

# Enhancing Counterterrorism Cooperation Through Intelligence Collaborations in Indomalphi (2018-2023)

## Peningkatan Kerjasama Penanggulangan Terorisme Melalui Kolaborasi Intelijen di Indomalphi (2018-2023)

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**Abstract:** *Terrorism issues are rapidly evolving in the Southeast Asian region, particularly for Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines as countries directly impacted by terrorism issues due to the presence and growth of terrorist groups that conducted criminal activities in Sulu Sea and the spreading of foreign terrorist fighter (FTF). Two cooperation have made as a response of the issues, such as Intelix Cooperation and Trilateral Cooperation Arrangement. Sharing intelligence information becomes one of the main cooperation. However, there are obstacles in the implementation of cooperation, including distrust, unsynergetic cooperation, and differences in the paradigms of handling terrorism issues within Indomalphi. Furthermore, this article aims to analyze how the collaborative efforts by Intelligences Agencies strengthen intelligence cooperation within Indomalphi on terrorism issues from 2018 to 2023, as the cooperation start in 2018 until the present. This paper employs a qualitative method. Primary data is obtained through interviewing expertise in this field, and secondary data is obtained through literature review. Data triangulation is used to validate the data. Four elements of Regional Security Complex Theory such as Boundary, Anarchic Structure, Polarity, Social Construction is used to understand and analyzed the dynamics of intelligence cooperation in the context of enhancing counterterrorism cooperation in Indomalphi.*



*The research findings indicate that collaborative effort has made effectively by intelligences agency across Indomalphi's Countries to strengthen the counter-terrorism cooperation through information sharing and coordination with all actors involved. However, the needs to formed national security and defense counsel, expanding responsibilities and field of work beside terrorism, and fostering Confidence Building Measure (CBM) would be useful for Indomalphi cooperation in the futures.*

**Keywords:** *Intelligences Collaboration, Intelligence Cooperation, Indomalphi Cooperation, Security, Terrorism*

**Abstrak:** *Permasalahan isu terorisme meningkat pesat di Asia Tenggara, khususnya di Indonesia, Malaysia, dan Filipina, sebagai negara yang terdampak langsung oleh keberadaan kelompok teroris yang melakukan aktivitas-aktivitas kriminal di Laut Sulu dan penyebaran pejuang teroris asing (FTF) ke negara Indomalphi. Merespons hal tersebut, dua bentuk kerja sama dibuat yang diantaranya yakni Kerja sama Intelx dan Trilateral Cooperations Arrangement (TCA). Pertukaran informasi (sharing information) menjadi salah satu fokus utama dalam kerja sama tersebut. Kendati begitu, dalam pelaksanaannya, terdapat hambatan-hambatan yang dimiliki seperti distrust, kerjasama yang tidak terintegrasi, dan perbedaan paradigma penanganan terorisme di Indomalphi. Artikel ini menganalisis upaya kolaboratif badan-badan intelijen yang terlibat dalam memperkuat kerjasama intelijen di Indomalphi dalam menangani isu terorisme dari tahun 2018 hingga 2023, sebagaimana kerja sama ini dimulai pada tahun 2018 hingga saat ini. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif, dengan data primer yang diperoleh melalui wawancara dengan ahli di bidang terkait dan data sekunder yang diperoleh melalui tinjauan literatur. Triangulasi data juga digunakan untuk memvalidasi data di dalam artikel ini. Dalam artikel ini, Empat elemen Teori Regional Security Complex – Batasan, Struktur Anarkis, Polaritas, Konstruksi Sosial – diterapkan untuk memahami dan menganalisis dinamika kerjasama intelijen, khususnya dalam memperkuat kerjasama pemberantasan terorisme di Indomalphi. Temuan dalam penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa upaya kolaboratif badan intelijen di negara-negara Indomalphi telah dilakukan secara efektif dalam memperkuat kerjasama pemberantasan terorisme melalui sharing information dan koordinasi antar-aktor terlibat. Akan tetapi, pembentukan dewan keamanan dan pertahanan nasional, perluasan tanggung jawab di luar bidang terorisme, dan pengembangan Confidence Building Measure (CBM) diperlukan untuk meningkatkan kerjasama Indomalphi di masa depan.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Keamanan, Kerja sama Intelijen, Kerja sama Indomalphi, Kolaborasi Intelijen, Terorisme.*

## Introduction

The issue of terrorism has evolved into a complex regional problem that impacts the security and political stability of countries in the Southeast Asian region, especially Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines (Indomalphi). These three countries are characterized by relatively high levels of terrorist activity in Southeast Asia. This is due to the presence of two of the largest terrorist organizations in the Southeast Asian region operating within these countries, namely *Jamaah Islamiyah* (JI) in Indonesia and the *Abu Sayyaf Group* (ASG) in the Philippines. Therefore, the prevention and counteraction of terrorism in Indomalphi are essential to ensure regional security and suppress the activities of terrorist groups in Southeast Asia.

On the one hand, the vulnerability to terrorism in Indomalphi is exacerbated by the utilization of existing maritime routes, particularly the Sulu Sea in Sulawesi, which connects Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Several terrorist groups exploit these maritime routes to cross national boundaries and carry out their operations. The Sulu Sea is used as a maritime pathway by terrorist networks for illegal activities such as arms smuggling, hostage-taking, kidnap for ransom and human trafficking<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, the development of terrorism in the Southeast Asia region began with the intensity of terrorist actions carried out in the country of Indomalphi, especially after Marawi Siege which is making Indomalphi the epicenter of the development of a caliphate or Islamic state in the Southeast Asia region. The development of the caliphate in the Southeast Asia region is reflected in a series of terrorist attacks that occurred in 2017<sup>2</sup>. There was a terrorist incident in Marawi, the Philippines, which resulted in the deaths of 103 people, and the following day, a suicide bombing incident occurred in Jakarta. Indomalphi states were terrified of the spreading of foreign terrorist fighters in their citizens in respective countries. So, intelligence cooperation was one of the focuses of the established cooperation named Intalex cooperation Indomalphi to avoid leaving of its citizens to voluntarily come to the battlefield to join the terrorist group.

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<sup>1</sup> Gia Ayu Fita et al., "Patterns of Transnational Crime in The Border of Sulawesi Sea-Sulu Sea and Threats to Indonesia's Maritime," *Jurnal Sosial Politik* 5, no. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.32699/resolusi.v5i2.3189>.

<sup>2</sup> Nyoman Sudira, "Kerjasama Filipina, Indonesia dan Malaysia dalam Counter Terrorism sejak Eskalasi ISIS di Asia Tenggara" (2019), [www.tcpdf.org](http://www.tcpdf.org).

Become a transnational crime, It's important to realize that terrorist attacks in Southeast Asia are interconnected and affiliated with militant movements rooted in their main sources, such as militants in Afghanistan and international terror groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS. Terrorist groups in the Southeast Asia region tend to plan and carry out their actions by crossing national borders to smuggle weapons, individuals, and mobilize<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, cooperation in detecting terrorist movements is crucial as a preventive measure against terrorist actions. This aligns with what Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD, stated that terrorism remains a latent threat to countries in the Southeast Asia region because it threatens ideologies, politics, and has the potential to generate horizontal conflicts, thus requiring cooperation among countries at various level<sup>4</sup>. Cooperation between countries can help in addressing and preventing terrorism issues. One way is through intelligence cooperation in the sharing of information and early detection. Collaboration in these two areas can help each country coordinate and monitor the movements of terrorist groups, thus allowing for well-coordinated prevention of terrorist actions.

Intelligence cooperation within Indomalphi is a top priority, especially in addressing transnational crime issues, including terrorism. As stated, Director General of Defense Strategy, Ministry of Defense, Republic of Indonesia (*Direktor Jenderal Strategi Pertahanan Kemhan RI*), Brig. Gen. TNI J. Steverly C. Parengkuan, at the 21st Meeting of the INDOMALPHI Joint Working Group in the Trilateral Cooperation Arrangement (TCA) within the Ministry of Defense<sup>5</sup>, intelligence cooperation within Indomalphi is required as a collaborative preventive measure against security threats in each country's respective regions. The Indomalphi cooperation can serve as a platform for Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines to address security threats in the region.

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<sup>3</sup> Munira Mustafa, "Reassessing The Extremist Threat in Southeast Asia - New Lines Institute," New Lines Institute, 2022, <https://newlinesinstitute.org/nonstate-actors/extremism/reassessing-the-extremist-threat-in-southeast-asia/>.

<sup>4</sup> Kemenko Polhukam RI, "Kerjasama Dengan Australia, Menko Polhukam: Tekankan Terorisme Masih Menjadi Ancaman Laten," 2023, <https://polkam.go.id/kerjasama-dengan-australia-menko-polhukam-tekankan-terorisme-masih-menjadi-ancaman-laten/>.

<sup>5</sup> Kementerian Pertahanan, "Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia," 2023, <https://www.kemhan.go.id/2023/06/14/pertemuan-21th-indomalphi-jwg-on-tca-kemhan-harapkan-peningkatan-upaya-kolaboratif-malaysia-dan-filipina-pada-perdamaian-dan-keamanan-kawasan.html>.

To strengthen this cooperation, it requires a security actor that plays the role of an executor and can subsequently implement and reinforce intelligence cooperation in addressing terrorism issues in the country of Indomalphi. Indonesia has a few securities intelligence, Such as Intelligence and Security Agency of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia (Intelkam Polri), "Intelligence and Strategic Body of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (BAIS TNI), TNI Intelligence Staff (Sintel TNI), which plays a strategic role in technical intelligence in Indonesia and Southeast Asia Region, especially in dealing with terrorism issues. However, the implementation of intelligence cooperation in Southeast Asia in addressing terrorism issues is still hindered by several problems, including:

*First*, lack of trust among intelligence agencies (distrust). Not only Intelkam Polri is involved in cooperation with Indomalphi, but other intelligence agencies are also present, such as the defense intelligence of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and other intelligences agency across Indomalphi states. However, domestic issues have been the challenges for the cooperation such as the lack of synergy between intelligence agencies, competition among the institutions, and low trust between intelligence agencies or distrust, continue to be a challenge. this results in suboptimal intelligence sharing due to the belief that information is crucial and an asset for each agency<sup>6</sup>.

*Second*, Cooperated Unsynergistically. Although its cooperation established properly, there are two cooperation carried out by the intelligence agency in Indomalphi separately, such as Intelix Indomalphi and Maritime Security Patrol Indomalphi with the different leading sector of respective cooperation. The two corporations are running independently, which makes Indomalphi cooperation haven't synergic effectively in tackling terrorism issues in Indomalphi<sup>7</sup>.

*Third*, Different paradigms in each ASEAN country in addressing terrorism issues. In this context, it is essential to highlight the differing paradigms in various ASEAN countries in addressing terrorism issues. Indonesia, the Philippines, and Malaysia have different approaches and paradigms in dealing with terrorism issues. These differences reflect variations in the counter-terrorism policies of each country. For

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<sup>6</sup> Emil Mahyudin, "An Overview upon the Challenge of Intelligence in Counter-Terrorism in Indonesia," *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies* 1, no. 1 (November 9, 2016): 23-35, <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v1n1.3>.

<sup>7</sup> Based on data analyzing from the various interview with regarding institution by Author

example, that Malaysia and the Philippines tend to adopt a militaristic approach in addressing terrorism issues, while Indonesia prioritizes a law enforcement or non-militaristic approach. This difference will be one of the research focuses in evaluating how the collaboration between Indonesian intelligence and Indomalphi can overcome paradigm differences and achieve common goals in addressing terrorism issues in the ASEAN region<sup>8</sup>.

Among these obstacles that will be potentially hindered the intelligence cooperation in Indomalphi, this article aims to explore on how intelligences cooperation in Indomalphi could successfully be implemented and what are recommendation can be provided to strengthen the cooperation.

## Literature Review

In analyzing the above issues, this research utilizes the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) proposed by Barry Buzan and Waever. The theory consists of four essential elements of RSCT such as Boundary, Anarchic Structure, Polarity, Social Construction to determine a regional security complex in a region<sup>9</sup>. These four element are crucial noting that The theoretical framework of RSCT believes that a Region is not formed merely geographically or culturally, or through patterns of certain events, and local discourses about regionalism. RSCT is a social construct by its members, both consciously and unconsciously, in line with the process of desecuritization of these countries being interrelated with each other.

Furthermore, Barry Buzan argues that the national security of countries in a Region cannot occur without considering the security of the Region. This is because the security of a Region is influenced by several factors, including balance of power, alliances with other countries, and the entry of external forces into a Region. These three factors determine the creation of a harmonious state in a country in the Region. The theory of Regional Security Complex (RSCT) is also interpreted as how a country strives to create security and order in the Region by building cooperation with other countries in the Region.

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<sup>8</sup> H Pradnyana, "Perspektif Kebijakan Kontra-Terrorisme ASEAN Dan Perbedaan Paradigma Penanggulangan Terorisme Oleh Negara-Negara Anggota ASEAN," *POLIT-ICOS: Jurnal Politik Dan ...*, 2022, <https://www.ejournal.warmadewa.ac.id/index.php/politicos/article/view/4386>.

<sup>9</sup> Michaela Cruden, "Regional Security Complex Theory: Southeast Asia and the South Pacific" (2011).

This theory assists the author in understanding how the collaboration between intelligence security agencies strengthens the implementation of intelligence cooperation in Indomalphi as a trilateral collaboration in addressing terrorism issues. Within this theory, the author can comprehend, describe, and analyze how Intelligences collaborates with other intelligence agencies to reinforce the trilateral cooperation of Indomalphi in addressing terrorism issues by using the four essential elements (Boundary, Anarchic Structure, Polarity, Social Construction) to identifying and examining terrorism issues in these regions as part of the security dynamics in Indomalphi, both in terms of Intellex cooperation and in terms of maritime security cooperation Indomalphi.

Another theory will be used in this article is Intelligences Cooperations Theory. Intelligences Cooperations defined by Psikolitikta et al<sup>10</sup> as multinational activities rather than merely domestic activities. Furthermore, intelligence cooperation is the same as meeting national needs or interests. Intelligence collaboration in the "sharing information" mission will be reciprocated to partner countries. Intelligence cooperation can produce several forms of cooperation that can be offered, quantity and quality, in addition to the sine qua non principle (a necessary condition) that will always be present in the interests of "sharing information". This theory provides general definitions and knowledge about intelligences cooperation that will be basic to define and analyze the urgency of intelligence cooperation across Indomalphi to tackling the terrorism issues.

Lastly, The definitions of terrorism itself propounded by OHCHR<sup>11</sup>, as actions that intentionally violate the law causing, attempting, or threatening to cause; a) Death or serious injury to individuals; b) Serious damage to public or private property; and c) Damage to property, places, facilities, or systems that may cause significant economic loss, when the purpose of such attacks is to intimidate the public or population, or to force a government or international organization to do or not do something, contributed the basic definitions and guide to comprehend and analysis about the terrorism issue as a primary issue that will be brought in this article.

There have been previous studies that discuss terrorism issues, particularly those related to countering terrorist activities through

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<sup>10</sup> Psikolitikta et al., "ASEAN Intelligence Cooperation QUA Regional Constellation Preventive: An Enigma," *The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies*, 2020.

<sup>11</sup> The Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, "Human Rights, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Fact Sheet No. 32," 2008.

regional cooperation, as mentioned in a study by Ansori (2018)<sup>12</sup>; Nainggolan (2019)<sup>13</sup>; Wicaksono (2021)<sup>14</sup>; and Winarto & Sudirman (2021)<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, prior research that includes discussions regarding the responsibilities and authorities of the Indonesian National Police in handling terrorism issues has also been explored in several earlier studies written by and Mulyadi (2019)<sup>16</sup>. Lastly, the research focused on the collaboration and coordination of security actors, the Indonesian National Police, and the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), in handling terrorism issues. The study was presented by Dilianto (2021)<sup>17</sup>; Jusi (2019)<sup>18</sup>; Rosadi (2018)<sup>19</sup>; dan Wahyudi & Syauqillah (2021)<sup>20</sup>.

As research presented above, there has been no research about the security intelligences cooperation in tackling terrorism issues in Indomalphi cooperation's framework. Hence, this research could be a novelty for the development of security and intelligences research field. Furthermore, this research aims to produces an analysis of how the collaborative efforts undertaken by Intelkam Polri strengthen intelligence cooperation in the Indomalphi region regarding terrorism issues from 2018 to 2022.

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<sup>12</sup> P Ansori, *Peran ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism Dalam Menanggulangi Terorisme Di Asia Tenggara* (eprints.undip.ac.id, 2018), <http://eprints.undip.ac.id/75584/>.

<sup>13</sup> Poltak Partogi Nainggolan, "Kerja Sama Internasional Melawan Terorisme," June 2019.

<sup>14</sup> S N Wicaksono, "Kompleksitas Kerjasama ASEAN Dalam Pemberantasan Dan Mitigasi Terorisme," *Indonesian Journal of Peace and Security ...*, 2021, <http://www.ijps.unram.ac.id/index.php/ijps/article/view/76>.

<sup>15</sup> P O Winarto and A Sudirman, "Penanggulangan Terorisme Di ASEAN Melalui Our Eyes Initiatives," *Insignia: Journal of ...*, 2021, <http://jurnalonline.unsoed.ac.id/index.php/insignia/article/view/2667>.

<sup>16</sup> M Mulyadi, *Peranan Kepolisian Dalam Penanggulangan Tindak Pidana Terorisme (Studi Pada Polda Sumut)* (repositori.uma.ac.id, 2019), <https://repositori.uma.ac.id/handle/123456789/13615>.

<sup>17</sup> A Dilianto, "Sinergitas Tentara Nasional Indonesia Dengan Kepolisian Republik Indonesia Dalam Mengatasi Aksi Terorisme (Studi Kasus: Bom Bunuh Diri, 13 Mei 2018 Di ...," *Peperangan Asimetris (PA)*, 2021, <http://jurnalprodi.idu.ac.id/index.php/PA/article/view/924>.

<sup>18</sup> I I Jusi, "Polemik Hubungan TNI-Polri Dalam Kontra-Terrorisme Di Indonesia," *Journal of Terrorism Studies*, 2019, <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/jts/vol1/iss1/5/>.

<sup>19</sup> A F Rosadi, "Tugas Perbantuan TNI dalam Penanganan Terorisme (Military Assitance in Counter-Terrorism)," *Jurnal Politca Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam ...*, 2018, <https://dprexternal3.dpr.go.id/index.php/politica/article/view/1236>.

<sup>20</sup> R Wahyudi and M Syauqillah, "Sinergitas Intelijen Dalam Kerangka Penegakan Hukum Penanggulangan Terorisme Di Indonesia," *NUSANTARA: Jurnal Ilmu ...*, 2021, <http://jurnal.um-tapsel.ac.id/index.php/nusantara/article/view/5374>.



Based on the background statement, the issue that arises in this research is “How are the collaborative intelligence agencies efforts made to strengthen intelligence cooperation with Indomalphi in the issue of terrorism from 2018 to 2022?”

## Method

The writing method used in this writing is the Qualitative Method. Creswell<sup>21</sup> states that the Qualitative Writing Method constructs reality and cultural meaning, focusing on interactive processes and events. In other words, the Qualitative Method in this writing aims to construct how an issue such as Terrorism and how Intelligence’s collaboration agency strengthens intelligence cooperation in addressing terrorism issues. Qualitative method is become relevant in this article because this article focuses on understanding complex and dynamic inter-state intelligence collaborations, which are best explored through qualitative analysis. This approach allows for a deeper investigation into the nuanced aspects of intelligence cooperation, such as trust, communication, and cultural understanding, which cannot be quantified easily.

This article focuses on intelligence cooperation Indomalphi in period 2018 until 2023 as in a year of 2018, both cooperation has embarked its fresh start and, in a year of 2023, which is present time, to investigate the result of the implemented cooperation throughout this period.

Data collection will be conducted through interview in several institutions regarding intelligences cooperation and terrorism, such as Ministry of Defense, The Indonesian National Armed Forces Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS TNI), Intelligences Security of Indonesian National Police (Intelkam Polri), Practitioner in terrorism as primary data and literature study regarding intelligences cooperation Indomalphi and Terrorism issues as secondary data.

Data analysis is carried out through data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions, for data reduction, the article should detail the process of filtering out extraneous information and focusing on relevant data, possibly through thematic categorization. Next step, this article will used structured summaries to make the findings comprehensible and relatable, and lastly, drawing conclusions. Data validation is performed to check the credibility of the resulting analysis. In this article, expert

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<sup>21</sup> J.W, Creswell, *Research Design Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, Dan Mixed Edisi Ketiga* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar., 2009).

validations are used to validate the findings in this article. It is important to enhance the trustworthiness and credibility of the research analysis.

Triangulation in this writing involves using different data sources that have been examined through their evidence to build justifications or decisions regarding themes in a coherent or related manner. Triangulation data is used by checking and comparing various data, primarily from the interviews data from many sources person and comparing it into the academical journal and news. Ethical considerations are also handled in this study by informed the source persons in this article would be informed to assure the participant confidentiality.

## **Ethical Considerations**

In conducting this study, ethical considerations were given high priority. Participant confidentiality was maintained by anonymizing all data collected, ensuring that individual responses could not be traced back to specific individuals. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, who were informed about the purpose of the study, the nature of their participation, and their right to withdraw at any time without penalty. Additionally, the research was conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines set out by Jurnal Keamanan Nasional Universitas Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya Research Ethics Committee, ensuring adherence to national and international ethical standards.

## **Result**

### **Terrorism Issues in Indomalphi**

The issue of terrorism is a matter of urgency for every country. this is due to its nature of violating human rights and operating sporadically, in networks, and across national borders (transnational). T.P. Thornton<sup>22</sup> defines terrorism as the deliberate creation of fear through acts of violence with the aim of influencing the political behavior of the target group. Another definition is provided by the General Assembly of the United Nations<sup>23</sup> which states that terrorism is an act deliberately violating the law that causes, attempts to cause, or threatens to cause:

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<sup>22</sup> Jerry Indrawan, *Pengantar Studi Keamanan* (Malang: Intrans Publishing, 2019).

<sup>23</sup> The Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, "Human Rights, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Fact Sheet No. 32."

- a) Death or serious injury to individuals
- b) Serious damage to public or private property
- c) Destruction of property, places, facilities, or systems that can result in a significant economic loss when the purpose of the attack is to intimidate the public or population or to compel a government or international organization to do or refrain from doing something.

In regard to the definitions above, Terrorist groups in the regions have exhibited these characteristics through various attacks and activities. Their evolution reflects a shift from ideological to religious motivations, influenced by global terror networks like Al-Qaeda and ISIS, underscoring the complex nature of terrorism in this region. Based on the argument above, the elaboration would be regarding the historical context and evolution of terrorist movements in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, that are deeply rooted in the region's geopolitical and religious landscape.

Indonesia faces challenges from groups like Jemaah Islamiyah and Jamaah Ansharut Daulah, Malaysia grapples with extremist groups like Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia, and the Philippines contends with groups like Abu Sayyaf and Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters. The intertwining of global and regional terror networks highlights the complexity and persistent nature of terrorism in this area. This is aligned with the statement that was given by Dr. Didik Novi Hermantio, S.IK., M.H as a practitioner and lecturer in terrorism field stated that the development and movement of terrorist group in region is inseparable with the dynamic happened in global terrorist group. Terrorist group inhibited in Indomalphi will always be affected by the two most influential terror group, which is Al-Qaeda and ISIS, as JI, ASG, and any other terror group were oriented to them.

So therefore, this study examines the collaborative efforts in intelligence cooperation within the Indomalphi region (Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines) in tackling terrorism from 2018 to 2023. The region has faced unique terrorism challenges, marked by the rise of extremist groups influenced by global jihadist movements. This research aims to understand how Indomalphi countries have jointly addressed these evolving terrorist threats, focusing on the effectiveness of their intelligence collaboration and strategies. The study seeks to answer how these cooperative efforts have contributed to combating terrorism in the region and the challenges faced in this endeavor.

Globalization has also endorsed the presence and development of global terrorism itself. Howard and Hoffman<sup>24</sup> argue that globalization, which promotes economic growth, cross-border access, and massive capital flows, enables international terrorist networks to expand their networks and engage in illegal activities and financial transactions. This allows terrorist groups to finance their actions, such as building training camps and purchasing weapons and explosives. In the context of the terrorism issue in Indomalphi, the importance of sharing information for early detection of the movements of terrorist groups becomes crucial. The dynamic nature of terrorist movements, coupled with the maritime traffic and trade in the Sulu and Sulawesi waters, enables terrorist groups to mobilize and carry out illegal activities that have implications for the sovereignty and domestic security of Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

Terrorism cases in Indomalphi are closely tied to the terrorist networks present in the three countries in the region. Groups like Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), Abu Sayyaf Group, and other terrorist organizations, along with Islamic State sympathizers, are dynamic groups that operate across national borders. For example, in the case of Marawi Siege and criminal activities such as kidnap-for-ransom conducted in Sulu and Sulawesi Sea that lead to the suspicion of the use of the ransom for funding its operational terror group. Here is the elaboration that could be given in this article:

1. Marawi Siege. The Marawi Siege in the Philippines, which began on May 23, 2017, highlighted the critical need for regional intelligence collaboration, particularly against the backdrop of foreign terrorist fighters, including those from Indonesia. The operation, which escalated into a complex conflict involving IS-linked groups like Maute and Abu Sayyaf, also saw the participation of foreign fighters, underscoring the transnational nature of modern terrorism. These foreign elements, including Indonesian militants, contributed to the intensity and scale of the siege, making it the longest urban battle in the Philippines' history. The event emphasized the urgent need for enhanced intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance across Southeast Asia to combat the evolving and interconnected terrorist threats.
2. Kidnap-for-ransom. In this context, there are shifting of the motive of kidnap for ransom. In the beginning, kidnap for

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<sup>24</sup> Indrawan, Jerry. 2019. Pengantar Studi Keamanan. (Malang: Intrans Publishing)

ransom used to be ASG main criminal activity to seeking for fund for their operational terror group. This is aligned with Capt. Rolly E Stefanus Rore, S.T from Indonesian Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS TNI) who stated that Kidnap for ransom has become increasingly prevalent due to socioeconomic disparities, weak law enforcement, and judicial systems. Exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, kidnapping rates have risen, with ransom demands also increasing significantly. Initially a smaller part of terrorist activities, kidnappings now represent a substantial percentage of terrorist attacks. This trend highlights the need for enhanced intelligence collaboration to address the complexities of kidnapping-for-ransom, especially when linked to terrorism and organized crime, requiring coordinated efforts across various sectors and international borders.

From this phenomenon, intelligence cooperation between Indo-malphi's countries still overlapped and was not optimally coordinated. This is reflected by the establishment of two cooperation in Indomaphi which is not synergically coordinated and integrated. Therefore, the issue of information sharing and early detection is not only a regional problem but also a domestic challenge faced by each country. This poses a serious challenge to intelligence cooperation among countries within the Indo-malphi framework.

### **Intelligence Cooperation as a Solution for Addressing Terrorism Issues**

The development of terrorism issues can be prevented through early detection based on intelligence cooperation and information sharing within each country's domestic framework. Therefore, this is closely related to the roles, functions, and responsibilities of Intelligence in security matters. There are three main tasks of intelligence, namely early detection, early warning, and providing initial assessments. Intelligence conducts early detection by identifying early signs, initial indications, and all possibilities related to a threat<sup>25</sup>.

Early warning is an effort made to describe the potential impact of threats that may arise in the future based on intelligence analysis and threat scenarios. On the other hand, intelligence estimation provides a projection of future events as one of the recommendations to users in

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<sup>25</sup>Stepi Anriani, *Intelijen Dan Pilkada* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2018).

dealing with uncertainty in the future. The role of Intelligence<sup>26</sup> itself includes:

- a. Upholding legal certainty (legal surety)
- b. Maintaining public safety and order (civil order)
- c. Law enforcement
- d. Building defense capabilities
- e. Protecting the population from natural disasters
- f. Safeguarding national security.

Intelligence cooperation can be a solution for addressing terrorism issues in the Indomalphi region. This is because there is a shared understanding framework among Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines regarding terrorism issues, and these countries are directly affected by the evolving terrorism problem. This aligns with the perspective put forth by Michael Herman<sup>27</sup> that modern intelligence is a multinational activity. Hence, national intelligence strength, beyond national functions and capabilities, is as contradictory as foreign cooperation. Furthermore, intelligence cooperation is primarily aimed at fulfilling national needs and interests. Intelligence collaboration in the mission of “sharing information” will involve reciprocity with partner countries. Intelligence cooperation can yield various forms of collaboration, in terms of quantity and quality, in addition to the sine qua non principle (necessary conditions) that will always be present in the interest of “sharing information.”

In Indomalphi contexts, there are two main collaboration which has made in tackling terrorism which is Intellex and maritime security cooperation. Firstly, Intellex cooperation involves sharing intelligence information, primarily concerning terrorism. This collaboration is vital for early detection and response to terrorist activities, considering the regional threat landscape. Meanwhile, maritime security cooperation consists of maritime patrol and security cooperation addresses the challenges posed by transnational crimes like piracy and kidnapping in maritime areas. Both collaborations face challenges such as the need for improved synchronization of operations and data, differences in capabilities and organizational culture, and the necessity of establishing

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<sup>26</sup> Rob Johnston, *Analytics Culture in the US Intelligence Community* (Washington DC: The Central Intelligence Agency, 2005).

<sup>27</sup> Psikolitikta et al.. “ASEAN Intelligence Cooperation QUA Regional Constellation Preventive: An Enigma.” *the International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies* (2020): 169-175

clear collaborative mechanisms. Despite these challenges, the collaborations have seen successes, the rate of increasing terror attacks or terror movement in Indomalphi can be suppressed since the inceptions of Indomalphi cooperation, notably in reducing transnational crimes and enhancing regional security<sup>28</sup>.

Therefore, in analyzing intelligence cooperation within the framework of Indomalphi for addressing terrorism issues, this article employs the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) proposed by Barry Buzan and Waever. Buzan and Waever, as defined in Crude<sup>29</sup>, describe the RSCT as a set of primary processes of securitization, desecuritization, or both, which are so interconnected and interrelated among the units that the security issues of these nations cannot be reasonably analyzed or addressed in isolation from one another.

### **Indomalphi Complex: Analysis of the Intelligence Agencies Collaboration in Indomalphi Intelligence Cooperation**

The theoretical framework of the RSCT (Regional Security Complex Theory) asserts that a region is not formed solely based on geographical, cultural, or specific event patterns, or local discourses about regionalism. The RSCT is a social construct by its members, whether consciously or unconsciously, in line with the process of the interrelatedness and desecuritization of these states. In this context, the concept of RSCT also suggests that intelligence cooperation between intelligences agencies and Indomalphi in addressing terrorism issues from 2018 to 2023 is not merely a self-initiated effort by each institution but is part of the social construct of broader regional security cooperation. Therefore, in this research, it is crucial to analyze the collaborative efforts carried out by the intelligences agencies that involved in Indomalphi cooperation as part of this cooperation and how these efforts affect the dynamics of regional security in the context of countering terrorism.

The collaboration of the intelligences agencies within the framework of Indomalphi cooperation can be analyzed through four essential elements in the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT), as proposed by Buzan and Waever<sup>30</sup>, here is the analysis:

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<sup>28</sup> Based on the result of data processing from interview to Ministry of Defense, Indonesian Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS TNI), and Intelligences Security Police National Indonesia (Intelkam Polri)

<sup>29</sup> Cruden, Michaela "Regional Security Complex Theory: Southeast Asia and the South Pacific." (Master Thesis, The University of Waikato, 2011), 11-38.

<sup>30</sup> Cruden, Michaela "Regional Security Complex Theory: Southeast Asia and the

1. Boundary:

This element aims to identify clear boundaries between member countries. This is because RSCT understands that, in a region, there are countries with special characteristics in the geopolitical context. Therefore, relationships within a complex system of countries are strengthened by elements of familiarity and closeness. The existence of boundaries is crucial because it is a local factor that influences security analysis in the region. This theory is used to identify the character of Indomalphi cooperation compared to other cooperation in the Southeast Asian region. This character is influenced by internal factors such as culture, social structure, and historical factors in Indomalphi.

In the context of Indomalphi, Indomalphi cooperation is more tactical compared to other forms of cooperation. This cooperation began through a joint declaration despite differences in legal systems and shared needs related to counterterrorism.

In terms of geopolitics, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines are countries that are near each other and connected by the Sulu and Sulawesi Sea routes. As a result, their national borders are not only land boundaries, such as between Kalimantan in Indonesia and Sabah in Malaysia, but also maritime boundaries. This makes maritime security a significant focus for these three countries. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, these Indomalphi countries are heavily affected by terrorist groups in the region. These terrorist groups, such as Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and Abu Sayyaf Group, engage in recruitment and the dissemination of terrorist propaganda from the Islamic State (IS) to gain the sympathy of people in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, encouraging them to join these groups and participate in conflicts in Iraq and Syria. Mindanao region in the Philippines has become a gathering and training ground for the Katibah Nusantara group, which is a combat group associated with IS and involved in conflicts in Iraq and Syria<sup>31</sup>.

In terms of culture and history, these three countries share a common Malay cultural heritage and have ethnic and cultural diversity within them. Indonesia and Malaysia have a predominantly Muslim population, while most Filipinos are Catholic. The movement of terrorists between these three countries serves as a nexus for the development of terrorism in the Southeast Asian region. Based on this, cooperation within the Indomalphi framework on counterterrorism issues holds greater value

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South Pacific." (Master Thesis, The University of Waikato, 2011), 11-38.

<sup>31</sup> Marguerite Borelli, "ASEAN Counter-Terrorism Weaknesses on JSTOR," Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses 9, no. 9 (2017): 14-20,



compared to regional cooperation within ASEAN on terrorism-related matters. Handling terrorism issues within Indomalphi is equivalent to addressing and reducing the spread of terrorism in Southeast Asia.

The familiarities and proximity among Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines (Indomalphi) significantly influence their cooperation in Intelligence Exchange (Intelix) and Trilateral Cooperations Arrangement on Maritime Security (TCA). Shared cultural, historical, and geopolitical characteristics facilitate better understanding and alignment in addressing regional security challenges. These commonalities enhance trust and cooperation, enabling more effective intelligence sharing and coordinated actions in territorial control, crucial for combating transnational threats like terrorism and maritime security issues in the region. Therefore, collaboration within intelligence agencies is needed to support the implementation of Indomalphi cooperation in terms of sharing intelligence information. This is a fundamental aspect in detecting the movements of terrorists and preventing the development of terrorist groups, both in terms of carrying out their actions and in the recruitment and operationalization of these groups.

## 2. Anarchic:

**Structure.** The structural anarchy variable is straightforward and clear. For a regional sub-system to develop with clear boundaries, most of the units within it must have a sufficient level of autonomy. Without adequate autonomy, the distinctive dynamics of the regional sub-system will not emerge because the region will be easily intervened in and influenced by external powers. This theory is used to identify how many units of cooperation exist within the Indomalphi cooperation in handling terrorism issues and the relationships among the actors involved.

In the context of Indomalphi cooperation, Quilop<sup>32</sup> states that many actors are involved in addressing terrorism issues, including various government agencies from each country, such as foreign ministries, defense ministries, the military, and state security and police agencies. The differing interests of each agency pose a challenge to collaborative efforts and coordination among the actors. Therefore, in addressing terrorism issues, Indonesian Government along with all agencies that oversee handling terrorism issue keen to collaborate with various agencies and

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<sup>32</sup> Raymund Jose G Quilop, "Trilateral Co-Operation by Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines: Temper Expectations," *Journal of the East Asia Foundations* 13, no. 1 (2018), [https://www.globalasia.org/v13no1/feature/trilateral-co-operation-by-indonesia-malaysia-and-the-philippines-temper-expectations\\_raymund-jose-g-quilop](https://www.globalasia.org/v13no1/feature/trilateral-co-operation-by-indonesia-malaysia-and-the-philippines-temper-expectations_raymund-jose-g-quilop).

ensure there is no duplication of initiatives. In other words, in the process of sharing intelligence, all Intelligence agencies should integrate with overall policies and other agencies.

Furthermore, the resource limitations within Indomalphi cooperation have led to the interest of other nations in joining the Indomalphi cooperation. As described by Quilop, this external interest in Indomalphi cooperation is evident through bilateral agreements made with one of the three Indomalphi countries. Bilateral agreements can alter and intervene in how the trilateral Indomalphi agreement functions. One example is Australia. The Indomalphi region is geographically close to Australia. In the context of counterterrorism, Australia is one of the key players involved in the Indomalphi region.

Australia has established various forms of bilateral cooperation with each Indomalphi country, including cooperation related to online radicalization, counterterrorism financing, and national policy strategies with Indonesia<sup>33</sup>; joint military training and intelligence sharing with the Philippines<sup>34</sup>; and cooperation within the framework of counterterrorism, such as counterterrorism financing, anti-money laundering, regulations on the return of foreign terrorist fighters, and strategies for the prevention and handling of extremist violence with Malaysia<sup>35</sup>. Therefore, enhancing the skills and professionalism of human resources and intelligence technology in each country is necessary for effective and independent Indomalphi cooperation.

Besides that, among Indomalphi countries have its own bilateral agreement in tackling terrorism issues. Indonesia has bilateral agreement with Malaysia, Malaysia has one with Filipina, and same for Indonesia and Filipina. This will help to enhance the cooperative experiences in tackling terrorism issues for respective countries. The national polices of Indomalphi's countries are also participated in the cooperation in ASEANAPOL in terms of intelligences exchange and cooperation. Lastly,

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<sup>33</sup> BNPT, "Indonesia-Australia Perkuat Kerja Sama Penanggulangan Terorisme Melalui Pertemuan Konsultasi Bilateral Ke-8 - Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme," 2022, <https://www.bnpt.go.id/indonesia-australia-perkuat-kerja-sama-penanggulangan-terorisme-melalui-pertemuan-konsultasi-bilateral-ke-8>.

<sup>34</sup> Departement of Foreign Affair and Trade Australia, "Philippines-Australia Plan of Action," 2021.

<sup>35</sup> Departement of Foreign Affairs and Trade Australia, "Joint Statement on a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between Australia and Malaysia | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade," 2021, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/malaysia/joint-statement-comprehensive-strategic-partnership-between-australia-and-malaysia>.

the information sharing is also conducted in a UNODC forum to maintain and track the development of terrorism in Southeast Asia<sup>36</sup>.

With numerous units involved in Indomalphi cooperation, these states interact within the region without a central authority, leading to a diverse and complex security environment where regional and external powers play significant roles. On the other words, ASEAN with its non-intervene principal way doesn't strong enough to binding all ASEAN member states, including Indonesia, Malaysia, and Philippine within the solid cooperation in handling terrorism issue, its reflecting the anarchic nature of the international system where no single entity can enforce security norms or resolutions. Indomalphi cooperation, as mentioned above, is more tactical cooperation, rather than strategics. It also comes from the initiatives of Indomalphi countries that proved that Southeast Asia in ASEAN lack of central authority to help the diverse security concern in respective countries in Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, Efforts for coordination and collaboration among the respective countries' security intelligence become crucial as a support system in addressing the evolving terrorism issues in the Indomalphi and Southeast Asia region. Collaborative efforts can be carried out through workshops, joint training, and the establishment of standard operating procedures (SOP) and communication hotlines for sharing intelligence among the Indomalphi countries.

### 3. Polarity:

Overall, Buzan and Waever's perspective on the Regional Security Complex emphasizes the importance of two types of relationships: power relations and patterns of friendship and enmity in defining the structure and character of a security region. They emphasize that regional security can be analyzed by considering polarity and historical factors, not just power distribution alone. Buzan also stresses that the level of security interdependence tends to be regionally focused and depends on the strengths of the involved units, with major powers playing a special role in global security dynamics. On the other hand, states with limited capabilities tend to focus more on the security of their nearest neighbors. These indicators can help the author analyze power distribution or balance of power in achieving the goals of Indomalphi cooperation in counterterrorism issues.

In the context of Indomalphi cooperation, power distribution tends to be well managed. This is because the three Indomalphi countries

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<sup>36</sup> Based on data processing in interview with Intelkam Polri, 2023.

already share a common understanding of the urgency of the terrorism issue. This is evident from the formation of this cooperation, which began with discussions and resulted in two cooperation tackling terrorism issues. Dialogue and mutual trust have become values nurtured in the Southeast Asian region. Although empirically Indonesia is the dominant country with power in Southeast Asia<sup>37</sup> the development of local ASEAN values, the ASEAN Way, encourages and shapes a more prudent and non-interventionist pattern of relations among ASEAN countries. Therefore, the balance of power within Indomalphi cooperation is improved.

Collaboration among the security intelligence of each country in the Indomalphi cooperation can be facilitated due to the even distribution of power within each country. Based on the interview with Intelkam Polri and Menteri of Defense, there is no dominant country in Indomalphi cooperation. Although, Philippines has seen as country that put a lot of interest more than others, the remaining countries has the same framework about terrorism issues and its urgency regarding its own citizen. Indonesia has also seen as country who dominate others by initiatives the cooperation, but apparently, Indomalphi states distributed evenly with the same interest and power to enforce the intelligences cooperation in Indomalphi.

The finding in this research based on interview has also adding more insight about the relationship pattern among Indomalphi states. Kolonel Kurniawan, as a head of multilateral cooperation in defense strategic at Ministry of defense Indonesia, stated that each country has its own sentiment towards others. This is a very common and normal situations based on a realist perspective. Malaysian has a suspicion of Indonesia trying to expand its territory, Philippine has a sentiment towards Indonesian citizens who are always involved in terror attacks in South Philippine, and the Philippine has rivalry tension with Malaysia based on unsolved conflicts like Sultanate Sulu, all of those make this cooperation might be the one and the last cooperation ever made in Indomalphi. However, the commonality of understanding among each country make this cooperation can be implemented successfully.

On the other hand, In this context, the Indomalphi cooperation falls within the pattern of friendship (amity) for several reasons: (1) the track record of bilateral cooperation between the three countries in various fields; (2) they are three countries directly affected by terrorism issues in the Southeast Asian region; and (3) these three countries share a common

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<sup>37</sup> Cruden, Michaela "Regional Security Complex Theory: Southeast Asia and the South Pacific." (Master Thesis, The University of Waikato, 2011), 11-38.

cultural background and are geographically close, making the security of each country a consideration for the others.

Although it has shown the amity pattern among the countries, Handling terrorism issues in sharing information becomes more open and fosters trust because there are no conflicting national interests, meaning there is no dual interest in sharing information. However, the challenge of “information as an institutional interest” remains a hindrance within the Indomalphi cooperation. Therefore, a clear separation of authority and responsibilities for each intelligence agency is required to cultivate trust among the agencies. This can be achieved by establishing stronger and more tactical regulations for the implementation of Indomalphi Intelligence cooperation. On the domestic front, coordination, and integration between Intelkam Polri, Densus 88, and BAIS TNI should be undertaken to synergize the sharing of information among these agencies.

#### 4. Social Construction:

The social construction in Indomalphi cooperation is characterized by a shared understanding of common security threats, collaborative efforts in intelligence sharing, and the utilization of diverse national approaches and values to strengthen regional security against terrorism. Firstly, Indomalphi states is recognized as a breeding ground for terrorist activities, partly due to religious demographics and geographical features that facilitate cross-border terrorist movements. This shared recognition of a common threat has led to a collective response to terrorism, which transcends national boundaries.

Secondly, due to the response of the commonality of understanding about the threat of terrorism issue, Intelligence sharing become a significant aspect in Indomalphi cooperation, involving various security and intelligence agencies from the three countries. This collaboration serves as a platform for coordination and strategy sharing, crucial for maintaining regional security. The cooperation has also established SOPs for intelligence exchange, ensuring that urgent information can be directly requested from and shared with counterpart nations. This systematic approach facilitates effective and timely responses to terrorist threats. In fact, after Indomalphi cooperation first implemented since 2017, the rate of terrorism attack and movement has successfully been muffled until now.

Thirdly, the social norms and value that have been prevailing in Southeast Asia countries, such as diversity and respect for the sovereignty of each country can strengthen the cooperation in Indomalphi. This is

consistent with the statement from Dr. Didik Novi Hermantio who stated that the varied backgrounds of the countries involved in Indomalphi cooperation are seen as a strength. Local values and diversity contribute to fighting domestic radicalism and strengthening regional security. Furthermore, the Indomalphi cooperation underscores the importance of collaboration among different actors, while respecting international principles and national sovereignty. This approach ensures coordinated and effective handling of terrorism issues

## **Conclusion & Recommendations**

The Indomalphi cooperation, encompassing Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, stands as a crucial initiative in the battle against terrorism in Southeast Asia. This article delves into the significance and impact of this trilateral alliance in both cooperation, particularly focusing on the role of intelligence sharing in combating the complex challenge of terrorism.

At its core, the Indomalphi cooperation is a response to the rising threat of terrorism, a challenge that ignores national borders and demands a unified strategy. The uniqueness of this alliance lies in its intelligence collaboration, a significant shift from the traditional approach where countries often work in isolation. By sharing information and intelligence, these nations have created a powerful front against terrorism. Despite the promising collaboration, the journey hasn't been smooth. Each country in the alliance brings its own methods and policies for dealing with terrorism. These differences require careful management to ensure that the cooperation remains effective and relevant.

The success of the Indomalphi cooperation is evident in its ability to address terrorist threats more proactively and effectively. The joint intelligence efforts have been key in identifying and responding to these threats early. This collective approach is strengthened by agreed-upon procedures and a mutual respect for each country's sovereignty.

The cooperation between Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines highlights the importance of regional collaboration in security matters. It shows that when countries work together, sharing resources and knowledge, they can more effectively address challenges like terrorism.

In conclusion, the Indomalphi cooperation is a prime example of how intelligence sharing is vital in the fight against terrorism. It demonstrates that by working together, countries can enhance their security and better

protect their citizens from the threats of terrorism. This alliance serves as a model for other regions, showing the power of collaboration in maintaining regional stability and security.

To enhance the intelligence cooperation among Indomalphi countries, here are some recommendations that can be offered based on data analysis by Authors in this article, which is:

*First*, the need to formed a national security and defense council to integrate all the intelligence cooperation regarding securities issues such as terrorism, armed smuggling, people smuggling, human trafficking, and many more. This is important to synergizing all the bits of intelligence data and suppressing the sectoral ego among intelligences agencies in terms of domestic and terms of regional. If this happened, the defense and security sectors would be merged into the same cooperation frameworks and coordinate effectively.

*Second*, expand the agency's responsibilities, not only merely in sharing information or intelligence exchange but also involved in joint intelligence operations in tackling terrorism in Indomalphi. This also prevails for the forum of Intelelex itself, the information will be shared expected to be more implemented and tactical to combat terrorism in domestic areas.

Informal cooperation, such as *agent-to-agent* is important to build harmonization and bonding towards all agencies that contributed to this cooperation.

Expanding the field of cooperation. While the terrorism issues have been well-managed, fields like the cooperation of cyber security in terrorism, funding of terrorism, and joint evidence among intelligence agencies would be useful for further cooperation in managing the stability of the region.

Increasing *Confidence-Building Measure* (CBM) to manage the distrust, and fostering cordial relationships, especially in defense matters among countries in Indomalphi.

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