8 countries over preventing terrorism, and indicates that the G8 will extend technical assistance to developing countries to improve their ability to maintain peace and order. It also stresses the need to alleviate poverty, the root cause of terrorism, and to assist with economic development and education.

The September 11 tragedy has thus prodded the United States to form a global coalition to encircle and mop up international terrorism. Since cooperation from the world community is imperative, it is generally expected that the United States will take a more multilateral approach in its foreign policy. Rather than representing a shift away from unilateralism, however, this reflects the U.S. recognition of the need for international cooperation based on the unconventional nature of the enemy: an international network of terrorists spanning the globe. Thus, the United States reserved the right to set policy and make decisions, letting other countries implement these policies. Some countries in this antiterrorism coalition became skeptical that they were merely being asked to keep step with U.S. military action. Add to this President George W. Bush's characterization in his State of the Union Address in January 2002 that North Korea, Iran, and Iraq formed an "axis of evil," and their wariness toward the United States further increased.

In an effort to win international support for his get-tough policy with Iraq (including the military option), long suspected of developing and possessing nuclear weapons, in violation of UNSC resolutions, President Bush addressed the U.N. General Assembly in September in order to obtain a U.N. resolution for attacking Iraq. However, world opinion (with the exception of the United Kingdom) supported a U.N.-backed process for resolving the issue, and the United States was unable to go along with this. It insisted on attaching stringent conditions to U.N.-led weapons inspections and stuck to its hard-line position that it would use force unilater-

ally if it so chose—a high-handed stance that seemed likely to deepen mistrust of the United States.

(2) Dilemma of China and Russia

Since China and Russia cooperated with the United States in the war against terrorism, both were in a position to improve relations with the United States. Yet it appears that they tried to wield their influence within the multilateral framework of the United Nations, while cooperating with the United States. In reality, however, they were unable to find any opportunity to exercise their influence in the war against terrorism in the face of the U.S. overwhelming military and intelligence capabilities. Saddled with internal problems—terrorism and separatist movements—China and Russia wanted to solve these problems and pave the way for economic development by cooperating with the United States. There is no denying so far the fact that they worry about their declining status in the world in the face of increasing U.S. leadership.

Following an announcement that it will cooperate with the United States in its campaign against terrorism, Russia allowed U.S. military aircraft on humanitarian missions to use its airspace, and did not oppose the United States stationing its forces in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan on the Afghan border. In addition, it announced that it would provide military equipment to the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance. Russian cooperation was not confined to the military, but also included exchanging financial information and identifying and freezing terrorists' assets, working with organizations such as the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and the G8.

It seems that Russia wants to integrate itself firmly into the international community in order to lure more foreign investment and rebuild its economy by cooperating with the United States in the war against terrorism. Cooperation with the West would promote its position in the G8—which it recently joined in June 2002—and pave the way for membership in the World Trade

Organization (WTO). With terrorism on the rise following political unrest in Chechnya, Russia sought to repress domestic terrorism, particularly in Georgia, by aligning itself with the United States, and to curb the growing unilateralism of U.S. foreign policy. Russia maintains diplomatic relations with North Korea, Iraq, and Iran—the so-called "axis of evil"—and is therefore opposed to an attack on Iraq, favoring instead a U.N.-led solution to the problem.

China also decided to cooperate actively with the United States in the war against terrorism, pursuant to UNSC Resolution 1441, and implemented a number of measures to toughen its policy against terrorism and to strengthen internal peace and order. In order to suppress the separatist movement in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China has strengthened its military and police security systems, and reinforced border patrols against intrusion by terrorists from Afghanistan. To block the flow of funds to terrorists, it took various preventive steps, including the inspection of domestic banks. When President Bush visited China in February 2002, President Jiang Zemin agreed to enhance cooperation with the United States for the economy, the environment, and science and technology. The two leaders also agreed to strengthen cooperation in building medium- and long-term antiterrorist mechanisms.

Behind China's promise to cooperate with the United States in the war against terrorism lies the serious threat posed by Taliban elements based in Afghanistan. More specifically, anti-government Islamic extremists, operating in and around Xinjiang, are receiving weapons and combat training from the Taliban and al-Qaeda. Cooperating with the United States, backed by the UNSC, thereby justifies China's suppression of anti-government activities in Xinjiang. China also realizes that cooperation with the United States will accelerate the integration of its economy into the global market following its membership of the WTO.

However, China is also cautious about U.S. unilateralism. China has long insisted on a U.N.-led solution to terrorism, and demonstrated its leadership within the Shanghai Cooperation

Organization (SCO) for eradicating terrorism, a stance designed to restrain U.S. unilateralism. A joint communiqué issued by the SCO Foreign Ministers Meeting in January 2002 pointed out the danger of putting Afghanistan under the control of a particular force, a comment indirectly aimed at the United States. At the second SCO summit in June 2002, participants refrained from criticizing the U.S. war on terrorism, but expressed concern over U.S. unilateralism and the expanding U.S. presence in Central and Southeast Asia, declaring that globalism and regional interests should not be mutually exclusive but complementary to each other. Shortly before the ASEAN Ministerial meeting in July 2002, Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan expressed his discomfort at the sudden presence of U.S. troops on China's Central Asian borders, and at joint military operations between the United States and the Philippines. He expressed his hope of broadening China-ASEAN relations not only in the economic field but also in policy and security matters to restrain U.S. actions. At the ASEAN+3 (Japan, China, and South Korea) Foreign Ministers' Meeting on July 30, the importance of economic cooperation within the framework of ASEAN+3 was stressed, and it was proposed to establish an ASEAN+3 ministerial-level meeting to address the problems of terrorism, drug trafficking, illegal immigrants, international criminal offenses, financial and computer-related crimes, and dangerous cults. Finally, at the November ASEAN+China summit in Cambodia, China and ASEAN adopted a "Joint Communiqué Concerning Cooperation in the Area of Unconventional Security" to promote cooperation for the prevention of international crimes (terrorism, drug trafficking, etc.).

While China, as well as Russia, cooperated with the United States in the war against terrorism, it is wary of the unilateralism and expanding presence of the United States. However, the truth is that faced with strong U.S. leadership and its ability to deploy troops, China has no other recourse but to use the forum of the SCO and the ASEAN+3 to restrain the United States.

2. The U.S. and Southeast Asia—A Second Hotbed of Terrorism?

In the Asia-Pacific region, an attempt has been made to encircle international terrorists as well. In October 2001, then Foreign Minister Mohamed Bolkiah of Brunei, in his capacity as chairman of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), released a statement promising ASEAN's support for the war against terrorism. A summit of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, as well as the seventh ASEAN summit, both held in 2001, issued statements vowing that member countries will work with one another in the war against terrorism (see Chapter 1 of *East Asian Strategic Review 2002*). An informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, held in Bangkok in February 2002, agreed to accelerate the exchange of information for the prevention of terrorism, and a Special ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Terrorism, held in April the same year, issued a joint communiqué on the prevention of terrorism. At this meeting, the Internal Security Act (ISA) of Malaysia was judged to be an effective law for the prevention of terrorism, and it was suggested that other ASEAN members enact similar laws. In May, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines signed a terror prevention agreement, and when Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad visited the United States in May, he supported the U.S. war against terrorism.

Terrorism is the most serious concern in Southeast Asia, so that it was the major topic at the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, the ARF, and the Post Ministerial Conference (PMC) in July. On the last day of these meetings the ASEAN and the United States signed an anti-terrorism agreement and released an ASEAN-United States of America Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism. Among other things, the declaration states that to prevent international terrorism, the signatories will cooperate to promote the exchange of intelligence and to strengthen the control of terrorist funds, the entry of terrorists, and border patrols.

Since the September 11 terrorist attacks, the United States has regarded Southeast Asia as an important strategic region in the war against terrorism, and has provided ASEAN members with various forms of assistance to fight terrorism. Although Muslims account for approximately half of the total population of the ASEAN, most are politically moderate. There are, however, Islamic extremist groups in the region—Laskar Jihad in Indonesia, Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) in Malaysia, and Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines—involved in religious and ethnic strife, independence movements, and kidnappings. The ability of ASEAN members to maintain peace and order, by and large, is insufficient. With many still in the process of democratizing, combined with their limited ability to govern, this means they offer easy access for international terrorists. Since these countries are comprised of many islands, terrorists can infiltrate them with relative ease. As such, the strategic importance of Southeast Asia has grown for the United States in its war against terrorism.

As a result, U.S. involvement in Southeast Asian affairs has increased. During the first six months of 2002, the United States sent a contingent of military advisers to the Philippines and provided its armed forces with equipment, funds, and military training. From late January until the end of July, a total of 650 U.S. troops, including special forces, and segments of the Philippine armed forces conducted joint exercises on the island of Basilan to mop up the extremist Islamic group known as Abu Sayyaf. (The United States subsequently sent a further 340 reinforcements.)

During this campaign, an American missionary who had been abducted was killed on June 7, two key operatives of Abu Sayyaf were arrested, and Abu Sayyaf members were reduced from 800 to 240. An unconfirmed report had it that Abu Sayaba, commander of Abu Sayyaf, had been killed in action on June 21, and this was subsequently confirmed by the Philippine army in August. This Abu Sayyaf mop-up operation achieved positive results, and the Philippine military is pleased with the deepening U.S.-Philippine

military cooperation. The two countries are planning the second phase of their joint exercise after signing a Mutual Logistics Support Agreement (MLSA) in November that enables them to share military equipment and services. This agreement authorizes U.S. forces to use military bases in the Philippines, though this may conflict with the Philippine constitution banning foreign troops and military installations on its soil. In August, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell promised the Philippines a grant of $55 million in counterterrorist funds. The cooperative relationship between the United States and the Philippines has deepened as a result of the September 11 attacks.

Singapore is in close proximity to Malaysia and Indonesia, both with large Islamic populations, and Muslim terrorists based there are a serious menace to Singapore's security. Therefore, it is actively cooperating with the U.S.-led war on terrorism by allowing the U.S. Navy to use its base and by providing logistic support. As a result of this cooperation, Singapore has been regarded by the United States as the most trustworthy among the ASEAN members. Toward the end of 2001, Singapore authorities arrested 13 members of Jemaah Islamiah, a terrorist group connected with al-Qaeda, based on information provided by U.S. intelligence. Thus has information exchange between the two countries deepened. Not only is Singapore trying to strengthen this bilateral cooperation, it is also striving to strengthen cooperation within the ASEAN to eradicate terrorist networks. In 2002, the ARF announced measures to strengthen its anti-terrorist activity, reportedly from a proposal made by Singapore.

While supporting the U.S. policy for eradicating terrorism, ASEAN countries with large Muslim populations—such as Malaysia and Indonesia—disagree with the U.S. one-sided notion that all Muslims are terrorists, and they oppose stationing and activities of U.S. forces in their countries. Aligning themselves too closely with the United States would be strongly opposed by their Muslim citizens and could threaten the legitimacy of the governments. In fact, when the United

States launched its attack against Afghanistan, anti-American demonstrations broke out in Malaysia and Indonesia, and Indonesian President Megawati was forced to tone down her pro-American stance. However, when the existence of Jemaah Islamiah came to light, Malaysia allowed U.S. customs agents into the country to strengthen its inspection of cargo ships and also accepted the joint U.S.-ASEAN agreement proposed by the United Stages to combat international terrorism. In addition, Malaysia also accepted U.S. Secretary of State Powell's proposal to establish a regional antiterrorism center in Malaysia. In August, U.S. Secretary of State Powell announced that the United States would grant $50 million to Indonesia to help finance its anti-terrorist measures, and suggested that the United States might lift its ban on exporting weapons to Indonesia, imposed in 1999 in retaliation for Indonesian army human rights violations in East Timor. Since its ability to maintain peace and order had deteriorated, due to its sluggish economy and the lack of new equipment for its armed forces, Indonesia welcomed the assistance from the United States.

In need of intelligence and military assistance from the United States to stamp out terrorism within its member states, the ASEAN has been strengthening cooperation with the United States. At the same time, the United States has been intensifying its involvement in Southeast Asian affairs as the region's importance to its anti-terrorism strategy increases. U.S. interest in Indonesia, which it considers the hub of a terrorist network in Southeast Asia, is particularly keen. The Bali terrorist bombing on October 12, 2002, claimed more than 180 lives, mostly of Australians, so terrorism has become a serious threat requiring a strong response not only from Southeast Asia but the entire Asia-Pacific region.

Heads of states attending an APEC meeting (October 27, 2002, Los Cabos) (AP/WWP)

APEC heads of states met in Los Cabos on October 26, 2002, recognizing international terrorism as a direct threat to an open and free Asia-Pacific region, and adopted two statements on preventing terrorism entitled "Recent Acts of Terrorism in APEC Member Economies" and "Fighting Terrorism and Promoting Growth." The latter includes the following points: APEC countries will install highly effective baggage screening procedures and equipment in their airports by 2005; introduce reinforced cockpit door panels for passenger aircraft by April 2003; APEC will try to ratify the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism not later than October 2003; and all major vessels operating in the region will be fitted with automatic identification systems (AIS).

The United States proposed to Indonesia an antiterrorism support measure that included a soft loan from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. The United States requested that Malaysia establish an anti-terrorism center in 2003, as first proposed by U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell when he visited in July 2002. Although Malaysia agreed to establish such a center, in an effort to staunch local opposition, Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad said that the center was for the prevention of terrorism and the maintenance of peace and order, not to station foreign troops. The antiterrorism center is scheduled to be established in 2003. Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan announced that Japan would receive 30 ASEAN trainees a year, for a period of five years starting in fiscal 2003, to train specialists in chemical and biological weapons. The Bali bombing has thus invigorated the entire Asia-Pacific region, including not only Southeast Asia and the United States, but also Japan and Australia to expand and strengthen cooperation against terrorism. It is hoped that these budding relationships will help ASEAN members improve their ability to maintain peace and order, deepen their relationships, and achieve substantial results in eradicating terrorism in the region.

3. The Bombing in Bali and Terrorist Networks

(1) Antiterrorist Measures Outmaneuvered

The Bali bombing on October 12 came as a great shock to ASEAN members and forced the Indonesian government to come to grips with terrorism.

In Indonesia, where Muslims account for nearly 90 percent of the population, Islamic extremist groups, such as Laskar Jihad, have created numerous problems by fanning independence movements and local religious conflicts. Despite the suspicion that Laskar Jihad is connected to al-Qaeda, the government's position had been that no terrorists are in the country and that the strife is a domestic issue. Although Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines had agreed to fight terrorism in May 2002, Indonesia did not take any concrete steps, and at a July ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Indonesia was criticized for not taking adequate measures to control terrorism. Believing that the stability of Indonesia was indispensable to the security of the region, the Philippine foreign minister went so far as to say that the United States should help Indonesia fight terrorism. Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda of Indonesia retorted that the criticisms were invalid and it was wrong to characterize all Muslim extremists as terrorists

Bali terrorist bombing scene (October 14, 2002) (AP/WWP)

The bombings and murders carried out by Abu Sayyaf of the Philippines and the KMM of Malaysia in each country explain why ASEAN members began to cooperate more to prevent terrorism in the region. Confessions by terrorists arrested in Singapore and Malaysia at the end of 2001 revealed that they were al-Qaeda-related members of Jemaah Islamiah and had formed a network

across Singapore, Indonesia, and Malaysia. This is another reason that ASEAN members enhanced counterterrorism cooperation in the region. A number of Jemaah Islamiah members had been arrested in Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines, but none in Indonesia. Singapore informed the Indonesian government that a certain Ridual Isamudin (a.k.a. "Hambali"), a key Jemaah Islamiah operative, was hiding in Java, but the Indonesian government did not take any action. The Indonesian government's slow reaction may be explained by the fact that the leaders were busy staking out their positions in the run-up to the presidential election scheduled in 2004, and that Indonesia's budding democratization had yet to take root. Even after the September 11 terrorist attacks, President Megawati played down the government's support for the U.S.-led war on terrorism, fearful of a reaction from the country's Muslim population. Jafar Umar Thalib, commander of the extremist group Laskar Jihad, was arrested in May 2002 for instigating religious strife in Maluku and Sulawesi. Soon thereafter, Vice President Hamzah Haz (head of the Muslim-oriented United Development Party) had a meeting with Jafar Umar Thalib, prompting speculation that the vice president was going after Muslim votes as a possible contender in the 2004 presidential election. When Jafar Umar Thalib was released in July, suspicions arose that the vice president had used his influence to set him free. In addition, it is said that Hamzah Haz is close to Abu Bakar Bashir, spiritual leader of Jemaah Islamiah. There are also suspicions that the Indonesian armed forces supports Islamic extremists in order to strengthen its political status by encouraging confusion. It is

Abu Bakar Bashir, the suspected leader of Jemaah Islamiah (Kyodo Photo)

rumored that some of the weapons used by Laskar Jihad in the conflicts in Maluku and Sulawesi were obtained from Indonesian armed forces and police, which might explain why the armed forces' reluctance to control Islamic extremists.

Malaysia and Singapore each have an internal security act to maintain public order that empowers the government to indefinitely detain terrorists and anti-government elements without a trial, and a number of terrorists affiliated with Jemaah Islamiah have been arrested. Indonesia had a similar law during the Suharto regime, and Abu Bakar Bashir was once arrested in 1978 on orders from President Suharto. Occasionally the law had been abused to suppress human rights, so when the Suharto regime fell, the law was abolished as part of Indonesia's drive toward democratization. However, once terrorism became an immediate threat, an antiterrorism bill was drafted in January 2002, authorizing the establishment of an antiterrorist body under the direct control of the president. The law permits the government to take into custody any terrorist or person threatening to commit a terrorist act, and keep them in custody for a protracted period. However, since many politicians opposed the bill, fearing a Muslim backlash, it was shelved without the approval of the parliament. It may be pointed out that the absence of a legal basis to arrest terrorists was a factor in Indonesia's inadequate anti-terrorist measures. Indonesia's weakness in governing itself might provide outside powers with a pretext for intervening in its domestic politics.

(2) The Lack of Governance, and International Cooperation

As a result of the Bali bombing on October 12, 2002, Indonesia was pressured by the West to take immediate measures to control terrorists. Law enforcement agencies from Australia (where most of the casualties came from), the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States were sent to investigate the bombing on Bali, a world famous resort. Although Indonesian police were not happy with this intervention, the government had no choice but to allow

it, given its limited investigative ability. According to the October 16 edition of the *New York Times*, the United States had learned from a confession by Omar al-Faruq, a senior al-Qaeda member in U.S. custody who had been arrested in Bogor, Indonesia, that terrorists were planning to bomb discos and other tourist places, though the exact locations and timing were unknown. The U.S. government, even before October 12, had requested President Megawati and other Indonesian leaders to increase their vigilance against terrorist attacks. Despite prior warnings, however, the Indonesian government failed to take effective measures. This was due to a lack of coordination among the authorities—the police, the armed forces, and the State Intelligence Bureau (BIN)—who conducted their own separate post-bombing investigations without effective information and intelligence sharing. As the investigations progressed, helped by Omar al-Faruq's confession and evidence gathered, it began to look highly possible that those responsible for the Bali bombing were members of an organization affiliated with al-Qaeda. The Indonesian armed forces and police, previously wary of foreign interference, welcomed the cooperation of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other foreign law enforcement agencies, though they insisted that Indonesian authorities lead the investigation. On October 18, Indonesian police announced that they would establish an international investigative team, consisting of law enforcement officers from seven countries—including Japan, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia.

Although the Megawati government was firmly opposed to separatist and independence movements—such as the independence movement in Aceh led by Free Aceh Movement (GAM)—its control over Islamic extremist groups was less than adequate, due to political considerations toward its large Muslim population. The protracted religious strife instigated by Laskar Jihad in Maluku and Sulawesi claimed many lives because the Megawati government, failing to impose martial law, allowed the situation to take its own

course. And the limited ability of Indonesia to maintain peace and order because of its vulnerable governance may be another reason why it could not prevent the Bali bombing. Yet when President Megawati realized that the bombing revealed the failings of the Indonesian government and undermined the country's credibility, she began to put into place various antiterrorist measures. The following day, October 13, President Megawati summoned her ministers for an emergency session to discuss antiterrorism measures (such as strengthening the security of energy-related facilities and tightening inspections of foreign cargo ships), and she asked for the cooperation of other countries to improve Indonesia's investigations and to exchange intelligence on countries involved with terrorism. On October 18, she issued the Government Regulations in Lieu of Laws on Fighting Terrorism—a temporary law until antiterrorist laws were enacted. These regulations authorize the formation of a special investigative team, under the direct control of the director of the National Police, and empower law enforcement agencies to arrest terrorist suspects based only on intelligence—even without incriminating evidence—and detain them for as long as six months. Authorities were also authorized to conduct wiretaps of suspected terrorists, and to open and inspect private letters, with retroactive effect from the time of Bali bombing. Since these measures could be used to abuse human rights, they were strongly opposed by those pressing for more democracy, politicians, and bureaucrats who support Muslim extremists. At a cabinet meeting, Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono admitted that its antiterrorism activities were weaker than in some other countries of the region, and said that ministers should refrain from denying the existence of terrorists in Indonesia.

On October 22, President Megawati stated she had given full authority to Minister Yudhoyono on all matters relating to the eradication of terrorists, and had given control over the nation's intelligence agencies to Director General A.M. Hendropriyono of the

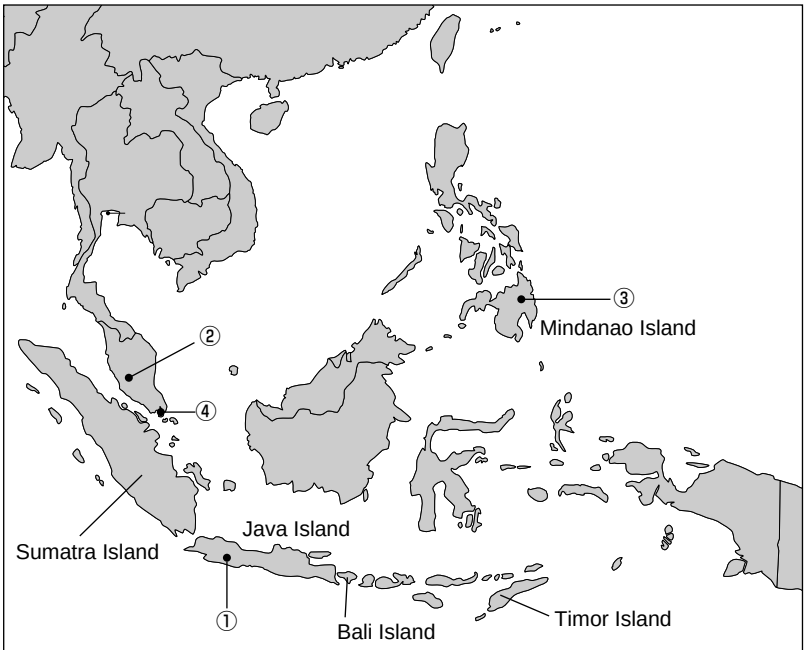
National Intelligence Agency. Despite her efforts, however, the ineffective coordination between the nation's intelligence agencies came to light (as previously noted), and some Indonesian leaders criticized the president for simply dumping the job of planning and implementing anti-terrorist measures on Minister Yudhoyono and Director General Hendropriyono.

(3) Terrorist Networks

According to a CNN report on November 7, 2002, al-Qaeda's website carried a statement admitting its involvement in the bombing on Bali. According to this statement, al-Qaeda said that even Arab or Islamic countries were not exempt from attacks, and went on to admit the following: (1) a plan to blow up an American jetliner in Saudi Arabia; (2) the bombing of a synagogue in Tunisia; (3) the attack on the U.S. base on Fialka Island, Kuwait; and (4) various attacks on nightclubs and brothels. Prior to this admission, President Bush had pointed out that al-Qaeda was involved in the Bali bombing, as well as attacks on a French tanker off Yemen on October 6 and U.S. marines in Kuwait.

On November 7, Indonesian police announced the arrest of a suspect named Amurozi, owner of the car used in the Bali bombing, who confessed to being one of several terrorists responsible for the bombing. He allegedly received funds for the attack from Jemaah Islamiah, and his confession led to the arrest of Imam Samudra, ringleader of the plot. In December, nine key members of the group, including Mukhlas, were arrested. So far, no clear evidence linking these suspects to al-Qaeda or Jemaah Islamiah has been uncovered. Although others involved in the Bali bombing are still at large, it is believed that Jemaah Islamiah—connected to al-Qaeda—was responsible for the attack. On the day after the bombing, Foreign Minister Alexander Downer of Australia hinted at the possibility of Jemaah Islamiah's involvement, and Indonesian Defense Minister Matori Abdul Djalil said the bombing was the work of professionals, acknowledging for the first time the exis-

Chart 2-1. Muslim Extremists in Southeast Asia



① Indonesia
• Jemaah Islamiah
(Strongly suspected of involvement in the October 12 terrorist bombing in Bali)
• Laskar Jihad
(Announced its disbandment on October 15, 2002, after several incidents of inciting religious strife)
• Islamic Defenders Front
• Laskar Mujahideen
② Malaysia
• Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM)
From the end of 2001 to April 2002, 38 extremist Muslims were arrested, most members of KMM. In July 2002, another 13 Muslim extremists were arrested.
③ The Philippines
• Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)
• Abu Sayyaf
On August 2, the Philippine army announced that the commander of Abu Sayyaf had died.
④ Singapore
January 5, the Singapore government announced that 13 of 15 terrorists arrested at the end of 2001 were members of Jemaah Islamiah. In August, the government arrested more than 20 Jemaah Islamiah members.

Note: The U.S. State Department has identified the underlined organizations above as international terrorists, as well as the New People's Army of the Philippine Communist Party.
Sources: Compiled from IISS, *The Military Balance 2002-2003*, and various media reports.

tence of an al-Qaeda terrorist in his country.

It was the confession of Omar al-Faruq, an al-Qaeda operative now in U.S. custody, that convinced Indonesia of the existence of a terrorist network. Omar al-Faruq admitted to taking part in Jemaah Islamiah terrorist activities, including the bombing of churches in various parts of Indonesia late in 2000 and a plot against the life of President Megawati in 2001. His confession also revealed that he and Abu Bakar Bashir, spiritual leader of Jemaah Islamiah, had masterminded these attacks, thus deepening suspicion of Jemaah Islamiah's responsibility for the Bali bombing. He also revealed his involvement, along with Abu Bakar Bashir, in plans to blow up U.S. embassies throughout Southeast Asia around September 11, 2002, thus prompting their temporary closure in Indonesia and Malaysia. Hambali, the chief strategist for Jemaah Islamiah, was said to be planning attacks on bars and nightclubs in Southeast Asia. Defense Minister Matori Abdul Djalil of Indonesia determined that Hambali was involved in all bombings in Indonesia, including Bali. In addition, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) announced that early in 2002, Abu Bakar Bashir had withdrawn $74,000 from a Saudi Arabian account believed to be that of Osama bin Laden, and had illegally bought explosives and weapons.

With the various terrorist activities of Bashir and Hambali becoming clearer, on October 19 Indonesian police arrested Bashir, who had been hospitalized in Solo, Central Java, despite his constant denials of any involvement. Irfan Awass, who was believed to be involved in creating Jemaah Islamiah and is chairman of the Indonesian Mujahiddin Council (or Majelis Mujahiddin Indonesia, MMI), which seems to be a coordinating body of the activities of Muslim extremists in Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries, denied Bashir's connection to Jemaah Islamiah, and criticized the government for its weak stance toward foreign governments. He threatened that a government clampdown on Muslims would incite demonstrations and violence. The search for Hambali,

believed to be a ranking operative of al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia and a leader of Jemaah Islamiah, has begun throughout ASEAN nations, but his whereabouts are still unknown.

Terrorism in Southeast Asia is linked through a network and is therefore no longer a threat confined to a single country. Based on confessions obtained from arrested al-Qaeda operatives, the outline of a terrorist network in Southeast Asia was revealed. Omar al-Faruq brought Jemaah Islamiah leader Abu Bakar Bashir into contact with the al-Qaeda and steered extremist groups such as the Laska Jihad of Indonesia, the KMM of Malaysia, and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) of the Philippines into carrying out terrorist attacks through Bashir and the MMI led by Hambali. Particularly, an early arrest of Hambali, believed to be masterminding terrorist activities, is vital for the eradication of terrorism in Southeast Asia. To accomplish this, it is essential to improve the exchange of intelligence and investigative techniques, and to receive the cooperation of countries outside the region. Foreign cooperation would also be an effective tool given the shortcomings of the Indonesian police, and also to dissuade Indonesia from being politically pressured into easing its pursuit of Bashir.

Improving the ability of the military and police in the region alone is not enough to eradicate terrorism. The United States is trying to strengthen relations with the military in ASEAN nations, but fortifying the military in a country where democracy has not yet taken root and where civilian control over the military is not firm carries the danger of the military violating human rights. Therefore, it is important for foreign countries to cooperate with ASEAN countries to help them improve their law enforcement capability. Using force to suppress people carries the risk of sparking a new wave of uprisings and terror. The joint exercises between U.S. forces and the Philippine armed forces were successful in inflicting a serious blow to Abu Sayyaf. Encouraged by these results, Philippine President Gloria M. Arroyo declared that the next mop-up operation would be directed against communist guerrillas. In re-

Commentary

Jemaah Islamiah

Jemaah Islamiah is a Muslim extremist group based and operating throughout Southeast Asia, and believed to be connected with the international terrorist organization al-Qaeda. It maintains bases in Malaysia and Singapore, and is suspected of being active in Indonesia and the Philippines. Its objective is to create Muslim states across the region from southern Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Indonesia, to the Philippines.

The total number of its members is unknown, though the U.S. State Department estimates there are 200 or so in Malaysia. Its source of funds is also unknown, but it possibly receives financial assistance from al-Qaeda. Jemaah Islamiah traces its origin to an Islamic school in Solo, west of Java, established in 1972; Abu Bakar Bashir is one of the founding members. The school teaches Islamic fundamentalism, and an alumni association is thought to have become the foundation of Jemaah Islamiah. Another founder of the school, Emil Sheik Abdula Sankar, was arrested in 1978 by the Suharto regime on charges of subversion, along with Bashir, but the two escaped to Malaysia in 1985. They organized various Muslim extremist groups among Malaysians and Indonesians who escaped to Malaysia like Bashir. From the late 1980s through the 1990s, organizations formed by Bashir and Sankar deepened the cooperation between extremist groups in Southeast Asia, such KMM and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), as well as al-Qaeda, and it is believed that they created the Jemaah Islamiah network in the early 1990s. The person instrumental in building Jemaah Islamiah's network in Southeast Asia is Ridual Isamudin, also known as Hambali, believed to be the operational leader of the group.

In December 2001, 15 Jemaah Islamiah members were arrested in Singapore (though two were later released), including a number who had received military training at al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan and MILF camps in the Philippines. A large number of explosives were discovered at their homes, along with videos proving their connection to al-Qaeda. Jemaah Islamiah members in Singapore are suspected of having obtained four tons of ammonium nitrate (used to make bombs), but their whereabouts are unknown.

sponse, communist guerrillas announced they would fiercely resist the Philippine government, thus giving rise to a new cause for concern. In order to stamp out terrorism, the reduction of economic disparities and the redress of political inequalities, which are often

cited as the root causes of terrorism, are essential in the long term. Improving education is also necessary, because the lack of good schools in rural areas has created a vacuum, and Muslim extremist priests such as Abu Bakar Bashir are given a forum for their radical beliefs by offering education to the local population.

Political corruption is another cause of popular discontent, one that fuels support for Muslim extremists. Therefore, promoting political transparency is essential for easing popular discontent. And internal security acts, designed to prevent terrorism, could become a tool of human rights' abuse if misused. In order, therefore, to eradicate terrorism, it is necessary for ASEAN governments to rethink their growth-oriented policies and introduce more balanced development strategies, and make every effort to strengthen their governance.