

# TNI Intelligence's Role on Preventing Global Terrorism Threat in Indonesia

*Munip Suharmono, Akim, Arfin Sudirman*

Strategic moves of counterterrorism in Indonesia are seen as moderately comprehensive. The evidence is the involvement of all stakeholder to prevent terrorism, intelligence is one of many elements of counterterrorism that is exposed by public, they believe that intelligence is failed and careless in terrorism act in Indonesia. We choose the TNI intelligence as an object analysis of this study above all other intelligence units that are signed to prevent global terrorism act. The involvement of TNI intelligence to fight terrorism in Indonesia has a long history, before reformation in 1988, ABRI/TNI stands in the frontline against terrorism act. Accordingly, this article contains the explanation of intelligence's role in preventing terrorism in Indonesia under TNI headquarter command. The findings show four points that must be considered in TNI intelligence process, which are: intelligence execution, intelligence personal, coordination among intelligence institution, and special material equipments.

*Keyword: terrorism, TNI intelligence, counterterrorism.*

Terrorism act in the world still becomes a serious threat for global security and peace, not even a single state, including Indonesia, can guarantee its people to be free from the extremist group assault who join the terrorist international network. According to Hoffman (2006:40-41), terrorism is a political act which the motive and the target is un-

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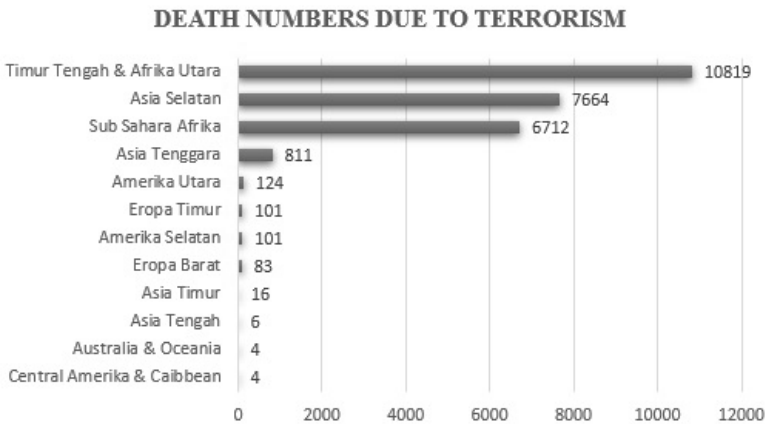
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avoidable, a violence or challenge is planned to harm the targets psychologically. The effect is massive, and it is executed conspicuously by an organisation that is well structured and connected to another same group. The group are motivated and inspired by the former and existing group with similar ideology and leader.

Currently, terrorism has a wide and global network, its existence is extremely threatening peace and either national or international security. Global Terrorism Database in 2018 showed that the highest number of terrorism act is in Middle East and South Africa.

Figure 1. Death caused by terrorism



Source: Global Terrorism Database 2018

The data displays the number of deaths caused by terrorism, and it is extremely high. The domination of global terrorism is still represented by ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Suriah). ISIS is terrorist organisation with most aggression, data from Global Terrorism Index (2016, p. 50) explained that ISIS is the most destructive terrorist group in 2015, the data recorded the percentage of fatalities caused by the ISIS terror is increasing, the total of the victims are 6.141.

The threat of terrorist network in regional area is nothing but murderous. The establishment of terrorism network in regional level is the expansion offal Qeda network, these groupshave a common goal, they tend to establish Khilafah state, according to Gunaratna (2002, pp.1-2) the terrorist group that is supported by Al Qaeda and located in South East Asia became the group that bombard Philipines, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. Those terrorist groups are *Moro Islamic*

*Leberation Front* (MILF) and *Abu Sayyaf Group* (ASG) in Philipines, Jun-dullah Troops in Indonesia, Malaysian Mujahidin Association (KMM) in Malaysia, *Jamaah Salafiya* in Thailand, *Arakan* Rohingya Nationalist Organisation (ARNO) and Rohingya Soidarity Organisation (RSO) in Myanmar and Bangladesh and *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI) in Australia.

Terrorist organisation in Indonesia has a strong root of the move-ment; it was started by the group named *Daulah Islam/Negara Islam Indonesia* (DI/NII) that was led by Imam Sekarmadji Maridjan Karto-soewirjo. Graph 1.4 shows that subordinate organisations of DI/NII have done plenteous terror in Indonesia, the group that commit the most attack is *Jama'ah Islamiyah* (JI) group.

Since ASEAN countries experienced plenty of terrorism acts, the members of ASEAN tried several efforts to oppose terrorism. Thailand government established Supreme Command of the Royal Thai Armed Forces that operates in counterterrorism. Malaysia developed the policy of Internal Security Act (ISA), Penal Code and *Rejimen Gerak Khas* that was trained under British 22<sup>nd</sup> SAS. Myanmar's government also improved counterterrorism policy named strategic anti-money laundering and countering the financing of terrorism (AML/CFT) deficiencies in 2011. Philipines deploy *National Plan to Address Terrorism and its Consequences* in 2002, Autonomous Region of Moslem Mindanao (ARMM), Operation Freedom Eagle in 2002 (Yanyan et al., 2012).

Indonesia has its own history regarding terrorism, terrorism acts have happened in various regions in Indonesia since 2000 to 2018. The worst terrorism act in Indonesia is conceivably Bali Bomb 1 and 2, the incident took abundance victims and inflict Bali's circumstances physically and non-physically. The numbers of terrorism acts in Indonesia have fluctuated in the last two decades. Indonesia must stay aware since the maneuver of terrorism is unpredictable and clandestine.

Strategic move to prevent terrorism in Indonesia is considered comprehensive. The indication is the involvement of all stakeholders to execute it. Intelligence is part of counterterrorism that is exposed by the public. Some politician and academic figures criticized Indonesian intelligence, they believed that the intelligence is careless and failed to prevent several terrorism cases in Indonesia, now, they are questioning the roles of Indonesian intelligence to fight global terrorism threats, the debates are the basis of this article.

We choose the TNI intelligence as an object analysis of this study above all other intelligence units that are signed to prevent global ter-

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rorism act. The involvement of TNI intelligence to fight terrorism in Indonesia has a long history, before reformation on 1988, ABRI/TNI stands in the frontline against terrorism act. Accordingly, this article contains the explanation of intelligence's role in preventing terrorism in Indonesia under TNI headquarter command. Additionally, the constitution of Indonesia number 34 year 2004 about TNI stated that TNI has an authority to crack down terrorism acts. The procedure of the prosecution is administered in articles 5, 6, 7 and 18. Article 7 explains about TNI's main duty, procedure of conduct and the requirement to execute the task.

To maintain sovereignty of the state, keeping territorial and saving the nation, TNI does military operation. The form of the operation consists of Military Operation for War (OMP) and Non-war Military Operation (OMSP). Terrorism falls to the category of OMSP. Both operations cannot be done automatically, they need state's political decision and certain policy as mentioned in the constitution articles 5, 7 and 3. Article 5 states that TNI's operation can only be executed on Legislative's (DPR) authorization for both OMP and OMSP. So does the counter measure of terrorism. Article 6 states that basically TNI has a function of preventing and prosecuting all the military and non-military threat from both internal and external. TNI's another function is as a restorer when the country is not stabilized.

## **Literture Review**

### *Intelligence Theory*

We conducted study on previous article that is relevant with this topic, the article can be a theoretical background and the enrichment of the literature. Those previous articles are; the development of terrorism network (Ali, 2016), counterterrorism (Yanyan, et al. 2012; Mengko, 2017), intelligence aspects and laws (Budi, 2015; Mahyudin, 2016; Jaya 2016). Based on these previous studies, the article on terrorism based on strategic intelligence aspect (TNI intelligence) is still limited.

Intelligence, according to Kent (Mahyudin, 2016, p. 28) is "The knowledge which our highly placed civilian and military men must have to safeguard the national warfare". Meanwhile, Admiral William F. Raborn defined intelligence as information which has been carefully evaluated as to its accuracy and significance". Furthermore, Ransom (Mahyudin, 2016.p, 28) explains that the difference between "intelligence" and "information" is the evaluation process on accuracy and as-

sessing its significance on national security. On the other hand, Saron-to et al. (2008.p, 31) defined that intelligence is not only the activity of finding data and information, but also the activity of predict the future event. Intelligence is a process that must be conducted by any organisation to earn maximise the result. Without intelligence process, we will face overflowing information, yet everything looks important and useful.

Moreover, Bakti (2005, p. 2) stated that intelligence is crucial to prevent violence or terror with politics or religion motives. Intelligence is also prerequisite to defense national security from the domestic terrorist who wants to conduct coup to the government, furthermore, intelligence is also needed to stop the groups that insist to change political system through bloodshed.

Conforming to Anriani (2018, p. 3), intelligence as a term comes from British word “intelligent” which equivalent to intellect. It shows that as a definition, intelligence as information, knowledge, process, activity, product and organisation must contain the element of intelligent. Moreover, Anriani (2018:3) stated that intelligence as a process is a procedural sequence that form intelligence cycle. The cycle starts from the decision maker who are questioning something or seeking advice. The situation produces an intelligence requirement, which is essential elements of intelligence, the requirement is proceeded to intelligence body, and that is how the cycle starts. As stated by Hank Prunkhun in his book: *Handbook of Scientific Methods of Inquiry for Intelligence Analysis*. He explained that there are seven steps of developing intelligence process, these process is also called cycle of intelligence, it consists of: (1) direction setting, (2) information collection, (3) data collection, (4) data processing and manipulation, (5) data analysis, (6) report writing dan (7) dissemination to decision maker (Anriani, 2018, p. 30).

State intelligence in the framework of democratic work is necessary to anticipate the threat to national security. Intelligence’s aim according to the scheme is (1) preventing strategic impromptu, and (2) early vigilance (foreknowledge) for decision maker in security department (Andi Widjajanto, 2008, p. 7).

### *Defense Intelligence*

Conforming to Prasetyono (2005, pp. 87-88), typically, defense intelligence and military is classified into two categories: (1) strategic intelligence and (2) tactical-operational intelligence. Moreover, Prasetyono

explained that strategic intelligence is used by the policy maker and national leaders to fulfill the purpose of national security. While tactical intelligence has a function of collecting information and analysis. Since the information is necessary for the commander to succeed in the field. Tactical intelligence includes knowing opponent's movement, weaponry and all other operational aspects. In addition, Prasetyono divided defense intelligence into four big categories (2005, pp. 89-91).

First, defense intelligence gives early warning. The essence of intelligence, especially defense intelligence is giving warning in advance based on information analysis. The analysis includes the development of strategic environment such as terrorist assault potential, rebellion conflict potential, territorial violation, external threats etc. Second, defense intelligence gives judgment to current issues, future strategic tendency, regional and global level, technology improvement and other countries' ability. Third, defense intelligence helps the operation to minimize victims and prepare the demand for the success of military operation. Fourth, defense intelligence supports defense development program by analysing military ability in the countries around, infrastructure ability, and military technology.

### *National Security*

Etymologically, security has its roots from Latin "securus" which means free of danger, free of fear (Yanyan et al., 2012). Furthermore, Yamin and Matengkar (2016, p. 6) explained that security is broadly defined as the ability to survive from existential threat. Buzan (Mukhtar, 2011, p. 127) divided security sectors into five: military, politics, environment, economic and social. Military approach means only one of the five sectors in national security. Additionally, Bornd and Flupi (Mukhtar, 2011, p. 130) have three conceptions of security sector reform in democratic country which are:

First, security sector reform (SSR) is a tool to guarantee domestic and international stability. Instability in security and politics especially appear in countries with democratic transition and predominantly in developing countries. Second, security sector reform will push political-economic situation. In third world countries, domestic conflict repeatedly appears caused by the foreign investment infiltration. Prior to the context, reformation is suggesting the development of good governance. Third, increase Democratization and develop a harmony relationship between civil and military and the existence of

civil supremacy. According to security sector reform, effectivity of the reformation depends on Democartisation in military system. Security sector reform demands an active participation from various reformist sides (parliament, military and civilian) to be successful.

Mukhtar (2011, p. 133) argued that national security system has four ideal functions for government: 1) State's defense which means the government's roles to face external threat that endanger the national sovereignty, safety, and honor of NKRI; 2) State's safety which means the government's roles to overcome the internal threat; 3) Public security which means the government's role to preserve, save, secure the society through law supremacy, protection, and servicing society; 4) Individual security which means government's role to uphold basic rights of all Indonesian civilian.

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## **Methods**

The article aims to describe and explain TNI Intelligence's roles in preventing global terrorism act; this article used qualitative approach since the article question is unclear, holistic, complex, dynamic and content so it is impossible to use quantitative approach. The object of the study in this article is Intelligence's role in facing terrorism threat. The article used qualitative descriptive method, according to Sukmadinata (2009, p. 60), qualitative article is a article that describe and analyse phenomena, event, social activity, attitude, beliefs, perception, and intellectual. Some descriptions have a purpose to find principles and the explanation to find conclusion.

In this article, the data is gained from several resources with some certain techniques; 1) observation; it means that we inspect the matters directly on the article location with detail and comprehensive. Prior to the context, we discover the roles of intelligence in preventing terrorism act to preserve the sovereignty in Indonesia. 2) Documentation which means that we collect materials that is relevant to the topic, we also collecting literature analysis in a form of documents, books, regulation and journal regarding intelligence, global terrorism and national security; 3) Interview, which means that we interact directly with all the resources to gain an accurate and important data during the article. We used two type of interview. The first one is formal interview and the second is informal. We did an informal interview with KASUBDIS PAMSUD and BAIS TNI for early study. The purpose is to start and build an intimacy before formal interview. The process of in-

formal interview is done without a strict schedule, we tried to find a spare time of both sides.

## **Discussion**

### *CEJISS Function and Roles of TNI Intelligences*

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We found a document regarding function and roles of TNI intelligences. The roles of TNI intelligences is to support the security leader on deciding policy and decision making by giving an image, advice and suggestion on strategic environment development, they also have a role to predict the possibility of threat caused by either internal or external factors. Finally, they have to counter the movement of opponent's intelligence. Meanwhile, the function of TNI intelligence is to investigate, security and guarding: First, Investigation function. Organising all efforts, works, activities and planned actions including collection, cultivation, interpretation, analysis of material and component. All the efforts must be strategic, tactical, and technical to produce an intelligence product. Second is security function where organising all efforts, works, activities and planned actions are done to prevent and counter opponent's intelligence's activities. Additionally, the cleaning to internal TNI bodies comes out. Third, guarding function where organising all efforts, works, activities and planned actions are done to create preferable situation and condition.

The implementation of TNI intelligence is divided into three categories, which are: first, strategic intelligence. The intelligence that is needed as a consideration to decide policy and decision making in both national and international planning. Those intelligence data are the highest intelligence product based on the intelligence taskforce report under TNI command. It includes the entire comprehensive spectrum about strategic environment development and threat prediction from both internal and external attack. Second is operational intelligence. The intelligence that is needed to plan and execute the military campaign and joint operation. Third is tactical intelligence. The intelligence that is needed to plan and execute war operation on operational taskforce level.

The training of TNI intelligence is conducted frequently and well planned. The purpose is to support main duty of TNI so the activity will be successful. Consequently, the process of the training should refer to intelligence function that includes investigation, security and guarding.



Table 1. Conduct of Intelligence Categories

No	Categories	Description
1	Strategic intelligence	Planning and developing policy and national strategies Monitoring national and international situation development Developing military planning Helping and deciding operation strategy Execution, assistance for TNI commander and BAIS TNI
2	Operational intelligence	Monitoring events and incidents in a certain area for the sake of joined operation Supporting military campaign planning Execution, assistance for PANGKOTAMAOPS TNI
3	Tactical intelligence	Supporting planning and operation management Providing information about Cumemu Creating Kir Intelligence to Dansat Ops Execution, Intelligence staff of Dansat Ops

Sources TNI HQ documents, 2019

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### *Strategic Intelligence Operation*

Strategic Intelligence Operation includes investigation, security and guarding to gain information on nine strategic intelligence components that are: geography, history, politics, economy, social, culture, science, transportation and communication, biography and military force. Next, all the data is processed to intelligence product to capture a rough draft of ability, fragility, and the possibility to act in addition to the intention of opponents which are strategically valuable, espionage, sabotage and terror. First, Investigation operation is conducted to support all sequences of military operation in war or non-war military operation. The task is to gain the resource and material about strategic intelligence components. Second, security operation is conducted to support all operational sequences both for OMP and OMSP that includes strategic aspect. The task is to find, warn, prevent and destroy all efforts and espionage, sabotage and terror activities. Third, guarding operation is conducted to support OMP and OMSP especially on conditioning that includes strategic

aspect. The task is to create a preferable condition in the operational area.

TNI Intelligence operation in war military operation (OMP) has a purpose of:

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- a. Establishing the condition to eliminate enemy's intention on invading Indonesia. Prior to the context the strategic intelligence operation will be conducted.
- b. Earn information about the enemy, headquarters location, shortest route possible, landing area, weather and other details characteristic.
- c. Earn information on the possibilities of logistic support and enemy's strength.
- d. Earn information in order to plan and execute war operation and territorial operation.
- e. Establishing condition that harmful to enemy in the occupation area. The process to weaken enemy's potential and abilities so they are obstructed or stopped. They are expected to pause their attack or stop it forever.
- f. Destroying enemy's intelligence network so they are not able to gain any information or secret regarding the troops.
- g. Securing and guarantee the safety of the troops and the society so we can plan and reorganizing the fight.

TNI Intelligence operation in non-war military operation (OMSP) has a purpose of:

- a. Establishing the condition to prevent the appearance of security threat and preserve stability in all fields.
- b. Overcoming internal security threat that already happened, through enemy's intelligence networks disclosure and capturing the critical figures so they are localized and stop their spreading.
- c. Supporting the efforts to restore security, rescuing the society from enemy's influence. They are also supporting to uphold governance's dignity.
- d. Restoring spirit of national unity and sovereignty to keep the wholeness of the state.

Intelligence operation management based on level and division First, Army Intelligence operation. This intelligence operation is conducted to support regional commander. The operation is targeting the threat that endangers the security of the area where the intelligence

activities cannot cover. The purpose of intelligence operation in this context is similar to any other intelligence operations. It starts from planning, briefing, execution, control command and debriefing. Second is Navy intelligence operation. This intelligence operation is conducted either group or independent in the sequence of operation and tactical. The pressure point is in coordination and compactness of the troop/ the elements to collecting intelligence information of Navy includes KRI on the water, Submarine, Amphibian espionage, toad force, Navy airplanes and intelligence agent on the field. Third, is Airforce Intelligence operation. The planning of air force intelligence operation is similar to intelligence operation in other grounds. All the planning is conducted in compactness and well coordinated. They are also demanded to pay attention to the details. The results of this intelligence operation are utilised to support airforce strategic operation and tactical. Besides, the information gathered by the airforce is also valuable for the army and navy operation especially in special regions.

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### *TNI Intelligence Execution*

TNI intelligence have played a role in preventing terrorism by sharing the information with the stakeholders, including intelligence officer such as BPT, BIN, Police, Customs, Immigration and Judiciary. Following the terrorist acts in Indonesia, TNI intelligence should directly involved in handling terrorism, since they have a duty on strategic intelligence. The roles are stated in military law number 34-year 2004 7<sup>th</sup> article verse (2) b number 3 about TNI's main duty in Non-War Military Operation (OMSP) where TNI have an obligation to fight bak terrorism. The constitution is a strong basis for TNI intelligence especially BAIS TNI to optimise intelligence operation.

TNI Intelligence's role in overcoming terrorism threat is implemented by creating several task force, such as (1) Wijaya task force who conduct investigation all over Indonesia, (2) Poso task force or Angin Mamiri task force who raise power, (3) POA task force who investigate espionage and scrutinize expatriate who are suspected spreading radicalism, or terrorism ideology in Indonesia and (4) Hanoman task force who specialized in repressing terrorism.

The execution of terrorist countermeasure by TNI intelligence is not optimal yet, it is caused by the existing regulation is not strong enough. According to constitution no. 15 year 2003 about extermination of terrorism act, TNI must delegate the duty to the Police as a

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single investigator to counter terrorism. The lack of regulation caused TNI can only collecting information and not allowed to execute the terrorist directly. Moreover, TNI can only execute terrorism that can threaten the sovereignty of the state, while terrorism with lesser effect will be police authority.

Recalling the nature of terrorism, which is hard to identify, it is hard to prevent it if we only depend on law enforcement since terrorism is an extraordinary crime. The countermeasure of terrorism will not succeed with repressive act. A preventive and rehabilitative act are more effective where the approach is integrative and comprising various elements.

### *TNI Intelligence Personnel*

BAIS TNI is a central executor in TNI headquarter who is in charge to conduct strategic intelligence operation and build up power to support main duty of TNI, one of them is fighting terrorism. High quality personnel must support BAIS TNI. Generally, TNI intelligence personnel have trained rigorously to qualify as intelligence. However, the training is still in basic level. The training is more into investigation function that leads to producing intelligence product. Event though BAIS personnel have been deployed in the field to conduct intelligence operation, not all personnel have experienced in counter measuring terrorism, either it is a duty from BIN, BNPT, BAIS, TNI AD or any other joined force. Mostly, TNI intelligence personnel had experience in monitoring duty and information collection regarding ideology, politics, economy, social, and defense. Nevertheless, the development of training in TNI intelligence is progressing to advance program and individual improvement.

The improvement of TNI intelligence personnel is expected to provide a preventive act to overcome the development of terrorism in Indonesia. Not only in quality but also the quantity of the personnel needs to be increased. The increasement will help all anti-terror organisation in TNi, especially BAIS will have a considerable amount of personnel. The increasement in numbers can be attained by recruiting intelligence from all TNI force (AD, AL, AU) or any other military training institution and rank such as Perwira, Bintara, and Tamtama.

The quality of terrorism act is executed by an experienced individual in tactical and technical for terror act, consequently, the power of intelligence personnel especially BAIS must raise equally with the terrorist.

### *Coordination among Intelligence Institution*

Coordination and cooperation among intelligence institution in terrorism operation is well-formed. BAIS and other institution such as BNPT, BIN, Customs and judiciary is in a good term. However, the cooperation between these stakeholders is not effective. The problem is the communication between the organisation. The analysis of the information must be conducted together and full of attention, meanwhile the regional communication forum is temporary, and they can only meet once in a month. What happened is only limited sharing session without joint analysis process so they cannot produce a comprehensive analysis on particular issue. Moreover, each organisation has sectoral ego in maintaining the information, so the intelligence is not in perfect synchronization. If those information are synergized, it will be advantageous for the success of intelligence. The counter measuring of terrorism will be optimal. All the institution has detailed and specific information, if they can combine all of them, the president as a decision maker will be profitable.

### *Adjustment and Modernization of Special Equipment*

The success of intelligence is not only determined by the individual qualities but also the intelligence equipment. The effect of special equipment is the performance of the intelligence, it optimise s their process on executing the duty. As the technology improves, currently, the new advanced and modern equipment are created. The purpose is to counter terrorist's equipment that already advanced in technology and information. The facilities of TNI intelligence are already suitable to support the task, but it still needs to be improved. All the intelligence equipment must be modernised regarding a new method of terrorist in using social media and other tools related information and technology.

### **Conclusion**

The conclusion of the article is implementation of counter measuring terrorism by TNI intelligence is not optimal yet, the cause is the lack of regulation as the constitution no. 15 year 2003 about extermination of terrorism act, stated that TNI must delegate the duty to the Police as a single investigator to counter terrorism. The quality of the personnel is good, yet the ability must be improved specifically in term of countering terrorism, since not all personnel had experience in fighting terrorism. Coordination and cooperation among intelligence institution

is well formed, yet it needs improvement in synergy between information from each organisation. The problem is the ego in the intelligence organisations. The facilities of TNI intelligence is sufficient to support the task but it still needs to be developed.

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