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The Current State of Terrorism in Indonesia: Vulnerable Groups, Networks, and Responses
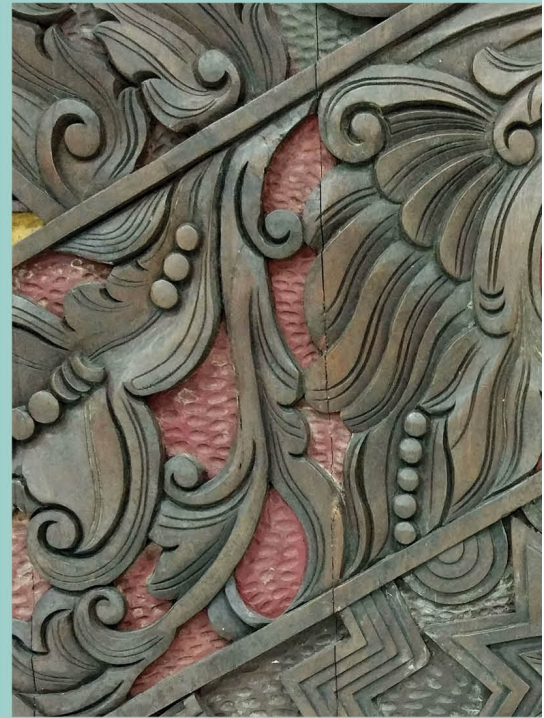
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The Current State of Terrorism in Indonesia:
Vulnerable Groups, Networks, and Responses[1]

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The paper aims to provide a portrayal of the current terrorism network in Indonesia after the emergence of ISIS in 2014. It aims to explain the characteristics of demographics vulnerable to radicalization, the key ISIS actors that carry potential threats, and the current state of government counter-terrorism measures. Taking study cases and conclusions from the most recent research on Indonesian terrorism, the paper highlights the importance of what is termed the saturation point, social bonds, and economic incentives as factors that pushes individuals to interact with radical organizations. It also points out key individuals and cells of pro-ISIS terrorist organizations that most effectively take advantage of these factors; including their origin and how they cooperate. The last segment of the paper also provides notes on the lacking of the current Indonesian counter-terrorism; such as the vague division of labor in the National Counter-Terrorism Agency and the anti-terrorism law that is insensitive to pressing issues of online radicalization and ex-terrorist reintegration.

Keyword: terrorism, Indonesia, ISIS

Indonesia have long been vulnerable to Islamic extremist ideologies and movements. From the emergence of Darul Islam (DI) in 1942 to the most recent formation of Jema'ah Anshorut Daulah (JAD) in 2015, terrorist groups have been a constant fixture in the Indonesian security landscape. Despite a strong effort from the Indonesian government to curb them, the country has laid witness to the constant rise, regrouping, and resurgence of terrorist groups. This is currently further exacerbated with the prominence of ISIS ideologies; the group shifted old influential actors, highlighted new ones, and revamped the spirit of jihadist with a new and robust ideology. To identify the scope of threat of the current Indonesian terrorist network this paper attempts to explain 3 important issue; the characteristics of vulnerable

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[1] The published version of this working paper is available in Gabriele Iacovino & Francesca Manenti (Ed.), *The Evolution of Jihadist Radicalization in Asia* (Centro Studi Internazionali in collaboration with European Foundation for Democracy, 2018)

recruitment targets of terrorist groups, the identification of key actors in Indonesia's ISIS terrorist network, and a reflection of Indonesia's security responses to terrorism.

Indonesia's Terrorist Recruitment Target

Many analyses on group/individual radicalization often takes cases and samples from either a Muslim minority country or one that is conflict-ridden. As a result, the attempt to identify demographics that are vulnerable to terrorist recruitment often conclude to groups/individuals that are either structurally disenfranchised, [2] psychologically traumatized, or carry the need of revenge against an enemy.[3] Such analysis carry questionable significance in Indonesia as the country cannot be characterized by neither. Among the total population, almost 87.2% are Muslims,[4] and, outside from the localized conflict in Maluku and Aceh which was resolved in early 2000s, conflict in Indonesia made no significant and prolonged concern. In identifying vulnerable target groups, the most recent research reports from Wahid Foundation and CSIS Indonesia can provide several important insights.

Although there is no single physical or demographic characteristics of Indonesia's society that could become easy targets of radical groups' recruitment, admittedly, there are several identifying traits of groups that are more likely to be influenced. According to the survey done by Wahid Institute and Indonesia Survey Circle, social groups that are more susceptible to radical ideologies share several characteristics; that they believe in a literalist understanding of the concept of jihad as a struggle with violence (*jihad qital*); that they justify and show verbal support to radical groups; that

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[2] Omar Ashour, *Votes and Violence: Islamists and the Processes of Transformation*, (London: Developments in Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2009).
[3] Anne Speckhard and Khapta Akhmedova, "Black Widows and. Beyond: Understanding the Motivations and Life Trajectories of Chechen Female Suicide Terrorists" in C. D. Ness, *Female Terrorism and Militancy: Agency, Utility and Organization*, (New York: Routledge, 2008).
[4] Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population by Region and Religion*, (2010).

they deny or oppose the rights of citizenship of other groups that are not favored; and that they are highly exposed to religious preaching which contains suspicion and hatred towards other religious or ethnic groups.[5] The result of the same study also revealed that those who have low level education (primary and secondary school) and obtain a monthly income less than IDR 1 million (US$ 80) are more prone to follow radical ideology. Although it needs to be carefully noted that the direct correlation between radicalization and education and economic status was not established.

The in-depth study conducted by CSIS Indonesia further revealed that the process in which individuals interact with radical groups and ideologies in Indonesia are influenced by several key factors.[6] The first factor is an existential anxiety of one's life experience which is marked by the inability of an individual to find meaning in his/her life and reflective questions related to the meaning and purpose of life, or death. This situation is termed as the "saturation point" and is commonly found to derive from personal problems such as boredom at work or domestic life as opposed to the popularly argued realization of structural marginalization. This saturation point is what then compels individuals to move towards a deeper understanding of religion that, they hope, would provide them meaningful life purpose and/or identity and decrease their existential anxiety. This saturation point ultimately leads the individuals to join the gathering of radical groups, be it online or offline, and, as time go by, increase participation in the group's activities.

One example is the case of a radicalized Indonesian migrant worker in Hong Kong that originated from Dieng, her limited daily mobility and mundane activities in the

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[5] LSI and Wahid Foundation, *National Survey of Religious and Social Potential of Intolerance and Radicalism*, (Jakarta: Wahid, 2017).
[6] CSIS and Wahid Foundation, *In-depth Research on Women Involvement in Intolerance and Radical Groups*, (Jakarta: Wahid, 2018).

factories is compensated by searching religious sermons in social media and religious events which led her to interact with ISIS-affiliated groups and ideologies. A similar saturation point was felt by a female deportee who was bored with her successful career as an insurance manager and, despite having enough wealth to finance his six children to live and vacation abroad, she opted to go to Syria to live in the, what she called as a 'promised land'.[7] The research, however, have not been able to draw out assertive reasons why an individual would choose a radical religious gathering as opposed to a moderate one. Several interviews have identified that the inability of individuals to differentiate between differing religious interpretations and the fact that radical groups have a "deeper" and "more detailed" interpretation of religion than moderate counterparts in Indonesia is a common reason why individuals do so.

The second factor that makes individuals susceptible to interaction with radical groups is the pull of terrorist groups in the form of social bonds. Various writings have noted social bonds as an important factor to the creation of an affective tie that binds the person to a group and, with the constant interaction between him/her and the members, an acceptance of its ideology. Even some would argue that the development of a strong affective tie between the individual and group members is a necessary prerequisite for the individual's acceptance of the groups's ideology.[8] In Indonesia, this social bonds is key. Many of those interviewed pointed out a social relation that convinced them to enter a particular religious gathering or a particular online group which eventually exposed and convinced them to radical teachings and ideologies. Many ex-terrorists along with their wives state that the social bond and sense of belonging they have to their former terrorist networks and contacts, contrasted with

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[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)

the lack of social acceptance that they attain from the general population, is one of a key reason why they decide to not severe ties with their former relations.

One of the most common social bond women have to in intolerant and radical groups is through marriage bonds. It was found that women that are linked to the Jema'ah Islamiyah (JI) network in Depok and the JAD network in Solo and Malang are all exposed to the group via their husbands. Although, this does not negate examples where women are tied through friendship, such as the migrant worker from Dieng that eventually made formal membership to the JAD network through introduction of a female friend she met on Telegram. For men, such bond is often kinship (i.e. uncle or brother) or social camaraderie. The example of this is the brothers of JI who engaged in the 2002 Bali Bombing, where the attack's mastermind Amrozi is the little brother of Muhammad Gufron who helped with the logistics,[9] the big brother of Ali Imron who decided on the bombing spot and the step brother of Ali Fauzi who executed the bomb.[10] However, there are also instances where it is their spouse is that introduce them to the terrorist network, such as the case case of a mother in Bogor, West Java who successfully influence her family to go to Syria.[11]

The third driving factor that exposes individuals to radical groups is economic needs, which, although not as strong as other factors, remains an important reason why individuals maintain contact with radical groups. The factor of economic needs affects individuals in two ways. Firstly, they attract people to join terrorist groups, or in the least, maintain interaction with individuals who are affiliated with them. A case note

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[9] Nanda Putra, 'Cerita Ali Imron 'Dikerjai' Jadi Teroris Bom Bali', *Liputan 6*, 26 June 2016, <http://news.liputan6.com/read/2542330/cerita-ali-imron-dikerjai-jadi-teroris-bom-bali>.
[10] BBC Indonesia, 'Adik pelaku Bom Bali tolak ISIS', *BBC News*, 27 August 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2014/08/140827_tolak_isis_surabaya>.
[11] CSIS and Wahid Foundation, *Loc. Cit.*

that an individual stayed in a relative's radical religious gathering because this relative is one who offers loans to his business, and an interview in Malang revealed that an individual was lured to fight for ISIS in Syria due to the perception of better economic situation there. Second, is by forcing individuals to maintain interaction with the terrorist network that they are trying to rid off. Wives of ex-terrorists in Solo who open small businesses often depend on a limited number of consumers. By the time an intolerant and radical group becomes a customer and begin to get closer, the woman is hard to resist. It was noted that although some wives of the ex-terrorists often refuses them coming into her house, at times it becomes hard as they are her most loyal customers.[12] Understandably, poverty is not a sufficient factor as it is, as not all people who are in need of economic support would readily join radical groups. Therefore, arguably, it requires a specific amalgamation of the economic push factor, mix with turning point and social relations factors, to compel individuals to join radical groups.

Indonesia's ISIS Connection

But as noted by many, the key towards radicalization does not merely rest in individual drives. Another key factor in having them radicalized is whether they interact with a radical group,[13] be it physically with members of the group offline or just their disseminated ideology online. It is thus also important to identify the radical actors that are on the other end of the equation. Across the years, there has been around 11 well-known terrorist organizations that has posed threats to the country.[14] But with the purge of organizations between 2003-2013, the ones that still have an

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[12] CSIS and Wahid Foundation, *Loc. Cit.*
[13] Anne Speckhard and Khapta Akhmedova, *Loc. Cit.*
[14] The most notable of which being Darul Islam (1940), Jema'ah Islamiyah (1995), Jema'ah Anshorut Tauhid (2009), Lintas Tanzim (2009), Tauhid Wal Jihad (2009), Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (2010), Front Pembela Islam Lamongan (2010), Mujahidin Indonesia Barat (2012), Forum Aktivis Syariat Islam (2013), Jema'ah Ansharusy Syariah (2014), and Jema'ah Anshorut Daulah (2015).

active structure now, is half that number. Out of them, there are 4 key groups that connects the Indonesian society to ISIS.

The first of which is the Forum Aktivis Syariat Islam (Islam Sharia Activists Forum, FAKSI) and its affiliated online media Al-Mustaqbal. Although FAKSI was formally established in 2013 by Muhammad Fachry, its history goes back to 2006 with the establishment of the organization Al Mujahirun. Al Mujahirun is affiliated to a British based organization headed by Omar Bakri going by the name of Al-Muhajiroun that advocates for the establishment of a caliphate and the legalization of violence. FAKSI's strategy in Indonesia was originally to only disseminate pro-ISIS content through offline and online platforms. It was found, however, that FAKSI also sent their individuals to fight directly with ISIS in Syria, namely Bahrun Syah and Salim Mubarok.[15] It was reported that the two individuals have formed an Indonesian-Malaysian ISIS unit in Syria and have eventual plans to establish a caliphate on the archipelago. To date the two individuals are still there and have been known to coordinate attacks in Indonesia, such as 2016's Thamrin Bombing.

Despite its long history and affiliation to ISIS ideologies however, FAKSI is not the most well-known and looked up to organization and actor for terrorist in regards to their support for ISIS. This title falls to the second key group, Tauhid Wal Jihad; an unstructured pro-ISIS community that's headed by Aman Abdurrahman. Abdurrahman himself is one of the most respected individual in the Indonesian ISIS network for his work as the earliest and, to date, most trusted translator and disseminator of ISIS work and ideology in Indonesia. Many to this day perceive

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[15] IPAC, "The Evolution of ISIS in Indonesia", *Report No. 13,* (2014)

Abdurrahman as the glue of disparate elements of the Indonesian ISIS network.[16] Many of his followers have been noted to play important roles in other Indonesian organization such as the MIB,[17] Lintas Tanzim,[18] and Front Pembela Islam (Islam Defenders Front, FPI) branch in Lamongan, while Aman himself have become an vital strategic actor in many others, including the previously mentioned FAKSI. One of the key success of Aman Abdurrahman, however, was his feat of winning over Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, the historically famous and charismatic figure in Indonesian terrorism, to support ISIS.

With the shift of Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's affiliation, his organization, the Jema'ah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT), is now the third key actor in Indonesia's ISIS network. Ba'asyir's change of affiliations occurred in 2014 after he sent several JAT members to Syria to assess whether the organization needed to pledge loyalty (*bai'at*) to ISIS. After coming back, and finding the representatives having differing views, it was reported that the tipping point of Ba'asyir's consideration was the constant communication he had with Abdurrahman by phone.[19] Eventually on July 2014, Ba'asyir *bai'at* to ISIS. This, however resulted into the split of JAT with a majority of the group disagreeing with him and forming a new organization, the Jema'ah Ansharusy Syariah (JAS), led by Muhammad Achwan and Abdurrahim Ba'asyir (Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's son). Although the JAT is now stripped of the majority of its infrastructure and members, there are still some that remains such as the Darusy Syahadah Islamic boarding school in Sukoharjo. To date, it is the JAT, as opposed to the bulkier JAS, that is active in conducting attacks.

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[16] *Ibid.*
[17] IPAC, "Weak, Therefore Violent: The Mujahidin of Western Indonesia", *Report No. 5*, (2013)
[18] International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: Jihadi Surprise in Aceh", *Asia Report No. 189*, (2010)
[19] *Ibid.*

The last key organization in Indonesia's ISIS network is the FPI branch in Lamongan which is headed by Siswanto. It needs to be noted that the case of FPI Lamongan is an outlier to the whole structure of FPI in general. Despite their often recorded use of violence, FPI is not commonly considered as a terrorist group, let alone an affiliate of ISIS, as the establishment of a caliphate was never their goal. The Lamongan branch however is an exception due to the existence of Siswanto, who was a former student of Aman Abdurrahman. To date, however there is little activity of FPI Lamongan in relation to terrorist attacks.

In 2015, there occurred the amalgamation of Tauhid Wal Jihad, the JAT, and FPI Lamongan into one terrorist group, the JAD. Although its spiritual leaders are still Aman Abdurrahman and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, due to their jailed status, the designated leader of the group is tasked upon a man named Abu Husna, a former and well respected JAT member. The group thus far have recruited FAKSI along with its online media Al-Mustaqbal, and changed its name several times, interchangeably using the name Jema'ah Anshorul Khilafah (JAK) and Khalifah Syuhada.[20] Having combined members (some of which are still directly in contact with ISIS in Syria, such as FAKSI's Bahrun Syah and Salim Mubarok), structures (especially with the residual infrastructure of JAT), and their leader's charismatic influence (Abdurrahman and Ba'asyir), JAD can be said as, currently, one of the most active and threatening Indonesian terrorist organization. Its network have conducted the most recent attacks in Indonesia including the Thamrin Bombing in 2016[21] and the Kampung Melayu

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[20] Interview with Parliamentary Staff Expert, 5 September 2017, Jakarta
[21] Joe Cochrane and Thomas Fuller, "Jakarta Attack Raises Fears of ISIS' Spread in Southeast Asia", *New York Times*, 13 January 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/asia/jakarta-explosion.html>.

Bombing in 2017,[22] and its influence have reached individuals outside of the Java mainland (i.e. East Kalimantan) and invigorated new demographies (i.e. women and children) to actively participate in suicide attacks.[23]

An additional connection that links Indonesia's society to ISIS is the Indonesian Syrian deportees; individuals who attempted to enter Syria to join the caliphate but failed to do so as they were caught and returned to Indonesia in bordering countries (mostly Turkey). The number estimated by the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of International Affairs, and the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme, BNPT) is around 500 individuals, with 72% of which being women and children.[24] Although these people have not been found to be directly affiliated to ISIS, the lack of thorough supervision the government has towards them leaves the possibility of their contact with ISIS or ISIS-affiliated groups in Indonesia wide open. It has been noted by several NGOs tasked to keep watch over these deportees that some has gone missing and never to be seen again.[25]

National Security Responses and Development

Indonesia's counter-terrorism efforts can be quickly broken down to 3 phases. The first phase was pre-2002 in which the state saw terrorism as a domestic criminal problem, handing the issue to the Indonesian Police (Polisi Republik Indonesia, Polri) to deal with under general criminal law in coordination with the National Intelligence Agency. The second phase was post-2002, after the first Bali Bombing, where the state finally decided to ratify a national counter-terrorism bill under the name of Law No.

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[22] Marhatan Sohuturon, "Dua Pelaku Bom Kampung Melayu Anggota JAD Bandung Raya", *CNN Indonesia*, 26 May 2017, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170526195638-12-217572/dua-pelaku-bom-kampung-melayu-anggota-jad-bandung-raya>.

[23] CSIS and Wahid Foundation, *Loc. Cit.*

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*

15/2003 on Counter Terrorism and Combating Terrorism and establish the Desk Koordinasi Penanganan Terorisme (Counter Terrorism Coordination Desk, DKPT) and Datasemen Khusus (Special Detachment, Densus) 88. This era marked a change in the approach to Indonesia's combat against terrorism as now terrorism is recognized as a part of global threat as opposed to an internal problem, that needs to be countered through international cooperation in both intelligence and police operations. A third phase started in 2010 with the reformation of the DKPT into the BNPT with the Presidential Regulation No. 46/2010. With the law, several things changed; BNPT is given more special authority to coordinate counter-terrorism strategies; BNPT is given authority to address preventive measures to radicalization; and, most importantly, the Indonesian National Military (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, TNI) is now involved in the the national effort of counter-terrorism, particularly in the 2nd division of BNPT which focuses on deradicalization.[26]

Until today, the body that has been spearheading Indonesian government's fight against terrorism is the BNPT. Currently, they are using two approaches as their strategy to counter terrorism in Indonesia; both soft approach and hard approach.[27] The soft approach, done by the 2nd division of BNPT, addresses vulnerable groups and ex-terrorists, deals with deradicalization initiatives and disseminating counter narratives efforts using digital media and interfaith dialogue. On the other hand, the hard approach, commonly done by the 1st division of BNPT with Densus 88, addresses the security issues in combating terrorism, working on the intelligence gathering, detection, investigation, and prosecution of terrorist acts and network.

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[26] Ihsan Ali-Fauzi and Solahudin, "Deradikalisasi di Indonesia: Riset dan Kebijakan", in Ihsan Ali-Fauzi et. al. (ed), *Kebebasan, Toleransi dan Terorisme: Riset dan Kebijakan Agama di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Pusat Studi Agama dan Demokrasi Yayasan Paramadina, 2017)

[27] Hamidin. "Indonesia's Response and Efforts to Recover Tourism Business in the Aftermath of Terrorist Attacks." APEC Conference on Terrorism, 2017, Nusa Dua, Bali. Keynote Address.

The BNPT's soft approach encompasses various programs including the establishment of *Pusat Media Damai* (Peace Media Center), Cyber Peace Ambassador Initiative, and the BNPT Video Festival which carries the purpose to involve youth influencers as agent of peace through creating and promoting counter narratives in the internet. This program includes workshops on producing positive contents by using simple everyday language to promote peace among youths and countering the spread of hate speech and propaganda by radical groups. Since its establishment in 2015, this initiative has been implemented in several cities in Indonesia, including Jakarta, Bandung, Padang and Jogjakarta.[28] Aside from engaging to youths, BNPT also conducts programs that target religious preachers. Cooperating with the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the BNPT is planning to hold a roadshow in 32 provinces with a target participation from around 3000-5000 religious preachers, hoping to utilize religious preacher's strategic role in counter-terrorism due to their position and interaction with the society and their ability to access even those who are living in remote areas. It is hoped that their involvement could create an early detection system and help to reach vulnerable groups in raising their awareness on radicalism.[29] Aside from them, the BNPT is also cooperating with former terrorists and also foreign religious preachers to counsel current terrorist inmates as a part of their deradicalization program, along with providing them economic assistance and capital.[30]

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[28] "BNPT Latih Anak Muda Banjarmasin Menjadi Duta Perdamaian." *BNPT*, 12 September 2017, https://www.bnpt.go.id/bnpt-latih-anak-muda-banjarmasin-menjadi-duta-perdamaian.html.
[29] "BNPT Libatkan Ribuan Penyuluh Agama dalam Pencegahan Terorisme." *BNPT,* 11 January 2018, https://www.bnpt.go.id/bnpt-libatkan-ribuan-penyuluh-agama-dalam-pencegahan-terorisme.html.
[30] Interview with Parliamentary Staff Expert, *Loc. Cit.*

Indonesia's counter-terrorism measures, however has yet to prove itself effective in dealing with terrorist resurgence. Although the BNPT along with Densus 88 have been successful in arresting and demobilizing terrorist cells, the same cannot be said for their effort in deradicalizing and preventing the radicalization of individuals. Many have noted that this is due to the government's lack of capacity to respond to the rapid technological and ideological advances that has led to changes in the recruitment patterns and narratives used by radical groups, especially when compared to the trends in the early 2000s. The current counter-terrorism law, for example have yet to have regulation to manage incoming Syrian deportees, or the comprehensive use of multiple encrypted social media and applications to distribute radical ideologies, or even specific response to those aiding terrorist perpetrators. [31] The BNPT's deradicalizaiton efforts themselves have been noted by many to target the wrong demographic (focusing on strengthening tolerant individuals and instead of engaging with potentially radicalized demographic).[32] The efficacy of deradicaliztion efforts in jails are in practice hampered because correctional facilities lack funding and training to specifically handle terrorist inmate's deradicalization and monitoring. Furthermore, the lack of legal division of labor between the TNI and the Polri that often impede the efficacy of their cooperation have yet to be clearly addressed in the BNPT.[33]

The developing threat of ISIS in Indonesia, marked particularly by the Thamrin Bombing in January 2016 has called for amendments on anti-terrorism law. The amendment of anti-terrorism law is still ongoing and has yet been ratified until

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[31] CSIS and Wahid Foundation, *Loc. Cit*
[32] Interview with Parliamentary Staff Expert, *Loc. Cit*
[33] Jennifer Yang Hui, "Counter-Terrorism in Indonesia: Enter the TNI's Task Force", *RSIS Commentaries No. 182/2013*, (2013)

writing of this paper. So far, there are 17 additional points in the proposed amendments, including sanctions for participating in aiding terrorist acts, organizing paramilitary training and terrorist recruitment, and producing or disseminating radical material, and the revocation of citizenship for Indonesian citizens who join paramilitary training or terrorist acts abroad. Currently, two points in the proposed amendment have been agreed by Indonesian government and House of Representative; points aiming to strengthen BNPT authority, and to give authority to TNI to be involved in counter-terrorism operations which previously was the sole authority of the Polri in the 1ˢᵗ division of BNPT.

However, the proposed amendments have not addressed the more pressing issues, such as the use of social media to disseminate radical ideology and to recruit members, deportees and returning foreign terrorist fighters, disengagement from terrorist networks, and the reintegration of former terrorists into society. The amendments have also yet to address the division of labor between BNPT, the Polri, and the TNI in combating terrorism. While the involvement of the highly trained counter-terrorism detachment forces within the army, navy, and air force,[34] would surely enhance the capacity of Indonesia to combat the growing terrorism threat, this could not work unless there are clear boundaries between the specific roles of the TNI and Polri.

Indonesia Moving Forward

Moving forward, Indonesia needs to adapt faster in anticipating the changing trends of terrorist recruitment and mobilization. Aside from addressing the economic needs of its society, it also needs to create programs that provide meaning and increase the social bonds individuals have with its community. This could begin with the correctly

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[34] IPAC, *The Expanding Role of The Indonesian Military*, (Jakarta: IPAC, 2015)

addressing the important details in the amendment of the current counter-terrorism law. Making sure that clear boundaries are set within the BNPT and sound regulations are made to provide more room and clarity for the security apparatus to deal with Indonesia's surviving ISIS network. If not, although we might see declines and splintering of terrorist groups, it would be far from a time when Indonesia see their eradication altogether.

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