



THE INDONESIA-AUSTRALIA PARTNERSHIP TO COUNTER RADICALISM AND TERRORISM ISSUES IN INDONESIA

Ali Maksum ¹, Hafidz Ridha Try Sjahputra ²

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Monash University

Abstract:

Indonesia and Australia have always been helpful partners since Indonesian Independence in 1945. However, the relationship was worsened after Bali Bombings in 2002 and 2005 as well as Australian embassy bombing in 2004 that killed many Australians. Thus, using Australian perspective, this article attempts to examine the response of Australian government in dealing with terrorism problems in Indonesia as well as the feedback from Indonesia. The research reveals that given the fact that Australia has many interests in Indonesia added with the geographical proximity, it is naturally urged to resolve the terrorism issues in Indonesia. The study found out that Australia proposed some programs to Indonesia due to its domestic interest and international factors. At the same time, Indonesia was also the main beneficiary of Australian counter terrorism policy.

Key words: Indonesia, Australia, partnership, counter-terrorism, radicalism.

Titulo en Castellano: La asociación de Indonesia y Australia para combatir el radicalismo y el terrorismo en Indonesia

Resumen:

Indonesia y Australia siempre han sido socios que se han tratado de ayudar desde la independencia de Indonesia en 1945. Sin embargo, la relación empeoró tras los atentados de Bali en 2002 y 2005, así como tras el atentado contra la embajada australiana en 2004, en el que murieron muchos australianos. Así, desde una perspectiva australiana, este artículo pretende examinar la respuesta del gobierno australiano a los problemas del terrorismo en Indonesia y la reacción de este país. La investigación revela que, dado el hecho de que Australia tiene muchos intereses en Indonesia, unido a la proximidad geográfica, le urge naturalmente resolver los problemas del terrorismo en Indonesia. El estudio constata que Australia propuso algunos programas a Indonesia debido a su interés interno y a factores internacionales. Al mismo tiempo, Indonesia fue también el principal beneficiario de la política antiterrorista de Australia. Netanyahu.

Palabras Clave: Indonesia, Australia, asociación, contraterrorismo, radicalismo.

Copyright © UNISCI, 2022.

Las opiniones expresadas en estos artículos son propias de sus autores, y no reflejan necesariamente la opinión de UNISCI. *The views expressed in these articles are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of UNISCI.*

¹ Ali Maksum, PhD is an assistant professor at the Department of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. E-mail: <ali.maksum@fisipol.umy.ac.id>

² Hafidz Ridha Try Sjahputra is currently post-graduate student at the Department of International Relations, University of Monash, Australia. E-mail: <hsja0001@student.monash.edu>

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.31439/UNISCI-133>



1. Introduction³

Indonesia and Australia have been establishing long journey as neighbouring countries. Both countries have engaged various cooperation such as economics, education as well as tourism and security issues. In the early history, Australia was among the first countries that recognized the newly independent nations namely the Republic of Indonesia. The Australia's commitment to Indonesia's independence represented the close relations between the two countries. The high-level support from Australian community to the Indonesia's struggle during war of independence played significant role in the strengthening of relationship.⁴ Once Indonesia gained independence. Australia also recognized Indonesia's sovereignty following the results of the Dutch-Indonesia Round Table Conference in the Hague.⁵

During Sukarno administration, both countries relations were seen to be more complex while the Indonesia's government under strong influence of communist party. The Sukarno's policy to launch confrontation (*konfrontasi*) against Malaysia responded by dual-strategic policies. In the one hand, Australia attempted to deliver aids secretly to Indonesia, yet in another hand, Australia takes opposite position by helping Malaysia's force during the confrontation.⁶ The relationship resumed normally following the rise of Suharto as Indonesian leaders along with military regime.⁷ However, Australia's relations with the northern neighbour came to problematic once Suharto collapsed succeeded by President Habibie. Under the short-term Habibie administration, Indonesia was under high international pressure due to human rights abuses convicted by armed forces or *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI) during Suharto regime. Australia paid attention on TNI's brutality role in East Timor which made both countries' relations tense.⁸

Following the 9/11 attack which proceeded the global war on terror campaign and specifically against Al-Qaeda, also warned Australia to secure national security. The outbreak of Bali Bombings 2002 (I) and Bali Bombings 2005 (II) shocked Australia that the threat bluntly has come to the border. This is because the bomb blasts had caused huge devastation and killed hundreds of Australians. At the same time, the United States (US) government as the major Australian ally lifted military bans against Indonesia. Washington perceived that Jakarta took a serious action to counter the US most wanted terror groups namely Al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah which allegedly have network in Indonesia.⁹ The US rapprochement with Indonesia followed by Australia which also have similar agenda to counter terrorism. As an implication, Australia-Indonesia relations recover after tension during East Timor crisis.

Looking at the previous research, analysts perceived Australia-Indonesia relations in a conflictual manner concerning issues such as leadership problems,¹⁰ cultural differences,¹¹

³ The authors thank to Ministry of Research and Technology/National Research and Innovation Agency of the Republic of Indonesia for funding this research under Grant No. 227/SP2H/LT/DRPM/2019.

⁴ "Media Release: New Narratives Forgotten Histories: Australia Connection", Australian Embassy Jakarta, 25 July 2018, at https://indonesia.embassy.gov.au/jakt/MR18_032.html.

⁵ Mackie, Jamie. A. C: "Australia and Indonesia: Current Problems, Future Prospects", Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2007.

⁶ Eng, Pierre Van Der: "Konfrontasi and Australia's Aid to Indonesia during the 1960s", *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Vol. 55, n° 1 (March 2009), pp. 46–63.

⁷ Troath, Sian: "Bonded but Not Embedded: Trust in Australia-Indonesia Relations, Keating & Suharto to Turnbull & Jokowi", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 73, n° 2 (March 2019), pp. 126–142.

⁸ Mackie, *op.cit.*

⁹ Murphy, Ann Marie: "US Rapprochement with Indonesia: From Problem State to Partner", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 32, n° 3 (2010), pp. 362–387.

¹⁰ Philpott, Simon "Fear of the Dark: Indonesia and the Australian National Imagination", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, n° 3 (November 2001), pp. 371–388.

¹¹ Nabbs-Keller, Greta: "Understanding Australia-Indonesia Relations in the Post-Authoritarian Era: Resilience and Respect", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 74, n° 5 (September 2020), pp. 532–556.



West Papua,¹² East Timor,¹³ and others. However, this article has presented as an alternative understanding of the Australian-Indonesian bilateral relations from Australian perspective. Therefore, this paper attempts to examine the Indonesia – Australia partnership to counter radicalism and terrorism issues in Indonesia and further explore the reasons Australia's deep concern on these issues. The effect of Bali Bombings I and II which killed hundreds of Australians become one of the main instigators of Australia's concern inside these issues. Australia realised that radicalism and terrorism issues have been threatening their citizens which seen Bali as the main destination either for business or vacation. In the subsequent paragraph, it discusses the concept of foreign policy as an anchor of the two bilateral relationships. The structure of the paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 discusses the theoretical framework and Literature Review. The description of the methods is given in Section 3. The results are discussed in Section 4. Finally, conclusions are presented in Section 5.

2. Theoretical Framework

To understand Australia's policy towards Indonesia in the context of the war against terrorism, realist approaches, and specifically neoclassical realism seems to be useful. Neoclassical realism which is part of structural realism emphasized the critical role of international structure to determine state behaviours.¹⁴ Structural realism perceives international security as conflictual due to the anarchy of the international system. Traditionally, structural realism focuses on traditional security matters where the role of the state and the deployment of the military assets became the main consideration on foreign policymaking.¹⁵ This means that neoclassical realism also considers the use of security forces as imperative to address various threats and challenges. As a branch of realism, neoclassical realism keeps the main principles of realism such as the role of the state as a unitary actor, the role of anarchy, the balance of power, and security dilemma.¹⁶

Although structural realism focuses on the role of the international system, however, some weakness exists due to the difficulties that this theory presents in the policymaking process and the assessment. Therefore, neoclassical realism offers a more comprehensive understanding of how to analyse the theory, the state, and foreign policy.¹⁷ Therefore, at least two components are not clearly explained by classical realism as well as structural realism, namely 1) the level of international pressures and 2) the role of domestic politics.¹⁸ Basically, the pressure of the international system will have a different impact depending on the level of pressure determined by the distribution of power among the major powers. When the international system is under great pressure, the State's behavior is quite limited. On the other hand, when the pressure of the international system is low, the State has greater flexibility for conducting its foreign policy.

¹² Kalidjernih, Freddy K: "Australian Indonesia-Specialists and Debates on West Papua: Implications for Australia-Indonesia Relations", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 62, n° 1 (March 2008), pp. 72–93.

¹³ Henry, Iain: "Unintended Consequences: An Examination of Australia's 'Historic Policy Shift' on East Timor", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 68, n° 1 (January 2014), pp. 52–69.

¹⁴ Chandra, Vikash: "Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 41, n° 3 (May 2017), pp. 297–299.

¹⁵ Coetzee, Eben: "No Rest for the Weary: Competition and Emulation in International Politics. A Waltzian Perspective", *Politikon*, Vol. 46, n° 1 (January 2019), pp. 1–19.

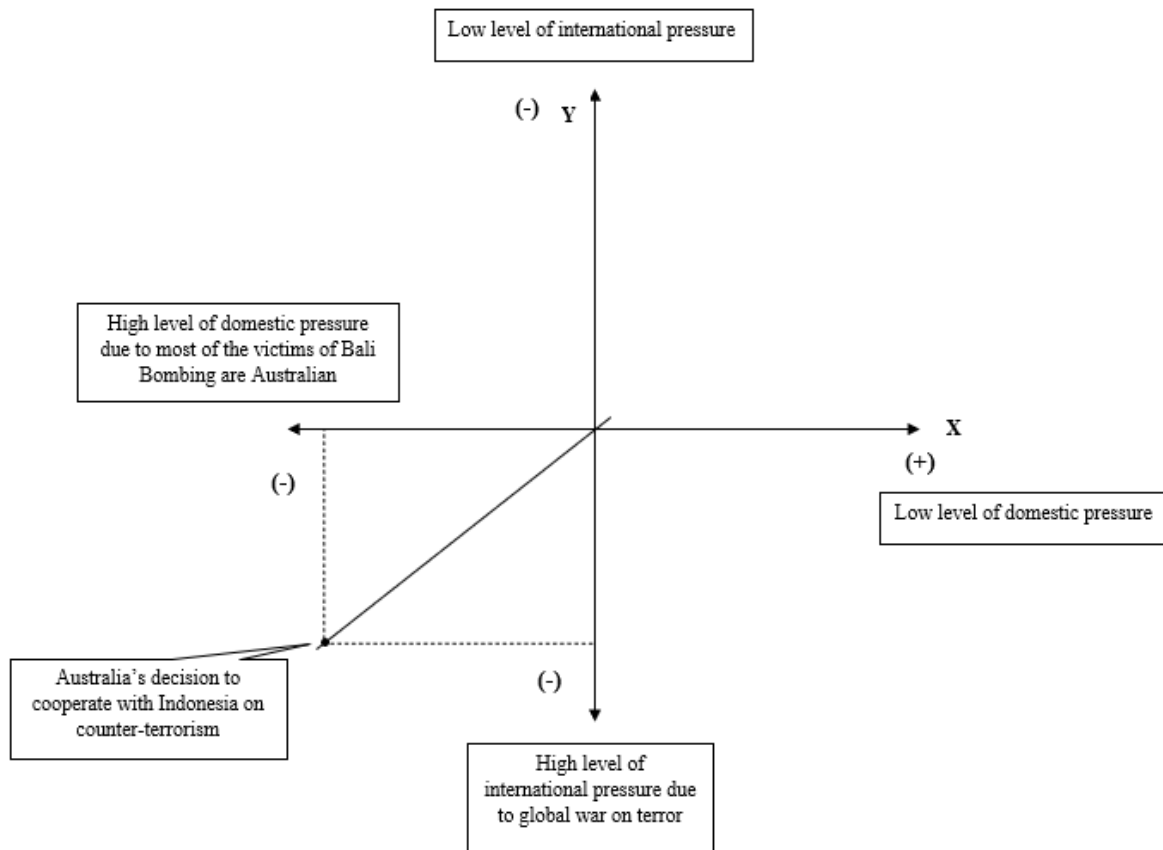
¹⁶ Becker, Michael E. et al.: "Reviving the Russian Empire: The Crimean Intervention through a Neoclassical Realist Lens", *European Security*, Vol. 25, n° 1 (January 2016), pp. 112–133.

¹⁷ Troy, Jodok; Lobell, Steven. E; Ripsman Norrin. M. and Taliaferro, Jeffrey W.: "Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy", *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 24, n°4 (December 2013), pp. 691–693.

¹⁸ Kitchen, Nicholas: "Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 36, n° 1 (2010), pp. 117–143.

At the same time, domestic politics significantly influences foreign policy decision-making. In this context, it is essential to understand the position of the state in the international system, i.e. the level of relative power.¹⁹ Thus, the combined analysis of the role of international pressure and domestic politics makes neoclassical realism suitable for understanding Australia's cooperation with Indonesia on the counterterrorism agenda.

Figure 1. The neoclassical realism analysis on Australia-Indonesia counter terrorism partnership



Source: Modified from Lai, Y. M (2014): *Nationalism and Power Politics in Japan's Relations with China*,

The above framework depicts Australia decision to establish cooperation with Indonesia to counter terrorism threats after Bali Bombings, based on analytical calculations. In this context, neoclassical realism offers an interesting analysis that differs from previous literature.²⁰ Thus, this paper attempts to bring the neoclassical framework especially concerning the role of the international system and domestic politics throughout the discussion.

3. Methodology

This is document-based research using content analysis. Data resources are obtained through library research, such as books, journals, articles, and newspapers whether online or in resource centres including libraries. Moreover, this approach requires a deep understanding of texts. The researchers also make their own interpretation on the texts (analytics or critics) which have been

¹⁹ Lai, Yew Meng (2014): *Nationalism and Power Politics in Japan's Relations with China*, London, Routledge, at <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203100103>.

²⁰ See Troath, *op.cit.*; Nabbs-Keller, *op.cit.*; Henry, *op.cit.*



academically accepted.²¹ In this context, framing analysis is also conducted through identification on specific cases/issues, examination and comparison especially from selected media which have a relationship with the research focus.²² Through comparison on specific issues among media, including social media as an alternative media, this research is expected to yield description and typology of issues/cases.

The qualitative research is run concurrently, starting from data collection, data analysis, and data interpretation, because the data of qualitative research is subjective, interpretative, descriptive, comprehensive, and the number is massive. The findings are presented mainly in quotation forms,²³ or preliminary description of the data, including statistical data obtained from official resource.²⁴ In addition, data presentation is also done in the form of a key quote, table, matrices, charts, graphs or model. Moreover, direct quotes, statement/story or quotation from the data are the main method used in qualitative research.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. The nexus of Bali Bombings, Australia and international contexts

The outbreak of the Bali Bombings convinced the international community, whether in Indonesia or across the globe, that terrorist attacks were an actual threat. Bali Bombings confirmed that Indonesia and the society in the region should take part actively on the war against terrorism. Global war on terror was launched by US government under President Bush administration soon after 9/11 attack in 2001. The main agenda was hunting and erasing from earth the terrorist groups which were linked especially to the group Al-Qaeda and its variants. US government also warned countries not to support or give protection to such terrorist groups as was carried out by Iran, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria. However, the laws were politically blurred and counter terrorism agenda remained problematic²⁵ due to interrelation between international and domestic political interests.²⁶ Australia as the US main ally in the region gave prompt response by providing support, including the military deployment in Afghanistan endorsed by the parliament.²⁷

The Bali Bombings devastated two-night clubs concurrently at Jalan Legian, Bali and the bomb also separately blasted close to US consulate. The bombs murdered 202 people, wounded 209 and 88 of the victims were Australian. Three years later in 2005, terrorist re-attack Bali for second time where 23 people were killed and 196 injured where four people were Australian citizen.²⁸ The terror attack tremendously hit the economic life of the Balinese, who were still trying to recover from the effects of the 2002 terror attack. Bali bombings had a major impact on Indonesia and Australia governments propelling an unprecedented cooperation, allowing the Australian police to conduct an investigation in Indonesia with the

²¹ Engesser, Sven, et al.: "Populism and Social Media: How Politicians Spread a Fragmented Ideology", *Information, Communication & Society*, Vol. 20, n° 8 (August 2017), pp. 1109–1126.

²² Tong, Jingrong: "Environmental Risks in Newspaper Coverage: A Framing Analysis of Investigative Reports on Environmental Problems in 10 Chinese Newspapers", *Environmental Communication* Vol. 8, n° 3 (July 2014), pp. 345–367.

²³ Bigby, Christine: "Preparing Manuscripts That Report Qualitative Research: Avoiding Common Pitfalls and Illegitimate Questions", *Australian Social Work*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (July 2015), pp. 384–391.

²⁴ Dufour, Isabelle. F; Richard, Marie Claude: "Theorizing from Secondary Qualitative Data: A Comparison of Two Data Analysis Methods," ed. Jun Li, *Cogent Education*, Vol. 6, n° 1 (January 2019),

²⁵ Byman, Daniel: "Understanding, and Misunderstanding, State Sponsorship of Terrorism", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (March 2020), pp. 1–19.

²⁶ Byman, Daniel "Passive Sponsors of Terrorism," *Survival*, Vol. 47, n° 4 (December 2005), pp. 117–144.

²⁷ Brangwin, Nicole; Rann, Ann: "Australia's Military Involvement in Afghanistan since 2001: A Chronology", Parliament of Australia, 2010.

²⁸ Oak, Gillan S. : "Jemaah Islamiyah's Fifth Phase: The Many Faces of a Terrorist Group", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 33, n° 11 (October 2010), pp. 989–1018.



local police, including to capture the perpetrators. The cooperation was strengthened with the negotiation of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Indonesia and Australia for combating international terrorism which was signed on February 7, 2002. The cooperation between the Indonesian Government and the Australian Government is based on the same awareness of considering terrorism activities as a serious threat to national security and the stability of the two countries.

Australia's intentions to push the anti-terrorism agenda were realized in the aftermath of the terrorist attack on Australian property in Indonesia. On September 9, 2004, the Australian Embassy located in Kuningan, in the heart of Jakarta, was bombed, killing and injuring dozens of people. Faced with this situation, there was no choice but to cooperate with the Indonesian security apparatus. In addition, domestic political pressure was stronger, demanding the Australian government the rapid apprehension of the suspect. Australia has also been aware that if it absents itself from the war on terrorism, especially in the region, the country would be at risk. The threat undoubtedly exists, as Indonesia is a mile away from Australia. The Australian government is working hard to ensure the safety of Bali as a major destination for Australian tourists. In this context, the role of the Indonesian government, especially the security apparatus, is critical in countering terrorist threats and stabilizing the region, as well as securing Australia's interests.

Once the bomb exploded on October 12, 2002, international leaders expressed their condemnation on that horrific terrorist attacks. US President George Bush believed that the al-Qaeda network was responsible for the attack. He added that the attack deliberately threatened loved ones, peace, and freedom. At the same time the UK prime minister, Tony Blair condemned the attack which also killed some British tourist in Bali. In addition, international leaders also issued travel warning to their citizen for avoiding visiting Bali. The Australian prime minister, John Howard, strongly condemned the bomb blast since many Australians were killed in that tragic night. Howard also described the Bali bombings as barbaric, brutal, and as a mass murder. In addition, Howard spoke at the parliament confirming that, following Bali bombings, Australia would continue to support global war on terror led by the US as Australian main ally.²⁹ Within 24 hours since the bombs blasted, Australian federal police (AFP) and Australian security intelligence services were deployed to Bali to join Indonesian police investigation works.³⁰

The AFP staffs were the first international agency that arrived in Bali for conducting a joint investigation on Bali bombings. However, Bali bombings became an international spotlight given the number of victims. Thus, in the aftermath of Bali bombings several countries also took part in the bomb investigation. Countries such as Sweden, Taiwan, and Japan have sent investigative teams to Bali to carry out ground investigation.³¹ Since then, AFP worked closely with Indonesian national police (INP) to conduct a thorough investigation including hunting, arrest and persecution of the perpetrators. This cooperation had an important repercussion, improving the Australia-Indonesia relations after the previous tension following the Australia's involvement in East Timor affairs under International Force East Timor (INTERFET).³²

²⁹ Ressa, Maria; Chinoy, Mike: "Tourists Flee Bali after Bombings", *CNN.Com*, 12 October 2002, at <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/southeast/10/14/bali.bombings/index.html>.

³⁰ Connery, David; Sambhi, Natalie and McKenzie, Michael: "A Return on Investment", *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 2014, at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep04053>.

³¹ Cianflone, Matt et al. (2007): *Anatomy of a Terrorist Attack: An in-depth Investigation into the 2002 Bali, Indonesia, Bombings*, Working Paper, Pittsburgh, PA: Matthew B. Ridgway Center, University of Pittsburgh.

³² Cotan, Imron: "Indonesia-Australian Relations: East Timor, Bali Bombing, Tsunami and Beyond," Press Release of Indonesian Embassy in Canberra, 2005, at



4.2 Bali Bombings and the Australia's initiatives for cooperation with Indonesia

This section highlights several key counter-terrorism and counter-radicalization collaborations between Australia and Indonesia. The bombings in Bali have compelled the southern neighbors to consider how to tackle security threats from the north. Domestic pressure has a vital role, as neoclassical realism suggests, and is reinforced by an international agenda that is compatible with internal demand.³³ The Australian mainstream media had extensively reported the outrage over the Bali bombings, as well as the public's demand on the government to resolve the crisis. The Australian media used phrases such as "Australian tragedy," "Paradise lost," "Terror hits home," and so on to express their sorrow over the Bali bombings.³⁴ Therefore, the Australian government acted immediately as a first line of defense to save and rescue the victims. The Australian defense force's assets were mobilized to Bali for the greatest medical evacuation mission since the Vietnam War. The Bali bombing shifted Indonesia's position with Australia, as the catastrophe has caused mutual harm. The Australian government's main concern was to improve security cooperation with INP, politically aligned with the spirit of democracy.³⁵ Unfortunately, the INP organization, which has been institutionally detached from the Indonesian armed forces, was understaffed, undertrained, and underfunded as a result of widespread corruption.³⁶ Since the security organization is constitutionally charged with counter-terrorism, improving INP capacity in areas such as law enforcement, investigation, intelligence, leadership, cross-border cooperation, gender equity, and human trafficking is critical.³⁷ Thus, the cooperation between AFP and INP became an anchor of the implementation of such counter terrorism collaboration of both countries.

The arrival of a team from AFP to Bali, followed by intensive cooperation with INP, was the indication that Australia had taken a serious measure on the effect of Bali bombings and Australia-Indonesia bilateral relations. However, Australia's efforts to implement security cooperation with Indonesia, was politically uneasy. The Australia's involvement in East Timor and Canberra's criticism on Jakarta's conduct in East Timor became an obstacle. Australia understood that Indonesia had capabilities on counter terrorism at the operational level especially its *Kopassus* special force, but Australia warned that it should exercise caution in establishing cooperation with Indonesia's *Kopassus* which allegedly was involved in various human rights abuses.³⁸ Australia still perceived that Indonesia require security sector reform in line with democratization and civil supremacy. Although, the role of military could not be neglected in Indonesia's politics, given more opportunities to a civil based institution like police to conduct counter terrorism agenda was considered preferable. Australia understood that Indonesia's army played an important role in national security. Thus, after avoiding any exercise with Indonesian special forces including *Kopassus*, Australia signaled its intention for

<https://web.archive.org/web/20100107014127/http://www.kbri-canberra.org.au/speeches/2005/050301e.htm>.

³³ See Kitchen, *op.cit.*

³⁴ Lulitanond, Variya (2004): *Culture shock and moral panic: An analysis of three mainstream Australian newspapers' response to the Bali Bombings in October 2002 and the arrest of 'smiling Amrozi' in November 2002*, MA Thesis, University of Tasmania.

³⁵ National Museum of Australia, at <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/bali-bombings>

³⁶ Barton, Greg: "How Indonesia's counter-terrorism force has become a model for the region", *The Conversation*, 3 July 2018, at <https://theconversation.com/how-indonesias-counter-terrorism-force-has-become-a-model-for-the-region-97368>

³⁷ Jakarta Centre For Law Enforcement Cooperation, at <https://www.70yearsindonesiaaustralia.com/cooperation-between-australia-and-indonesia/jakarta-centre-for-law-enforcement-cooperation>; see also Coyne, J: "The future of the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation", *The Strategist*, 21 February 2017, at <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/future-jakarta-centre-law-enforcement-cooperation/>

³⁸ Behm, Allan: "Cooperation with Kopassus? Take Care!", *Agenda*, Vol. 10, nº 1 (2003), pp. 13–18.



further cooperation in maritime defense³⁹ and established intensive contacts with the Indonesian government, especially with the Indonesian police, to boost cooperation on counter terrorism between the two countries.

Given the fact that Australian government attempted to avoid cooperation with Indonesia's armed forces taken into consideration their negative record on human rights abuses, INP was selected as the main partner for Australia's counter terrorism agenda in the post-Bali bombings. Australian government argued that the first task to be carried out is to improve the INP capacity building on counter terrorism. According to Australia's government, some critical aspects had to be prioritised to improve INP capacity such as infrastructure, information system, physical security, assistance with legislation, and training for Indonesian national police, and finally law enforcement officials' capabilities.⁴⁰ Once the Bali bombings erupted in the coastal area close to Kuta Beach, Bali, the two highest police leaders the AFP Commissioner Mick Keelty and INP Police General Da'i Bachtiar agree to join cooperation on the investigation. INP police considered that Australia's police have some expertise and experiences on crime investigation in particular on the crime scene management, intelligence analysis and computer, and bomb forensics.⁴¹

At the national level, prior to agree the concrete policies on Australia's partnership, some key steps were taken to ensure that the AFP would enforce the laws. The first regulation enacted to support the assignment of AFPs was the issue of the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002. Under this law, PFAs have privileges to conduct investigation of crimes in foreign countries. Specifically, the law, passed on October 11, 2002 and officially implemented on January 1, 2003, had a clear message:

*"The Act provides a scheme to trace, restrain and confiscate the proceeds of crime against Commonwealth law. In some circumstances, it can also be used to confiscate the proceeds of crime against foreign law or the proceeds of crime against State law (if those proceeds have been used in a way that contravenes Commonwealth law)."*⁴²

Therefore, the AFP steps grew tighter to move to Indonesia to tracking down, arrest and charged the Bali bombings perpetrators. Amid an intensive investigation, series of bomb blast annually exploded in Indonesia such as Marriot Hotel bombing 5 August 2003 and Australian embassy bombing took place 9 September 2004. The AFP authorities also led some initiative policies on counter terrorism centred in Jakarta and among the first was a multi-national Operation Alliance under Bali police chief Brigadier General Mangku Pastika coordination. At the following period, some agencies formed under Australian support such as Jakarta Operation Centre known as "SATGAS BOM", Jakarta Regional Cooperation, and Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC). In addition, to improve Indonesian national police Australian government through AFP given fascinating assistants such as Transnational Crime Cooperation Centre, the Multinational Operational Support Team, and the Republic of Indonesia Bomb Data Centre. Not only the creation of supporting agencies, INP also received such trainings as disaster victim identification, fingerprinting, later, and DNA analysis. In order to boost the INP office capacity, the Australian government had furnished the offices by specific

³⁹ Laksmana, Evan A: "Reinforcing Indonesia–Australia Defence Relations: The Case for Maritime Recalibration", Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2018.

⁴⁰ Connery, Sambhi, and McKenzie, *op.cit.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² "Proceeds of Crime", at

<https://www.afp.gov.au/what-we-do/crime-types/proceeds-crime#:~:text=The%20Proceeds%20of%20Crime%20Act%202002,-The%20Proceeds%20of&text=The%20Act%20provides%20a%20scheme,of%20crime%20against%20Commonwealth%20law.&text=The%20Act%20also%20provides%20a,effects%20of%20crime%20in%20Australia.>



hardware including office accommodation and equipment, information technology facilities as well as the skilled AFP officers who stationed in Indonesia. All in all, Australia received unprecedented access to crime scene and investigation especially in Bali under the Bali police office.⁴³

The most significant policy of Australian to enhance capability of INP on counter terrorism agenda was its assistance in the formation of the counter terrorism unit force called as “*Detasemen 88*” (Detachment 88). The Indonesia’s Detachment 88 basically is an articulation of a multi-national backed institution to counter terrorism agenda in Indonesia especially under Australia and the US funding. The Detachment 888 has been trained by US security agencies such as Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Federal Bureau Investigation (FBI), US Secret Service, US special forces personnel. US government through State Department’s Diplomatic Security Initiative has allocated a huge budget to assist and train the Detachment 88. At the same time, Australian government also provided financial assistant once the Bali bombing in 2002 exploded. In October 2002 days after Bali explosion, Canberra committed to finance approximately USD 10 million to Jakarta to increase the counterterrorism capacity, specially for training INP,⁴⁴ being the largest contributor to Indonesia’s counter terrorism development. Until 2006, the Australia and the US contributions reached more than USD 200 million. This policy largely affected Indonesia's security policy which to some extent became politicised after the publication of events related to Detachment 88 which allegedly violated human rights.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, in the immediate aftermath of the Bali attacks, Australia had difficulties in cooperating with Indonesia. Mutual trust has been a problem as Canberra's administration has been unable to get as close to Jakarta as during the Suharto-Keating era.⁴⁶ At the same time, Australia wanted to avoid being accused by the Western community of failing to detect and fight the terrorism threats, particularly in Bali, a popular tourist destination, and throughout the archipelago.⁴⁷ Despite condemnation from Indonesia's Muslim community over for using and exploiting terrorism issues,⁴⁸ the Bali bombings and subsequent terrorism threats were viewed as a turning point in Australia and Indonesia's joint defence and security cooperation.⁴⁹ Overall, in the post Bali bombings, there has been an increase in security cooperation between Australia and Indonesia, reinforced with the construction of the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC).⁵⁰

⁴³ Connery, Sambhi, and McKenzie, *op.cit.*

⁴⁴ Oak, *op.cit.*

⁴⁵ Haripin, Muhamad, Rininta Anindya Chaula, and Priamarizki Adhi : “The Politics of Counter-Terrorism in Post-Authoritarian States: Indonesia’s Experience, 1998–2018”, *Defense & Security Analysis*, Vol. 36, n° 3 (July 2020), pp. 275–299.

⁴⁶ Troath, S.: “Bonded but not embedded: trust in Australia-Indonesia relations, Keating & Suharto to Turnbull & Jokowi”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol, 73, No. 2 (2019), pp. 126-142

⁴⁷ Sherlock, Sian. : “The Bali Bombing: What it Means for Indonesia”, *Current Issues Brief*, n° 4 (2002), at https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/CIB/cib0203/03Cib04

⁴⁸ Muslikhati, Siti.: “Isu Terorisme Dalam Jurusan Hubungan Internasional Perspektif Islam,” *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, Vol. 1, n° 1 (April 2012), pp. 32–39.

⁴⁹ Lestari, Elva Azzahra Puji: “Complex Interdependence Between Indonesia-Australia Through Cybersecurity Cooperation Post-Indonesia-Australia Cyberwar in 2013,” *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, Vol. 9, n° 2 (February 2021), pp. 178-188.

⁵⁰ JCLEC, which is headquartered in the Indonesian police academy complex in Semarang, Central Java, was inaugurated in July 3, 2004 by President Megawati Sukarnoputri. JCLEC was formed as an outcome of an agreement reached by Asia Pacific foreign ministers during a meeting in Bali in February 2004. Among other countries, Australia was a major donor, providing AUD 38.3 million for JCLEC alone over a five-year period. This was part of Australia's overall financial package, which included almost AUD 87 million over four years. The financial package was all for counter-terrorism, which was broken down into four primary areas of cooperation:



Table 1. Australia – Indonesia security cooperation in the post Bali bombings

Area	Australian initiative programs	Impact on Indonesia’s law
Law enforcement	Creation of “ <i>Densus 88</i> ” an INP counter terrorism squad.	-Enactment of Government Regulation in lieu No. 1/2002 on counter terrorism
	Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC) which provided a comprehensive counter terrorism training for INP as well as the other countries.	-Law No. 15/2003 on counter terrorism (amendment of Law No. 1/2002). -Law No. 17/2011 on state intelligence -Law No. 9 /2013 on prevention of terrorism funding -Law No. 5/2018 on counter terrorism (amendment of Law No. 15/2003).
Border and aviation security	-Australia’s Management of Infrastructure Aid to Indonesia (especially eastern Indonesia)	-Law No. 43/2008 on national territory -UU No. 6/2011 on immigration
	-Australia-Indonesia Transport Security Cooperation Program (TSCP)	
	-Joint - Indonesia - Australian Aviation Security Project (IAAP)	
Human trafficking	New Australia-Indonesia Partnership to Combat Human Trafficking 2007	-Law No. 21/2007 on eradication of human trafficking
Cyber security	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on cyber cooperation	-Law No. 11/2008 on information and electronic transaction -Presidential Regulation (<i>Perpres</i>) No. 133/2017 on the establishment of <i>Badan Siber dan Sandi Negara</i> or National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN)

Source: Data compiled by the authors.

Following the repercussions of the damage caused by the attacks in Bali, Australia maintained a serious security cooperation with Indonesia for nearly two decades, as seen in this table. The Bali bombings had a significant impact on regional security architecture and frightened the regional governments. Fortunately, the Bali attack raised the awareness of countries in the region to develop counter-terrorism cooperation, with Australia and Indonesia playing a key role in the program's implementation. Once the “Densus 88” anti-terrorism squad was adequately trained and supplied with high-quality weaponry, Indonesia's counter-terrorism capabilities substantially increased. Furthermore, under the auspices of Australian and other Western donors, Indonesian law enforcement capability was improved, along with collaboration on a variety of security issues. Indonesia not only enhanced its counter-terrorism agenda on a technical level, but it also became a model for other countries learning counter-

law enforcement, border and aviation security, and shipping security. While the JCLEC was created to serve as a regional world-class counter-terrorism training facility, it was designed to train specialized skills such as anti-terrorism investigation and training programs, forensic criminal intelligence and financial investigations, and bomb investigation forensics. Please see “Presiden resmikan Jakarta Centre of Law Enforcement Cooperation [President officiated Jakarta Centre of Law Enforcement Cooperation]”, *Tempo*, 3 July 2004, at <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/44576/presiden-resmikan-jakarta-centre-of-law-enforcement-cooperation>. A similar report also released that US government together with Western nations including Australia provided huge funding for the creation of INP counter-terrorism squad called “Densus 88.” See Davies, Ed; Rondonuwu, Olivia: “U.S.-funded Detachment 88, elite of Indonesia security,” *Reuters*, 18 March 2010, at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-usa-security-idUSTRE62H13F20100318>



terrorism policies.⁵¹ Both leadership teams have met on several occasions and conveyed their gratitude to one another. For instance, in 2018, the Australian government, through the Minister of Home Affairs, Peter Dutton, congratulated Indonesia on its successful effort to prevent terrorist attacks. As the primary donor, Australia was proud of Indonesia's accomplishments in counter-terrorism, boosting indirectly regional security.⁵² In turn, Indonesian President Joko Widodo praised Australia for its active participation in boosting counter-terrorism in the region, reiterating that his country will always be ready to join in future agendas.⁵³ Nonetheless, putting both collaborations into action was fraught with difficulties. At least two issues have strained the relationship between the two countries: Australia's spy scandals involving Indonesian elites, including President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and first lady Adi Yudhoyono,⁵⁴ and a contentious death sentence for the "Bali nine," a group of nine Australians convicted of drug smuggling.⁵⁵

In conclusion of this part, it can be said that Australia's efforts to establish strong cooperation with Indonesia were effective in protecting its national interests, especially against terrorist threats. The deaths of many Australians in the Bali bombings in 2002 and 2005 prompted Canberra to respond quickly by providing technical assistance to Jakarta. However, the Australian AFP has gained unprecedented access to crime scene investigation on the ground, in collaboration with their Indonesian counterparts. In this regard, some critical policies were adopted to support the ground staff in order to properly implement its cooperation with Indonesia, starting with legislation, technical assistance, as well as financial commitments. However, the Bali bombings favored Prime Minister John Howard, who won popularity prior to the 2004 Australian federal elections. In these elections, Howard reasserted his dominance in Australian politics for the fourth time. The Bali bombings and Australia's commitments also demonstrated that the ruling party under Howard's leadership mobilized the security discourse for political expediency.⁵⁶ Thanks to his victory in 2004, Howard became the second longest-serving Prime Minister in Australia's history, behind Sir Robert Menzies.⁵⁷ In the aftermath of the Bali bombings, Australia played a vital role in Indonesia's security policies, especially in the fight against terrorism. Australia's foreign aid program greatly enhanced Indonesia's security and law enforcement capabilities, making it a regional model.

⁵¹ Barton, *op.cit.*

⁵² Dutton, Peter "Media Release: Australia and Indonesia - Enhancing cooperation on security", at <https://minister.homeaffairs.gov.au/peterdutton/Pages/Australia-and-Indonesia---Enhancing-cooperation-on-security.aspx>.

⁵³ "President Jokowi Applauds Cooperation with Australia on Combatting Terrorism", at <https://setkab.go.id/en/president-jokowi-applauds-cooperation-with-australia-on-combatting-terrorism/> (accessed 20 July 2021). Even on a local level, Indonesia faced terrorism threats due to the network's widespread presence across the country, such as in Malang, East Java, when the Densus 88 team discovered some petrol bombs intended to attack the targets. As a result, the role of local government and local leaders in preventing terrorism is critical. Please see Yumitro, G; Kurniawati, D.E.; Saiman; Prasetya, D.M.; Deniar, S.M.: "The modalities and roles of local government to face terrorism issues in Indonesia: the case study of Malang Raya region" *Revista UNISCI*, n° 53 (May 2020), pp. 9-21.

⁵⁴ Brissenden, Michael: "Australia spied on Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, leaked Edward Snowden documents reveal", *ABC News*, 5 December 2014, at <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-11-18/australia-spied-on-indonesian-president,-leaked-documents-reveal/5098860?nw=0>.

⁵⁵ Fealy, Greg.: "Bali Nine executions viewpoints: Are Australia-Indonesia ties at risk?", *BBC*, 29 April 2015, at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-32492182>

⁵⁶ Winter, Bronwyn: "Keep Us Simple, Keep Us Safe: The Post-9/11 Comeback of the Average Australian Bloke," *Mémoire(s), identité(s), marginalité(s) dans le monde occidental contemporain. Cahiers du MIMMOC*, Vol. 16 (2016), pp. 1-17.

⁵⁷ Wesley, Michael (2007): *The Howard Paradox: Australian Diplomacy in Asia, 1996-2006*, Sydney, ABC Books for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.



4.1. The Implications

The Australia's commitment to Indonesia's counter terrorism agenda due to Bali bombings has led to another step in the cooperation. The Bali bombings and the series of terrorist attacks in Indonesia along with the potential threats from the terrorist networks confirmed to the Australian government the need to maintain and improve its relations with regional partners, especially with Indonesia. However, given the fact that the security discourse on terrorism was dominant in international politics in the post-9/11 attack, the international system was under a high pressure and Australia's involvement in the global war on terror was inevitable. At the same time, Howard's administration also received a high pressure from domestic politics concerning the safety of the Australian people. Overall, at least two implications of Australia's counterterrorism policy in Indonesia can be identified. The first is Australia's closer relations with its allies and the second is the implications for Indonesia.

First, the maintenance of Australia's close ties with the United States. This was an important step, as Australia under Howard's Liberal Party administration was ideologically similar to his U.S. counterpart, George Bush, of the Republican Party. Howard and Bush looked like twin brothers with conservative political views.⁵⁸ Once the first Bali bombing occurred, Australia and the United States were the fastest responders and condemned the barbaric acts. Australia also pledged to support the US-led international war on terrorism as the closest allies.⁵⁹ Howard's conservative thinking was evident in his speech when he urged the invocation of the Australia-New Zealand-United States Security Treaty (ANZUS). The terrorist attacks provided an important impetus for the American and Australian people to work together. In his speech concerning the ANZUS Treaty and Australia-US alliance Howard said:

“In every way, the attack on New York and Washington and the circumstances surrounding it did constitute an attack upon the metropolitan territory of the United States of America within the provisions of articles IV and V of the ANZUS Treaty. If that treaty means anything, if our debt as a nation to the people of the United States in the darkest days of World War II means anything, if the comradeship, the friendship and the common bonds of democracy and a belief in liberty, fraternity and justice mean anything, it means that the ANZUS Treaty applies and that the ANZUS Treaty is properly invoked. As a proud, patriotic Australian, I was literally moved to tears by what occurred in the United States. I was filled with admiration for the spirit of the American people. I can with genuine affection and fondness say that their behaviour in the wake of those events and their determination to respond appropriately, to heal the wounds and to help those who mourn and grieve demonstrates very powerfully that the American people do live, in the words of their wonderful national anthem, ‘in the land of the free and the home of the brave’.”⁶⁰

Indeed, in the midst of a series of terrorist attacks, including those in Indonesia, Howard gained momentum to cement the relationship with the U.S. as a major and traditional ally along with New Zealand under the ANZUS platform. In return for Howard's commitment to the US war on terror, the US government, under the Bush administration, rewarded Howard with the granting of a fast-track trade agreement with Australia.⁶¹ Interestingly, the close alliance

⁵⁸ Hywood, Gregory “How Howard Differs from Bush”, *The Age*, 14 August 2003, at <https://www.theage.com.au/national/how-howard-differs-from-bush-20030814-gdw74d.html>.

⁵⁹ Ressa and Chinoy, *op.cit.*

⁶⁰ Dobell, Graeme “Great Australian Foreign Policy Speeches: Howard on 9/11 and the US Alliance”, Lowy Institute, 15 August 2014, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpretor/great-australian-foreign-policy-speeches-howard-911-and-us-alliance>.

⁶¹ “US House Approves Free Trade Pact”, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 2004, at <https://www.smh.com.au/business/us-house-approves-free-trade-pact-20040715-gdjcn1.html>.



between Australia and the US had regional implications. The counterterrorism agenda expanded not only in Indonesia. Besides, the United States and its allies, especially Australia, sought to cultivate the so-called security community among the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). As a result, the so-called Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement (MLA) called on members to cooperate with each other in the fight against terrorism amid regional norms that were traditionally constrained by ASEAN's non-interference rules. The counterterrorism agenda expanded not only particularly in Indonesia. In turn, the United States and its allies, especially Australia, fostered the so-called security community among the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). As a result, the so-called Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement (MLA) called on members to cooperate with each other in the fight against terrorism amid regional norms that were traditionally constrained by ASEAN's non-interference rule.⁶²

The second implication is that Australia's attention to counterterrorism in Indonesia has significantly impacted on bilateral relations. In the midst of various terrorist threats, Australia has provided a great deal of financial resources and institutional and capacity building to Indonesia, especially to the Indonesian national police. In addition, Australia's relations with Indonesia grew vigorously in the aftermath of the catastrophic tsunami that struck Aceh in 2004. Australia quickly delivered humanitarian aid to Aceh and participated in the tsunami recovery.⁶³ Nevertheless, Indonesia's counter-terrorism security policy has changed a lot, especially after the Bali bombing in 2002 and the series of terrorist attacks in Indonesia in the following years. We can quote some legislative initiatives such as Law No. 1/2002 on Combating Terrorism, Law No. 9/2013 on the Prevention of Terrorist Financing, and the most recent Law No. 5/2018 on the Eradication of Terrorist Crimes. At the same time, Indonesia is strongly committed to supporting the international counter-terrorism agenda, such as the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED). Jakarta's commitment to the fight against terrorism was confirmed with the ratification of eight international conventions. Indonesia has also hosted several international workshops on counter-terrorism, including the "Workshop on the Regional Implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Southeast Asia". As a result, Indonesia has gained international recognition, enhancing its global image.⁶⁴

5. Conclusion

This article concludes by asserting that Australian counterterrorism policy in Indonesia was explicitly influenced by domestic political factors, followed by the killing of Australians in the Bali bombings, leading to Australia's response to the global war on terror which, in this context, led to cooperation with Indonesia. Australia responded widely by deploying a crime investigation team, especially under the coordination of the AFP. Surprisingly, the AFP received an unprecedented welcome from Indonesia, as it was given access to the crime scene investigation on the ground. AFP and the Indonesian national police worked closely to pursue, arrest and prosecute the perpetrators. Australia realized that Indonesia is a key ally in Southeast Asia that should be supported with strong assistance, especially to the Indonesian national police. The creation of Detachment 88 of the Indonesian national police counter-terrorism unit, as well as JCLEC, was the articulation of the Australian commitment. Indonesia certainly received a great deal of benefits from the cooperation followed by some political initiatives and

⁶² Chau, Andrew: "Security Community and Southeast Asia: Australia, the U.S., and ASEAN's Counter-Terror Strategy", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (August 2008), pp. 626–649.

⁶³ Cotan, *op.cit.*

⁶⁴ "Indonesia and the Counter-Terrorism Efforts", Ministry of Home Affairs of Indonesia, 2019, at https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/95/halaman_list_lainnya/indonesia-and-the-counter-terrorism-efforts.



the passage of legislation. Australia, however, obtained some advantages from this scenario as the U.S. government rewarded the country with a specific trade agreement. Prime Minister Howard was also interested in promoting the security discourse prior to the 2004 Australian federal election.

Nevertheless, Australia's partnership with Indonesia was/is beneficial for Australian domestic politics and security as well as for Indonesian government, particularly the INP, obtaining a technology transfer and knowledge from AFP. However, some believe, downplaying the enormous seriousness of terrorist crimes, that Australia's most successful story during the global war on terror has been the sustained maintenance of the security discourse on terrorist threats, the politics of fear and Islamophobia, whether in Australia, Indonesia and the region.

Bibliography

“Presiden resmikan Jakarta Centre of Law Enforcement Cooperation [President officiated Jakarta Centre of Law Enforcement Cooperation]”, *Tempo*, 3 July 2004, at <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/44576/presiden-resmikan-jakarta-centre-of-law-enforcement-cooperation>

“President Jokowi Applauds Cooperation with Australia on Combatting Terrorism”, at <https://setkab.go.id/en/president-jokowi-applauds-cooperation-with-australia-on-combatting-terrorism/>

Barton, Greg: “How Indonesia’s counter-terrorism force has become a model for the region”, *The Conversation*, 3 July 2018, at <https://theconversation.com/how-indonesias-counter-terrorism-force-has-become-a-model-for-the-region-97368>

Becker, Michael E. et al.: “Reviving the Russian Empire: The Crimean Intervention through a Neoclassical Realist Lens”, *European Security*, Vol. 25, n° 1 (January 2016), pp. 112–133.

Behm, Allan: “Cooperation with Kopassus? Take Care!”, *Agenda*, Vol. 10, n° 1 (2003), pp. 13–18.

Bigby, Christine: “Preparing Manuscripts That Report Qualitative Research: Avoiding Common Pitfalls and Illegitimate Questions”, *Australian Social Work*, Vol. 68, n° 3 (July 2015), pp. 384–391.

Brangwin, Nicole; Rann, Ann: “Australia’s Military Involvement in Afghanistan since 2001: A Chronology”, *Parliament of Australia*, 2010.

Brissenden, Michael: “Australia spied on Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, leaked Edward Snowden documents reveal”, *ABC News*, 5 December 2014, at <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-11-18/australia-spied-on-indonesian-president,-leaked-documents-reveal/5098860?nw=0>

Byman, Daniel: “Passive Sponsors of Terrorism,” *Survival*, Vol. 47, n° 4 (December 2005), pp. 117–144.

Byman, Daniel: “Understanding, and Misunderstanding, State Sponsorship of Terrorism”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (March 2020), pp. 1–19.



- Chandra, Vikash: "Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 41, n° 3 (May 2017), pp. 297–299.
- Chau, Andrew: "Security Community and Southeast Asia: Australia, the U.S., and ASEAN's Counter-Terror Strategy", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 48, n° 4 (August 2008), pp. 626–649.
- Cianflone, Matt., et al. (2007): *Anatomy of a Terrorist Attack: An in-depth Investigation into the 2002 Bali, Indonesia, Bombings*, Working Paper, Pittsburgh, PA: Matthew B. Ridgway Center, University of Pittsburgh.
- Coetzee, Eben: "No Rest for the Weary: Competition and Emulation in International Politics. A Waltzian Perspective", *Politikon*, Vol. 46, n° 1 (January 2019), pp. 1–19.
- Connery, David; Sambhi, Natalie and McKenzie, Michael: "A Return on Investment", Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2014, at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep04053>.
- Cotan, Imron: "Indonesia-Australian Relations: East Timor, Bali Bombing, Tsunami and Beyond", Press Release of Indonesian Embassy in Canberra, 2005, at <https://web.archive.org/web/20100107014127/http://www.kbri-canberra.org.au/speeches/2005/050301e.htm>.
- Coyne, John: "The future of the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation", *The Strategist*, 21 February 2017, at <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/future-jakarta-centre-law-enforcement-cooperation/>
- Davies, Ed; Rondonuwu, Olivia: "U.S.-funded Detachment 88, elite of Indonesia security," *Reuters*, 18 March 2010, at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-usa-security-idUSTRE62H13F20100318>
- Dobell, Graeme: "Great Australian Foreign Policy Speeches: Howard on 9/11 and the US Alliance", Lowy Institute, 15 August 2014, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/great-australian-foreign-policy-speeches-howard-911-and-us-alliance>.
- Dufour, Isabelle. F; Richard, Marie Claude: "Theorizing from Secondary Qualitative Data: A Comparison of Two Data Analysis Methods," ed. Jun Li, *Cogent Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (January 2019).
- Dutton, Peter: "*Media Release: Australia and Indonesia - Enhancing cooperation on security*", at <https://minister.homeaffairs.gov.au/peterdutton/Pages/Australia-and-Indonesia---Enhancing-cooperation-on-security.aspx>
- Eng, Pierre Van Der: "Konfrontasi and Australia's Aid to Indonesia during the 1960s", *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Vol. 55, n° 1 (March 2009), pp. 46–63.
- Engesser, Sven., et al.: "Populism and Social Media: How Politicians Spread a Fragmented Ideology", *Information, Communication & Society*, Vol. 20, No. 8 (August 2017), pp. 1109–1126.
- Fealy, Greg: "Bali Nine executions viewpoints: Are Australia-Indonesia ties at risk?", *BBC*, 29 April 2015, at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-32492182>
- Haripin, Muhamad, Rininta Anindya Chaula, and Priamarizki Adhi : "The Politics of Counter-Terrorism in Post-Authoritarian States: Indonesia's Experience, 1998–2018", *Defense & Security Analysis*, Vol. 36, n° 3 (July 2020), pp. 275–299.
- Henry, Iain: "Unintended Consequences: An Examination of Australia's 'Historic Policy Shift' on East Timor", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 68, n° 1 (January 2014), pp. 52–69.



Hywood, Gregory: "How Howard Differs from Bush", *The Age*, 14 August 2003, at <https://www.theage.com.au/national/how-howard-differs-from-bush-20030814-gdw74d.html>.

Jakarta Centre For Law Enforcement Cooperation, at <https://www.70yearsindonesiaaustralia.com/cooperation-between-australia-and-indonesia/jakarta-centre-for-law-enforcement-cooperation>

Kalidjernih, Freddy: "Australian Indonesia-Specialists and Debates on West Papua: Implications for Australia-Indonesia Relations", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 62, n° 1 (March 2008), pp. 72–93.

Kitchen, Nicholas: "Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 36, n° 1 (2010), pp. 117–143.

Lai, Yew Meng (2014): *Nationalism and Power Politics in Japan's Relations with China*, London, Routledge, at <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203100103>.

Laksmiana, Evan A: "Reinforcing Indonesia–Australia Defence Relations: The Case for Maritime Recalibration", Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2018.

Lestari, Elva Azzahra Puji: "Complex Interdependence Between Indonesia-Australia Through Cybersecurity Cooperation Post-Indonesia-Australia Cyberwar in 2013," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, Vol. 9, n° 2 (February 2021), pp. 178-188.

Lulitanond, Variya (2004): *Culture shock and moral panic: An analysis of three mainstream Australian newspapers' response to the Bali Bombings in October 2002 and the arrest of 'smiling Amrozi' in November 2002*, MA Thesis, University of Tasmania.

Mackie, Jamie. A. C: "Australia and Indonesia: Current Problems, Future Prospects", Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2007.

"Indonesia and the Counter-Terrorism Efforts", Ministry of Home Affairs of Indonesia, at https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/95/halaman_list_lainnya/indonesia-and-the-counter-terrorism-efforts.

Murphy, Ann Marie: "US Rapprochement with Indonesia: From Problem State to Partner", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 32, n° 3 (2010), pp. 362–387.

Muslikhati, Siti: "Isu Terorisme Dalam Jurusan Hubungan Internasional Perspektif Islam," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, Vol. 1, n° 1 (April 2012), pp. 32–39.

Nabbs-Keller, Greta: "Understanding Australia-Indonesia Relations in the Post-Authoritarian Era: Resilience and Respect", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 74, n° 5 (September 2020), pp. 532–556.

National Museum of Australia, at <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/bali-bombings>

Oak, Gillan S: "Jemaah Islamiyah's Fifth Phase: The Many Faces of a Terrorist Group", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 33, n° 11 (October 2010), pp. 989–1018.

Philpott, Simon "Fear of the Dark: Indonesia and the Australian National Imagination", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, n° 3 (November 2001), pp. 371–388.

Proceeds of Crime, at <https://www.afp.gov.au/what-we-do/crime-types/proceeds-crime#:~:text=The%20Proceeds%20of%20Crime%20Act%202002,-The%20Proceeds%20of&text=The%20Act%20provides%20a%20scheme,of%20crime%20againt%20Commonwealth%20law.&text=The%20Act%20also%20provides%20a,effects%20of%20crime%20in%20Australia>.



Ressa, Maria; Chinoy, Mike: “Tourists Flee Bali after Bombings”, *CNN.Com*, 12 October 2002, at <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/southeast/10/14/bali.bombings/index.html>.

Sherlock, Stephen: “The Bali Bombing: What it Means for Indonesia”, *Current Issues Brief*, n° 4 (2002), at

https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/CIB/cib0203/03Cib04

Tong, Jingrong: “Environmental Risks in Newspaper Coverage: A Framing Analysis of Investigative Reports on Environmental Problems in 10 Chinese Newspapers”, *Environmental Communication*, Vol. 8, n° 3 (July 2014), pp. 345–367.

Troath, Sian: “Bonded but Not Embedded: Trust in Australia-Indonesia Relations, Keating & Suharto to Turnbull & Jokowi”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 73, n° 2 (March 2019), pp. 126–142.

Troy, Jodok; Lobell; Steven. E; Ripsman Norrin. M. and Taliaferro, Jeffrey W.: “Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy”, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 24, n°4 (December 2013), pp. 691–693.

“US House Approves Free Trade Pact”, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 2004, at <https://www.smh.com.au/business/us-house-approves-free-trade-pact-20040715-gdjcn1.html>.

Wesley, Michael (2007): *The Howard Paradox: Australian Diplomacy in Asia, 1996-2006*, Sydney, ABC Books for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Winter, Bronwyn: “Keep Us Simple, Keep Us Safe: The Post-9/11 Comeback of the Average Australian Bloke,” *Mémoire(s), identité(s), marginalité(s) dans le monde occidental contemporain. Cahiers du MIMMOC*, Vol. 16 (2016), pp. 1–17.

Yumitro, Gonda; Kurniawati Dyah Estu; Saiman; Prasetya, Dion Maulana; Deniar, Shannaz Mutiara.: “The modalities and roles of local government to face terrorism issues in Indonesia: the case study of Malang Raya region” *Revista UNISCI*, n° 53 (May 2020), pp. 9-21