

# Index

“411” protest movement, 70  
9/11 attacks  
    aftermath, 33, 135, 140  
    international pressure, and, 22–30  
    Islamic organizations, and, 141  
    security improvement, and, 1–2, 8,  
    18, 21–22, 34, 45–46, 139

## A

Abdul Haris Nasution, 52  
“Action to Defend Islam (Aksi Bela Islam)”, 71  
Agency for National Unity and Politics (Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik)  
    Bitung Township, branch of, 98  
    early awareness forum, and  
    establishment of, 61, 87–88  
    funds allocation, and, 82–83  
    North Sulawesi, branch of, 96  
    organizations registered with the,  
    49, 137  
Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, 69  
Ahmadiyah, 57  
Ahmad Yani, 52  
AIDS awareness, 119  
“Alert Meeting” (Apel Siaga), 117  
Aliansi Masyarakat Jakarta (AMJ), 57  
Al Qaeda, 23  
Ambalat block, dispute in, 54  
American Studies Center, 16  
Amurang Port, 4  
Andi Anzhar Cakrawijaya, 57

Angkatan Muda Pembaharuan, 4  
Anies Baswedan, 69, 70–71  
anti-terrorism agency (BNPT), 37–38  
anti-terrorism legislation, 24, 141  
ASEAN, 51  
Assistance of the Indonesian National  
    Armed Forces Law, 13  
Association of the Indonesian  
    Independence Supporters (Ikatan  
    Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia),  
    52  
Australian Embassy, bomb attack, 24  
authoritarian regime, 4, 11, 35, 41, 46,  
    134, 136  
authority, source of, 5–6  
Automatic Identification System (AIS),  
    20

## B

Badan Keamanan Rakyat, 32  
Bali bombings, 1, 8, 18, 21, 24–25, 135,  
    141  
Bamus Betawi (Badan Musyawarah  
    Masyarakat Betawi), 45, 55, 60, 63  
Banjarmasin Port, 28  
Basuki Tjahja Purnama (Ahok), 45, 58,  
    60, 137  
    protests against, 69–71, 74  
Batak, ethnic group, 56  
Batam  
    illicit activities in, 121–29, 136  
    ports in, 107

*preman* and youth organizations in, 109, 119  
*see also* Riau Islands; Tanjung Pinang  
 Batam Centre Port, 113, 123  
 Batam Concession Agency (BP Batam), 120–21, 127  
 Batam International Ferry Terminal, 5  
 Batam Naval Base, 113  
*Batam Post*, 18, 117  
 Batu Ampar Ferry Terminal, 5  
 Belawan International Container Port, 120  
 Belawan Multi-Purpose Terminal, 28  
*Berita Manado*, 92  
 Betawi culture consultative body, *see* Bamus Betawi  
 Betawi, ethnic group, 55–56, 60–61  
 BIN (Badan Intelijen Negara), 61, 87  
 Bitung Port, 4–5, 30, 82, 89, 93, 98  
 border security, 15–17, 44, 117–18, 138  
 Brigade Manguni  
   counterterrorism, support for, 84  
   ethnic-based organization, as, 136, 141  
   funding of, 82–83  
   government officials, and relations with, 137  
   members, 80  
   North Sulawesi, in, 80–100  
   paramilitary wing, 81, 87, 97  
   police, cooperation with, 30, 89–100  
 political candidate, and support for, 45  
 Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA), 5  
 Buhias port, 5  
 Bukide port, 5  
 Bumbang Pramadi, 123  
 Bush, President, 24

## C

Caltex Oil Terminal Dumai, 28  
 Charles Ngili, 92  
 Civil Defence (Pertahanan Sipil), 32  
 civilians, and defence role, 41–43, 118  
 civil society  
   agents for change, as, 11  
   concept of, 140  
   data collection, and, 17  
   establishment of, 3  
   military organizations, and relations with, 9  
   principles of, 14  
   state defence, and, 34, 40

  study of, 12–15  
   uncivil elements of, 30–31  
 Civil Society Network for Security Sector Reform, 13  
 civil society organizations (CSOs)  
   definition, 31–32  
   formation of, 30–31  
   funding allocation to, 18  
   grants and social assistance to, 62, 64–65  
   organizations registered as, 108  
   port security, and involvement with, 19, 30, 50  
   *preman* organizations, as, 31, 50, 54, 90–91  
   radical, 85  
   study of, 12–15  
   *see also* un-civil organizations  
 CNN, 23  
 coalition pattern, and political system, 7  
 community-based monitoring system (Siswasmas), 43  
 containerization policy, 51–53, 135  
 Coordination Forum for Terrorism Prevention (Forum Koordinasi Pencegahan Terorisme), 29, 61  
 Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, 15, 18, 34, 39, 42, 44, 70, 139  
 Core Command (Koti), 52, 118  
 counterterrorism  
   Brigade Manguni support for, 84  
   Forum Betawi Rempug support for, 29–30  
   government approach to, 22, 36, 45, 135–36  
   intelligence, 96  
   measures adopted, 8, 13, 24–25, 27, 38  
   military participation in, 14  
   policies, 34  
   programmes, 29–30  
   spending on, 17, 38  
   *see also* terrorism  
 COVID-19 pandemic, 38  
 customs clearance system, 26

## D

Daacky Maengkom, 97  
 decentralization, 139  
 Directorate General of Customs, 72  
 Directorate General of Sea Transportation, 15, 59, 63, 91, 112  
 Directorate General of Transportation, 89

Djasri Marin, 42  
 Dompok port, 5  
 drug smuggling, 72  
 Dutch colonial authority, 9–10, 32, 55

## E

Early Awareness Forum (Forum Kewaspadaan Dini), 29, 61–62, 88, 94  
 East Asia Summit, 36  
 Edy Waleleng, 79  
 electoral violence, 141–42  
 electronic cargo information, 26  
 Elsam, 13  
 Embun Pelangi, 127  
 ethnic-based gangs, 52  
 extortion, 120–21

## F

Facebook, 89  
 Fadloli El Muhrir, 55, 57  
 Fauzi Bowo (Foke), 58, 60  
 Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR)  
   command centres, 58–59  
   conflicts, and, 51, 66–69  
   counterterrorism programmes, engagement with, 29–30  
   election campaign, involvement in, 45  
   establishment, 55–56  
   ethnic-based, 12, 50, 61, 73, 141  
   members, 56–60  
   operation, 59  
   parent organization, 63  
   political protests, and, 69–71  
   security services, and, 59–62, 73–74, 135  
   support for, 44  
   undercover tasks, and, 61  
   vigilantism, and, 57  
 Forum Komunikasi Anak Betawi (Forkabi), 45, 50, 66, 71  
 Forum Komunikasi Putra Putri Purnawirawan dan Putra Putri TNI Polri (FKPPI), 62, 118  
 Forum Pembela Islam, 50  
 Forum Umat Islam, 71  
 Fransiskus Xaverius Hadi Rudyatmo, 69  
 Free Aceh Movement, 22  
 Fretelin/Falintil, 22  
 Front Pembela Islam (FPI), 57, 69–71, 85, 120

## G

gamma ray scanner, 27

Garda Nusantara, 118  
 Garuda Indonesian Airways, hijacking of, 22  
 Gatot Subroto, 52  
 Gerakan Anti-Trafficking, 127  
 Gerakan Pemuda Ansor, 4, 108  
 Gerakan Pemuda Kabah, 3, 50  
 globalization, 5–7  
 global maritime fulcrum (GMF), 36–37  
 Golkar, 35, 79  
 gubernatorial election, 58, 63, 69, 71, 74, 112, 137

## H

Habib Rizieq Shihab, 70  
 Haji Lulung, 117  
 Hang Nadim Airport, 113  
 Hanny Pantouw, 82, 96–97  
 Hanura, 35  
 Harbour Bay Ferry Terminal, 5  
 Hendrik Hermanus Joel Ngantung, 69  
 Hi-Co scan device, 27  
 House of Representatives, 13  
 human rights, 14, 56  
 human trafficking, 19, 94, 97–98, 106, 120, 122  
   countering, 125–27

## I

Ikatan Pemuda Karya (IPK), 3, 12, 108, 110, 115–16, 118  
   police, cooperation with, 125  
 Ikatan Pemuda Nahdatul Ulama, 4  
 illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing, 99, 138  
 IMO regulations, 20  
 Indonesia  
   exports, 4  
   independence, 32, 46  
   maritime territory, 1–2, 36  
   national defence, 32  
   non-oil exports, and, 51  
   population, 4  
   terrorist attacks in, 22–24  
 “Indonesia Awesome Coalition” (Koalisi Indonesia Hebat), 35  
 Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI), 13, 33, 39, 116  
 Indonesian Communist Party, 10  
 Indonesian Customs, 27  
 Indonesian Maritime Board, 33, 39, 41–42  
 Indonesian National Defence Institute (Lemhanas), 42

Indonesian Navy, 37–39  
 Indonesian Ports Cooperation, 28  
 Indonesian Red Cross, 119  
 Indonesian special forces (Kopassus), 118  
 Indonesian Ulema Council, 70  
 Indonesian waters, vessels plying, 20  
 Indonesia Onward Coalition (Koalisi Indonesia Maju), 35  
 Intelkam, 61  
 Intel Kramat Tujuh, 61  
 Internal Security Act, Singapore, 24  
 International Maritime Organization, 112  
 International Port Security Program, 28  
 International Ship and Port Facility Security Code (ISPS), 2, 29, 71, 89, 112–13  
 Islamic groups, 3, 31  
 Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), 38, 70, 85, 94  
 Islamic terrorism, 85

## J

Jakarta  
     indigenous people of, 55  
     ports in, 49  
     territory of, 49  
 Jakarta International Container Terminal, 28, 59  
*Jakarta Post*, 18, 73, 80, 93  
 Jakarta Supreme Advisory Council, 57  
 Jamaah Ansharut Daulah, 23  
 Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, 23  
 Jamaah Islamiyah, 23, 94  
 Japanese occupation, 9–10  
 Jaringan Penyelamat Umat Islam, 120  
 Jeffry Mentu, 45  
 Joint Betawi Forum (Forum Betawi Bersatu), 69  
 Joko Widodo (Jokowi)  
     presidential election, and, 35, 45  
     gubernatorial campaign, and, 58, 69  
     maritime security spending, under, 36–39  
     *preman* organizations under, 34  
 Jusuf Kalla, 35  
 Juwono Sudarsono, 34

## K

Kabil Marine and Oil Base Port, 5  
 Kahakitang port, 5  
 Kalama port, 5  
 Kawaluso port, 5

Kawio port, 5  
 Ken Arok, robber king, 9  
*Ketupat* Operation, 114  
 Koja port, 29  
 Komando Bela Negara, 87  
 Komando Inti, 111  
*Kompas*, 18, 63, 80, 112  
 Kontras, 13  
 Koperasi Abadi, 124  
 Krisno Siregar, 92

## L

LAB 45, 23  
 land disputes, 66  
 Laskar Bali, 30  
 Laskar Merah Putih, 73–74  
 Law No. 2/2002 on the Indonesian Police, 13, 40  
 Law No. 3/2002 on State Defence, 13, 40–41  
 Law No. 17/2013, 73  
 Law No. 34/2004 on the Indonesian Armed Forces, 13  
 Lee Kuan Yew, 23  
 Lembaga Studi Pertahanan dan Studi Strategis Indonesia, 13  
*Lilin* Operation, 114  
 Lipang port, 5  
 Local Intelligence Committee (Komite Intelijen Daerah), 29, 61  
 Lutfi Hakim, 45, 55–56, 61

## M

Madurese, ethnic group, 56, 61  
 Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, 120  
 Makobar Port, 115  
 Manado Port, 4, 91, 98  
*Manado Post*, 18, 83–84, 86, 91, 93, 97  
 maritime security  
     challenges to, 46, 135, 139  
     exercises, 28  
     expert, 110  
     governance, 39  
     policy, 24  
     *preman* organizations for, use of, 10, 98, 142  
     research on, 15  
     responsibility for, 33  
     spending for, 25–26, 36–37  
     threats, 40, 42  
 Maritime Security Agency (Bakamla), 24–25, 29, 38  
 Maritime Security Coordinating Board (Bakorkamla), 24

maritime security directive, 28  
 maritime security spending, 37–38  
 maritime trade, 27, 46, 141  
 maritime traffic, 2, 4  
 Marriott Hotel, bomb attack, 24  
 Ma'ruf Amin, 35, 70  
 Marunda Port, 72  
 Matutuang port, 5  
 Mbah Priok, sacred tomb of, 67–68, 74  
 Megawati Soekarno Putri, 33, 39, 57, 89  
 Milisi Waraney  
   electoral support, and, 45  
   ethnic-based organization, as, 136  
   funding of, 82–83  
   members, 80  
   North Sulawesi, in, 80–100  
   security authorities, cooperation  
     with, 30, 89–92, 95, 97–100, 137  
 Minahasan, ethnic group, 80  
 Ministry of Defence, 25–26, 37, 116, 139  
 Ministry of Home Affairs, 13, 31, 32, 52, 62, 137  
 Ministry of Law and Human Rights, 62  
 Ministry of Maritime and Fisheries Affairs, 41  
 Ministry of Transportation, 25, 54, 90  
 MITA risk-profiling system, 27, 141  
 Mohammad Iqbal, 68  
 monitoring, controlling, and surveillance (MCS) system, 43  
 Muara Angke fishing port, 72  
 Mujahidin Indonesia Barat, 23  
 Mujahidin Indonesia Timur, 23  
 Musyawarah Kekeluargaan Gotong Royong (MKGR), 44

## N

Nachrowi Ramli, 57–58  
 Nahdlatul Ulama, 3, 35, 80  
 NasDem, 35  
 national anti-terrorism board, 96  
 National Defence Board, 15  
 National Defence Council (Dewan Ketahanan Nasional), 43, 116  
 national defence system, 40–41  
 National Human Rights Commission of Indonesia, 57, 93–94  
 national intelligence body, *see* BIN  
 nationalism, 41–42  
 national legislative election, 4  
 national logistics agency (Bulog), 124–25

National Narcotics Bureau, 72, 123  
 National Search and Rescue Agency (Basarnas), 118  
 neorealism, 6  
 New Order, 3, 9–10, 52, 55, 78–79, 135–36, 138  
 “new war”, 6  
 NGOs (non-governmental organizations), 15, 17, 53, 57, 127  
 Nicholas Undap, 82, 86  
 Nongsa Pura Ferry Port, 5  
 North Sulawesi  
   Agency for National Unity and Politics, branch of, 96  
   Brigade Manguni in, 80–100  
   container ports in, 4–5  
   geographical landscape, 19  
   Milisi Waraney in, 80–100  
   Pemuda Pancasila (PP) in, 78–79  
   *preman* organizations in, 80–81, 88  
   territory of, 77

## O

Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM), 22

## P

Padang, ethnic group, 56  
 Pam Swakarsa (voluntary security forces), 43  
 paramilitary group  
   Brigade Manguni, 81, 87, 97  
   civilian, 34  
   developing world, in, 10  
   martial arts training, and, 52  
   membership of, 2–3  
   Pemuda Pancasila (PP), 111, 118  
   political parties, association with, 11  
   state authority, and, 6  
   state-sponsored, 31  
 Partai Amanah Rakyat, 57  
 Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP), 35  
 Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia, 35  
 Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), 35  
 Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party), 3, 35  
 Pelantar Dua port, 5, 110  
 Pelindo II Conventional Terminal Jakarta, 28  
 Pemuda Alawiyah, 4  
 Pemuda Ansor, 3, 12  
 Pemuda Muhammadiyah, 4  
 Pemuda Muslimin, 4

- Pemuda Panca Marga (PPM)  
 funding of, 62–63  
 ideology, 50  
 military training, 118, 136  
 members, 108, 116  
 security contracts, and, 113  
 state-sponsored, 31
- Pemuda Pancasila (PP)  
 conflicts, 66–68, 119–20  
 gangster organization, as, 3, 63  
 government authorities, cooperation  
 with, 90, 95, 112–19, 124  
 government-registered, 52  
 ideology, 50  
 influence, 54  
 members, 12, 108  
 nationalist outlook, 4  
 National Leadership Council,  
 124–25  
 North Sulawesi, in, 78–79  
 paramilitary wing, 111, 118  
 ports, and control of, 18  
 reduction of role, and, 53, 73  
 state-sponsored, 31  
 support for, 44
- Peoples' Security Organization  
 (Organisasi Keamanan Rakyat), 32
- Persatuan Pemuda Tempatan, 141
- Persaudaraan Muslimin Indonesia, 71
- Pertamina Unit Pengolahan II Dumai,  
 28
- Pertamina Unit Pengolahan V  
 Balikpapan, 28
- Pesantren Ziyadatul Mukhtadi'ien, 55
- Petta port, 5
- Police Partners' Communication Centre  
 (Sentra Komunikasi Mitra Polisi), 126
- politics of exclusion, 55
- Port Authority, 15
- port labour, 52–54, 79, 129, 135
- Port of Belawan, 12
- port security advisories (PSAs), 2, 18,  
 21, 28, 29, 45–46, 67
- ports management, 28
- Portuguese colonial authority, 9–10
- Prabowo Subianto, 45, 69, 83
- preman* organizations  
 areas of work, 22  
 conflicts among, 3, 49, 66, 67, 74,  
 119–21  
 CSOs, as, 31, 50, 54, 90–91  
 funding of, 15, 81–83  
 government authorities, assisting, 29,  
 46, 94–100, 114, 119, 126  
 government-registered, 52  
 government, tensions with, 63, 66,  
 74, 107, 136–37  
 illicit activities, and, 50–51, 63, 71–  
 73, 107, 120–21, 127–29, 134, 137  
 Joko Widodo, role under, 34  
 labour associations, control over,  
 114–15, 129  
 maritime security, and, 10, 98, 142  
 members, 2–3, 44  
 military training, and, 89, 118, 136  
 North Sulawesi, in, 80–81, 88  
 political support, as source of, 44–45  
 politics, involvement in, 69, 142  
 representatives of, 16–18  
 state instrument of violence, as, 10  
 Tanjung Pinang, in, 108, 110, 119  
 terrorism, and combating, 19, 62,  
 100
- Presidential Decree, 13
- presidential election, 4, 35, 38, 45, 69,  
 83
- Presidential Emergency Decree on the  
 Prevention of Terrorism, 24
- Presidential Instruction, 51, 53
- Priority Line risk-profiling system, 27,  
 141
- private military companies (PMCs), 8
- ProPatria, 13
- PT Badak Bontang, 28
- PT Dua Karya Abadi, 120–21
- PT Gerbang Nusa Perkasa, 93
- PT Indominco Mandiri Bontang, 88
- PT Kembang Utara, 93
- PT Mikgro Metal Perdana, 93
- PT Multimas Nabati Asahan, 28
- PT Pelabuhan Indonesia, 59
- PT Pelabuhan Indonesia I Cabang  
 Dumai, 28
- PT Pelindo II, 67, 87
- PT Pertamina Plant, 67
- PT Pertamina Unit Pemasaran III, 28
- PT Philia Citra Sejahtera, 68
- PT Pupuk Kaltim Bontang, 28
- PT Terminal Peti Kemas Surabaya, 28
- R**
- Raja Ali Haji, 110
- "rat ports", 115–16, 122–26
- Regional Financial and Property  
 Management Agency, 82
- regional intelligence community  
 (Kominda), 88
- Riau Islands

illicit activities in, 121–29  
 territory of, 106  
 trafficking transit points, as, 121–22  
*see also* Batam; Tanjung Pinang  
 Riau Islands Chamber of Commerce,  
 115, 125  
 risk-profiling system, 27, 46  
 Ritz Carlton Hotel, bomb attack, 24  
 Rohingya refugees, 120  
 Rumah Faye, 127

## S

Samudera port, 72, 74  
 Sanur Bersatu, 30  
 Satpol Pamong Praja, 67–68, 87, 120  
 Sawang port, 5  
 sea lanes of communications (SLOC), 3  
 sea robbery, 23  
 sectarian violence, 80  
 security, privatization of, 6–7, 10  
 Sekupang Ferry Terminal, 5  
 Sekupang Port, 115  
 Semarang International Container  
 Terminal, 28  
 Senipah Terminal Total E&P Indonesia  
 Balikpapan, 28  
 September 11 attacks, *see* 9/11 attacks  
 shipping trade, 4  
 Singapore-Johor-Riau (SIJORI)  
 growth triangle, 5  
 Societe Generale de Surveillance, 52  
 Sonny Sariowan, 85  
 Sony Sumarsono, 86  
 South China Sea, disputed areas of,  
 118, 142  
 Sri Bintan port, 5  
 Sripayung Batu port, 5  
 state defence programme (Bela  
 Negara), 61  
 state intelligence agency, *see* BIN  
 State Intelligence Law, 13  
 Stefy Yance Mamuya, 68  
 Strait of Lombok, 2–4  
 Strait of Malacca, 2–5, 138–39  
 smuggling, and, 122  
 vessels plying, 24  
 Strait of Singapore, 2–3, 5  
 vessels plying, 24  
 Student Army (Tentara Pelajar), 32  
 Suharto, 3, 9–11, 35, 40–41, 46, 78, 134,  
 139  
 resignation of, 12, 22, 30–31, 50, 55  
 Suhartono, 117  
 Suka Duka Baladika Bali, 30

“Sunda Kelapa declaration”, 33–34  
 Sunda Strait, 2–4, 139  
 Sungai Jang port, 5  
 Supreme Court, 93  
 Suristiyono, 43  
 surveillance team (Tim Wara Wiri), 61  
 Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, 34, 40, 69  
 Sutarman, 38  
 Sutiyoso, 57

## T

Tahuna port, 5  
 Tanjung Emas port, 28  
 Tanjung Merbau port, 5  
 Tanjung Perak port, 27–28  
 Tanjung Pinang, 5, 20  
 illicit activities in, 121–29, 136  
 ports in, 107  
*preman* organizations in, 108, 110,  
 119  
*see also* Batam; Riau Islands  
 Tanjung Priok Port, 4, 27–28, 50, 74,  
 123  
 busiest container port, as, 49  
 conflicts in, 67–68  
 employment opportunities, 52–54  
 largest port, as, 51  
 Tanjung Unggat Port, 110  
 Telaga Punggur Domestic Port, 5  
 terrorism  
 combating, 84–85, 89, 94, 139  
 funding to deal with, 25  
 global, 7, 47  
 government approach to, 135–36  
 measures adopted against, 8, 13, 27  
*preman* organizations, and role  
 combating, 19, 62, 100  
 prevention of, 61, 96, 97  
 reported acts of, 22–24  
 threats, 36, 40  
 war against, 29–30, 46  
*see also* counterterrorism  
 “terrorist nest, a”, 23  
 Tim Manguni Polda Resort, 89  
 Tjahjo Kumolo, 94  
 Total People’s Defence and Security  
 System (Sistem Pertahanan  
 Keamanan Rakyat Semesta), 32,  
 41–43, 46, 139  
 doctrine, 33, 40  
 tribalism, 141  
*Tribun Batam*, 18, 111, 112, 119–20,  
 123  
*Tribun Manado*, 18, 83–86, 91–93, 96

**U**

- Ucok Cantik, 119
- un-civil organizations, 14, 31, 140
  - see also* civil society organizations (CSOs)
- Universitas Indonesia, 16
- Universitas Maritim, 110
- Urban Poor Community (KMK), 57, 63
- US Coast Guard, 2, 18, 21, 28–29, 67
- US ports, 2

**V**

- Village Guerrilla and Security Forces (Pasukan Gerilya Desa and Organisasi Keamanan Desa), 32

**W**

- Wardah Hafidz, 57
- war on terror, 24, 29, 35, 140–41
- “war zone”, 118
- Waterfront City Teluk Senimba Ferry Terminal, 5
- Wilmar Marpaung, 84, 95, 97
- Wolfowitz, Paul, 23
- World Customs Organization Data Model, 26
- World War II, 10

**X**

- X-ray scanners, 27

**Y**

- Yapto, 79
- youth organizations (OKP), 114