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UNDERSTANDING THE “WAR ON TERRORISM”: THE OIL & GAS INTERESTS -- PART 4 (SOUTHEAST ASIA)¹

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Note: This paper is part of a series on understanding why we are fighting terrorism. There is nothing new in it that hasn't been published elsewhere, and of course the coverage of oil and gas activities is not comprehensive. The purpose of this paper is to compile some pertinent information together so that a pattern can be seen. In this paper I have tried to illustrate some trouble spots in the Southeast Asia region that have potential to be affected by the “war on terrorism” if US interests, or US corporate profits, are threatened. This particular paper is Part 4 of “The Oil and Gas Interests.” BA

In earlier parts of this series I quoted US Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham as saying that by 2020 US oil consumption will have risen 33 percent, gas consumption over 50 percent, and electricity demand by 45 percent; and that energy demands in the developing countries will jump over 100 percent.² Secretary Abraham also said: “We are committed to ensuring that America’s energy needs are not held hostage by politically unstable foreign suppliers.”³ Today the US consumes an average of 19.7 million barrels of oil per day.⁴ By 2020 that daily usage is expected to jump to 26 million barrels. Today America imports 52 percent of the oil used. By 2020 that dependence on imports will grow to 62 percent.

US Under Secretary of State Alan Larson set forth two primary goals of US energy security policy. The first is “to ensure that our economy has access to energy on terms and conditions that support economic growth and prosperity.” The second is “to ensure that the United States and its

¹This paper addresses some of the most blatant US interventions but is not a comprehensive treatment of how indigenous people are repressed in order to further US energy industry interests. Likewise, the oil and gas issue is not the only factor pertaining to the “war on terrorism,” but it is a major one. In future companion papers to this I hope to address some of the other factors.

²Abraham, Spencer, 2 May 2002.

³Abraham, Spencer; 20 June 2002.

⁴One barrel of oil equals 42 gallons.

foreign policy can never be held hostage by foreign oil suppliers.”⁵ He went on to say that in addition to managing a continuing trading relationship with Canada and Mexico, other important foreign policy initiatives are: 1) conducting a dialogue with Venezuela to build a more productive relationship, 2) developing multiple pipelines to connect the Caspian Basin to major transportation routes, 3) strengthening energy ties with Russia, 4) reevaluating Africa’s role as a major energy supplier, and 5) encouraging Middle Eastern countries to open up certain areas of their energy sector to foreign investment. The first three of those foreign policy initiatives was examined in Part 1 of this series. The fourth foreign policy initiative on Africa was covered in Part 2 of this series. The fifth foreign policy initiative was covered in Part 3 of this series. In this paper I wish to address another area that is important to the United States as a gas and oil interest -- the Southeast Asia region.

INTRODUCTION.

Southeast Asia has been described as a diverse region with varying levels of economic development with certain areas a success story in globalization.⁶ It is an area of opportunity for investment in many diverse enterprises. Energy is one but there are others. A discussion of Southeast Asia could easily include foreign exploitation of other resources such as timber, minerals, and cheap labor. Malaysia, for instance, is “a powerhouse for assembling semiconductors and other light industrial products for export.”⁷ The Philippines are a resource for timber, rubber, textiles, chemical products, beverage production, food products, and electronic assembly. Although the full spectrum of “Free Trade” activities is beyond the scope of this paper, the reader should realize that America’s “national interests” are not limited to a single resource. Oil and gas are only a portion of that spectrum which is open to exploitation in Southeast Asia, although an important portion.



Figure-1
Southeast Asia

THE TERRORISM PICTURE

Southeast Asia also has jungle borders that are easy to penetrate, and thousands of remote islands which are hard to patrol. This makes an ideal environment which terrorists can access easily

⁵Larson, Alan; 20 June 2002.

⁶Schoenberger.

⁷Schoenberger.

and in which they can hide, train, assemble, and plan attacks. They seem to be doing just that. Islamic resistance movements which originally formed to promote their separate causes in Southeast Asia are now more united under the influence of Al Qaida, and have been dubbed terrorists. The first known planning meeting for the 9-11 attack took place in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in January 2000. Many Islamic dissidents have received training and have gone beyond armed resistance to perpetrate such acts as bombing public places. (Significant recent terrorist incidents are listed in Appendix-A)

Jemaah Islamiyah (Islamic Group)

Jemaah Islamiyah appears to be the regional umbrella organization for other terrorist groups in Indonesia. It may be an administrative or networking entity under which other autonomous groups or cells can unite and coordinate, rather than a large organization that actually plans actions at the top and then sends orders down the chain of command to carry them out. It is reported to have several hundred members operating mainly in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indochina but also reaching out to other Southeast Asian nations. Jemaah Islamiyah was added to the UN list of terrorist organizations in 2002. Its goal is to create an Islamic state consisting of 230 million Muslims in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and the southern portions of Thailand and the Philippines. One of its members, Fathur Rohman al-Ghozi, a Filipino bomb maker arrested in Manila, told Philippine police: "The principle of our organization is the establishment of an independent Islamic state like Prophet Muhammad did."^{8,9}

Jemaah Islamiyah's alleged founder is 65-year-old Abu Bakar Bashir. He is believed to be the spiritual and intellectual head of the organization and runs the Al Mukmin boarding school in Solo, on the island of Java in Indonesia. Although he denies any connection with terrorists, he admits sympathizing with them. (Principal known terrorist figures in Southeast Asia are described in Appendix-B.)

Osama bin Laden is a hero for the nearly 2000 students crowded into the in the Bashir's Al Mukmin Islamic boarding school. Poster-size colored pictures of him adorn the walls. Bashir urges Muslims to follow his example. What is particularly scary is that virtually every Indonesian terrorist, and probably many other Southeast Asian terrorists, have had some connection to this school. The alarming part is that thousands have graduated and the whereabouts of most of them is unknown.

Jemaah Islamiyah is alleged to have ties with Al Qaida. Many observers say there is no hard evidence that the connection actually exists. But the nature of Al Qaida makes it difficult to tie any group to it. Al Qaida appears to be an umbrella organization under which many Islamist groups can unite but still remain autonomous in their strategy, planning and actions. In his book about bin Laden, Yossef Bodansky discusses dozens of terrorist organizations but does not even have an entry for Al Qaida in the index.^{10, 11} He indicates that bin Laden's organization is "The World Front For Jihad

⁸Cited in Dorgan, 13 September 2002.

⁹Al-Ghozi and two other top terrorist leaders escaped custody in July 2003. The Philippine government has offered a US\$94,000 reward for his re-capture.

¹⁰See Bodansky. Yossef Bodansky is director of the US House of Representatives Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare.

¹¹I will use the term "Islamist" (as distinct from Islamic) as reference to a follower of the extremist, fundamentalist form of Islam. In other words, a militant Muslim terrorist.

Against Jews And Crusaders.”^{12, 13} In turn, bin Laden sits on the Committee of Three, the committee charged with strategy and planning, for the Iran-based HizbAllah International which is pretty much the overall organization for international terrorism. In actuality, Al Qaida has become a buzz word. It is my observation that Americans could better understand how terrorists organize and work if they shed the concepts of hierarchical assembled entities, as we create them in the west, and try to visualize the intentionally hazy interconnection of many militant groups and individuals working for a common goal. Jemaah Islamiyah in turn, as explained above, seems to be a similar organization in the Southeast Asian region.

During Bashir’s trial in June 2003, Faiz bin Abu Bakar Bafana, a Malaysian in custody in Singapore who is believed to be the treasurer of Jemaah Islamiyah, testified that the Christmas Eve church bombings in Indonesia and a foiled plan to attack the US embassy and other targets in Singapore were initiated by Osama bin Laden. This was the first public admission by a senior member of Jemaah Islamiyah that the organization had ties to Al Qaida and bin Laden. Bafana said he had visited Afghanistan three times and met with bin Laden and a top member of Jemaah Islamiyah named Hambali. Then Bafana, Hambali, and other operatives obtained approval of the plans from Bashir. The plans also included a plot to assassinate Megawati Sukarnoputri when she was still vice president.

Even aside from their connections with bin Laden and Al Qaida, the Indonesian Islamists are significant in their own right. The Singapore government is considered by far to have the most sophisticated intelligence network in Southeast Asia. On 9 January 2003 it released a 50-page report which pointed out that the violent groups in Southeast Asia existed before Al Qaida and have their own agenda, but their connections with bin Laden’s groups make them more deadly. The report continues that, with the training and skills received from Al Qaida, and even if Al Qaida is dismantled, the Southeast Asia Islamist groups would still be able to carry on terrorist activities and continue to be a serious threat in the region.

There was a crackdown on terrorists following the Bali bombings in October 2003. Many of the suspects arrested were believed to be key leaders in Jemaah Islamiyah. Nevertheless, Indonesia has been warned by US intelligence that Jemaah Islamiyah could reorganize enough by the end of 2003 to be a threat of more attacks. At a regional intelligence meeting in Hawaii from April 30th to May 4th of 2003 the US said that Jemaah Islamiyah “is currently reorganizing around remaining sub-regional teams, re-establishing communications, and operations will resume in the midterm.”¹⁴ Admiral Thomas Fargo, US military commander in the Pacific, warned on 6 June 2003 that Jemaah Islamiyah is “still capable of launching attacks even though the war on terror has significantly diminished its strength.”¹⁵

¹²Bodansky, page 316.

¹³Jihad means Holy War in Arabic.

¹⁴Quotation from “Key Bali Bombing Suspect Arrested,” citing Philippine Armed Forces chief Narciso Abaya.

¹⁵Cited in “Key Bali Bombing Suspect Arrested.”

US MILITARY BUILDUP IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION

This Southeast Asia region is considered the fastest growing consumer of energy worldwide while at the same time being a source of considerable energy resources. Amid much distrust, the US has elbowed its way into the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum to lead the Energy Security Initiative.¹⁶ The purpose of that initiative is to promote gas and renewable energy, to build new petroleum reserves, and to stabilize energy markets in case of natural disasters or terrorist attacks.

Secretary of State Colin Powell told Thai television in 2002 that increasing US presence in Southeast Asia is a key foreign policy goal of the Bush administration. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Peter Brooks said the US is seeking “contingency basing options” in the region. He elaborated: “We are exploring options to homeport 3-4 additional surface combatants in the region, as well as guided-missile submarines to improve our forward deterrent posture.”¹⁷

These plans were reiterated in the 29 May 2003 issue of the *Los Angeles Times*, which said that “the Pentagon wants to move US troops from South Korea and Japan to new bases in Southeast Asia and Australia.”¹⁸ It also said that the US is seeking agreements to increase its military presence in Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines, and to base warships in Vietnamese waters.

Japan and Australia said the *Los Angeles Times* was wrong and that they had reached no agreement for such a move. Nevertheless, according to *Asia Times*, “US Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz told reporter at the International Institute for Strategic Studies defense dialogue in Singapore a day after the *Los Angeles Times* report was released that while the account was wrong on the exact number of troop deployments, it was ‘broadly accurate’ on Pentagon plans.”¹⁹

There is some balking amid the Southeast Asian nations regarding a US military presence. Although the US already has access to the Changi Naval Base in Singapore, Malaysia is oppose to hosting US troops because it fears an Islamic backlash. The Philippine Constitution forbids foreign combat troops on its soil and the Philippine Congress seems determined to uphold that provision. Vietnam is against hosting US troops but has no objection to American naval vessels in its waters.

Pentagon redeployment plans seem related to the 1 August 2002 “Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism” that the US signed with the ten Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries.²⁰ The purpose of the agreement is to “prevent, disrupt

¹⁶The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum was established in 1989 to improve economic integration around the Pacific rim and to bolster economic growth. Its 21 members are Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong (now part of China), Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, USA, and Vietnam.

¹⁷Cited in Global Network Space Alert Newsletter #13, Fall 2002..

¹⁸Cited in Beng.

¹⁹Beng

²⁰The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was founded in 1967 as a joint means to bring about peaceful relations. Its 10 members are Indonesia, Philippines, Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei.

and combat international terrorism.”²¹ Highlights of the agreement are (1) increased sharing of intelligence information, (2) closer ties among law enforcement agencies, (3) more counterterrorism training, and (4) tighter controls on movement of terrorists across borders. This agreement gives the US a much larger role in Southeast Asia, such as more control over the region through intelligence sharing and financing, terrorist training provided by US special forces, and increased participation joint military exercises to increase the US presence.

There were two reservations about this agreement. First was that there was no regulatory mechanism to prevent its abuse by individual leaders to protect their regime. In its 24 January 2002 issue, the *Far Eastern Review* provides an example: “Prime Minister Mahathir [of Malaysia] early last year began jailing alleged Islamic militants supposedly planning to overthrow the government by force, most of them members of the main opposition party... Independent authorities point to inconsistencies that suggest the Malaysian government is taking advantage of the climate of fear over terrorism to discredit its legitimate opponents.”²² Malaysia and Singapore have Internal Security Acts which can and are being used to crush popular reform movements and arrest “Muslim radicals” on suspicion of terrorist connections. Similar acts are being introduced in Thailand and Indonesia. The *Far Eastern Review* article adds: “The extent of terrorism in Southeast Asia is the subject of sharp debate. Not everyone agrees with the dire threat seen by President George W. Bush’s administration.... It is hard to gauge the seriousness of the terrorist presence because of the blatant manipulation of the issue for political ends.”²³

With that introduction I will proceed to discuss four Southeast Asian nations in which oil and gas interests interact the most with violence and terrorism. I will begin with the Philippines and Indonesia, both of which have been prominent in the news lately. They were two of the four countries in which Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz said the US would focus on expanding US military operations during the second phase of the “war on terrorism.”²⁴ Then I will move on to Singapore and Malaysia which have also had extensive terrorist activity.

To simplify this paper I believe it is best to confine it to those four countries. That does not mean that other Southeast Asian nations do not have potential for oil and gas extraction -- nor does it mean they have had no terrorist problems. The entire region is highly interactive. Even the South China Sea, particularly the Spratly archipelago which lies northeast of the Strait of Malacca in the middle of major shipping lanes, are suspected of having huge oil and gas reserves. They are potentially volatile since six countries claim ownership to all or part of the islands -- Vietnam, China, Malaysia, Philippines, Brunei, and Taiwan. But I believe that a discussion of the four countries mentioned above will adequately represent the interaction of US oil and gas interests with terrorist activities for the region.

²¹Cited in Information Update #62.

²²Cited in Information Update #60.

²³Cited in Information Update #60.

²⁴Global Network Space Alert Newsletter #13.

FOUR KEY COUNTRIES

The Philippines and Indonesia have been more prominent in the news lately because of terrorist activity in those countries. The nightclub bombing in Bali, Indonesia and the Abu Sayyaf group in the southern Philippines have been the center of much media attention. But regarding Islam, these two countries are diametrically opposite. The Philippines is predominantly Christian with only 5 percent of the population Muslim, concentrated in the southern islands. Indonesia, on the other hand is the world's 4th most populous country and is 88 percent Muslim. That gives Indonesia the largest Muslim population of any country in the world. Singapore and Malaysia have also made their share of news headlines during the past couple years

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines were ceded by Spain to the US on 12 June 1898 following the Spanish-American war. They received independence from the United States on 4 July 1946, following World War II.²⁵ In 1992 the US closed its last military base in the islands. The Philippines have a current population of 84.5 million. The ethnicity is 95.5 percent Malay. The country is 92 percent Christian, 5 percent Muslim, and 3 percent Buddhist. The southern-most islands are predominantly Muslim.

Former Vice President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo was sworn in as President on 20 January 2001, after the Supreme Court declared Joseph Estrada unable to rule. The next election will be in May 2004. Macapagal-Arroyo is pro-western and pro-military.

Oil & Gas.

Because of its small crude oil reserves -- 178 million barrels -- the Philippines is important in the energy sector as a market for petroleum. In 2001 the average daily use was 356,000 barrels and production averaged 8,460 barrels/day. That resulted in net oil imports of 347,540 barrels/day. With the discovery of the Malampaya field (discussed below), the country became a major gas producer with natural gas reserves of 3.693 trillion cubic feet.²⁶

Shortly after her inauguration in January 2001, President Macapagal-Arroyo undertook a program to



Figure-2
The Philippines

²⁵When the Philippines was liberated from Spain by the US in 1898, the Philippines declared their independence. Americans, however, decided they were not yet ready for self rule and made the country a commonwealth of the US. On 4 July 1946, the colony was granted independence by the US. Still, the Filipinos celebrate 12 June 1898, the date of their independence from Spain, (not 4 July 1946) as their national holiday.

²⁶Of the country's total proven oil reserves, 85 million barrels (48 percent) are in the Malampaya field. Of the total natural gas reserves, 2.6 trillion cubic feet (70 percent) are in the Malampaya field.

complete the deregulation of the energy sector and offering new incentives to foreign investors. This led to the discovery of the Malampaya oil and gas field as foreign investment shot up 171 percent in 2001. Much more exploration is taking place in the Philippines today and the government estimates an additional 904 million barrels of oil reserves in various locations.

The Malampaya gas and oil field was officially inaugurated in October 2001. It lies in the South China Sea, 80 kilometers off the northern part of Palawan. A 312-mile (504-kilometer) gas pipeline extends around Mindoro Island to connect the Malampaya field to Batangas on southern Luzon, to fuel three powerplants at that location. A pipeline extension to Metro Manila is planned. More gas exploration is taking place which includes two undisclosed American firms.

US energy companies involved in oil & gas exploration and production, and pipeline construction in the Philippines are listed below. This list does not include companies involved in refining and marketing although that is also a large field.

BP-Amoco-Arco (Amoco and Arco are US subsid.)	Oil & gas production.
Brown & Root (subsidiary of Haliburton)	Infrastructure construction.
Chevron Texaco (under subsidiary name of Caltex)	Oil & gas exploration and production.
Conoco-Phillips	Oil & gas exploration.
Globex Energy, Inc. (Mountain Lakes, NJ)	Oil & gas exploration.
Nuevo Energy Corp. (Houston TX)	Oil & gas exploration.
Shell (under various Philippine subsidiary names)	Oil & gas exploration and production.
	Pipeline construction.
Sita Oil Exploration House, Inc. (Houston, TX)	Oil & gas exploration.
Unocal	Oil & gas exploration.
Vaalco (Houston, TX)	Oil production & service contracts.

In a step that is certain to complicate the Bush administration's war on terrorism against Iran, in early 2003 the Philippine National Oil Company signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the National Iranian Oil Company for possible establishment of an Iran-Philippines oil storage plant in the Philippines.

Insurgency in the South.

Only 5 percent of the Philippines population follow Islam, but those Muslims are concentrated on the southernmost islands of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. When America became the colonial ruler in 1898, these Moros, as the Muslims in the Philippines are called, continued to resist US domination as they had been doing with Spain for 350 years. This led to a crackdown in the Sulu area which resulted in a slaughter of thousands. The Moros have never forgotten -- they remember the massacre by Americans until this day.

After the Philippines received their independence in 1946, the Moro resistance continued. When President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in 1972, the first organized Muslim resistance group was formed as the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). Its goal was to set up an independent Islamic state on the southern portion of Mindanao island, including the Zamboanga peninsula, and the Sulu archipelago -- an area close to the Muslim-dominated countries of Malaysia and Indonesia..

In 1997 there was a split in the MNLF over different ideas on how to negotiate with the Manila government, but this split was also along tribal lines. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) was born and it took in the southern part of Mindanao. Meanwhile the MNLF, still the largest Muslim opposition group, was left on the Sulu archipelago and portions of the Zamboanga peninsula. At present the MNLF, having made an uneasy truce with the government which gave it some autonomy, is not too active. The MILF, on the other hand, is active but is not on the list of terrorist organizations because it is considered a successionist movement, not terrorist.²⁷

Guerrillas from another insurgency movement -- the Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army -- are also active on Mindanao. The New People's Army was added to the list of terrorist organizations in August 2002.

After the ousting of Ferdinand Marcos by the "People Power" revolution, the MNLF became more accepting of political settlements and autonomy, instead of demanding independence. Disenchanted with what they considered a compromise of their goal, and to continue armed resistance against the Philippine government, a splinter group calling itself Abu Sayyaf (which means "Bearer of the Sword" in Arabic) was formed. It was founded in 1991 by Abduragak Abubakar Janjalani, a veteran of the Afghan war against the Soviets. At its height in 2000, Abu Sayyaf is thought to have had almost 4,000 members. They financed their operations by kidnaping and extorting huge ransoms.

Janjalani remained the leader, and some sources say maintained his contacts with Islamist radicals he met in Afghanistan, until he was killed in a 1998 battle on Basilan island. There are also reports that Osama bin Laden's brother-in-law, Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, was a frequent visitor to the group in its early years, and that he funneled money to the rebels. Also alleged to have had ties to Abu Sayyaf is Ramzi Yousef, who was convicted of plotting the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

Today, however, Abu Sayyaf is more of a renegade outlaw group extorting money from kidnapings and holding hostages for ransom. One reporter writes: "One group that Mr. bin Laden rejected an affiliation with was Abu Sayyaf, which Filipino officials say has degenerated into a group of bandits under a facade of Islamic radicalism."²⁸ Nevertheless, virtually every mention of Abu Sayyaf in the media is followed by a phrase suggesting it has connections with Al Qaida." This seems to be a propaganda ploy to convince the public that US military activity in the Philippines is justified by the war on terrorism. But as one US Senate staff member argued:

This has not been about striking a blow in the war on terrorism. This has been about helping a treaty ally that has a real security problem and that certainly needs counter-insurgency assistance. But if the underlying US aim is to enhance the Philippine government's ability to deal with a variety of threats, then we're talking about a much longer US commitment.²⁹

Nevertheless, US and Philippine officials have tried hard to link Abu Sayyaf with Al Qaida. Washington has put the group on the list of terrorist organizations, and the Bush administration has targeted Abu Sayyaf as the initial enemy to open its second front of the war on terrorism.

²⁷The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) should not be confused with each other. They are two different organizations occupying separate geographic areas.

²⁸Bonner, 31 May 2003.

²⁹Cited in Information Update #60.

Attrition from member apathy and casualties from a strong Philippine Army offensive in 2001 have reduced the number of Abu Sayyaf guerrillas to an estimated 250. The United States entered the picture in 2002 with an agreement to train Philippine forces. The first round of training -- which took place on Basilan Island and the Zamboanga Peninsula -- ended on 31 July 2002 with the end of the Balikatan-2 exercises. Those exercises effectively roused Abu Sayyaf from Basilan Island. The majority of the 1000 US troops departed soon afterwards but about 300 special forces troops remained to continue training small Philippine units.

Although Abu Sayyaf was evicted from Basilan, they fled south on the Sulu archipelago and especially to Jolo island.³⁰ In October 2002 a second round of military cooperation started which were scheduled to run until June 2003. This round would build on the earlier one by chasing remaining Abu Sayyaf guerrillas down the Sulu archipelago. The difference was that this plan was actually a joint military operation putting US troops in a combat role, rather than a training exercise. The Philippine Constitution forbids foreign combat troops on its soil but a training exercise was deemed acceptable. President Macapagal-Arroyo was willing to refer to the plan as an "exercise" in order to appease the Philippine Congress. But the Pentagon, wary of deceiving the US Congress, insisted on calling it an "operation." This led to an impasse which has not yet been settled.

Meanwhile, terrorism continued in the southern Philippines. In late February 2003, heavily armed men opened fire on a farming village near Zamboanga and at the same time a bomb exploded killing at least one person in a marketplace. The MILF is suspected. A bomb on 4 March 2003 killed 21 people outside the Davao airport and wounded 150. The MILF denies responsibility but the government believes it is guilty. Because one of the fatalities was an American, the FBI has joined the investigation.³¹

About a month later, on 2 April 2003, a bomb near the busy Davao wharf killed at least 16 and wounded 40. Another month later, on 4 May 2003, guerrillas raided the southern town of Sicom, killing at least 22 (including six guerrillas), wounding 15, and taking 15 hostages. All but four of the hostages were rescued. This raid was attributed to the MILF. A week after the raid, another bomb killed nine people and wounded 21 at a crowded market in the southern city of Korondal. This brought the 2003 fatality toll from terrorism to at least 210. A US presence to rout Abu Sayyaf may have radicalized more terrorists than it eliminated.

On May 17th, President Macapagal Arroyo authorized bombing and artillery attacks on terrorist cells. This authorization followed a major joint US-Philippine war exercise near the former Clark Air Base on Luzon. In her announcement, the president gave the MILF until June 1st to renounce terrorism and turn over the perpetrators of the bombings. The next day President Macapagal Arroyo met with President Bush in the White House. As part of the Philippine aid program disclosed in a joint statement on May 19th was a promise of "diplomatic and financial support to a renewed peace process between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), provided that the MILF renounces terror."³²

³⁰Although Jolo is the largest town on the island of Sulu, the entire island is often called Jolo (pronounced Holo). Media accounts today refer to Jolo island and, for consistency, I will do the same in this paper.

³¹For a summary of terrorist attacks prior to 2003, see Appendix-A.

³²*Washington File*, 19 May 2003.

By June 2003 the “exercise vs operation” impasse had not been solved. Early that month Admiral Thomas B. Fargo, commander of US forces in the Pacific, announced that military activities in the Philippines would not start for another six months.³³ The delay is mainly because this round of involvement would put US troops in a direct combat role, although the Pentagon also cited a need for additional training.

The Bush administration is resisting Philippine government pressure to also help stamp out the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. With about 12,500 trained fighters on southern Mindanao, the MILF is a much stronger fighting force than Abu Sayyaf. It also has a bigger political following and does not have a history of attacking Americans. Finally, the MILF is not on the UN list of terrorist organizations. The US is not anxious to tackle such a formidable foe under these circumstances.

Circumstances may be changing, however. The MILF is becoming suspect. US and Philippine officials suspect that southern Mindanao is being used more and more to train terrorists. *The New York Times* reported at the end of May 2003 that the southern Philippines has become a training ground for Jemaah Islamiyah, the Southeast Asia affiliate of Al Qaida which operates in several nations. It states that according to officials: “For the last six to nine months, recruits mostly from Indonesia and Malaysia, but also from as far off as Pakistan and the Middle East, have received training ... in a marshy region on the island of Mindanao.” The article then qualifies that: “In interviews in several countries, officials confirmed the Qaeda training that they said was now taking place in the southern Philippines. They admitted that their information was sketchy, and they were reluctant to provide details.”³⁴

Philippine National Security Advisor Rolio Golez countered *The New York Times* article, saying: “We have no information on any Al Qaida -- or Jemaah Islamiyah -- connected training happening in (southern) Mindanao. What we know is training handled by the MILF.”³⁵ The MILF has long had training camps for its own troops. But, according to the 50-page report released by the Singapore government on 9 January 2003 (see above on page 4), “sometime in 1997 the MILF allowed JI [Jemaah Islamiyah] to set up its own training facility within the MILF’s headquarters at Camp Abu Bakar on the southern Philippines island of Mindanao.”³⁶

To complicate America’s striving for neutrality regarding the MILF, Philippine Senator Rodolfo Biazon, a former general, warns: “There is now a muddling of identities of the Abu Sayyaf group and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. The possibility of an expansion of this relationship exists. A new dynamic could evolve in the Southern Philippines.”³⁷

³³In February 2003 the US was ready to send some 1,750 troops to the southern Philippines -- 750 ground soldiers and 1,000 marines aboard two ships, with naval forces positioned in waters off Jolo to provide air cover and backup -- but those plans have been stalled. A new date to begin the exercises was set for June or July. Now that has been postponed until the end of 2003.

³⁴Bonner, 31 May 2003.

³⁵Cited in Reuters, 31 May 2003.

³⁶BBC, 10 January 2003.

³⁷Cited in Paddock, 23 February 2003.

Summary.

The southern Philippines is now the center of extensive oil and gas exploration by American companies. There is a vested interest in having the area “stable” -- that is, a peaceful climate in which US businesses can operate. If the US-Philippine military campaign does try to roust Abu Sayyaf from Jolo Island and the Sulu Archipelago it will certainly create a greater following for Abu Sayyaf than the 250 now officially estimated. This is the territory of the semi-nascent MNLF, still the largest Philippine insurgency group, and people in that territory are ideologically aligned with Abu Sayyaf. Besides hating Americans for the carnage imposed following the Spanish-American war, this is an area where every resident owns a gun and disagreements are more often settled by bullets than by law. The government estimates there are 30,000 guns on Jolo alone. This is a volatile area for Filipino troops to enter, to say nothing about American. Parouk Hussin, governor of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, warns of a military incursion: “I am afraid this might be fraught with danger. People are very poor, but everyone owns a gun.”³⁸

Pursuing terrorists into the southernmost part of the Philippines may be missing the whole picture. Understanding the real cause of unrest may be more beneficial to establishing the security sought by oil and gas companies. The root of the problem in this area is summarized by Eric Margolis of the *Toronto Sun*: “The troubles in the southern Philippines are not what the West terms terrorism, as President Arroyo claimed, but the result of centuries of land disputes, the denial of equal economic and political rights to the Bangsamoro Muslims, and tribal disputes.”³⁹

With these observations in mind, *Washington Post* writer Bradley Graham adds: “Many Filipinos have warned that insuring security in the impoverished region will ultimately come not from military action but through addressing basic economic needs.”⁴⁰

INDONESIA

Indonesia (population 231.3 million) is the world’s largest archipelago, consisting of a sprawling chain of 17,670 islands lying between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, stretching in a 3,500-mile crescent from mainland Asia to Australia. The borders of these islands are almost impossible to patrol and that, combined with weak law enforcement, makes the country fertile ground from which terrorist groups can operate. Current domestic issues include alleviating widespread poverty⁴¹, implementing banking reform, making a transition to a popularly-elected government after four decades of authoritarian rule, eliminating cronyism and corruption, holding the military and police accountable for human rights violations, and resolving growing separatist pressures in Aceh and West Papua provinces.

A brief tour through Indonesian history may lead to better understanding of the situation in that country. Immediately following World War II, Indonesia declared its independence on 17 August 1945. A little over four years later, on 27 December 1949, the country became legally

³⁸Cited in Paddock, 23 February 2003.

³⁹Margolis.

⁴⁰Graham.

⁴¹Following economic collapse in 1998, about 75 percent of the businesses are in technical bankruptcy.

independent from the Netherlands. Nevertheless, Indonesia celebrates the 1945 date as its national holiday.

With 88 percent of its population being Muslim, Indonesia is the world's most populous Muslim country. After independence, Indonesia considered adopting Islamic law as a basis for government but discarded the idea. Instead, liberation leader Achmed Sukarno became the new country's first president -- until a 1965 plot aided by the CIA along with intelligence from Britain, Germany and Japan unseated him from power.⁴²



Figure-3
Indonesia

An alleged coup on 30 September 1965 was put down by then head of security, Major General Mohamed Suharto, and six army generals were executed. Members of the communist party -- and the ethnic Chinese minority who were believed to be the main support for the communists -- were then targeted by the military in what became one of the worst bloodbaths in Asia-Pacific history. Most reports estimate around 500,000 slaughtered but some observers say it was as high as 2 million. The effect was to politically and militarily isolate President Sukarno who was eventually stripped of all political power on 12 March 1967. General Suharto became acting president but soon gained dictatorial powers over Indonesia by putting the military under his direct command and gaining political control of the legislature. Foreign investors were invited, after paying a steep entry charge, to exploit the timber, mineral, and oil resources and to take advantage of the cheap labor.

A second bloodbath occurred during Suharto's rein on East Timor which, unlike Indonesia, is mostly Christian. On 28 November 1975, East Timor declared independence. On December 6th, US President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger met with Suharto in Jakarta. In response to Suharto's bid for tacit approval of an invasion of East Timor, President Ford replied: "We will not press you on the issue ... We understand the problems you have and the intentions you have."⁴³ East Timor was invaded the next day. Some 60,000 (10 percent of the population) were slaughtered in the first two months. Over the next 24 years of war, an estimated 250,000 were slaughtered. During the 1990s the world mood changed and US support of the Suharto regime flagged. In the face of rising internal pressure and student riots, Suharto resigned on 21 May 1998.

Vice President Jusuf Habibie became president. In February 1999, Habibie announced that East Timor could hold a referendum on independence, and on the following August 30th, 78.5 percent

⁴²See Scott.

⁴³Cited in Killer File.

of the electorate voted to secede from Indonesia. A peacekeeping force led by Australia entered East Timor on September 12th and the United Nations belatedly took responsibility for guiding the country to independence.

Habibie also initiated other political reforms such as freeing political prisoners and unmuzzling the press. Nevertheless, he was still close to the former Suharto regime to mollify the student movement which staged daily demonstration demanding his removal. He called for a free election in October 1999. Then, at the last minute, he dropped out of the race.

The two main contestants in the presidential race were Abdurrahman Wahid, a 64-year-old Muslim cleric, and Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of Indonesia's founding President Sukarno. Wahid won by a narrow 373-313 margin and became Indonesia's first democratically-elected president.⁴⁴ He then invited Megawati, who was expected to win the race, to be his vice president and she accepted.⁴⁵

Wahid soon became embroiled in continuing ethnic violence, a floundering economy, and two financial scandals in which he was accused of misusing US\$6 million. This led to his impeachment and removal from Office. Vice President Megawati Sukarnoputri succeeded him and was sworn in as president on 23 July 2001. She is both chief of state and head of government in Indonesia.

Oil & Gas Interests.

Unlike the Philippines, Indonesia is rich in oil and gas although its reserves are declining. New exploration has been encouraged. Proven oil reserves amount to 5 billion barrels and proven natural gas reserves are 92.5 trillion cubic feet. Indonesia is the only Southeast Asian nation that belongs to OPEC.⁴⁶ Petroleum tops the list of natural resources and natural gas ranks third. Petroleum and natural gas are second and third, respectively, for exports (following manufactured goods). Indonesia has eight crude oil refineries and is also the world's largest liquified natural gas (LNG) exporter.

US oil companies are very active in Indonesia and are taking a major part in exploring for new reserves, especially since the Indonesian legislature in October 2001 removed the state oil company's monopoly on oil development. American energy companies involved are:

Amerada Hess (Houston, TX)	Oil & gas exploration and production.
Bechtel	Bidding on construction of LNG facility.
BP-Amoco-Arco	Gas and LNG production.
Chevron-Texaco (as Caltex)	Oil production.
Conoco-Phillips	Oil & gas exploration and production.
	Pipeline operation and management.

⁴⁴Indonesia's president and vice president are elected by the People's Consultative Assembly for a 5-year term. The Assembly consists of the House of Representatives (the 500-seat unicameral legislature) plus 195 selected members (695 total).

⁴⁵President Megawati Sukarnoputri is often referred to as President Megawati, or just Megawati. I will use those references in this paper.

⁴⁶OPEC was founded in Baghdad in 1960. Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela (South America) were the five founding members. Algeria (northern Africa), Ecuador (South America), Gabon (central Africa), Indonesia (Southeast Asia), Libya, Nigeria (central Africa), Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates were admitted in the early 1970s, making a total of 13 members.

Exxon-Mobil	Oil exploration and production. Gas and LNG production.
Kellogg, Brown & Root (Halliburton)	Bidding on construction of LNG facility.
McDermott International (Houston, TX)	Pipeline Construction.
Shell	Considering building a gas-to-liquids plant.
Unocal	Oil & gas exploration and production.

One of the key areas in which energy and politics intersect is the distribution of oil and gas revenues between the central government and the provincial governments in areas where oil and gas are produced. This has aggravated separatist movements in Aceh (the oil- and gas-rich province of northern Sumatra which abuts the strategically important Strait of Malacca) and West Papua (a gas-rich province at the eastern end of the country). Exxon-Mobil has extensive operations in the first, and Unocal in the second. Both companies have had serious security concerns in recent years which have resulted in evacuation of dependants and shutting down gas fields.

Terrorist Activity.

Since the September 11th attacks on the US, Indonesia has denounced terrorism but has not shown any strong anti-terrorist tendencies. The government claimed that terrorists did not exist in the country. President Megawati was balancing a fine line between US pressure to join the war on terrorism and the overwhelming Muslim majority in Indonesia who, although mostly moderate, are nevertheless reluctant to oppose another Muslim group. Megawati also appears hesitant to cross Vice President Hamzah Haz and other prominent supporters of the extremist groups.

Vice President Haz is also leader of the country's largest Islamic party. He espouses Islamic solidarity and has openly demonstrated it by visiting terrorist suspects in jail. In politics, his support comes from the moderate Islamic parties who are not in favor of cracking down on Islamist militants. According to *Mercury News* correspondent Michael Dorgan, some see the militants as victims of a US campaign to discredit Islam: "Suspensions about the international war on terrorism run so deep that it is widely believed within Islamic parties that the United States orchestrated the Bali bombings to justify a global attack on Islam."⁴⁷ It is Haz, the representative of this overwhelming majority, who is expected to challenge Megawati in the 2004 presidential election.

The bombing of two nightclubs on the island of Bali in Indonesia occurred on 12 October 2002 and was the most significant terrorist act since 9-11. 202 people were killed, mostly young Australian tourists, and almost 300 injured. The Sari and Paddy's Clubs faced each other on a narrow street in the town of Kuta. According to court records, a suicide bomber (using the names Feri and Isa) went into Paddy's Club during the last dance and blew himself up near the bar. People panicked and ran out to the street where they were exposed to a second blast -- a huge car bomb parked

⁴⁷Dorgan, 3 November 2002.

across the street in front of the Sari Club, which was set off by another suicide bomber.⁴⁸ The Sari Club was leveled and Paddy's Club destroyed, as well as the Panin Bank. Other vehicles and buildings were damaged. Jemaah Islamiyah was blamed for the bombing and shortly thereafter was added to the UN list of terrorist organizations.

Immediately after the Bali bombing, Jemaah Islamiyah's alleged founder, 65-year-old Abu Bakar Bashir was arrested. He could not be connected with the Bali bombings but was charged with involvement in the Christmas Eve 2000 church bombings in Jakarta. Also arrested was a man known only as Amrozi, who was the registered owner of the van used for the car bomb. Amrozi told officials that the bomb was meant for Americans. It was a miscalculation that so many Australians were killed.

On 21 November 2002 the ringleader of the Bali bombings, Emir Samudra, was arrested while trying to flee the island of Java. He confessed to having personally selected the crowded nightclubs for the bombings to further the cause of holy war, and told police that the first of the three blasts was a "martyr" with a bomb in a backpack. Samudra also confessed to participating in at least four other bombings in Indonesia, including attacks on churches and shopping malls. He also alluded to "his leader and the people who have the same vision."⁴⁹

Early the following month, on December 5th, police announced they had arrested Ali Ghufron, an Indonesian cleric more commonly known as Mukhlis. He is believed to have taken over operational command responsibilities for Jemaah Islamiyah from another person known only as Hambali. Hambali is Jemaah Islamiyah's main liaison to Al Qaida.

More recently, on 12 June 2003, a 35-year old man known as Idris (but also known as Jhoni Indrawan and Gembrot) was arrested as the suspected deputy field commander (under Samudra) for the Bali bombings. He handled the money which financed the bombing, arranged meetings for the participants in Solo on Java, and also arranged accommodation for them in Bali. Idris is reported to have confessed to his role in the bombings.



Figure-4
Bali, Indonesia

⁴⁸There are conflicting reports on how the car bomb was detonated. Police records say it was a suicide bomber that did it. Other reports refer to the car bomb being set off by a cellular phone.

⁴⁹This quote and most other information in this paragraph from Paddock, 23 November 2002.

Since the Bali bombings the political scene has changed. Although still trying not to arouse the Muslim sentiment in the country, Megawati has taken some decisive steps in promoting anti-terrorist policies and legislation, and investigating the Bali attack. She has also joined the regional effort to take decisive action against Jemaah Islamiyah. President Megawati has asked that the Free Aceh Movement, the secessionist group in Aceh Province which will be discussed below, also be added to that terrorist organization list.

On 18 October 2002, Indonesia enacted two emergency decrees giving sweeping new powers to fight terrorism. As pressure for reform and concern for human rights takes a back seat to fighting terrorism, the Indonesian military is becoming more aggressive in opposing that reform. The panic induced by the “war on terrorism” is threatening Indonesia’s fledgling democracy. Although the government has shown a willingness to cooperate with the UN resolutions, due to its weak rule of law and poorly regulated financial systems, it has not been able to discover any terrorist assets let alone freeze them.

The Indonesian army is another matter of concern. During the slaughter of thousand of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesian army in 1999, the Clinton administration cut off military aid to Indonesia. Shortly after 9-11, however, deputy Defense Secretary Wolfowitz began maneuvering to restore that aid. The administration requested a fiscal year 2002 supplemental request of \$16 million for Indonesia -- \$8 million for a rapid-reaction peacekeeping force and the remainder to train the national police in counterterrorism. More recently, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Matthew Daley told the House International relations Committee: “Reform in the Indonesian military has not kept pace with Indonesia’s broader democratic development. The lack of a track record on accountability for human rights abuses is of particular concern. Nevertheless, it is in the US national interest to engage with the Indonesian armed forces.”⁵⁰

The International Crisis Group points out that the “most problematic aspect of the package is US\$8 million intended for the creation of a new military unit ‘to respond to a specific request from local civilian authorities, on an emergency basis, to outbreaks of communal, sectarian or ethnic violence’.”⁵¹ That could lead to fraud and abuse against non-terrorist insurgencies which should be handled by administrative measures. Once the money is in the hands of the Indonesian government, there is no way to control its use.

Nevertheless, the US State Department announced on 2 August 2002 that the US and Indonesia are starting to build a more normal military-to-military relationship. It involves a multi-million dollar funding package for the Indonesian military. State Secretary Colin Powell told reporters in Jakarta: “We believe that programs such as international military education and training and fellowship programs, that expose Indonesian military personnel to United States training and United States personnel, help with respect to human rights issues and we should not cut off that opportunity.”⁵² Human rights organizations decry assisting the Indonesian military because there is

⁵⁰Cited in Information Update #62.

⁵¹International Crisis Group, 21 May 2002.

⁵²*Washington File*, 2 August 2002.

no indication that its makeup and organization have changed. With the lack of “accountability for human rights abuses,” it is a dangerous and risky investment. More on the Indonesian military will follow in the discussions below.

The following organizations are not all of the violent groups in Indonesia, but they are probably the most prominent and the ones with alleged regional and international links. All of them are now, in the eyes of the Indonesian government at least, considered terrorists.

Laskar Jihad⁵³ (Holy War warriors). Established in 1999, this was one of Indonesia’s most violent groups. Its members adhere to the conservative Wahhabi creed of Islam prevalent in Saudi Arabia, and bin Laden himself.⁵⁴ The organization is best known for waging a holy war against the Christian majority in the Molucca Islands⁵⁵ -- a small archipelago located west of West Papua (identified in Figure-3 by their capital city, Ambon).⁵⁶ The islands are predominantly Christian and have, until recently, been considered a model of religious tolerance. But, since early 1999, sectarian riots have broken out between Christian and Muslim gangs.

Laskar Jihad is not a local group in the Moluccas. In 2000 it sent thousands of fighters to the Moluccas to help the local Muslims’ conflict with Christians. This intervention has been blamed for aggravating the conflict which has killed over 10,000 people and forced some 750,000 to flee the province.

The group’s leader, 40-year-old Jaffar Umar Thalib (known as Jaffar), claims to have met bin Laden while fighting in Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation. He is also thought to have close ties with the former Suharto dictatorship -- western intelligence reports indicate that Laskar Jihad was organized with covert backing by military hardliners.⁵⁷ Jaffar was arrested on 4 May 2002 and charged with inciting religious violence, but was acquitted in January 2003.

After the October 2002 Bali nightclub bombing, Laskar Jihad announced that it had closed down its operations. On 15 October 2002, 700 of the estimated 3,000 members on the Molucca islands left by ship. There is speculation that the group is merely going underground due to the

⁵³Jihad is Arabic for Holy War.

⁵⁴Even though Laskar Jihad and bin Laden share the same brand of Islam, leaders of the group deny any connection with bin Laden and claim Al Qaida ideology is not compatible with Islam. Nevertheless, radical fundamentalist Muslims have the potential for terrorism.

⁵⁵Laskar Jihad has also been active in Papua (formerly Irian Jaya) which is dominated by a million Christians. In addition, the group has sent fighters to the Sulawesi (Celebes) Islands which also has areas of Christian majority. Laskar Jihad seems to have mostly a local agenda (as opposed to a regional or international agenda) which is to drive out the Christians and introduce Muslim Sharia law to Indonesia. Even so, there are reports that Laskar Jihad has connections with Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia, another radical Muslim group in Malaysia.

⁵⁶The Molucca Islands, historically called “Spice Islands,” are also known as Maluku Islands and Moluccan Islands, or just the Moluccas. Ambon is the main city and capital of Molucca Province.

⁵⁷See CDI, 8 March 2002. Western Intelligence reports also indicate that US\$9.3 million was transferred from the Indonesian military to Laskar Jihad.

government crackdown. Whatever happened, it is not likely that the estimated 15,000 members just gave up and went home.

Meanwhile, in the Moluccas, violence has returned to Ternate in the north. On 6 June 2003, thousands of Muslim refugees rioted and threatened to burn a government office, accusing officials of embezzling the funds earmarked to return refugees to their homes. Police fired warning shots but the military had to intervene to stop the riot.

Laskar Jundullah (Militia of God). This is a violent radical Islamic group on the Sulawesi (formerly Celebes) islands. (See Figure-3) The organization is legally registered as a security guard for the Committee for the Enforcement of Islamic Sharia, which is sort of an umbrella for all the Muslim groups on Southwest Sulawesi striving to achieve Islamic law. But police say that Laskar Jundullah is more than it seems to be. It is considered to be more of a militant offshoot of the Committee which is openly anti-Christian. Bombs have been a lethal part of the running conflict between Muslims and Christians in Sulawesi. Almost 2,000 have died in the fighting since 1999, and tens of thousand refugees are homeless. Two of Laskar Jundullah's alleged co-founders are now in prison for terrorism.

One of the co-founders, Argus Dwikarna, was Laskar Jundullah's commander and is a chief suspect in the 30 December 2000 metro train bombing in Manila and the August 2000 bombing of the Philippine ambassador's residence in Jakarta. He is now incarcerated in the Philippines for possession of explosives. CNN claims to have obtained Intelligence documents showing that Dwikarna is a key Jemaah Islamiyah operative.⁵⁸ Dwikarna also founded the Crisis Committee, or Kompak, which distributes propaganda material for Jemaah Islamiyah and raises funds from Middle Eastern charities. Police have connected other Laskar Jundullah members with Jemaah Islamiyah and the Bali bombings.

Omar al-Faruq, the other alleged co-founder of Laskar Jundullah, is in US custody at some undisclosed location. Al-Faruq is considered to have been a top Al Qaida operative in Southeast Asia until his arrest in June 2002. He received training in one of Al Qaida's Afghanistan camps and has Middle East contacts from which Kompak can raise funds. These are the kinds of people who make up Laskar Jundullah. No, Laskar Jundullah is not what it appears to be.

Laskar Jundullah gained international prominence after a series of bombings in Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi Province. On 4 December 2002, a bomb exploded in a McDonald's restaurant which killed three people (including the suicide bomber) and injured eleven others. No one claimed responsibility but, according to Dr. Achmad Abdi, director of criminal investigation for South Sulawesi police, all 13 suspects are connected with Laskar Jundullah. The 108 Mc Donald's restaurants in Indonesia (up from only one in 1990) are a symbol of America to Indonesians. The same for Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets which have also been bomb targets. The trend now is for small groups of desperate people, even those with no ties to bin Laden or Al Qaeda, to strike US

⁵⁸See CNN, 12 December 2002.

targets. As stated by Abdi: “They are people who are very, very angry at the US and they retain the ability to strike. This remains a dangerous period.”⁵⁹

This Mc Donald’s bombing epitomizes the increased hate of America that has been generated around the world in the wake of US aggression in Afghanistan and Iraq. Dr. Abdi says the suspects give a lot of reasons for bombing Mc Donald’s but “the top ones are they simply hate America. They mention the war in Afghanistan and America’s [attack on] Iraq.”⁶⁰

Laskar Mujahidin⁶¹ (Holy Warrior Troops). This is a lesser-known militia group, founded in 1999, which has stepped up the violence between Christians and Muslims in Molucca Province. Haris Fadilla, also known as Abu Dzar was its leader. He was killed in a battle with the Christians on 23 October 2000 and is now considered a martyr. Fadilla is also the father-in-law of Omar al-Faruq, co-founder of Laskar Mujahidin and alleged key Al Qaida operative for Southeast Asia who is now in US custody.

According to *Christian Science Monitor* journalist Dan Murphy, Laskar Mujahidin exploited the Muslim-Christian conflict with propaganda techniques to recruit radical youth all over Indonesia and to unite the many Indonesian militias for a broader goal. This was effectively accomplished by using homemade video compact discs and audio tape recordings to spread Islamist ideology -- many of them of sermons by “martyred” leader Fadilla. This propaganda material is distributed widely by Dwikarna’s Crisis Committee. Or Kompak, described above under Laskar Jundullah. As stated by one Indonesian intelligence official investigating Jemaah Islamiyah propaganda techniques: “The Maluku war helped bring a lot of Indonesian militant groups together and radicalized a lot of young fighters.”⁶²

Separatist Pressures.

Liberation movements in Indonesia started with the secession of East Timor after decades of fighting. That success was an encouraging example for other areas of the country, mainly the Aceh and West Papua Provinces.

Separatist movements may have the noble cause of seeking liberation from a repressive regime, but they are invariably met with strong resistance. This leads to frustration and other volatile emotions which introduce the danger of being exploited by terrorist organizations. Separatist movements always risk the danger of infiltration by terrorists, or of creating so much frustration that the parties, themselves, turn to terrorist tactics.

⁵⁹Cited in Murphy, 21 April 2003.

⁶⁰Cited in Murphy, 21 April 2003.

⁶¹Mujahedeen is Arabic for Holy Warrior. It is sometimes spelled Mujahidin.

⁶²Cited in Murphy, 18 June 2003.

Aceh Province (pronounced AH-chay). This the northernmost province on the Island of Sumatra -- Indonesia's largest island. It is strategically located along the Strait of Malacca, which lies between Indonesia (Sumatra) on the west and Malaysia/Singapore on the east. (See Figure-3) In military jargon it is a crucial "choke point" between the Indian Ocean and passage to the South China Sea and Pacific Ocean. Over half the world's shipping is said to pass through waterway which narrows down to less than 30 miles across. The strait is also shallow and if terrorists sank an oil supertanker at a crucial spot it could cause a blockade, resulting a detour for shipping that would add a week to travel time. The US Navy now patrols this strait and the littoral nations have also stepped up their guard.

Unrest in Aceh is, therefore, a concern in the Bush administration's war on terrorism. Although most of Indonesia is composed of moderate Muslims, the 4.5 million living in Aceh are strongly conservative and practice the stricter brand of Islam. Emboldened by East Timor's liberation, they have been struggling to become an independent Islamic state under Sharia (Islamic) law since the 1970s. They resisted colonization by the Dutch for 30 years before their independence in 1945. They were in the vanguard for establishing Indonesia as an Islamic state during the 1940s. Under Suharto they were given limited autonomy as a pacification measure.

Natural gas was discovered in 1971 by Mobile Oil (now Exxon-Mobil) and has been exploited ever since. To this day, the fields are guarded by troops. The Free Aceh Movement was born in 1976, right after another huge gas field was discovered, with the stated purpose of independence under Sharia law. It was, however, just as interested in controlling the rich oil and gas fields in Aceh. As resistance grew stronger, Suharto declared the province a "military operations zone," which it remained until Suharto's ouster in May 1998.

With the resignation of Suharto, the secessionist fever again rose as the people of Aceh spoke out publicly for the first time. The new, more moderate President Wahid was agreeable to a referendum in Aceh for autonomy and living under Sharia law, but not independence. Indonesia was not about to give up that oil- and gas-rich province. A series of special military operations were conducted during 1999 and 2000.

In March 2001, Exxon-Mobil threatened to suspend operations because of the hostilities. That would mean a loss of US\$100 million each month for the Indonesian government so, on May 2nd more troops were sent in. Megawati took over as president in July and, unlike her predecessor, she was not hesitant about using military force. In late 2001 she ordered the troops "to hold the country together."⁶³ Almost 2,000 people were killed during that year, another 1,300 during 2002. More than 12,000 people had been killed in Aceh since 1976.

A shaky peace deal between Aceh the Megawati government in December 2002 did not stop the violence and international monitors were again withdrawn the following April. The government was willing to grant the province some autonomy under a limited form of Islamic law but the Aceh people would settle for nothing but independence.

Talks in Tokyo on 17-18 May 2003, between the Free Aceh Movement and the Megawati government, failed to reach a solution. Late on Sunday, May 18th, Megawati signed Presidential

⁶³Cited in Tapol, January 2002.

Decree 28/2003 declaring martial law in Aceh. The following morning, warplanes and paratroops launched a major military offensive. Aceh province was attacked by sea and air in the largest military operation in Indonesia since the invasion of East Timor in 1975. More than 30,000 government soldiers are pitted against some 5,000 separatist fighters, but the rebels have vowed to resist and fight for independence. Some 10,000 people have fled Aceh since martial law and the government expects about 100,000 refugees.

The dilemma is that human rights advocates would like to see an ethnic-religious group that has been fighting for independence since early in the 20th century achieve their goal. But if that happens, Aceh would become an Islamic state which could very easily be used by terrorists as Afghanistan was. How all this will fit into the Bush administration's war on terrorism is frightening to think about, especially with the large stakes held by Exxon-Mobil.

West Papua Province (formerly Irian Jaya).⁶⁴ More commonly called Papua, this province was annexed by Indonesia in 1969. Customs and culture of its Melanesian tribespeople have not changed markedly over the centuries, other than to be converted to Christianity. Papua is the least developed Indonesian province and at one time, along with East Timor and Aceh, was designated a "military operation zone."

The province is rich in natural resources. It is BP-Amoco-Arco's new LNG facility is being built and where BP-Amoco-Arco is involved with gas production (On which Bechtel and Kellogg, Brown & Root are competitively bidding.). In addition, Papua has been the victim of Indonesia's ill-conceived resettlement program by Muslims of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

All of these irritants -- religious and cultural friction, exploitation of its resources, dispossession of their land, oppression by the military -- have fueled rebellion. The Free Papua Movement has had sporadic violent skirmishes with Indonesian security forces since the 1960s. A more peaceful independence campaign is being waged by the Presidium of the Papuan Council, probably the most representative of West Papua's diverse population, which contends that the 1969 annexation of West Papua was illegal. President Wahid tried to conciliate the province by joining the millennium celebration there and changing its name from Irian Jaya to West Papua. Nevertheless, on 4 June 2000, activists declared West Papua independent.

Complicating the situation in Papua are fears that the radical Islamic, anti-Christian organization, Laskar Jihad, may be present in the province. If this is so, and Laskar Jihad has not actually disbanded as its leaders claim, the friction between Muslim settlers and indigenous Christians could become more volatile.

Attempts at granting limited autonomy and greater returns from natural resources to Papua have been largely unsuccessful. Corruption and mismanagement are still big problems. Foreign

⁶⁴West Papua is the western (Indonesian) half of the island formerly called New Guinea. (Shown in Figure-3 as Irian Jaya) West Papua should not be confused with Papua New Guinea, which is the eastern half of the same island but an independent nation. In the late 1990s, President Wahid changed the name from Irian Jaya to West Papua. It is sometimes referred to simply as Papua.

companies with concessions for natural resources frequently disregard Papuan customary law and human rights. The special autonomy law requires these companies to give more attention to indigenous customs and land ownership, but the law is not retroactive. The civilian population continues to be deceived and abused.

In addition, the security forces guarding these companies are usually corrupt. They often have a financial interest in resource exploitation. In some cases they extract a protection fee from the foreign operators. In other cases, high-ranking and retired security officers -- even government officials -- have a financial investment in resource extraction. This is particularly true in logging, which is the largest industry in Papua. Copper and gold mining are also major operations.

All of these human rights abuses and unfair distribution of resource revenues is fueling the secessionist movement. Papuan people are not adverse to resource exploitation. They just object to the way it is being managed. BP-Amoco-Arco is trying to avoid the problems of the logging and mining industries in its new liquified natural gas concession by giving more consideration to the local people. It is too early to tell just how successfully that will be accomplished.

West Kalimantan Province. Although this was more an ethnic fighting situation than liberation, I will mention it anyway. This is the westernmost province of Kalimantan, which in turn is the Indonesian portion of the island of Borneo. The population is 40 percent Dayak tribespeople who have converted to Christianity. Trouble started in 1983 when the Indonesian government resettled impoverished Muslim peasants from the island of Madura, located near the east end of Java's north coast (see Figure-3). As Dayak communities were dispossessed of their land, grisly fighting erupted sporadically. When heavy fighting broke out in December 1996, the army was moved in and 500 fatalities resulted. By March 1999, some 33,000 Mandurese refugees were sheltered in Pontianak, the capital of West Kalimantan. Most of the Mandurese have now fled the province and conditions seem to be quieter. Nevertheless, because of the large Christian population, this could eventually be another trouble spot.

SINGAPORE

Singapore, located 77 miles above the equator, consists of one main island and 54 islets. It is bounded by peninsular Malaysia to the north and west, eastern Malaysia to the east, and Indonesia to the south. Singapore was founded as a British trading colony in 1819 because of its strategic location on shipping lanes. It joined Malaysia in 1963, but withdrew two years later and became independent on 9 August 1965. Subsequently it has become one of the most important shipping centers in Asia with one of the world's busiest seaports. Although a very prosperous nation, Singapore has been hurt by the global economic slowdown during 2001 and 2002 and has been hammered even worse in 2003 by the war on Iraq and the SARS epidemic.

Singapore's population of 4.5 million is 76.7 percent Chinese and 14 percent Malay. This religious mix follows the ethnic distribution -- about three-quarters Buddhist and 14 percent Muslim.

President Sellapan Rama Nathan is chief of state and Prime Minister Chok Tong Goh is head of government. The president is elected to a six-year term by popular vote (next election in August 2005) and he in turn appoints the cabinet and prime minister.

Oil and Gas.

Singapore has no oil reserves and imports all of its natural gas, but it is a major petroleum refining center. Nevertheless, it is a major petroleum refining center of Asia and exports half of what it produces. The main US companies, or companies with US affiliates, involved in refining are Chevron-Texaco, Shell, BP-Amoco-Arco, and Exxon-Mobil.

Terrorist Activity.

Singapore has cooperated strongly in the war on terrorism through regional and international cooperation, domestic initiatives, and judicial initiatives. Jemaah Islamiyah operates in Singapore as well as Malaysia and Indonesia, and Singapore joined other Southeast Asian countries in petitioning the UN to add that organization to the UN terrorist list. Since December 2001, Singapore has arrested 36 suspects and put 31 of them on 2-year, renewable detentions. Eleven of those detainees were reported to have received training in Al Qaida camps in Pakistan.

The 50-page Singapore intelligence report (see above in Introduction) said that Jemaah Islamiyah planned to import unknown suicide bombers, believed to be Arabs, in a plot to attack western interests in Singapore -- in December 2001 or early 2002. The plan was to have six truck bombs to explode almost simultaneously. One each was to be parked near the US embassy, the Israeli embassy, the Australian high commission, the British high commission, a US naval base, and commercial buildings housing American companies." This plan collapsed when their Filipino bomb maker, Fathur Rohman al-Ghozi, was arrested in Manila. Al-Ghozi had already shipped 1.2 metric tons of TNT to Singapore and was in the process of obtaining another 4.8 metric tons when he was arrested. In addition, Singapore started arresting Jemaah Islamiyah members, of which 31 are still detained.

According to the report, based on interrogating the 31 detainees, the Singapore attack was one of six planned. Others included US military personnel, naval ships and bases, the Singapore American School (attended by 3,000 students, mostly American), Israeli companies, local infrastructure including mass transit, airport radars, and the Singapore Ministry of Defense.



Figure-5
Singapore

MALAYSIA

Malaysia (population 22.7 million) has a majority Muslim population. The British colony of Malay became independent on 31 August 1957. Malaysia was formed in 1963 by joining Malaya and Singapore, including the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak on the northeast coast of Borneo. Singapore then seceded to become an independent state in 1965.



Figure - 6
Malaysia

Malaysia is a middle income country. It has transformed itself from being a producer of raw materials in 1971 to a multi-sector economy by the late 1990s. Its growth has been almost exclusively driven by exports, especially in assembled electronics. Thus it's economy was hit hard by the global slump in the high-technology sector.

The government of Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy. Paramount Ruler Taunku Syed Sirajuddin ibni Almarhum Taunku Syed Putra Jamalullial (commonly referred to simply as Syed Sirajuddin) is chief of state. Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohammad is head of government. After over two decades in office, he plans to retire in late 2003. Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah bin Ahmad Badawi is expected to succeed him.

Oil and Gas.

Petroleum is Malaysia's second largest natural resource (following tin). Petroleum and liquified natural gas combined are the country's second largest export (following electronic equipment). Proven oil reserves are 3.0 billion barrels and proven natural gas reserves are 75.0 trillion cubic feet. In addition, Malaysia accounts for about 15 percent of world liquified natural gas (LNG) exports.

US energy companies operating in Malaysia:

Amerada Hess (New York, NY)	Oil exploration and production. Gas production.
BP-Amoco-Arco	Gas production.
Chevron-Exxon	Oil & Gas sector.
Conoco Phillips (Houston, TX)	Oil exploration and refining. Gas processing.
Enron	Energy sector.
Exxon-Mobil	Oil exploration and production. Gas production.
Kellogg Brown and Root	LNG facility construction. (Halliburton subsidiary)

Murphy Oil Corp. (El Dorado, AR)	Oil exploration and production.
Occidental (Dallas, TX)	Oil & Gas sector.
Shell	Oil exploration, production, and refining.
Triton Energy (Dallas, TX)	Gas exploration and production.

Terrorist and Anti-Terrorist Activity.

Malaysia has cooperated with the war on terrorism and has cracked down on terrorists. Jemaah Islamiyah operates in Malaysia as well as Indonesia and Singapore, and Malaysia continues to investigate that group as well as the domestic Kumpulan Mujahedeen Malaysia (KMM) group.

Kumpulan Mujahedeen Malaysia (KMM) is trying to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Mahathir's government and create an Islamic state including Indonesia and the southern Philippines. Malaysia says 48 suspects have been detained, some of whom have trained in Afghanistan and fought during the Soviet occupation of that country. Others have alleged ties to Islamist groups in Indonesia and the Philippines.

KMM was founded in 1995 by Zainon Ismail, who fought as a mujahid (holy warrior) in Afghanistan. Nik Adli Nik Abdul Aziz, now detained by the Malaysian government, assumed leadership in 1999. It is suspected that KMM has some 70-80 members. Smaller and more violent splinter groups may be operating.

The Southeast Asia Regional Center for Counter-Terrorism . In October 2002, President Bush told the APEC forum that the US had a plan to set up a regional counterterrorism training center in Malaysia. In November 2002, Malaysia approved the establishment of a Malaysia-based regional counterterrorism training center. The Southeast Asia Regional Center for Counter-Terrorism opened 1 July 2003 in temporary quarters at the government administrative center of Putrajaya, south of Kuala Lumpur. It is scheduled to move to its permanent location in Kuala Lumpur by January 2004.

Because of the political sensitivities of Malaysian Muslims, and probably because the Malaysian government so outspokenly criticized the war against Iraq, the US was dropped as a partner in the center. Malaysia will finance and administer it alone although the US and other countries can sponsor and finance specific programs. Although the Center will offer training in counter-terrorism, it will be neither an intelligence agency nor involved in operational planning. Rather, it will be run like an institute to examine the roots and causes of terrorism, the function of terrorist organizations, border security, and management of post-terrorism consequences. The first conference, which will study terrorist financing and money laundering, will take place in August 2003.

Malaysian Foreign Minister Syed Hamid Albar said in regards to the new Southeast Asia Regional Center for Counter-Terrorism which opened in that country: "Let us not therefore forget the other war. This is the war to win the hearts and minds of the people so as to reduce support for acts of terrorism."⁶⁵

⁶⁵Cited in Ng, 1 July 2003.

CONCLUSION

During the October 2002 APEC forum, Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah bin Ahmad Badawi of Malaysia noted that in a meeting between ASEAN leaders and President Bush the root causes of terrorism was not discussed. He asserted: "I have stated that we must take a stand to understand the root causes of terrorism and why people become terrorists. Once we understand that cause, it will be easier to face the problem."⁶⁶

Moderate and liberal Muslim leaders in Indonesia voiced similar sentiments following the Bali bombing. In interviews they cautioned that a crackdown alone will not bring a lasting victory over terrorism.. They said that only by addressing the causes of unrest can moderate Muslims and their religion prevail.

One of those causes is their governments failure to improve the people's lives. "The role of government is dominant," said Syafii Maarif, leader of one of the two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia. "If the government is weak, anything can happen. Unfortunately, our government is weak."

The groundwork for the above remark by Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah was laid on 4 February 2002 i New York when Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohammad gave a speech entitled "Islam, Terrorism, and Malaysia's Response."⁶⁷ All subsequent quotations in this paper are from that speech.

Prime Minister Mahathir started out explaining that for 42 years Malaysia fought communist guerrillas attempting to proliferate their ideology through terrorism. He said they defeated the terrorists "not just through military action but more by winning the hearts and minds of the people who supported them." Mahathir pointed out that since the terrorists were ethnic Chinese "we identified the cause of their disaffection and remedied them."

He said the situation is the same today, and that "when Muslims feel that they are being oppressed, [that] they are not getting a fair deal, then Muslims react very much like the ethnic Chinese in Malaysia reacted." The prime minister went on to say: "I am sure our approach is more likely to be successful than the brute force that is being applied now." This could well be why Malaysia has refused to host forward-deployed US troops and why the US has been dropped as a partner in the regional anti-terrorism center. Mahathir explained in the concluding paragraph of his speech:

Malaysia's response to the latest manifestation of terrorism is not only to act against our own potential terrorists, but to seek to define terrorism and terrorists so that there is no ambiguity and everyone will be able to fight against them. We should not seek to avenge particular killings of innocent people. We should seek to fight all terrorists everywhere, and we should fight them not just by direct action but more by winning the hearts and minds of the people, so as to reduce support for acts of terrorism and to reduce the attraction of acts of terror for those who see no means of redress for their own suffering.

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⁶⁶Cited in Information Update #62.

⁶⁷Mahathir bin Mohammad. I strongly recommend that the entire speech be read. Mahathir's depth of understanding is inspiring. Go to <http://www.asiasociety.org/speeches/mahathir.html>

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GLOSSARY

Amoco	Probably originally meant American Oil Company.
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation group.
Arco	Atlantic Richfield Company.
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations.
BP	British Petroleum.
CABGOC	Cabina Gulf Oil Company, an overseas operating subsidiary of Chevron-Texaco.
Chevron	Formerly Standard Oil of California
CIA	Central intelligence Agency.
CNN	Cable News Network.
Conoco	Continental Oil and Transportation Company.
Esso	An overseas operating subsidiary of Exxon-Mobil.
Exxon	Formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey.
GDP	Gross Domestic Product.
ILSA	Iran-Libya Sanctions Act of 1996 (US).
Islamist	A follower of the extremist, fundamentalist form of Islam -- a militant Muslim terrorist.
Jihad	Islamic term for "Holy War."
KMM	Kumpulan Mujahedeen Malaysia.
LDC	Least Developed Countries.
LNG	Liquified Natural Gas.
LPG	Liquified Petroleum Gas (propane and butane).
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front.
MNLF	Moro National Liberation front.
NSA	National Security Agency.
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
PBS	Public Broadcasting System.
Texaco	Probably originally meant Texas Company.
UAE	United Arab Emirates.
UN	United Nations.
Unocal	Union Oil of California.
US	United States.
USN	United States Navy.

APPENDIX-A

SIGNIFICANT RECENT SOUTHEAST ASIA TERROR INCIDENTS

(Source: *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001 and 2002*, and miscellaneous other sources.)

August 2000	<u>Indonesia</u> -- a bomb blast at the Jakarta residence of the Philippine ambassador killed two people.
24 December 2000	<u>Indonesia</u> -- 36 bombs were planted in Christian churches across Indonesia. 19 people were killed and 100 injured.
29 December 2000	<u>Philippines</u> -- Manila metro train bombed. 22 people killed and 100 injured.
December 2000	<u>Singapore</u> -- Failed attempt to bomb the US embassy and other US buildings with seven huge truck bombs.
22 January 2001	<u>Indonesia</u> -- 17 logging workers kidnaped and held for ransom. Later released unharmed and no ransom paid. A splinter group of the Free Papua Movement was held responsible.
29 January 2001	<u>Indonesia</u> -- US firm, Newmont Mining Corp., bombed. No injuries. No one claimed responsibility.
29 March 2001	<u>Philippines</u> -- Chinese-Filipina attorney and her daughter kidnaped. Later released after small payment for room & board. Moro Islamic Liberation Front claimed responsibility.
26 May 2001	<u>Philippines</u> -- Abu Sayyaf Group kidnaped 20 people (3 Americans and 17 Filipinos). Three released on May 31 st . Five hospital workers kidnaped on June 2 nd and added to hostage list. Two female hostages released for ransom on June 4 th . Three more Filipino hostages released on June 16 th . Two more Filipino civilians kidnaped on June 26 th . One US hostage was beheaded in June. By the end of 2001, two Americans and one Filipino hospital worker were still held hostage.
20 June 2001	<u>Philippines</u> -- Chinese engineer working for a Japanese-funded irrigation project kidnaped by "The Pentagon Gang." Three Chinese nationals and a Filipino businessman kidnaped on August 12 th when they tried to deliver ransom payment for the engineer. An attempt rescue on August 19 th left two Chinese dead. The remaining Chinese hostage was released on October 19 th , reportedly after a ransom was paid.
21 August 2001	<u>Philippines</u> -- Armed militants killed an Irish priest in a kidnap attempt. No one claimed responsibility but the son of a Moro Islamic Liberation Front commander was a suspect.
August 2001	<u>Indonesia</u> -- a Malaysian national bombed a Jakarta shopping mall.
16 September 2001	<u>Philippines</u> -- Armed militants kidnaped a Sierra Leonean professor but he later escaped. No one claimed responsibility.
December 2001	<u>Singapore</u> . Police foiled a plan to blow up US and other Western embassies and military installations in Singapore.
21 December 2001	<u>Philippines</u> -- Attempted bombing of the Allied Bank housing the Canadian embassy, and next door to the British embassy. No one claimed responsibility.
29 December 2001	<u>Philippines</u> -- A Manila metro train was bombed.
31 January 2002	<u>Philippines</u> -- Two hikers on the slopes of Pinatubo volcano (on Luzon) were attacked by militants. One of the hikers, a US citizen, was killed.

9 May 2002	<u>Thailand</u> -- In Tachilek, a bomb exploded at a hotel, killing one Burmese national and injuring three others. No one claimed responsibility.
23 September 2002	<u>Indonesia</u> -- There was a botched grenade attack on a US diplomatic residence in Jakarta.
12 October 2002	<u>Indonesia</u> -- In Manado (Sulawesi), a bomb exploded near the Philippine Consulate, damaging the front gate and breaking several windows. No casualties were reported and no one claimed responsibility.
12 October 2002	<u>Indonesia</u> -- In Bali, a car bomb exploded outside the Sari Club Discotheque on Legian Street, a busy tourist area filled with nightclubs, cafes, and bars, killing some 200 tourists and injuring almost 300 others. The resulting fire also destroyed the nearby Paddy's Club and Panin Bank, and other buildings and cars. Jemaah Islamiyah, alleged to be affiliated with Al Qaida, is believed responsible.
12 October 2002	<u>Indonesia</u> -- In Bali, a bomb exploded about 300 yards from the US Consulate.
4 December 2002	<u>Indonesia</u> -- In Makassar (Sulawesi), a bomb exploded in a McDonald's restaurant, killing three people (including the suicide bomber), injuring 11 others, and causing major damage to the restaurant. No one claimed responsibility but police are focusing on a hardline Islamic group, Laskar Jundullah. About an hour later, a second bomb tore up a Toyota dealership showcase but no one was injured.
26 December 2002	<u>Philippines</u> -- In Zamboanga del Norte, armed militants ambushed a bus carrying Filipino workers employed by a local Canadian mining company, killing 13 and injuring 10. Authorities have accused the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).
Late February 2003	<u>Philippines</u> -- Heavily armed men opened fire on a farming village near Zamboanga and at the same time a bomb exploded killing at least one person in a marketplace. The MILF is suspected.
4 March 2003	<u>Philippines</u> -- A bomb killed 21 People outside the Davao airport and wounded 150. The MILF denies responsibility but the government believes it was guilty. Because one of the fatalities was an American, the FBI has joined the investigation.
2 April 2003	<u>Philippines</u> -- A bomb near the busy Davao wharf killed at least 16 and wounded 40.
4 May 2003	<u>Philippines</u> -- Guerrillas raided the southern town of Sicom, killing at least 22 (including six guerrillas), wounding 15, and taking 15 hostages. All but four of the hostages were rescued. This raid was attributed to the MILF.
Mid-May 2003	<u>Philippines</u> -- A bomb killed nine people and wounded 21 at a crowded market in the southern city of Korondal.
14 July 2003	<u>Indonesia</u> -- a small bomb broke windows and damaged a wall of Indonesia's parliament building. There were no casualties.

APPENDIX-B

KEY KNOWN TERRORIST LEADERS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

- Abdul Aziz** Nik Adli Nik Abdul Aziz is the current leader (since 1999) of Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM). He is currently being detained by the Malaysian government.
- al-Faruq** Omar al-Faruq, a Kuwaiti national, is an alleged co-founder of Laskar Jundullah in Indonesia, and is considered to have been a top Al Qaida operative in Southeast Asia. He was arrested on West Java, Indonesia, in June 2002, and is now in US custody at some undisclosed location. Al-Faruq is the son-in-law of Haris Fadilla, alias Abu Dzar, the martyred leader of Laskar Mujahidin.
- al-Ghozi** Fathur Rohman al-Ghozi is a Filipino bomb maker suspected to be affiliated with Jemaah Islamiyah. He was supplying the explosives to be used in the foiled plot to blow up US and other western building in Singapore. He was arrested in Manila and charged with making the bomb that blew up the Manila metro train on 29 December 2001. But he escaped custody in July 2003, along with two other top terrorists.
- Ali Imron** Ali Imron, 30, is the younger half-brother of Amrozi and Mukhlas, and is a graduate of Bashir's Al-Mukmin boarding school in central Java. He constructed the car bomb for the Bali bombings, and possibly helped select the targets. He said they had miscalculated because the bomb was meant for Americans. Imron is now in police custody.
- Amrozi** A man known only as Amrozi, 30, the younger brother of Mukhlas and the older half-brother of Ali Imron, is co-founder of the Al Islam boarding school for about 250 students in Lamongan (east Java). It is alleged to be the headquarters for the Bali bombing plot and is affiliated with Bashir's Al Mukmin school in central Java. The van used as the bomb was traced to Amrozi who is accused of providing basic logistics for the bombing. Police found a van seat and tire (removed to make room for the bomb) at Amrozi's family's home in Lamongan. He was arrested at the school on 9 November 2002. Amrozi also confessed complicity in the Christmas Eve 2000 bombings in Indonesia that killed 19 people, and August 2000 bomb which killed two people in Jakarta at the residence of the Philippine ambassador. Amrozi is currently on trial and faces the death penalty if convicted.
- Azhari bin Husin** One of four Malaysians who met with Hambali and Mukhlas in Thailand in February 2002 to plan the Bali bombings.
- Bafana** Faiz bin Abu Bakar Bafana is a 41-year-old Malaysian construction contractor who is believed to be the treasurer of Jemaah Islamiyah. He is one of the 31 suspects being detained in Singapore in connection with the December 2001 plan to blow up US and other western embassies and military installations in Singapore. He is in custody in Singapore.
- Bashir** Abu Bakar Bashir (also spelled Abubakar Baasyir) is a 65-year-old cleric who is principal of the Al Mukmin Islamic boarding school in Solo on the island of Java., He is alleged to be the spiritual/intellectual leader of Jemaah Islamiyah. He denies involvement in terrorist activities although he sympathies with them and admires Osama bin Laden. He claims that Jemaah Islamiyah does not exist. After the Bali bombings, Bashir was arrested in his hospital bed at home. He is currently being held on charges of treason and involvement with the Christmas Eve 2000 church bombings in Jakarta. He is standing trial in Jakarta. Authorities have not yet been able to connect Bashir with the Bali bombings.

Dwikarna	Agus Dwikarna is alleged to be a co-founder of Laskar Jundullah in Indonesia. He was arrested as a terrorist in the Philippines for possessing C-4 plastic explosives. He was sentenced to prison in 2002. Some reports say he is serving 10 years and others place the sentence at 17 years. Dwikarna was the prime suspect in the 29 December 2000 Manila bombing that killed 22 people and was tied to the bombing of the Philippine ambassador's Jakarta residence in August 2000.
Fadilla	Haris Fadilla, also known as Abu Dzar, was the leader of Laskar Mujahidin who was killed in a battle against Christians on 23 October 2000. He is also the father-in-law of Omar al-Faruq (see above).
Hambali.	Riduan Isamuddin (better known as Hambali) is a 37-year-old Indonesian cleric believed to be the main liaison between Jemaah Islamiyah and Al Qaida. In June 1994 he helped found the Konsojaya trading company in Kuala Lumpur. The following December his Afghan business partner helped blow up a Philippine jetliner. A January 1995 accident and fire in a Manila apartment, where his business partner was constructing the bombs Hambali had helped finance, foiled a scheme to blow up 12 American airliners over the Pacific. Hambali has also been linked to two of the September 11 th hijackers at a meeting in Kuala Lumpur. Hambali helped two of the 9-11 hijackers before they departed for the US and is tied to early 2002 terrorist plans in Singapore which included blowing up the US embassy. He helped finance the Bali bombings. At a February 2002 planning meeting in Thailand, he is reported to have given Mukhlas US\$35,500. He is currently at large and wanted in Indonesia and three other countries for initiating dozens of terrorist acts that have killed over 40 people.
Idris	Idris, 35, also known as also known as Jhoni Indrawan and Gembrot, is the suspected deputy field commander (under Samudra) for the Bali bombings. He attended the Islamic boarding school in Johor, Malaysia which was headed by Mukhlas. He handled the money which financed the bombing, arranged meetings for the participants in Solo on Java, and also arranged accommodation for them in Bali. Idris was arrested 12 June 2003 on northern Sumatra, along with 12 other suspects, and is reported to have confessed his role in the Bali Bombings.
Ismail	Zainon Ismail, a former mujahid in Afghanistan, founded Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) in 1995.
Jaffar	Jaffar Umar Thalib is a 40-year-old Indonesian cleric of Yemeni descent. He was the commander of Laskar Jihad, now reportedly disbanded. He claims to have met bin Laden while fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan during the late 1980s. Jaffar was arrested on 4 May 2002 for inciting religious violence, but was acquitted of those charges in January 2003.
Mukhlas	Ali Ghuftron (also known as Mukhlas) is an Indonesian cleric and the older brother of Amrozi. He is said to be the overall coordinator of the Bali bombings. He is probably higher in the command structure than Samudra and may have been a temporary replacement for Hambali as operational commander. He is one of the five who met with Hambali in Thailand in February 2002. Indonesian police announced on 4 December 2003 that Mukhlas had been arrested and has confessed to his part in the bombings.
Noor Din Mohammed Top	One of four Malaysians who met with Hambali and Mukhlas in Thailand in February 2002 to plan the Bali bombings.
Samudra	Emir Samudra (formerly Abdul Aziz), a 35-year-old Indonesian, is the confessed ringleader, or field commander, of the terrorist cell that carried out the Bali bombings. He spent two years in training camps in Afghanistan and taught in a religious school in Johor, Malaysia where he met

Amrozi, Mukhlas, and Hambali. Samudra was arrested on 21 November while trying board a ferry to flee the island of Java. He confessed to having personally selected the crowded nightclubs for the bombings and also confessed to participating in at least four other bombings in Indonesia, including attacks on churches and shopping malls in Jakarta. Samudra is in custody in Jakarta.

Syaffullah Code name for a Yemeni national alleged to have provided the bomb-making expertise for the Bali bombs. He is still at large.

Wan Min Wan Mat One of four Malaysians who met with Hambali and Mukhlas in Thailand in February 2002 to plan the Bali bombings. He was arrested on 27 September 2002.

Zakaria Zakaria goes by only one name. He is director of the Al Islam boarding school (see Amrozi above). Zakaria was detained on 9 November 2002.

Zulkifli Zulkifli Marzuki is believed to be the principle operations leader of Jemaah Islamiyah in Malaysia. He is one of four Malaysians who met with Hambali and Mukhlas in Thailand in February 2002 to plan the Bali bombings.