

## **The Joint Efforts of Indonesian and Australian Governments in Countering Terrorism: Intelligence Cooperation**

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**Abstrak:** Terorisme telah menjadi ancaman global sejak tragedi 9/11. Di Indonesia, aksi terorisme telah menjadi perhatian besar di antara banyak pemangku kepentingan pemerintah Indonesia terutama pasca peristiwa Bom Bali di awal tahun 2000-an. Insiden tersebut merenggut banyak nyawa dan banyak dari mereka adalah warga negara Australia. Oleh karena itu, Australia menawarkan bantuan kepada Indonesia dalam bentuk kerjasama di berbagai bidang, termasuk pelatihan infrastruktur dan forensik bagi petugas kepolisian. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis intensitas dan dinamika kerja sama intelijen Indonesia – Australia yang berkontribusi dalam mengurangi aksi terorisme di Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan perspektif kerja sama internasional dan keamanan manusia, artikel ini berpendapat bahwa faktor pendorong utama yang memfasilitasi kerja sama Indonesia dan Australia di bidang kontraterorisme dan intelijen adalah bahwa kedua negara tersebut sama-sama menghadapi ancaman terorisme yang jika tidak diantisipasi secara komprehensif, akan membahayakan keamanan, stabilitas di masing-masing negara tersebut dan di kawasan Asia-Pasifik.

**Kata kunci:** Terorisme; Intelijen; Indonesia; Australia; ISIS

**Abstract:** Terrorism has become a global threat particularly since the 9/11 September tragedy. In Indonesia, acts of terrorism have become a great concern among many stakeholders of the Indonesian government particularly in the aftermath of the Bali Bombing incidents in the beginning of 2000s. The incidents took many lives, and many of them were Australian citizens. As a result, Australia offered Indonesia assistance in the form of cooperation in a variety of areas, including infrastructure and forensics training for police officers. This article aims to analyze the depth and dynamics of Indonesia – Australia intelligence cooperation that contribute to reduce the acts of terrorism in Indonesia. Employing the perspectives of international cooperation and human security, the article argues that the primary driving factor that facilitates Indonesia and Australia cooperation in the areas of counterterrorism and intelligence that the countries face the same terrorism threats that, if not anticipated comprehensively, would endanger the security stability in respective countries and in the Asia-Pacific region.

**Keywords:** Terrorism; Intelligence; Indonesia; Australia; ISIS

## **Introduction**

Intelligence is one of the most essential instruments for the exercise of state power. Intelligence is also the result of the process of collecting, sequencing, evaluating, analyzing, integrating and interpreting all information obtained from national security issues. Throughout the national security system, intelligence serves as an early warning system to prevent unexpected events that may endanger the national security (Widjajanto & Wardhani, 2008, p. 1). Terrorist groups are controlled, recruited, trained, operated, and targeted in various countries, so counter-terrorism measures will only be effective if all countries agree to the characteristics of terrorist groups and their activities. Terrorism is a type of crime which can have a serious impact on the countries of the world. Terrorism as a transnational crime represents a threat to the security of the state. A common definition agreement would be a step in the direction of universal cooperations in terrorism prevention (Bruce, 2013, p. 27). For intelligence agencies in a country, including Indonesia, the threat of terrorism becomes a challenge. This threat of terrorism not only threatens a country's domestic situation, but it also threatens other countries' security (Wibisono, 2009, p. 3).

One of the challenges faced by Indonesian intelligence agencies in dealing with the threat of terrorism in information technology. Until the present day, terrorist groups exploit the widespread use of information technology, for propaganda, recruitment and planning for acts of terror. To deal with this, an information technology application strategy is needed in the context of counterterrorism. In Indonesia, terrorist groups have used internet technologies to conduct their operations. It starts from preparing terror plans, training, financing, recruitment, and execution. This is based on the findings of the security forces in recent years, which reinforces the belief that the ability of the group cannot be underestimated (Ihsan, 2019). On the other hand, it seems that intelligence agencies have just recently started to pay particular and careful attention to the cyber domain when dealing with terrorism. For example, up to the present time, there has been no special oversight of social media and internet sites that are affiliated or sympathetic to terrorist groups carried out by intelligence institutions. The closure of social media accounts and internet sites affiliated or sympathetic to the group was carried out by the Ministry of Communication and Information (Mahyudin, 2016, p. 24).

In 2002 Indonesia was shocked by a bomb in Bali. The Bali bombing incident claimed many lives, and the victims were not only Indonesian but also foreigners who were on a vacation in Bali. After the Bali bombing incident, the neighboring countries gave assistance to Indonesia. Some of them even established cooperative relations in combating terrorism, including Australia. On October 2002, Indonesia

and Australia agreed to establish a joint investigation and intelligence team to investigate the Bali bombing. This incident makes Australia feel worried by the entrance of terrorists group into its country, as the geographical position between Indonesia and Australia is very close, and Australia also think about the secure of its people as it can be seen by how many Australian citizens who fly to Indonesia. So that the cooperations between Indonesia and Australia, Indonesia is represented by the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) and Australia is represented by the Australian Federal Police (AFP). This cooperations is intended to establish an anti-terror intelligence agency, to uncover the Bali Bombing case (Riza, 2003).

The Bali Bombing incident was very damaging to the reputation of Indonesia in the eyes of the international community as it directly influenced the tourism industry in Bali as the world's favorite tourist destination and at the same time as Indonesia's highest foreign exchange earner. Indonesia and Australia have done the cooperations for several times, in particular in dealing with terrorism issues, until the cooperations was finally formalized in the form of an agreement that binds Indonesia and Australia to an agreement that was signed in Lombok, or as known as the Lombok Treaty. This agreement was signed in November 2006 and ratified by both countries in 2007. After the Bali Bombing 2002 inquiry by the Indonesian National Police, Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperations (JCLEC) was formed by Canberra and Jakarta. JCLEC has been a center of excellence in law enforcement training since its establishment as a bilateral cooperations between Indonesia and Australia. The investigation showed flaws in Indonesia's capacity to investigate and disrupt terrorist networks effectively (Coyne & Vipond, 2016).

Aside from the Bali bombings, there have been acts of terror in Indonesia around 2014 and 2016. Terrorist activities in Indonesia have fluctuated during this time, with decreases in 2014 to 2015, while terrorist activities in Indonesia have increased in 2016 and 2017 (Siswoyo & Sadat, 2017). While Indonesia's cooperation with Australia in countering terrorism continues, the threat of terrorism also continues. As at 2016, Indonesia was shocked by the terrorist bombing in the MH Thamrin area, Central Jakarta. The explosions occurred in two places, the Menara Cakrawala parking lot, the northern parking building of Sarinah and in front of the police station building (Nugraha, 2020). During 2016, it was noted that the Special Anti-Terrorism 88 Police Datasemen arrested 170 people suspected of being terrorists, this number increased compared to the previous year (Sohuturon, 2016).

Again in 2017, Indonesia was shocked by a bomb attack that occurred in the Kampung Melayu Terminal, East Jakarta. The incident identified at least 15 persons became victims, 10 people injured, 3 people died, and two of them are perpetrators suspected. ISIS groups claim responsibility for the incident, the bomb attack that occurred in Kampung Melayu carried out by their members (Purnamasari, 2017). The terrorism activities that have taken place in Indonesia can be used as a

foundation for improving relations between Indonesia and Australia through counter- terrorism cooperations. The cooperation between Indonesia and Australia was proven by the Joint Investigation and Intelligence Team to investigate the Bali bombing in October 2002 and the JCLCE in 2004. There were also several counter-terrorist cooperation activities between Indonesia and Australia undertaken after the Bali bombing in 2002. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 2015, Indonesia held a 2+2 meeting with Australia. On that meeting there was also a signing of the Memorandum of Understanding on Combating Global Terrorism between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Australia. In order to handling terrorism, the two countries decided to pursue specific practical cooperation: sharing of information, training/strengthening capability and technical assistance if necessary (Directorate of KIPS, 2019).

In response to the threat of terrorism that has taken place in Indonesia, Australia is concerned about the stability of Indonesia, which is causing low security to lose and terrorism reaches to Australia, and so both countries are raising security cooperations, especially in counter-terrorism intelligence. Indonesia and Australia are increasing their cooperations in dealing with terrorism in Indonesia and various agreements have been established to minimize the acts of terrorism in Indonesia. This article is important because despite existing studies on Indonesia – Australia relations, intelligence cooperation has so far received little attention. This article aims to analyze the depth and dynamics of Indonesia – Australia intelligence cooperation that contribute to reduce the acts of terrorism in Indonesia. It could be stated that the primary driving factor that facilitates Indonesia and Australia cooperation in the areas of counterterrorism and intelligence that the countries face the same terrorism threats that, if not anticipated comprehensively, would endanger the security stability in respective countries and in the Asia-Pacific region.

## **Methods**

The method used in this study is a qualitative method, which is used to analyze how the intelligence cooperation between Indonesia and Australia contributes to reduce the threats of terrorism. This is done through understanding the phenomena experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perception, motivation, and actions by means of descriptions in the form of words and languages that utilize various natural methods (Neuman & Rossman, 2006). This study uses qualitative research methods that are analytically descriptive. The sources of the data collection in this thesis are secondary data. Secondary data sources obtained through documentation, such as books, newspapers, journals, official reports, archives, and data from relevant institutions's official websites such as the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Embassy of Australia in Jakarta. This research uses the concepts of international cooperation and human security. International cooperation can be established based on international relations, which covers a variety of areas,

such as ideology, politics, economy, social, environment, culture, defense, and security. International cooperation is carried out between countries to satisfy the needs of their people and other concerns that are driven by the foreign policy of each country (Burchill, 2005). Furthermore, human security is the development of thoughts on state protection that contribute to the concept of public welfare, including the security of individuals and communities. It protects the life of community members, including children, people in war zones, ethnic minorities and others, from various forms of violence (MacFarlane & Khong, 2006, p. 15). All collected data are analyzed using these two concepts that serve as analytical tools to analyze and, at the same time, examine the research aim of this article, which is the dynamics of Indonesia – Australia intelligence cooperation that contribute to reduce the acts of terrorism in Indonesia.

## **Discussions**

### **Intelligence Cooperation between Indonesia and Australia**

Intelligence, according to Indonesian law, is information, organization, and practices relevant to policy development, national strategy, and decision making focused on study of information and facts gathered by work methods for identification and early warning in the context of prevention and control of each a national security threat (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 17 Tahun 2011 Tentang Intelijen Negara, 2011). One of the most important instruments for the exercise of state power is intelligence. Intelligence is also the result of the process of collecting, compiling, evaluating, analyzing, integrating, and interpreting all information obtained on national security issues. In conclusion, intelligence is the essence of knowledge that seeks to make predictions by evaluating the most recent data, which will later be used as a measure of policies and actions to be made. In the national security system, intelligence acts as an early warning system to prevent sudden situations that could threaten state security (Widjajanto & Wardhani, 2008).

State intelligence can be divided into two definitions according to its concept: intelligence as a function and as an organization. Intelligence as a function is as an early warning system, in which intelligence's role is to collect, analyze, and provide information to policy makers. Meanwhile, as an organization, it is an intelligence institution, which is not dissimilar to other institutions. The only exception is that intelligence institutions have the principles of confidentiality (Widjajanto & Wardhani, 2008). Indonesia has several agencies that have intelligence and agencies related to terrorism, such as State Intelligence Agency (Badan Intelijen Negara), Intelligence and Security Agency of the Indonesian Police Department (Badan Intelijen dan Keamanan Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia), and The 88 Special Anti-Terror Unit operated by the National Police, and Strategic

Intelligence Agency (Badan Intelijen Strategis) (BAIS) as well as The 81 Special Anti-Terror Unit operated by the Indonesian Military.

Intelligence cooperation between Indonesia and Australia was officially carried out in 2002, after the Bali Bombing I incident. The cooperation was established on the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 2002 called the Joint Investigation and Intelligence Team with the objective of investigating the Bali Bombing. The purpose of this cooperation between the Indonesian and Australian police is to uncover the Bali I Bombing case by establishing an anti-terror intelligence agency (Haryani, 2008). After the 2002 Bali Bombing, Indonesia formed a special anti-terror unit called Detasemen 88. In increasing its capacity, Densus 88 is assisted by Australia regarding funding. Not only that, the funding that has been disbursed by Australia is used for police reform and training in Indonesia (Barton, 2018).

Before the signing of the security cooperation agreement in 2006, there had been discussion about the need for Indonesia and Australia to develop security cooperation since 2003. A year after the Bali Bombing I incident, Indonesia that was represented by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, visited Australia. During the meeting, Yudhoyono stated that there is a need to increase the capacity of state security to eradicate both traditional and non-traditional threats. The Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperations (JCLEC) was established in Semarang in 2004 by Indonesia and Australia. The establishment of JCLEC is seen as a sign of commitment between the two countries' bilateral ties, with the facility serving as a training and law enforcement center for both countries, especially in response to the threat of terrorism and transnational crime. JCLEC received active support from partner governments and international law enforcement agencies, especially INTERPOL and ASEANAPOL. Several capacity-building services are available at JCLEC such as forensics, management, research, inquiries, conferences, lectures, and workshops. JCLEC is essentially a learning place and a forum to share knowledge (Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperation, 2022).

The signing of the Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Partnership between the Republic of Indonesia and Australia improved the relationship between the two countries after Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was appointed as a President of Indonesia. This declaration is based on the fact that the two countries share a commitment to strengthening cooperation in various fields to increase interaction between peoples. Furthermore, this declaration states the importance of cooperation in eradicating terrorism after the Bali bombing I. In this declaration, Indonesia and Australia agreed to work together to improve police capability (capacity building), intelligence agents (sharing intelligence), and law enforcement in the office of immigration and customs (Sakti, 2016).

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of November 2006, after nearly three years of various negotiations and discussions, the two countries eventually agreed on the final text of the Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Australia on the Framework for Security Cooperation, also known as the Lombok Treaty. The cooperation was later approved by the Indonesian House of Representatives in 2007 (Sakti, 2016). There are several main purposes for the establishment of the Lombok Treaty that can be seen in the text. First, to provide a mechanism for cooperation to enhance and extend cooperation between the two countries as well as to improve cooperation and consultation between parties in areas of common interest that could have an impact on each country's national security. Second, in accordance with this agreement, to create a bilateral consultation mechanism to facilitate intensive dialogue, exchange, and implementation of cooperative practices as well as to improve relations between institutions (White, 2008).

The Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the Australian Department of Defense held a bilateral meeting on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2012 to discuss defense industry cooperation between the two countries in order to meet defense needs. The Annual Defense Ministers Meeting is a continuation of the meeting of high-ranking Indonesian and Australian officials (2 + 2). At the end of the bilateral meeting, Minister Smith and Minister Yusegianto signed a defense cooperation arrangement by imposing an official framework for practical defense cooperation under the Lombok Treaty (Ikatan Alumni Pertahanan Indonesia - Australia). After allegations that the Australian party had tapped into the mobile phones of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, First Lady Ani Yudhoyono, and eight ministers and other state officials, Indonesia's bilateral cooperation with Australia became strained in 2013. The Indonesian government recalled its ambassador to Australia and suspended military and intelligence cooperations after the allegations of wiretapping were made public. When the Indonesian ambassador to Australia, Nadjib Riphath Kesoema, was sent back to Canberra in May 2014, bilateral relations normalized. As a result of this incident, the Australian and Indonesian governments agreed to sign an intelligence partnership deal, a protocol agreement, and an ethics code. The agreement was made for the two countries to rebuild trust and hope in the future (Suastha, 2017).

Indonesia and Australia's bilateral relations strengthen at the end of 2015. Indonesia held a bilateral meeting to discuss more comprehensive cooperation in dealing with state security. The meeting was attended by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan and Australian Attorney General George Brandis. The two countries discussed the issue of terrorism that is currently being faced. The meeting discussed three important issues, which are counter-terrorism, cyber security, and intelligence operations (Wardah, 2015). With a delegation from Australia, including Minister of Foreign Affairs Julie Bishop and

Minister of Defense Marise Payne, Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi and Indonesian Minister of Defense Ryamizard Ryacudu held The Third Indonesia-Australia Foreign and Defense Ministers Meeting (2 + 2 Dialogue). This meeting is a bilateral mechanism at the level of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Defense, which discusses issues concerning the two countries. The two countries concentrated on improving maritime cooperation during their 2 + 2 meeting. The meeting did not just discuss maritime issues; it also discussed efforts to combat extremism and terrorism as well as security and regional stability. As a results of discussing extremism and terrorism, the two countries agreed to work together to strengthen their national capacity in counterterrorism, transnational crime, including foreign fighters, cybercrime and intelligence cooperation, strategies for dealing with propaganda through social media, and exchanging financial information to combat illegal financial flows to terrorist organizations. Indonesia emphasizes the need for more detailed solutions in its implementation by combining military, religious, economic, and socio- cultural approaches. In the 2 + 2 meeting there was a signing of an MoU between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Australia on Combating International Terrorism by the Head of National Anti-Terrorism Agency or BNPT and the Secretary General of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The MoU includes intelligence cooperation and capacity building between institutions in fighting terrorism (Kamarudin, 2019).

The relevant Ministers supported the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding on International Counterterrorism. The existence of this agreement stems from the two countries shared interests about how to respond to acts of terrorism that are increasingly threatening state security. The rise of various forms of terror from the ISIS movement in Indonesia and Australia contributes to the two countries fears about the country's stability and sovereignty. Furthermore, this agreement also came from positive results at the Australian Regional Summit to Counter Violent Terrorism (Australia's Regional Summit to Counter Violent Terrorism) in June 2015 in Sydney, as well as the Counter-Terrorism Financing Summit in November 2015 in Sydney (Phillips & Hiariej, 2016, p. 423).

Indonesian and Australian delegations meet again in Sydney, Australia, for the 'Australia-Indonesia Ministerial Council on Law and Security'. This meeting serves as a forum for the two countries to coordinate their cooperation and responsibilities in international security, especially in the counterterrorism efforts. Several security and legal issues were discussed at this forum, such as countering terrorism, cyber security and intelligence operations. During the meeting, the two countries exchanged information on regional threats and committed to increase intelligence cooperation between Australia and Indonesia so that the problem of terrorism can be tackled starting from the problem of funding, deradicalization, and cyber security. Furthermore, both governments are interested in this issue in order to



avoid terrorist activities in their own countries. The Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs gave an example of success in overcoming terrorist threats by mapping the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) movement in Southeast Asia led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (Retaduari, 2016).

Julie Bishop, Australia's foreign minister, visited the Merdeka Palace in August 2016. President Joko Widodo discussed cooperation in the fields of counterterrorism and intelligence sharing during the meeting. The two countries decided to work together to develop capacity building, one of which would be through JCLEC (Supriatin). President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo visited Australia on the 26<sup>th</sup> of February 2017, and during his visit, he stated to Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull about the importance of increasing the focus of cooperation between the two countries on countering violent extremism and cooperation to prevent radicalization. In the intelligence sector, the two countries agreed to carry out a variety of concrete anti-terrorist collaborations, such as information sharing, training and capacity building, and technical assistance. Indonesia and Australia are part of the Sub Regional Meeting on Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Cross Border Terrorism, which aims to counter the threat of ISIS in the region. The ministerial level meeting were attended by representatives from Australia, New Zealand, Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia. The meeting discussed how to improve information and intelligence sharing with regional partners, how to combat terrorist extremism, how to strengthen the legal framework, and how to identify threats at the borders of the two countries (Ikanubun, 2017).

In terms of combating international terrorism, the Ministers welcomed the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding on Combating International Terrorism in Sydney on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015, between Indonesia's National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) and the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). In this regard, the ministers urged both parties to fully implement their commitments to combat violent extremism such as, developing counter-messaging strategies against extremist propaganda, particularly on social media, and increasing the exchange of financial and related information to combat illicit financial flows by terrorist organizations. In the instance of foreign terrorist fighters, the ministers emphasized the importance of expanded cooperation in combating the threat posed by foreign terrorist fighters to domestic and regional security. As a result, the ministers suggested that both parties expand cooperation in the fields of education and training, information and analysis exchange, and technology capabilities through the Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperations (JCLEC). In terms of cyber security, the ministers committed to improve their national cyber security capabilities through the Indonesian National Desk for Information Resilience and Cyber Security and the Australian Cyber Security Centre, among others (Indonesia, 2015).

### **Security Threats to Indonesia and Australia**

Security problems are important for all countries in the international world. Terrorism is one of the challenges to a country's security that can harm and disrupt the country's stability. Terrorist acts can be seen all over the world, including in Indonesia. When the issue of combating terrorism appeared, Indonesia found itself in a difficult situation. On the one hand, there is a foreign pressure on Indonesia to join the anti-terrorism effort, but on the other hand, as the world's largest Muslim country, the threat of terrorism is often interpreted as a threat to the Islamic world. The Indonesian government's first official reaction to terrorist threats was Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 4 of 2002 concerning the Crime of Terrorism, issued in 2002, which was later confirmed by the issuance of a national policy against the Eradication of Terrorism in the form of Regulation in Lieu of Law (Peraturan Perundang-undangan) No. 1 and 2 of 2002 that discusses the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, which was later stipulated as Law No. 15 of 2003 (Nastiti et al., 2017).

According to the concept of terrorism, acts of terrorism are a method used to spread fear, with targets that are randomly chosen. Acts of terrorism in Indonesia started to appear in 1981, including the hijacking of a DC-9 Woyla by five armed men (Vonesa & Nurlelasari, 2016). After that the threat of terrorism began to develop in Indonesia. The most shocking one was in 2002 when the Bali bombing took place, which killed 202 people. This terror act can be considered the beginning of the spread of terrorism in Indonesia. From a human security perspective, terrorism is an action shown through violence that threatens humanity's security. Because terrorism creates a sense of fear in every individual. Anti-terrorism measures can serve as protection for communities or individuals.

At this juncture, the state focusses its attention and national strategy on the security of individuals or citizens against the threat of terrorism. It is a big challenge for both, Indonesia and Australia. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) movement was one type of terrorism that was active at the time. In 2014, the ISIS movement became a highlight in Indonesia. One of the terrorist acts carried out by the group was to recruit ISIS supporters at the Syahida Inn Building in Ciputat, South Tangerang, Banten on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 2014. Furthermore, ISIS has distributed pamphlets in the form of encouraging Muslim women to become sex slaves for the ISIS mujahidin to be eager to fight the infidels (Abidien, 2014).

After carrying out various terrors in the form of invitations to join at the beginning of its appearance, the terror that was actually claimed by ISIS began in 2015. At least six people suspected of being members of the Abu Jundi network were arrested by Indonesian security forces in December 2015. Abu Jundi is one of the ISIS

members, according to General Badrodin Haiti, the National Police Chief (Sugiharto, 2015). In early 2016, there was a terror incident in Sarinah, Central Jakarta that attacked a police post and Starbucks coffee shop, which claimed 33 victims, 8 died, and 25 others were injured. In reaction to the incident, the United Nations Security Council condemned the attack, claiming that it was carried out by ISIS. This claim was also verified by a direct statement from ISIS through a written statement released by one of the group's propaganda agencies, namely the Amaaq News Agency (Agustina, 2016).

Despite the lack of an official announcement from ISIS claiming responsibility for the incident, Indonesian police said the attack was similar to the one carried out by ISIS in Paris in November 2015. It is also known that this attack was a replacement attack that had previously been carried out in Christmas 2015. During 2016, Densus 88 has arrested around 170 suspected terrorists (Sohuturon, 2016). ISIS attacks continued in 2017, with a pot-shaped bomb used in the Kampung Melayu terminal area in East Jakarta. The perpetrators of this attack is directly linked to the JAD network, which is linked to ISIS (Fitriani et al., 2018, p. 2).

As a result, the Indonesian government is aware of the spread of ISIS in the country. If ISIS grows in Indonesia, it is believed that it will commit acts of aggression similar to those in Iraq and Syria, which could threaten the country's sovereignty. The same security threats threaten Australia as they do Indonesia. ISIS has taken responsibility for a number of terrorist attacks in Australia, including the stabbing of two police officers in 2014. The attacker is believed to have originated in Afghanistan and is linked to the militant Islamic group Al-Furqan. Moreover, a 15-year-old boy was shot and killed in Sydney Parramatta on October 2, 2015. The teenager was later found to have been radicalized and that the attack had a purpose related to terrorism activities (Dunlop & Fogarty, 2015).

A stabbing in a Sydney suburb in September 2016 resulted in the injury of another person. The suspect committed acts of terrorism and attempted murder, according to Catherine Burn, deputy police commissioner. In her confession, she claimed that the perpetrators acts were inspired by ISIS. In 2017 there were murders and hostages carried out in an apartment complex in Brighton. ISIS claims that their "soldiers" are responsible for the incident. When compared to Indonesia, the number of attacks experienced by Australia is not that high, but Australia still takes it seriously. This is also one of the reasons for Indonesia to have an intelligence cooperations relationship with Australia. It is obvious from these data that the two countries encounter the same challenge. Furthermore, Indonesia is willing to cooperate with Australia because Australia is 7 of the 10 countries in the world that have the strongest intelligence capability (Kelton & Willis, 2019, p. 291).

To improve and develop the capabilities of the Indonesian security forces, both Indonesia and Australia need joint training. In terms of technology, Australia is 10 of the 15 countries in the world with the most advanced technology. Australia's technological advances can help Indonesia to develop technology in its country. Technology in this era is very needed, considering that terrorists also use the latest technology to carry out their actions. In order to monitor terrorist funding, Indonesia needs a large amount of information. In this situation, Indonesia needs to work with Australia because Australia has a cyber intelligence team that is tasked with monitoring terrorism-related financing through the Australian Transaction Reports and Analysis Center's financial tracking agency (AUSTRAC) (Mikolic-Torreira et al., 2017, p. 1).

If the cooperation between Indonesia and Australia in the intelligence field is linked to the concept of national interest, it is related to the government's concern about Indonesia's security status due to the many acts of terrorism that have been previously described. As a result of the many losses incurred from these acts of terrorism, the Indonesian government created a strategy to strengthen the Indonesian security sector from the disturbance of this terrorist group. One of the ways the Indonesian government deals with security threats is through intelligence cooperation with Australia.

### **Australia as a Strategic Partner for Indonesia**

The rise of terrorist attacks in Indonesia led the Indonesian government to take strategic policy measures to anticipate them. This is considered important because Indonesia, which is also one of developing countries, needs to establish cooperation with developed countries. The establishment of cooperation between Indonesia and Australia is dependent on the development of good relations between the two countries, where Indonesia at that time was under the leadership of President Suharto. The economic and cultural fields are the starting points for this cooperation. This was due to President Suharto's leadership at the time, who claimed to be anti-communist while also being pro-western (Ciremai, 2020, p. 16). However, the relationship between Indonesia and Australia also had critical moments, when East Timor separated from the Republic of Indonesia. The fluctuating relationship between Indonesia and Australia has created a gap (Chalk, 2001, p. 235).

The bombing in Bali on October 12<sup>nd</sup>, 2002, was a turning point in the restoration of good relations between Indonesia and Australia. This is inextricably linked to the terrorist attack that claimed the lives of Australian citizens. This incident also undermines the stability of the Australian security sector, because many of its citizens have become victims. In response, the Australian government offered assistance in the form of cooperation in a variety of areas, including infrastructure

and forensics training for police officers. The Joint Investigation and Intelligence Team to Investigate the Bali Bombing is a series of offers made by Australia to Indonesia (Kamarudin, 2019). As a result to this Australian offer, Indonesia, represented by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono during his visit to Australia, established cooperation between Indonesia and Australia in the security sector that includes the field of anti-terror intelligence in it. This is based on the common view between Indonesia and Australia on the threat of terrorism in the security sector.

One of the outcomes of Indonesia and Australia's cooperation in combating the terrorism cases in Indonesia is the establishment of the Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperations (JCLEC) in 2004. This organization provides an infrastructure for assisting Asia Pacific countries' information and telecommunications networks in dealing with the threat of terrorism. JCLEC's long-term aim is to strengthen the operational capacity of law enforcement officers in the Asia Pacific region to counter transnational crime, especially terrorism, by doing several things such as, strengthening laws and regulations as a means to combat the threat of transnational crime, especially terrorism, increasing and developing investigations on terrorism cases, and increasing the skills and capabilities of the intelligence (Chau, 2008, p. 628). On the 13rd of November 2006, the two countries agreed on the final text of the Agreement Between the Governments of the Republics of Indonesia and Australia on the Framework for Security Cooperation, also known as the Lombok Treaty. The cooperations was ratified by the Indonesian People's Representative Council after approximately three years of negotiations (Sakti, 2016, p. 100).

In the text of the agreement, there is the main objective of its formation, which is to create a framework for cooperation and to establish a bilateral consultation mechanism to encourage intensive dialogues, exchange and implementation of cooperative activities and to strengthen relations between institutions in accordance with this agreement. After the Lombok Treaty, each year the two countries agree to hold a meeting to discuss security issues that concern the two countries. The Third Indonesia-Australia Foreign and Defense Ministers Meeting (2 + 2 Dialogue) was held in 2015, with the participation of both countries' foreign and defense ministers. In this meeting, Indonesia emphasized that there is a need to strengthen cooperation to overcome existing threats. At the meeting, the two countries also signed an MoU on an agreement to eradicate international terrorism. The agreement was reached as a result of the two countries' common concerns about terrorism, which is becoming a greater threat to the country's stability (Kamarudin, 2019).

Given that terrorist attacks have occurred in Indonesia since 1981, the security apparatus in Indonesia is thought to have adequate capabilities in countering the threat of terrorism. Nevertheless, Indonesia must remain vigilant about the threat of terrorism, because currently there are around 400 Indonesian citizens who have

already joined ISIS in Syria (Rizki, 2018). The phenomenon of the emergence of acts of terrorism is one of the reasons for Indonesia and Australia to strengthen intelligence cooperation. Terrorism is a transnational crime that cannot be dealt with alone. It requires cooperation from a variety of parties to be defeated. Cooperation in other fields would be easier to do as a result of the intelligence cooperation, which has an effect on the strengthening of the two countries' defense and security systems. This is because there is more access to information related to security threats such as terrorism, making it easier to deal with threats that might disrupt cooperation in other fields between the two nations.

The cooperation between Indonesia and Australia in the intelligence field is motivated by mutual interests and statements from the two sides from each country strengthened the explanation of the cooperation's motive. This cooperation, according to the BNPT or Indonesia's Counter Terrorism Agency spokesman Irfan Idris, was created to counter the threat and spread of anarchist group ideology in Syria and Iraq. This statement is in accordance with Indonesia's and Australia's interests in working together to counter the same threat, especially ISIS. According to Australian Attorney General George Brandis, ISIS, which has expanded its extremist ideology to a wider community to take part in terrorist activities, is an issue that both countries are dealing with. According to George, the existence of this cooperation is considered important for the two countries in which both countries have an interest in dealing with and overcoming the threat of terrorism in their respective countries. This statement is in accordance with the two countries' reasons for establishing cooperation in combating the threat of terrorism in their respective countries (McKenzie, 2019, p. 334).

Indonesia's Intelligence Cooperation with Australia was also welcomed by the Head of the State Intelligence Agency (Badan Intelijen Negara), Sutiyoso. Sutiyoso said at a meeting about security cooperation between Indonesia and Australia that the existence of this intelligence cooperation strengthens the intelligence of the two countries and is not just for the exchange of intelligence information, because terrorism is considered as a mutual enemy (Wardah, 2015). The Australian Minister of Justice also agreed with the statement, that Australia and Indonesia have the same concern, regarding the threat that arises from the expansion carried out by this radical organization in the Middle East. The system implemented by the two countries is the same, that is, to prevent radicalism by sharing experiences to be able to fight terrorism together.

## **Conclusions**

The rise of terrorist attacks in Indonesia between 2015 and 2017 led the Indonesian government to take strategic policy measures to anticipate them. This is considered important because Indonesia, which is also one of the developing countries, needs to establish cooperation with developed countries. Strategic environmental security

stability is part of Indonesia's national interests so that it is in Indonesia's interest to monitor developments in situations that threaten world peace and regional stability in order to take the right steps.

Indonesia signed a cooperations agreement in combating terrorism entitled "MoU between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Australia on Combating International Terrorism" The agreement is a form of strengthening cooperation again in tackling the threat of terrorism which has previously been implemented since 2005. Using the perspectives of international cooperation and human security, this article found that there are four key points of cooperation areas in the fight against terrorism between the two countries as follows: first, bilateral consultations in the area of counter-terrorism; second, exchanging intelligence information; third, strengthening cooperation between legal institutions; and fourth, capacity building through educational training programs, high-ranking official exchanges, seminars, conferences, and joint operations. The article consider that the primary driving factor that facilitates Indonesia and Australia cooperation in the areas of counterterrorism and intelligence that the countries encounter the same terrorism threats that, if not anticipated comprehensively, would endanger the security stability in respective countries and in the Asia-Pacific region.

Indonesia and Australia have had bilateral relations since the opening of diplomatic relations in 1950. However, under President Suharto's leadership, relations between the two countries started to improve as neighbors. During this period, economic, cultural, and security relations were formed between the two countries. Based on the many cases that have arisen between the two countries, the relationship between the two countries fluctuates. The separation of East Timor, the Bali Bombing incidents, wiretapping, and the termination of military cooperations are among the occurrences that have marked the two countries relations.

One of the reasons Indonesia needs to strengthen cooperation with Australia in the fight against international terrorism is that both countries encounter the same threat, and Australia is Indonesia's strategic partner. The ISIS radical movement is getting stronger with the number of terror movements being carried out in Indonesia. The rise of terrors carried out by groups claiming that they are supporters of the ISIS movement has made the government alert to its emergence. If ISIS develops in Indonesia or Australia, it is suspected that the group will conduct acts of aggression similar to those in Iraq and Syria, endangering the country's sovereignty. Terrorism activities in Indonesia have fluctuated, with a decrease in 2015 and a rise in 2016 and 2017. The security apparatus in Indonesia is thought to have good capabilities in combating the threat of terrorism, as shown by the lack of incidents of terrorism that have occurred in Indonesia over time, allowing Indonesia to arrange strategies to combat them. However, Indonesia is unable to counter the threat of terrorism on

its own, since terrorism is a transnational crime requiring the cooperations of many parties. In this situation, Indonesia cooperates with Australia to counter the country's terrorism crisis.

Indonesia establishes counterterrorism cooperation with Australia because Australia is known to be 7 out of 10 countries that have the strongest intelligence capabilities. Australia also has technological advances that can help Indonesia to develop technology in its country. Indonesia needs a lot of information to detect terrorist financing. In this regard, Indonesia can work with Australia because Australia has a cyber intelligence unit that tracks terrorism-related funding. Moreover, to develop and improve the capabilities of the Indonesian security forces, joint training is needed that can help develop the potential of these officers.

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