

Illicit Arms in Indonesia

I. OVERVIEW

A bloody bank robbery in Medan in August 2010 and the discovery in Aceh in February 2010 of a terrorist training camp using old police weapons have focused public attention on the circulation of illegal arms in Indonesia. These incidents raise questions about how firearms fall into criminal hands and what measures are in place to stop them. The issue has become more urgent as the small groups of Indonesian jihadis, concerned about Muslim casualties in bomb attacks, are starting to discuss targeted killings as a preferred method of operation.

The Indonesian government could begin to address the problem by reviewing and strengthening compliance with procedures for storage, inventory and disposal of firearms; improved vetting and monitoring of those guarding armouries; auditing of gun importers and gun shops, including those that sell weapons online; and paying more attention to the growing popularity of “airsoft” guns that look exactly like real ones but shoot plastic pellets.

The problem needs to be kept in perspective, however. It is worth addressing precisely because the scale is manageable. Indonesia does not have a “gun culture” like the Philippines or Thailand. The number of people killed by terrorist gunfire in Indonesia over the last decade is about twenty, more than half of them police, and most of the deaths took place in post-conflict central Sulawesi and Maluku. The nexus between terrorism and crime is not nearly as strong as in other countries. There have been a few cases of bartering *ganja* (marijuana) for guns – and one case of trading endangered anteaters – but in general, narco-terrorism is not a problem.

Jihadi use of armed robberies as a fund-raising method is a more serious issue, with banks, gold stores and ATMs the favourite targets. As of this writing it remained unclear who was behind the Medan robbery – although criminal thugs remain the strongest possibility – but jihadi groups have robbed Medan banks before, most notably the Lippo Bank in 2003. Such crimes constitute a minuscule proportion of the country’s robberies, but it is still worth looking at where the guns come from when they occur. The problem may increase as the larger jihadi groups weaken and split, particularly those that once depended on member contributions for financing day-to-day

activities. Recruitment by jihadis of ordinary criminals in prisons may also strengthen the linkage between terrorism and crime in the future.

There are four main sources of illegal guns in Indonesia. They can be stolen or illegally purchased from security forces, taken from leftover stockpiles in former conflict areas, manufactured by local gunsmiths or smuggled from abroad. Thousands of guns acquired legally but later rendered illicit through lapsed permits have become a growing concern because no one has kept track of them. Throughout the country, corruption facilitates the circulation of illegal arms in different ways and undermines what on paper is a tight system of regulation.

II. GUN CONTROL IN INDONESIA

At the national level, Indonesia takes gun control seriously. Despite this, illegally acquired arms continue to play a role in extremist and separatist violence, as well as ordinary crime.¹

Since 2003, Indonesia has reported yearly on its implementation of the United Nations Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons.² It has strict procedures for registering and monitoring the use of firearms by both security forces and civilians. Illegal possession, sale, exchange, storage, manufacture, import or use of unauthorised firearms or explosives is a capital offence under

¹ Related Crisis Group reporting includes: Asia Report N°189, *Indonesia: Jihadi Surprise in Aceh*, 20 April 2010, on a terrorist training camp in which police weapons were used; Asia Report N°188, *Radicalisation and Dialogue in Papua*, 11 March 2010, includes material on insurgent raids that netted military weapons; Asia Report N°127, *Jihadism in Indonesia: Poso on the Edge*, 24 January 2007, for a description of a shoot-out between police and militant jihadis using firearms from a variety of different sources; Asia Briefing N°44, *Aceh: So Far So Good*, 13 December 2005, on the disarmament process in Aceh following the 2005 Helsinki Agreement; and Asia Report N°10, *Indonesia: Overcoming Mrder and Chaos in Maluku*, 19 December 2000, for background on one conflict area that produced the biggest raid on a police armoury in recent history.
² For the latest Indonesia country report, see www.poa-iss.org/CountryProfiles/CountryProfileInfo.aspx?CoI=91&pos=1000.

Emergency Law 12/1951, enacted when newly independent Indonesia was feeling besieged on all sides by hostile forces. The law came into some disrepute during the Soeharto years because it was often used against suspected rebels in Aceh, East Timor and Papua when no other evidence was available. (Since it also punishes possession of sharp weapons, it can be used to arrest anyone carrying a knife or machete.) It remains, however, the law most frequently used today against anyone caught with illegal weapons or ammunition.

The Indonesian police are responsible for registering and monitoring small arms of both its own members and civilians. The military (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, TNI) has its own internal inspection system for registering and monitoring storage, distribution and destruction of weapons.³ The system frequently breaks down, with inspections often perfunctory and armoury guards occasionally involved in illicit sales.⁴ More guns may disappear through negligence and pilfering than through criminal or insurgent raids.

Weapons taken from crime scenes also sometimes find their way back into illegal circulation. The disposal of guns used as evidence in criminal trials is the responsibility of the prosecutor's office at the district level: guns are supposed to be turned over to the police for destruction or re-registration but some almost certainly disappear.⁵ One analyst cites five obstacles to carrying out mandated procedures for disposal: lack of resources; lack of equipment for destruction; no good place to carry it out; the tendency to delay destruction until many weapons have been collected, by which time there has often been leakage; and bureaucratic delays in issuing the legal authority for disposal.⁶

A. CIVILIAN GUN OWNERSHIP

By official statistics, Indonesia has one of the lowest rates of civilian gun ownership in the world.⁷ Any owner of a gun other than police or military must have a police permit, signed by the national police commander. Getting a permit is a lengthy and complicated process.⁸ Ordinary civilians between the ages of eighteen and 65 can own a gun for recreation but not self-defence, and even then, permits are only issued to members of the Indonesian Shooting and Hunting Association (Persatuan Menembak dan Berburu Indonesia, PERBAKIN) – and individuals have to be members of an authorised shooting club for a year before they can even apply. The kinds of guns that civilians may use is also regulated by law and restricted to certain kinds of handguns and hunting rifles.⁹

Once obtained, the gun permit has to be extended every two years, with a psychological test taken each time. PERBAKIN maintains storage centres for guns, usually at the district police station; members who lose their guns through negligence are immediately expelled and can be prosecuted. As of August 2010, police said 6,551 people had valid firearm permits for recreational use, not counting airsoft guns of which more below.¹⁰

⁷For comparative data, see www.gunpolicy.org. Out of 179 countries surveyed in terms of number of firearms per 100 people, Indonesia and Singapore tied at 169, with 0.5 arms per 100 people. For other countries in the region, Malaysia was 133, Philippines 105 and Thailand 39. The data used comes from government reports and thus needs to be taken with a grain of salt but the relative rankings may still be useful.

⁸The procedure for obtaining a special firearm permit (Ijin Khusus Senjata Api, IKHSA) is set forth in police regulation Surat Keputusan Kapolri No. Pol: Skep/244/II/1999 and Surat Keputusan Kapolri No. Pol: Skep/82/II/2004 as follows: Applicants submit a request for a recommendation to the intelligence office of police headquarters in the province where they are registered, together with a c.v., letter of good behaviour from the local police, proof of employment, certification of good health and certification of shooting ability. The intelligence office verifies the applicant's address and occupation and the director of the office interviews the applicant. If everything is in order, she/he issues the recommendation. This then goes to the intelligence office at national police headquarters with accompanying materials. The director there orders the office of firearms and explosives control (Pengawasan Senjata Api dan Bahan Peledak, WASSENDAK) to do a background check, administer a psychological test and check the applicant's shooting ability. If all checks out, the police lab then carries out a ballistics test on the gun in question, and the permit, signed by the national police commander, is issued.

⁹Pistols may only be .22 or .32 calibre; revolvers .22, .25 and .32 calibre; and rifles .12 and .22 calibre.

¹⁰"Polri Tak Keluarkan Izin Senpi Baru", *Indopos*, 26 August 2010.

³"Indonesia, National Report 2009 on Implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects", p. 7.

⁴See Section V.B below for specific examples.

⁵See for example, "Kejaksan Musnahkan Narkoba, Uang Pal-su dan Senpi", *Detik.com*, 15 February 2010.

⁶Agus Purwanto, "Pemusnahan Benda Sitaan Yang Bersifat Terlarang atau Dilarang Untuk Diedarkan (Studi di Kejaksaan Negeri Surabaya)", undergraduate thesis written for Faculty of Law, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2002.

B. GUNS FOR SELF-DEFENCE

The question of gun permits for self-defence is more complicated. As the Soeharto government (1966-1998) began to weaken, and especially after the riots in May 1998 in which ethnic Chinese neighbourhoods and businesses were attacked, many people went out and bought guns, some going through proper procedures, some not. The outbreak of violent conflict in different parts of the country in the immediate aftermath of Soeharto's departure added to the sense of insecurity. The police tried to impose some control, first in 1999, then in 2004 with a comprehensive regulation about who was entitled to own a gun for self-defence.¹¹ Procedures for obtaining a permit were similar to those for recreational shooting, except that the minimum age was 24 rather than eighteen.

The authorised professions included business executives, bank directors, ministers, national parliamentarians, senior members of the civil service, top officials of provincial governments and members of provincial parliaments. Retired police and military officials with the rank of colonel and above could also own guns with live ammunition. The same regulation stipulated that other officials and professionals, including district and sub-district executives and legislators, doctors and lawyers, business people, gold traders and mid-ranking retired police and military officers could own guns that used rubber bullets.

By 2005, after several terrorist attacks including the killing of a prosecutor in Poso, then police chief Sutanto issued Secret Telegram No.1117 of August 2005 which announced internally a new policy of trying to withdraw guns from the general public. Permits for recreational shooting would still be issued but all permits for self-defence would be allowed to lapse and then not renewed. To the general public, the police exhorted gun owners to hand in their firearms, but there was no compensation offered, no deadline and no real implementation – certainly no one with economic or political clout was going to be forced to turn in a gun with an expired permit.

Granting permits for self-defence weapons was also a lucrative business for the police. While the 2004 regulations set a fee of Rp 1 million (about \$100), other sources said the real cost was closer to Rp 100 million (\$10,000).¹² The letter of recommendation from PERBAKIN alone cost Rp 50 million (\$5,000).¹³ In other cases, businessmen

were known to make regular payments to local police; as long as these kept coming, there was no incentive to ask questions about problematic guns.¹⁴

As of August 2010, permits for 17,983 guns, most of which are probably pistols, had lapsed and there was little hope of ever recovering the weapons. Until a spate of major robberies occurred in mid-2010, few Indonesians would have suggested that the police put tracking down the owners very high on their list of priorities.¹⁵

C. "AIRSOFT" GUNS

A huge recreational industry, legal and illegal, has emerged in the last decade around airsoft guns, replicas of real weapons made of plastic and metal which fire 6mm plastic pellets, released by either a spring, battery or gas. The industry took off when Chinese guns, known as ACMs or "All China Made", came on the market at prices low enough to be widely affordable. There are now clubs across Indonesia. One arms dealer hazarded a guess that membership was upwards of 10,000, and at airsoft shooting galleries, "you can find anyone from a two-star general to an *ojek* (motorcycle taxi) driver".¹⁶ More popular than the galleries are "skirmishes". Dressed in military gear, airsoft enthusiasts play war games in the woods, recreating battles or studying military techniques.¹⁷

Initially unregulated because they were considered "toys" like paintball guns (and are still sold in some toy stores in Jakarta), airsoft guns were included in the 2004 police regulations on firearms because they were beginning to be used in the commission of crimes. Police permits are now supposedly required for use or ownership but there is little or no enforcement; two shopowners said no permits were required.¹⁸ Because visually airsoft replicas are almost impossible to distinguish from genuine guns, some countries require that they have orange barrels or tips; Indonesia does not. The guns may only be used for target shooting, not self-defence, but unlike real firearms, they may be kept at the owner's home.

The attraction of the airsoft industry to terrorists came to public attention after the discovery of the training camp

¹¹ Procedures are also set forth under Surat Keputusan Kapolri No. Pol: Skep/82/II/2004.

¹² Crisis Group communication with PERBAKIN member, Jakarta, 20 August 2010.

¹³ Crisis Group telephone interview, PERBAKIN official, 31 August 2010.

¹⁴ Crisis Group interview, police expert, Jakarta, 26 August 2010. The criteria for an airsoft permit is similar to that for a real gun, ie, the owner must be between eighteen and 65, have a letter of good conduct from the police and so on. See regulations on Indonesian Police Commission website, www.komisikepolisianindonesia.com/main.php?page=ruu&id=97.

¹⁵ "Polri Tak Keluarkan Izin Senpi Baru", *Indopos*, 26 August 2010.

¹⁶ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 2 June 2010.

¹⁷ "Airsoft Gun dan Kode Etik" and "Alat Pengaman", <http://radio-airsoftgunindonesia.blogspot.com/>, 18 January 2009.

¹⁸ Crisis Group inquiries at two Jakarta stores, 28 August 2010.

in Aceh in February 2010.¹⁹ It turned out that Sofyan Tsauri, the ex-policeman who obtained the guns for the camp also was the owner of an unlicensed airsoft business, “Depok AirSofter”, that advertised in jihadi magazines, including *al-Mujahirun*. Several of the self-styled jihadis on Facebook also have links to airsoft sites, suggesting that some of those who have no opportunity to use the real thing may try to hone their military skills on these “toys”.²⁰

D. SECURITY GUARDS

The 2004 regulation recognises security guards as a special category of individuals licensed to carry guns but detailed conditions distinguish among different kinds of installations being protected and impose limits on the number of people in a security unit that can be authorised to carry firearms.²¹ In August 2010, 4,699 guards had valid permits.²²

III. SECURITY FORCES

Firearm possession by the police and military is also strictly regulated, at least on paper, with detailed procedures for registration, training, storage and inspection.

A. MILITARY

Within the military, troops and non-commissioned officers are assigned assault rifles, usually SS1, made in Indonesia under license from Fabrique National, the Belgian arms manufacturer. Officers usually have a pistol as well. The firearms are assigned by the military’s ordnance unit to particular units, and each unit maintains its own armoury. Any soldier taking out a gun must sign it out, noting its serial number, and leave a name tag in its place. All the armouries have at least two guards, carefully vetted, they are guarded around the clock; most now have a three-door system to protect against theft, but in remote areas,

security is weaker. Every unit also maintains a separate warehouse for ammunition.²³

Units going on special assignment, for example to Aceh during the 2003-2004 offensives against the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, GAM), are usually assigned extra equipment, and it may be marginally easier for lapses to occur here, either by ordering more firearms than needed or failing to fully account for all the firearms when the unit returns. But the army does conduct rigorous inspections of troops finishing up their tour of duty, both when they leave the field and when they arrive back at their home base.²⁴ Missing weapons can incur serious disciplinary sanctions. Anyone assigned a gun must carry a permit to use it, signed by the commanding officer of the unit immediately above the soldier’s own, which must be renewed twice a year.²⁵

Outdated or non-functioning weapons are returned to the ordnance unit for disposal and individual documentation is required for each weapon destroyed. These guns are kept in a separate warehouse as are non-military weapons seized in the course of operations.

In general, responsibility for monitoring inventories lies with the TNI’s internal inspectorate and inspections known as *pengawasan pemeriksaan (wasrik)* take place at least three times a year: one internally by the regional command, one by the army as a whole and one by the military as a whole. Within each unit, however, intelligence officers conduct internal spot checks and watch for suspicious behaviour. Any arrest of a soldier for misuse of a weapon or any other offence is considered a failure of this internal monitoring.²⁶

B. INDONESIAN NATIONAL POLICE

Within the police, the head of a unit determines who can carry a gun. They must have the rank of second police brigadier (*bripda*); a field rather than staff position; and a recommendation from the internal security section of the police (*propam*) for good behaviour. The permit is valid for one year, and every time it is renewed, in theory, the owner must take a psychological test.

Each police unit from the subdistrict-level police station up to headquarters is assigned a specific number of guns and these are kept in a depot. An officer acting as depot head reports to the head of the unit. He is supposed to keep close track of all guns, writing down in a book the serial number of the gun taken out and the name of the

¹⁹ Crisis Group Report, *Indonesia: Jihadi Surprise in Aceh*, op. cit.

²⁰ One popular link is to a Semarang-based airsoft gallery, Milcorn Airsoft. An airsoft business called Markaz at-Tijariyah at <http://indonetnetwork.co.id/softguncenter/profile/markaz-at-tijariyah.htm> advertises on the jihadi website *lintastanzhim.wordpress.com* and leads directly back to Depok Air Softer.

²¹ Use of weapons by security guards is also regulated by Surat Keputusan Kapolri No. Pol: Skep/82/II/2004 and Police Regulation 24/2007 on the system for managing the security of organisations, businesses and government agencies.

²² “Polri Tak Keluarkan Izin Senpi Baru”, *Indopos*, 26 August 2010.

²³ Crisis Group interview, military officer, Jakarta, 27 August 2010.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

person it is assigned to. Inspections are supposed to work much the same way as they do in the military. In fact, however, there is no way either physically or financially the inspectors can carry out checks of every unit as required.²⁷ Ultimately it depends on the conscientiousness of the unit commander to ensure that the system works the way it is supposed to.

It is probably the case that the more elite the unit, the more secure the weapons, partly because of better facilities and training. Monitoring visits to specially trained tactical units, for example, have shown that the weapons are well-maintained and well-secured with every gun regularly produced for inspection on demand.²⁸

C. PAMONG PRAJA

A number of special security forces, outside the regular police and military, can also be equipped with firearms. In mid-2010, a major debate arose over the arming of unpopular municipal law and order police, known as *pamong praja*, responsible to district executives, who are often called in to evict sidewalk vendors and enforce other local regulations. A bloody clash between Jakarta *pamong praja* and local residents took place in North Jakarta in April 2010. The former had been tasked with moving the grave of a local Muslim notable after a court decided that the land belonged to a private company. As they moved in to do so, they were attacked by a mob and by the end of the day, three of their members were dead and 112 wounded. All had been unarmed. Some 90 residents were also wounded in the rioting.²⁹

Local ire intensified when it turned out that the Ministry of Home Affairs had issued a regulation in March 2010 authorising the arming of *pamong praja* with guns that used rubber bullets.³⁰ Rights groups and many members of parliament protested, saying it was dangerous, given the lack of training and poor performance of many *pamong praja* units. The minister himself backed away from the regulation he had signed, saying these units did not need to be armed at present – the regulation had just been issued in anticipation of future developments.³¹

It turned out that many units already *were* armed and not just with rubber bullets. In Bantul, near Yogyakarta, the local *pamong praja* unit had 90 firearms, mostly collected

from district officials, which it said had never been used – but they were “useful to have as bargaining power when confronting a crowd that rejects a certain policy”.³² Jakarta *pamong praja* had 79 firearms for use with live bullets; when the new regulation was publicised, the unit’s head said these guns would be withdrawn but it was not clear how, when or what their ultimate destination would be.³³

IV. PELLET RIFLES AND HOMEMADE GUNS

One important category of weapons in Indonesia are homemade guns which can be legal but often are not. The legal variety are air rifles, used for hunting, especially shooting birds, that fire 4.5mm pellets. These are different from the airsoft variety; they are stronger and designed for practical use. They fall under the 2004 regulations for recreational shooting and must be registered accordingly. Though made in Indonesia, they frequently carry foreign trademarks, such as Diana, Benjamin or BSD; there are also local brands, including Canon and SD.³⁴ Producers say the foreign trademarks draw a higher price.³⁵

The illegal variety can be crude contraptions (*rakitan*) made out of necessity by criminals, insurgents or other combatants. In Poso, central Sulawesi where intense communal conflict raged between 1998 and 2001, homemade guns were used by both sides. In early 2010, Central Sulawesi police held a ceremony to destroy guns seized in recent years that had been used in the fighting. In the mix were 381 homemade shoulder arms, 75 homemade handguns, 25 homemade firecrackers and only nine factory-made weapons.³⁶

But homemade guns can also be carefully-made replicas of pistols, made by the same skilled gunsmiths that make the air rifles. Some of these so closely resemble the real model that police and soldiers in need of money have been known to sell their government-issue gun for a fake replacement complete with serial number, and no one is the wiser.

²⁷ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 19 August 2010.

²⁸ Crisis Group interview, security analyst, Jakarta, 24 August 2010.

²⁹ “Kalla: Kerusuhan Mbah Priok Karena Kesalahan Komunikasi”, Antara news agency, 14 May 2010.

³⁰ The regulation in question was Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 22/2010.

³¹ “Polisi Pamong Praja Belum Perlu Senjata Api”, *Tempo Interaktif*, 8 July 2010.

³² “Satpol PP Bantul Simpan 90 Senpi”, *Radar Jogja*, 14 July 2010.

³³ “Senjata Api Polisi Pamong Praja Akan Ditarik”, *Koran Tempo*, 8 July 2010.

³⁴ The Crosman Corporation, based in Rochester NY, owns the Benjamin trademark. A German company, Rheinisch-Westfälische Sprengstoff, makes Diana air guns, and BSDs are made in China.

³⁵ Crisis Group interview, gunsmith A, Cipacing, July 2010.

³⁶ “Senjata Dihancurkan, Konflik Dilupakan”, *Media Indonesia*, 14 January 2010.

A. CIPACING

The centre of the pellet gun industry is Cipacing, a village about 20km east of Bandung along the Bandung-Garut road. Cipacing and the surrounding area including the villages of Cikeruh, Hegarmanah, Jatiroke, Galumpit and Jatimukti are home to about 300 craftsmen who work from home-based “factories”. The producers, all of whom are members of a local cooperative called Bina Karya Air Gun Craftsmen Cooperative (Perajin Senapan Angin Bina Karya Koperasi Unit Desa), can make about 3,000 guns a month.³⁷ The industry was at its height in the period 1992-1997 and has slowly but steadily declined ever since.³⁸

It is an open secret that one can order not only air guns but also illegal firearms from a small number of the Cipacing gunsmiths. One man who did not want his name used said, “The demand is always there, it comes down to whether we take the risk or not”. If conditions are secure, he said, he may fill five orders a month for fake firearms. If they are not – as now, with increased police vigilance in the Bandung area following terrorist activity – he may only fill one.³⁹

One gun, with two people working on it, takes about two days to make, five to seven for a gunsmith working alone. “What takes the time isn’t the work, it’s the worry about getting caught”, said one. He added that he does a bustling trade in used (real) guns as well. “People bring in guns that are rusted or old, and we can make them like new”, he said.⁴⁰

Cipacing guns became well-known because they so closely resemble the real thing. “We can make a Beretta pistol ‘made in Cipacing’ which looks just like the one made abroad, and we print it with a serial number and trademark”, he said proudly.⁴¹

The appearance may be the same, but the quality is not. One problem is the barrel. “The barrel is the most difficult part to make. The material used has to be able to withstand heat and explosion; it’s also difficult to get the threading right for screwing into the body. We can do it,

but it doesn’t match the quality of the original”.⁴² He often uses cast-off barrels from guns made by the Indonesian munitions factory, PT Pindad, that were jettisoned because of imperfections but which are sold on the black market. One barrel goes for about Rp 250,000 (about \$28) and the supply is plentiful. By contrast, an original Browning barrel sells for about Rp 1 million (\$111).

The price differential reflects the difference in performance. A gun using a Pindad-made cast-off barrel can be fired about 250 times, about five boxes of bullets. But they cannot be fired in quick succession; the barrel will flare out like a trumpet. The barrels made in Cipacing at best can only be fired about 50 times, but sometimes they are only strong enough to be fired five or ten times. This is why the quality of the barrel often determines the price. Browning pistols are the most sought after firearm, with a market price as high as Rp 6 million (\$668). A Pindad-made rifle goes for about Rp 4-5 million (\$445-\$556), while a Cipacing gun sells for about Rp 3 million (\$334). A gun that can only fire five to ten times sells for Rp 1.5 million (\$167).

Only a fraction of the hundred-odd craftsmen in Cipacing are willing to risk making guns that fire real bullets. One man estimated there were about seven senior gunsmiths and about fifteen less experienced junior smiths who routinely violated the law to produce homemade guns.⁴³ The profit margin is the incentive: an illegal firearm can bring ten times the profit of a pellet rifle.

The juniors and seniors have different distribution networks. The latter tend to rely on trusted agents to sell their guns outside the immediate Bandung area. For example, one man has an agent for the Cirebon area whom he has used for years and has absolute faith in his business honesty and discretion. The agent was arrested twice over the years and neither time did he disclose the gunsmith’s name.⁴⁴

Family networks also help in distribution. One man said his uncle entrusted him to be the distributing agent for homemade guns in Lampung and South Sumatra, and he picked his customers carefully.⁴⁵ He sold mostly to shrimp farmers as well as PERBAKIN members and officials, on the calculation that if something happened and one of them got arrested, these people had connections in the police and could find a way out. He occasionally sold to criminals but only to experienced ones who could be trusted not to sing if arrested.⁴⁶ Cipacing-made guns

³⁷ “Kasus Teroris Senapan Cipacing pun Terpuruk”, *Galamedia*, 24 July 2010.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ The involvement in the Aceh training camp of a cleric named Oman Rochman alias Aman Abdurrahman, who had many followers in the Bandung area, led to increased police surveillance there in mid-2010, culminating in the arrest of five terrorist suspects on 7 August 2010. For more on Aman Abdurrahman and his role, see Crisis Group Report, *Jihadi Surprise in Aceh*, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Crisis Group interview, gunsmith A, Cipacing, 30 July 2010.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Crisis Group interview, agent, Cipacing, 31 July 2010.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

routinely show up in armed robberies and other crimes, especially in West Java.⁴⁷

Some of the senior smiths even have police as customers. Occasionally police who need money want to sell their weapons. Before they do, they get a copy made in Cipacing that looks exactly like their own gun, including the trademark and serial number. Once they have the copy, they sell the original, often for far above market price. For example, the market price for a government-issue handgun is about Rp 8 million (\$800), but an offer can suddenly come in for Rp 15-20 million (\$1500-\$2000) because the buyer needs a gun and does not know how to get one or anything about black market prices. If a police officer can get a fake gun with a Pindad barrel for Rp 5 million (\$500) and sell his own gun to a high-end buyer, he can make a tidy profit.

One smith recounted:

I remember a case where a policeman from one of the Bandung stations came to Cipacing. He told us he wanted a photocopy of his gun, an RI-V1 revolver, standard police issue, made by Pindad. We asked him, "Where are you going to sell it?" He said he was going to sell it to the owner of a textile factory. He asked how long it would take. We said two weeks, because we were out of barrels. After a week, we got an RI-V1 barrel from Pindad, a cast-off. Then we made a copy of his gun, complete with his serial number. It was an extraordinary replica, how could it not be, a Pindad copy with a Pindad barrel! The policeman was thrilled. He gave us Rp 4 million, 1 million more than the going rate. Then we learned that the man had sold his own gun for Rp 20 million (\$2,226) to the factory owner. The funny thing was that gun he sold was also one that we'd made! He made a Rp 16 million (\$1,780) profit. We asked him, "Aren't you afraid if the owner finds out it's not real?" He said, "There's no way he'll ever know, we in the police can't tell the difference between an RI-V1 and one of yours!"⁴⁸

The junior smiths are far less choosy about their customers and often sell to petty criminals and motorcycle gangs. They are the ones who usually get caught. The guns they make are frequently of poor quality and brought back for repairs. Police who keep the Cipacing area under surveillance are often tipped off by repeated visits of a buyer.

Also, criminals that buy such shoddy guns usually expose the seller if they get caught.

The number of guns made per year depends on the political situation. Business for the illegal guns was best when local conflicts were hot, particularly when the insurgency in Aceh was at its height. "I could make ten guns a month because the demand was so high", one of the smiths said.⁴⁹ Many Acehnese came to Cipacing then, looking to trade ganja for guns. "One pistol was worth two kilos of ganja", one man said, noting that the price for marijuana then was about Rp 2.5 million per kilo.⁵⁰ There was also a booming trade then in real guns in Cipacing, both rifles and pistols, with many members of the security forces involved in the trade because prices were so high. "A pistol would go for Rp 15 million (\$1,663) and an AK-47 for Rp 42 million (\$4,658)", one man said. The officers would bring the weapons to Cipacing and give them to brokers to sell.

Now with so many of the country's conflicts resolved, demand is low and times are hard.

We're lucky if we sell one a month, and even then we have to be careful. With the terrorist case in Cipacing just recently, we're watched all the time. I'll only make a gun for a customer I trust. I'm scared of the anti-terrorist law. Some of the seniors are no longer selling guns, they've switched to selling used motorcycles instead.⁵¹

V. LEAKAGE FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES

As in many countries, leakages from the security forces through corruption or raids on military and police posts continue to be a major source of arms for criminals, insurgents and terrorists.

A. PT PINDAD

PT Pindad in Bandung, West Java, is the Indonesian government's munitions factory that produces weapons and ammunition for both domestic use and export.⁵² It has the

⁴⁷ See, for example, the case dossier of a gold store robbery in April 2007 in Bandung, in which the gun used was a 38mm calibre revolver originally purchased by a TNI soldier from a Cipacing gunsmith. West Java Regional Police, Case No.Pol: BP/97/VII/2007, 31 July 2007.

⁴⁸ Crisis Group interview, gunsmith B, Cipacing, 31 July 2010.

⁴⁹ Crisis Group interview, gunsmith C, Cipacing, 30 July 2010.

⁵⁰ Crisis Group interview, agent, Cipacing, 30 July 2010.

⁵¹ Crisis Group interview, gunsmith C, Cipacing, 30 July 2010.

⁵² According to its website, www.pindad.com, the company started out in 1808 as a military workshop in Surabaya under the Dutch colonial government, moved to Bandung in 1923 and was handed over to independent Indonesia in 1950, when it was called Weapons and Ammunition Factory (Pabrik Senjata dan Munisi) and owned by the military. It became a state-owned

capacity to produce 14,000-15,000 weapons a year, including a variety of assault rifles, sniper rifles, grenade launchers, pistols and revolvers; the Indonesian military and police can absorb about 10,000.⁵³ The ammunitions division of PT Pindad is based in Turen, Malang, East Java, and produces about 150,000 rounds of ammunition a year to NATO standards, but 75 per cent of this is 5.56mm calibre bullets for assault rifles, particularly the SS1 and its updated successor, the SS2.⁵⁴

In 2007, the company was producing 3,000 SS2 assault rifles per year and exporting those not used domestically to several African countries, including Mozambique, Nigeria and Zimbabwe.⁵⁵ Timor-Leste also expressed interest.⁵⁶

A bizarre incident in 2009 involved an apparently phony purchase from Mali. On 20 August, Philippine authorities boarded a Panamanian-registered freighter, the *Captain Ufuk*, near Mariveles, Bataan. It had sailed out of Turkey and made stops in Malaysia and Indonesia before going on to the Philippines. On board were 54 Pindad-made SS1 rifles, with a market value of \$1,000 per gun; ten pistols; and fifteen empty crates. The British captain escaped on a yacht just before the freighter was boarded. The South African who took over had only a tourist visa, and the thirteen mostly Georgian crew members had no seamen's visas.⁵⁷

A Philippine reporter tracked down the missing captain in an undisclosed location on 25 August. He asked for government protection because he said the "syndicate" involved was threatening him. He said he had no reason to

company under the defence ministry in 1983 and later became part of a larger state holding company, PT Bahana Pakarya Industri Strategis. Since 2002, it has been directly under the control of the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises.

⁵³ "Pindad Gandeng Krakatau Steel Produksi Senjata", Antara news agency, 9 February 2010. The full list of weapons produced is available on www.pindad.com. Interestingly, less than a year earlier, a Pindad spokesman had said that the company was only producing 10,000 guns a year, only half of which were absorbed domestically. See "Rentan Masuk Pasar Abu-Abu", *Sriwijaya Pos*, 31 August 2009.

⁵⁴ "Kemampuan PT Pindad dalam Memproduksi Amunisi", Defence Media Centre Indonesia, 11 May 2010, www.dmcindonesia.web.id. Other bullets it produces are 9mm, 7.62mm, 12.7mm, and 0.38 inches, as well as mortars.

⁵⁵ "Pameran Senjata PT Pindad Memukau", okezone.com, 8 December 2007.

⁵⁶ In 2010 senior Timor Leste officials visited Jakarta to discuss purchases from PT Pindad. Crisis Group interview, 2 June 2010.

⁵⁷ "Biazon seeks Senata probe of gun smuggling", *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 3 September 2009; and "Customs to probe alleged gun-running bid", *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 25 August 2009. The guns were originally reported to have the Israeli "Galil" trademark; this later turned out to be false.

believe that he was carrying anything other than legal cargo because he had papers from PT Pindad and some 50 "policemen or soldiers from Indonesia" were guarding the cargo when it was loaded.⁵⁸

When the Indonesian government was confronted with the evidence, they said the guns were being exported to Mali and had been fully paid for. The ten pistols were P2 models being sent to a Manila shooting club. All papers seemed to be in order, with the required end user certificate from the Malian Ministry of Internal Security and Civil Protection and the Philippine club.⁵⁹ They later proved to be fake.⁶⁰ PT Pindad was responsible for transport from Bandung to Tanjung Priok, Jakarta's port; the buyer was responsible for transport thereafter. Defence Minister Joewono Soedarsono said the ship apparently had received an order to make an unscheduled stop in Bataan, where several crates of guns disappeared, and it was not clear who was responsible. It was only supposed to stop in Manila to offload the sample rifles.⁶¹

The incident left many questions unanswered, but one Indonesian analyst said it pointed to the "grey market" for PT Pindad arms, exacerbated by overproduction. He noted that no statistics were available on the number of guns exported or to what countries.⁶²

B. THEFT AND CORRUPTION

Many Indonesian activists assume that if Pindad guns or bullets are found with insurgents, criminals or terrorists, it is proof of military collusion. The truth is that military and police arms depots in some areas leak like sieves, and Pindad products find their way into a variety of illicit hands.

One licensed arms dealer in Jakarta with in-depth knowledge says the problem is not so much at the plant but at distribution points. All new arms are registered and packaged in boxes noting the lot number and the month and the year that they were produced. The problem comes at the armouries where they are stored. "Sometimes the people in charge just have to feed their bellies, so guns disappear", he said.

⁵⁸ "British captain of arms ship seeks gov't protection", *Manila Bulletin*, 26 August 2009.

⁵⁹ The export permit No. K/7/P/BD/2009 was dated 5 May 2009. "Kronologi Ekspor Senjata PT Pindad ke Filipina & Mali", detik.com, 1 September 2009; and "Bea & Cukai RI: Senjata Pindad Hanya Berizin Ekspor ke Mali, Tak Ada ke Filipina", detik.com, 30 August 2009.

⁶⁰ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 2 June 2010.

⁶¹ "Menhan: Kapal Pengangkut Senjata Pindad Singgahi Bataan", Antara News Agency, 31 August 2009.

⁶² "Rentan Masuk Pasar Abu-Abu", *Sriwijaya Pos*, 31 August 2009.

Corruption, in the form of theft and resale of guns and bullets, is one form of leakage. Two policemen assigned to the logistics department of police headquarters were arrested in March 2010 for selling 28 weapons and almost 20,000 rounds of ammunition from a police warehouse to the jihadi group that was running a terrorist training camp in Aceh. Their motive was economic, not ideological, according to the police. They charged the jihadis as much as Rp 17 million (\$1,892) for an assault rifle.⁶³

Cipacing, the pellet gun centre, is also the location of a flourishing black market in Pindad ammunition, with bullets obtained from the security forces. According to one source there, young police and military officers occasionally steal ammunition during their training. For example they get 200 bullets for target practice, but may only use 50. The rest they can pocket and sell for Rp 5,000 (\$0.55) apiece to a broker who comes to barracks collecting them. The brokers wait until they have collected a sufficient quantity, which they then sell on the black market.⁶⁴ One security analyst said the ammunition used for training was generally so old “that it was probably discarded by Wyatt Earp”, a reference to the legendary nineteenth century American sheriff.⁶⁵

Yuli Harsono, the suspected terrorist killed by police in Klaten in June 2010, was a former soldier and armoury guard dishonourably discharged in 2005 after running a jihadi training camp outside Solo, Central Java. When his barracks were searched, a cache of ammunition was found, some of which he had reportedly saved from training.⁶⁶

At the height of the Aceh conflict in 2000, the Brimob arms depot in Cikole, Lembang, outside Bandung, was being systematically depleted by two men who were supposed to be guarding it. To avoid suspicion they only took a few weapons at a time together with a few dozen rounds of ammunition. They were given to a local activist who sold them to an Acehnese army deserter later implicated in the Jakarta stock exchange bombing of September 2000.⁶⁷

Leakage also takes place through natural disasters, of which Indonesia has more than its fair share. The most dramatic – and tragic – was the December 2004 tsunami

that wiped out entire police and military barracks, killing hundreds of troops and their families. More than 200 weapons are believed to have been lost, 60 alone from one battalion of the army strategic reserve (Kostrad) in Meulaboh, West Aceh, one of the hardest hit areas.⁶⁸ Some rifles were recovered and found their way into a warehouse of old police weapons in Jakarta where no one bothered to file or inventory them, figuring that they were waterlogged and therefore useless. A visitor to the warehouse in 2010 said many of the weapons there could easily be restored to good working order. The place was in such disorder that it would not be hard to take guns away and no one would know they were missing.⁶⁹

Arms depots have also been broken into in the course of clashes between police and military. One particularly high-profile clash took place in Ambon, Maluku on 2 February 2008, when soldiers broke into their own armoury to get guns to attack the district police headquarters. It is unclear whether all weapons were recovered afterwards. Particularly in remote areas, guns are often stored under flimsy lock-and-key arrangements that would present no obstacle to a determined thief.

C. RAIDS ON ARMOURIES

Raids on armouries by non-state actors, often working with insiders, were a major source of weapon leakage in the past. The conflicts in Aceh, Poso and Maluku are now over, but active units of Organisation Papua Merdeka (Free Papua Organisation, OPM) still get many, if not most, of their weapons from such raids.⁷⁰ Once outside military or police control, weapons can continue to circulate for years, as the June 2000 raid on a paramilitary police armoury in Tantui, Ambon attests. One of the biggest raids in recent history, netting over 1,000 guns and several other kinds of weapons for Islamic militants, its repercussions continue to be felt a decade later.⁷¹ Guns

⁶³ “Senjata Teroris Aceh Berasal dari Gudang Polri”, *Kompas*, 13 April 2010; and “Cops, businessman and civil servant tried for terrorism”, *Jakarta Post*, 3 September 2010.

⁶⁴ Crisis Group interviews, Cipacing, 30 July 2010; and Bi-reuen, Aceh, 13 June 2010.

⁶⁵ Crisis Group interview, security analyst, Jakarta, 24 August 2010.

⁶⁶ “Khianati TNI, Praka Yuli Divonis 4 Tahun Penjara”, *Pikiran Rakyat*, 3 March 2006.

⁶⁷ Crisis Group interview, gunsmith B, Cipacing, July 2010. See also “Ketika Senapan GAM memakan Tuan”, *Tempo*, 2 June 2003.

⁶⁸ “Kostrad Inventarisir Senjata yg ‘Tersapu’ Tsunami”, *kapanlagi.com*, 7 January 2005. A controversy arose later in 2008 when it transpired that the Agency for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi, BRR) was funding the purchase of arms and ammunition from its budget as well as the reconstruction of barracks. See “Uang Tsunami Dibeli Senjata dan Amunisi”, *Serambi*, 13 March 2008.

⁶⁹ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 2 June 2010.

⁷⁰ See the description of one raid in Puncak Jaya, Papua in January 2009 in Crisis Group Asia Report N°188, *Radicalisation and Dialogue in Papua*, 11 March 2010. The OPM secured fifteen weapons in an April 2003 raid on the district military command in Jayawijaya in the central highlands.

⁷¹ Coen Husain Pontoh, “Bedil, Amis Darah dan Mesiu”, *Wacana*, No. 17, 2004. This investigative report, which first appeared in *Pantau*, a respected magazine in Jakarta, gives a total of 1,063 firearms, including 660 handguns, 51 submachine

from the haul were used to attack police on the island of Ceram in 2005 and in Poso, central Sulawesi in January 2007; leftover weapons are believed to be hidden in Maluku to this day.

The raid took place at the height of the communal conflict in Ambon. A Muslim Brimob (paramilitary police) commander had been killed the day before in a Christian attack on the police housing complex. Angry police, soldiers and Muslim militias joined forces to open the weapons depot. The arms seized included 660 handguns, 217 shoulder arms and 115 automatic rifles. People hauled away as much as they could carry. One fighter said he arrived on the scene to find the warehouse bare and a 10-year-old boy playing with a Smith and Wesson pistol in front of the empty building.⁷² Abdullah Sunata and Maulana, two men involved in the Aceh training camp in 2010, arrived on foot and could only take what they could carry: seven pistols and boxes of ammunition. Jafar Umar Thalib, the commander of Laskar Jihad, came with a car and packed it with weapons. Various Muslim militia commanders, of whom Sunata was one, came to know where the large caches were and periodically drew on these as the conflict waned.

Long after a peace settlement in 2002, jihadis continued to use weapons from the Tantai raid. After a KOMPAK-led attack on a police post in Loki, West Ceram, Maluku in May 2005, suspected perpetrators led police to a cache buried on the campus of the local state Muslim academy. They dug up seventeen rifles, seventeen mortars, two grenade launchers and more than 7,000 rounds of ammunition, all originally from the Tantai depot.⁷³

In 2006, during a visit of some parliamentarians to Maluku, one lawmaker asked the provincial police chief why only 300 arms had been recovered from the raid and where the rest were.⁷⁴ A shootout between police and Islamic militants in Poso in January 2007 provided part of the answer. At least three of the weapons used proved to be from the Tantai raid.

The raid and the availability of firearms changed the dynamics of the fighting in Maluku, leading Muslim mili-

tants to seek more sophisticated training in urban battle, which also had repercussions later as some of those trained turned to terrorism.

D. "SOUVENIRS"

Another category of official leakage comes from individuals returning from major counter-insurgency operations who decide to keep their arms or arms captured from the enemy as "souvenirs". A police source said that among both police and military, the desire to keep guns from combat duty as souvenirs is very high.⁷⁵ When Indonesians departed en masse from East Timor in 1999, following a vote in favour of independence in a UN-sponsored referendum, many in the security forces, members of militias and civilians fled with guns. Many were military-issue firearms that civilians are not permitted to own, and the post-referendum arms market in West Timor, on the Indonesian side of the border, was reportedly booming. Some of these arms made their way to the communal conflicts in Ambon and Poso, but there was never any systematic accounting.

A similar lack of accounting after military operations in Aceh was also reported although there the 2004 tsunami, as noted below, made things much worse.

Arms seized by police or military in operations are supposed to be immediately reported. When troops are in remote jungle areas, such as Papua, they are required to report by radio any gains or losses of weapons. If they have captured insurgent guns, they are required to report the serial number by radio and carry the guns until they return to base. It is possible, one officer acknowledged, that not all these weapons find their way back to the special central warehouse noted above.⁷⁶

E. "CANNIBALISED" FIREARMS

A final category in official leakage is what some sources refer to as the cannibalisation of arms that are supposed to be discarded and destroyed. Soldiers and police guarding stocks of rejected, outdated or dysfunctional weapons can often take the parts from several different guns and turn them into one functional firearm that shoots real bullets. This is a minor source of weapons on the market, but it does take place, and the process sometimes supplies firearms to active duty policemen who otherwise would have no weapons.⁷⁷

guns, 217 rifles, 115 SMR semi-automatic rifles, 20 mortars, 501 anti-tank rockets and 878,000 rounds of different kinds of ammunition.

⁷² Crisis Group communication with witness to Maluku events, East Java, July 2010.

⁷³ See Radio Vox Populi, Ambon, 19 May 2005. They included one 7.9 caliber Browning/30/light machine gun; one MK5 sub-machine gun; an M15, an M16, an M16 A1, all assault rifles; a Mauser/LE 1 rifle, a Ruger Mini 1 semi-automatic rifle; two AKs and several SKS assault rifles.

⁷⁴ "Hilangnya 900 Senjata di Gudang Brimob Dipertanyakan", Detik.com, 20 December 2006.

⁷⁵ Crisis Group telephone interview, police officer, Jakarta, 26 August 2010.

⁷⁶ Crisis Group interview, military officer, Jakarta, 27 August 2010.

⁷⁷ Crisis Group interview, police expert, Jakarta, 25 August 2010.

VI. LEFTOVER ARMS FROM ACEH

Attention to arms left over from the Aceh conflict increased with a spectacular bank robbery in Medan on 18 August 2010 involving sixteen robbers who shot and killed a policeman at point-blank range, seriously wounded two guards, and made off with over \$40,000. The robbers used AK-47s and M16s and as of late August, while police were still investigating where the guns had come from, attention was turning to Aceh as the likely source – although it remained unclear whether the men involved were linked to a criminal gang, ex-GAM, jihadis or rogue members of the security forces.

Aceh is the only place other than Maluku that has significant leftover arms caches, since many ex-combatants and members of anti-GAM militias are believed to have held on to their arms after the August 2005 peace agreement, known as the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). There is nothing unusual in this; it is rare for guerrillas involved in peace talks to give up all their weapons, and many combatants held on to their guns because they did not believe the peace would last. GAM fully met the terms of the MOU, which specified that it had to turn over 840 “organic” – ie, factory-made as opposed to homemade – weapons. GAM members themselves acknowledged there were far more, but because it had been a decentralised organisation, there was no central repository or inventory.

The organisation recognised two kinds of weapons, those owned by the “state” (*milik negara*), ie, the organisation as a whole, purchased or at least authorised by the leadership in Sweden, and privately owned (*milik pribadi*). The “state” guns were distributed equally across regional commands, but there were never very many, three to five per command. To make up the shortfall, many GAM members bought guns with their own money or found local businesspeople to donate funds. After the conflict, fighters were more reluctant to turn in guns purchased with money they had raised themselves, as much as Rp 25 million (\$2,782) or more for an AK-47.⁷⁸

To give an idea of the number of weapons that may still be floating around Aceh, one former GAM fighter in Bireuen estimated that at the height of the conflict, in 2001-2003, some 75 per cent of 3,000 combatants in his district (*wilayah*) alone were armed – and GAM had seventeen *wilayah* in Aceh.⁷⁹ He said the GAM regional commander, known as Bari, had allowed each of the four *sagoe* or subdistrict commanders in Bireuen to find or

purchase guns themselves. These men went through a mafia linked to the Indonesian military. In August 2003, he said, his men purchased ammunition from a Jakarta-based Kopassus officer. The prices were high: they paid Rp 12,000 (\$1.33) apiece for 15,000 AK-47 bullets, more than twice the normal price, and 100 grenades for grenade launchers at Rp 500,000 (\$56) each. Two soldiers delivered the goods to Aceh.⁸⁰

The Bireuen GAM command also purchased two truckloads of ammunition at the end of 2003 through individual Indonesian military sources. It came at a critical time, when GAM supplies were exhausted as a result of the military offensive that began in May 2003; the new influx of bullets allowed them to keep going.⁸¹ Other ammunition came from the same sources, with bullets stuffed into the seat or roof upholstery of sedans and sports vehicles. Well-packed, one car could bring in 7,000 at a time.⁸²

After the 2006 election of former GAM leader Irwandi Yusuf as Aceh governor, a systematic effort began to collect some of these outstanding guns. The governor and the provincial police chief put together a team to persuade members of GAM and anti-separatist militias to turn in their weapons. Those who did would not be prosecuted. Hundreds of guns were turned in across the province, many of them the crude homemade variety, but more serious guns almost certainly remain in circulation.⁸³ In Bireuen, a district police official interviewed in July 2010 said that guns from the conflict were still being found, but in the past two years, he and his colleagues had only discovered about ten, and they suspected there are many more.⁸⁴

VII. ARMS FROM ABROAD

Arms from abroad enter Indonesia legally, through licensed importers, and illegally, through smuggling. There is a large grey area in between. Smuggling from abroad through mafias at key ports such as Tanjung Priok in Jakarta may account for the largest number of illegal weapons in Indonesia but no one could even hazard a guess at the scale. Police said that the number of cases of gun smuggling rose from sixteen in 2008 to 25 in 2009 but it is not clear how many weapons were involved, and these were obviously only the intercepted shipments.⁸⁵ A

⁷⁸ Crisis Group interview, Governor Irwandi Yusuf, Banda Aceh, 13 July 2010.

⁷⁹ Crisis Group interview, former combatant, Bireuen, 12 July 2010.

⁸⁰ Crisis Group interview, ex-combatant, Bireuen, 13 June 2010.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Crisis Group interview, Governor Irwandi Yusuf, Banda Aceh, 13 June 2010.

⁸⁴ Crisis Group interview, police official, Bireuen, Aceh, 13 June 2010.

⁸⁵ “Kejahatan Transnasional dan Kedaulatan”, *Republika*, 20 March 2010.

much smaller number comes in through insurgents and violent extremist organisations.

A. LEGAL IMPORTS AND “GREY AREAS”

A small number of contractors are allowed to import arms for the military and police; they sell to civilians, such as companies employing security guards, as well.⁸⁶ One dealer noted that all arms imported by the TNI are used for specialised agencies like KOPASSUS (Army Special Forces), KOSTRAD (Army Strategic Reserve) and its equivalent in the air force and navy. Ordinary soldiers use only PT Pindad-made guns. His company opened in 1988 and initially bought largely from the U.S. After the U.S. embargo was imposed in 1992, he began to buy from Turkey, Czech Republic, Germany and Italy. He said Russian weapons were too complicated and it was difficult to get spare parts; Chinese arms were just shoddy. In late 2009, with the lifting of the embargo, he began to purchase again from the U.S. and now buys M-4s, the latest variant of the M-16, directly from the manufacturer (Colt).⁸⁷

A range of gun shops also import guns for sports and hunting as well as in the past for self-defence and many of these may fall into the “grey area”, where guns may have been imported in mixed shipments and not inspected thoroughly by customs, or where the guns were imported legally but then sold illegally. The number of imported guns being sold in classified ads online on Indonesian websites such as IklanBarisGratis.net and IklanWow.com suggests there may be a bigger market than the tight gun control regulations suggest. One ad, found in a Google search for the words “jual senjata” (sell gun), reads:

For sale, cheap gun with 9mm bullets, pistol not legal, without conditions. For info and pictures, see <http://beretta92.blogspot.com>. Genuine, not airsoft or replica, with live 9mm bullets. You can't get a permit for this gun, Indonesia does not issue permits to civilians for 9mm bullets. Am selling this without a permit, please don't ask about permits because I won't answer.⁸⁸

Chat information suggests that this and other online gunshops that claim to sell illegal weapons, such as www.gudangsenjata.com, are frauds and the buyer should beware, but there may be a bigger online market than the Indonesian police are aware of.

B. THE CASE OF BRIGADIER GENERAL KOESMAYADI

The case of Brig. Gen. Koesmayadi, a two-star general in the army, who died suddenly on 25 June 2006, illustrates well the “grey area” of weapons imports. A military police unit conducting a standard inventory check after his death found 185 guns in one of his several houses, and initially no one knew where they came from. Koesmayadi had been the deputy assistant for logistics for the army chief of staff's office, and the arsenal was clearly in violation of the law. Members of parliament asked what had happened to the TNI's mechanisms for oversight and control.⁸⁹ Some retired TNI officers rushed to the general's defence, saying he collected guns for a hobby; it was more difficult to explain the 28,000 bullets also found in the house.⁹⁰

The TNI's internal security unit conducted an investigation and on 9 August 2006 the unit's head, Maj. Gen. Hendarji Supandji, announced the findings. Eleven men were formally charged with violating the law, including Koesmayadi's son-in-law and one brigadier general who acted as his adjutant. Seven others were charged with violating military discipline. No one superior to Koesmayadi was implicated, despite the fact that the heads of several other departments with a rank equal to or above him had signed off on some of his dubious acquisitions.

The explanation given at the time by army chief of staff Djoko Santoso, now TNI commander, for the collection at Koesmayadi's house was curious. It was a result, he said, first of the (U.S.) arms embargo; second, the need to create special units; and third, the operations in Aceh, all of which required the rapid acquisition of arms. Koesmayadi had arranged for 23 shipments of arms between March 2001 and October 2004, totalling 715 weapons in all. Almost all the acquisitions were in line with procedures, Djoko said, but Koesmayadi had also illegally imported 43 sports pistols. The problem with the other arms was not the acquisition, which was legal, but the fact that he kept the guns at home, which was not. But, said Djoko, Koesmayadi, an avid collector, had wanted to set up an arms museum, as if that explained everything.⁹¹

These explanations satisfied no one, but it did raise the question about weapon imports taking place under the table undetected. How many times did it happen, for example, that the TNI placed an order for serious weapons and the contractor added a few extra orders for non-standard weapons that could be sold to other customers? Senior

⁸⁶ These include PT Tiga Tunggal Sejati; PT Empat Enam; PT Armindo Prima; PT Elektrindo Nusantara; PT Cipta Artha Lestari; and PT Budimanmaju Megah.

⁸⁷ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 2 June 2010.

⁸⁸ www.iklanwow.com/iklan-baris/jual-senjata-api-murah-dengan-peluru-tajam-9mm-pistol-bukan-legaltanpa-syarat.html.

⁸⁹ “Misteri Seorang Tentara Dengan 145 Senjata”, politikindonesia.com, 30 June 2006.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ “Atasan Brigjen Koesmayadi Lolos”, *Jawa Pos*, 10 August 2010.

military officers fell into line to defend Koesmayadi after death, but the full truth never came out.

One man familiar with the case said he believed that at least some of Koesmayadi's guns were samples provided by foreign manufacturers. In his logistics job, the source said, he would have been wooed by arms manufacturers who probably left behind samples of the guns they were trying to sell.⁹²

C. SMUGGLING

If the Koesmayadi case represents a manipulation of the legal import process, many other guns enter Indonesia through pure smuggling. Weapons brought in by local mafias through major ports like Tanjung Priok, Jakarta or Belawan, Medan may account for many of the guns used by criminals, but virtually nothing is known about provenance or numbers. One source said he believed arms from Taiwan and Hong Kong entered Indonesia this way but he had no hard information.⁹³ In 2008, customs inspectors at Jakarta's Soekarno-Hatta international airport found 25 guns and 400 rounds of ammunition in an air freight shipment from Oklahoma marked "motorcycle spare parts".⁹⁴

Weapons smuggled by insurgents, including GAM before the 2005 peace agreement, and violent extremist groups account for a small fraction of illicit arms but it is worth understanding how they entered Indonesia for two reasons. First, especially for Aceh, the routes and contacts used by GAM in the past can be passed on to criminals, particularly if some ex-GAM revert to crime; there is evidence now, for example, of increased drug trafficking from Thailand to East Aceh.⁹⁵ A black market in arms could grow around the drug trade, although so far, that does not seem to be taking place. Second, new jihadi groups in search of arms could try using existing networks, particularly because many of the brokers involved are interested in money, not ideology, and will help whoever pays them.

1. Aceh and Southern Thailand

Throughout the almost 30-year insurgency in Aceh from 1976 to 2005, GAM relied largely on weapons seized, stolen or bought from Indonesian security forces. While its members had contacts in southern Thailand going back to the original Darul Islam rebellion in the 1950s, serious

weapons smuggling from Thailand only began in 1999 and even then in fairly small quantities. After President Soeharto resigned in 1998 and political space opened up, hundreds of GAM fighters returned from Malaysia and new recruitment increased by leaps and bounds, without enough weapons to arm the would-be combatants.

In 1999, with money raised from compulsory "taxes" and marijuana sales, arms purchases were initially centrally controlled, with the then GAM "defence minister" Zakaria Saman, also known as Karim Bangkok, based in the Thai capital reportedly arranging shipments, although he has always denied any role.⁹⁶ But this process proved cumbersome and sometime in 2000, regional commanders were given the go-ahead to find their own arms. Many went through dealers in Java, including in Cipacing, but prices were high: the price for a new M-16 could run as high as Rp 40 million (around \$4,450).⁹⁷ Cheaper guns were to be had in Thailand, and GAM's East Aceh command in particular began to buy guns through contacts in Phuket, sometimes getting them cheaply and selling them to others in their own organisation for a profit. Other GAM commands would send "agents" to Peureulak and Idi in East Aceh to negotiate deals. The Bireuen command had a resident Thai from the Muslim south, married to a local woman, who worked with the agents on weapons purchases.

The biggest arms market was in Phuket, one GAM leader said, where weapons from all over could be found. Ex-Cambodian arms were the cheapest, but Chinese and North Korean-made guns were also on sale.⁹⁸ He said he used to go to one store that from the outside looked like a poultry dealer. Once past the door, it looked like a handi-craft shop. Only when one passed the second door did the arms become visible. The difficulty in Phuket for the Acehese purchasers was finding *halal* food, so GAM set up a "secretariat" there where members could stay and eat when they came on arms-shopping expeditions.

Governor Irwandi Yusuf says most of the arms purchased in Thailand from 2000 to 2003 originated in Cambodia.

⁹² Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 2 June 2010.

⁹³ Crisis Group interview, police expert, Jakarta, 25 August 2010.

⁹⁴ "Bea Cukai Gagalkan Penyelundupan Senjata Api", *Kompas*, 20 March 2008.

⁹⁵ Crisis Group interview, senior East Aceh official, Jakarta, July 2010.

⁹⁶ Saman told Crisis Group in interviews in Banda Aceh in June 2009 and July 2010 that he was running a legitimate business from Bangkok, Sri Malang Import Export, dealing in fish and fish products. Several GAM sources, however, claimed he was involved, but also said he was never the major gun-runner that some reports made him out to be.

⁹⁷ Crisis Group interview, Governor Irwandi Yusuf, Banda Aceh, 13 July 2010. He said the price came down after martial law was declared in Aceh in May 2003, to about Rp 12-15 million (\$1,200-\$1,500), probably because so many more security forces were assigned there. The price of bullets, however, went up, according to one former combatant.

⁹⁸ Crisis Group interview, ex-district commander, Bireuen, 13 July 2010.

GAM bought them in bulk, some functional, some not. They were sent over, disassembled, by Thai fishing boat, about a dozen at a time. They would be transferred to an Acehese fishing boat at sea. Once they arrived in Aceh, GAM members would try to repair the damaged ones.⁹⁹ GAM also bought ex-Cambodian bullets, which were cheap at Rp 3,500 (\$0.40) apiece, but they also were often old. Fighters preferred the Pindad ammunition when they could get it.

The dealers on the Thai side were criminal gangs, not Muslim Malay insurgents, though GAM did have long-standing contacts with the Pattani United Liberation Organisation (PULO). This became clear in an incident in early 2000 when two would-be arms buyers from GAM in Idi, East Aceh were shot and killed at sea. A third swam to shore. The three had agreed to buy arms from their usual suppliers but because the price was too high, they decided to do business with a different group. They made arrangements to do so off the coast of Idi. When the boat from Thailand arrived, they tossed a packet of cash in, only to face gunfire from the would-be sellers – which turned out to be the old gang they had tried to undercut.¹⁰⁰

At one point, the word came back to East Aceh that their Thai contacts were willing to trade guns for a highly prized armadillo-like anteater, known locally as *trenggiling* or *tenggiling* and in English as pangolin (*manis javanica*). One anteater was worth three to five ex-Cambodian AK-47s in Phuket, and GAM commanders in Peureulak ordered villagers to go out to the jungles to hunt them.¹⁰¹ The Thai mafia liked to drink the animal's blood then eat the meat in a kind of ritual. The problem was that it was a protected species and as its numbers dwindled, it became increasingly hard to find.¹⁰²

2. Daud the Robber

The most detailed example of a smuggling operation comes from the testimony of Daud Rampok (Daud the Robber, also known as Daud Hitam or Daud the Black), arrested in February 2004.¹⁰³ Daud, a small-scale arms

smuggler with only economic links to GAM, had been buying AK-47s in Setun (Satun) province in Thailand since 1998, working with a GAM member in Sigli, Aceh. He purchased the guns through electronic transfers to the bank account of a Thai dealer named Bang Dul.

It was a family operation. The crew sent to pick up the guns off the coast of Adang island left from a point near the port of Medan, North Sumatra and usually consisted of Daud; his son Dani; his brother-in-law Ahmad; the boat owner; and one or two others. They would have to pass through Malaysian waters before entering Thailand, then go up a river on Adang to an agreed point. There they would call the Thai dealer on a cell phone and wait for him to arrive in a speedboat. Daud would cross into the Thai boat, check the contents, provide the dealers with Indonesian clove cigarettes as an added bonus, then load the guns in plastic sacks onto his boat. No money changed hands on the boat. The going rate for a rifle was Rp 7,000,000 (\$772.84); he would sell it to GAM for more than double the price, dividing the proceeds among his crew.¹⁰⁴

Daud seems to have borrowed the money to pay the Thais from a local Chinese businessman, and then had to wait to be paid by GAM, sometimes creating serious cashflow problems. The arms would be shipped to Sigli, Aceh, by an overland courier service in Medan linked to GAM. In the last transaction before he was caught, in October 2003, Daud and his crew brought in seventeen guns from Thailand. He kept one and sent the rest up to Sigli packed in two refrigerators. Daud's son Dani, also arrested, told police it was their fifth trip since April 2002, each time bringing in nine or ten guns.¹⁰⁵

3. Jihadis and arms from Mindanao

At the height of the Ambon and Poso conflicts in 2000-2001, Indonesian jihadis from Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), KOMPAK, Darul Islam and the Sulawesi-based Laskar Jundullah were regularly smuggling arms from Mindanao. The smuggling dwindled to an occasional trickle after 2004-2005 but came into the spotlight again in May 2010, when Suryadi Masoed, one of the main jihadi smugglers from Sulawesi who was released from prison in 2009, was re-arrested in Bekasi.¹⁰⁶ He had joined the alliance to

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ The exact circumstances of the incident have never been pinned down, but the broad outlines were pieced together from interviews with several GAM members and the brother of one of the victims. Crisis Group interviews, Banda Aceh, July 2010. The purchase was supposed to be one installment of a massive arms deal, involving GAM-East Aceh ordering 5,000 arms for about \$800,000. After the murders, the deal never went through.

¹⁰¹ Crisis Group interview, ex-combatant, Bireuen, 13 July 2010.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ See Anthony Davis, "Police interdict arms traffic to Aceh", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, 1 April 2004 for a summary of the

case; and Kejaksaan Negeri Medan, "Surat Tuntutan Terdakwa Jumadi", Medan, February 2005.

¹⁰⁴ "Surat Tuntutan", op. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. In April 2002 they got ten rifles in Adang and brought them to East Aceh; in June 2002 they got nine; eleven in August 2002; twelve in January 2003; and five in March or April 2003.

¹⁰⁶ Suryadi Masoed was first arrested on 12 November 2002 for armed robbery. He was sentenced to eighteen years for withholding

build the training camp in Aceh and had reportedly been tasked by one of its ringleaders, Abdullah Sunata, to go to Mindanao to pick up new arms. The incident showed that even if the practice has waned, the determination to use the old networks is still present.

Of all the jihadi groups, JI had the best-developed system. Its two main buyers were Indonesians who were long-time residents of the Philippines with local wives. The centre of the arms market was Cotabato, where the buyers collected from anyone who wanted to sell, often corrupt Philippine soldiers.

They used a fisherman from the town of Peta, Sangihe in the islands off the coast of North Sulawesi, who could go in and out of Mindanao easily and had Moro in-laws. JI bought him a new boat, and his children were offered education in JI *pesantrons* (Islamic boarding schools) on Java. He would sail from Peta to General Santos City on the southern tip of Mindanao, load a dozen or so guns, and return to Peta, where they would be offloaded. JI members would then take the guns, packed in innocuous-looking cartons, overland to Tahuna by public vehicle, go from Tahuna to Manado by cargo ship, Manado to Bitung overland and Bitung to Surabaya via passenger ship.

KOMPAK used the same routes but had Moro gun “finders” in Davao, General Santos and Palimbang (Sultan Kudarat province), instead of a resident buyer. For every gun delivered in good working order the finder would get a fee of 500 pesos (\$11). He would bring the gun to one of two KOMPAK men who would test it before handing over the money. The guns would be stored in the house of the finder until all preparations had been made for shipment.

One of the two KOMPAK men involved still remembered all the prices just under a decade later.¹⁰⁷ He recalled that AK-47s were cheaper than M-16s because AK-47 ammunition (7.62mm) was harder to find, whereas since both M-16 assault rifles and bullets (5.56mm) were produced in the Philippines and one could be sure of ammunition, the demand was higher.

information and storing firearms used in the December 2002 Makassar bombing; while he was captured before the bombing took place, he had been involved in some planning meetings. He was released in 2009 and rearrested in Bekasi on 12 May 2010.

¹⁰⁷ The price of an American M-16 ranged from P30,000 to P45,000 (\$586 to \$880) at 2001 prices, depending on the condition, and including eight magazines and a vest. An M-16 made in the Philippines was P27,000 (\$529); 9mm and .45 pistols, P17,000 to P20,000 (\$333-\$392); M-16 bullets, P8-10 per bullet (\$0.15-\$0.20); AK-47 bullets, P70 each (\$1.30); Magnum 22 calibre bullets, P500 (\$10) per box of 100; Lontar 40mm grenade shells, P250 (\$5) per piece; .22 calibre revolver made in Cebu, P3000 (\$59). Crisis Group interview, July 2010.

4. Malaysian-Thai border, Papua New Guinea and elsewhere

A 2009 bank robbery in Aceh revealed that the Malaysian/Thai border may also be a source of guns, particularly for Indonesians working as migrant workers in Malaysia. Fadli Sadama, arrested and convicted for his role in a 2003 Medan bank robbery, was released from prison in August 2007. Jobless, he went to Malaysia as a day labourer and returned in February 2008. While there, he made a trip up to the border and purchased two guns, one a revolver for about \$700, another an FN pistol, with bullets, for about \$1,000. He said he bought them for self-defence against Malaysian criminals. Police interrogating him never asked how he managed to bring them back to Medan. In mid-2009 he lent the pistol to a former fellow inmate who wanted to rob a bank to raise funds for jihadi activities.¹⁰⁸

Papua New Guinea (PNG) may also be a source of guns, though a minor one. One OPM member who has been detained for a decade said that when he was active, a few weapons were smuggled across the PNG border through Wembi, in Arso, Keerom district, and the border area of Skouw-Wutung. He said the *raskol* gangs in Vanimo, who dealt in both guns and drugs, helped smuggle them in. He thought the arms originated in Thailand or the Philippines and were brought in on logging ships. The price for an M-16 or AK-47 ten years ago was between Rp 30 and Rp 35 million (\$3,000 to \$3,500) with two magazines. For a pistol, it was about Rp 17 million (\$1,700).¹⁰⁹ Crisis Group has no current information on cross-border smuggling from Papua New Guinea.

While there is some suggestion that Indonesian arms have filtered into Timor-Leste since 1999, there is little evidence that guns left over from that conflict have entered Indonesia.¹¹⁰ Weapons collected at the end of the independence struggle and demobilisation of the Timorese guerrilla army (Forças Armadas da Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste, FALINTIL) are well inventoried and secured in the armoury of the Timor-Leste defence force.¹¹¹ While there was some discussion about liberalising Timor-Leste’s gun laws in 2008, a draft firearms law was never properly debated by parliament. As a result, private ownership is

¹⁰⁸ See Bireuen District Court, “Penetapan Nomor 150/Pid.B/2009/PN-Bir in case of Fadli Sadama alias Acin bin Mahmuddin”, 9 September 2009.

¹⁰⁹ Crisis Group interview via another prisoner, June 2010.

¹¹⁰ Crisis Group communication with TNI officer, 30 August 2010.

¹¹¹ “Dealing with the kilat: A historical overview of the small arms availability and arms control in Timor-Leste”, Timor-Leste Armed Violence Assessment, Issue Brief Number 1, October 2008.

poorly regulated, but remains limited.¹¹² As the threat of illegal arms smuggling remains, the intelligence section of the Indonesian military border taskforce between the two countries is ordered to detect the movement of such contraband as well as conduct spot checks of its own weapons and munitions to prevent misuse.¹¹³ On the Timorese side, national police are aware of rumours but have little evidence of serious arms smuggling into the country. Most weapons seized in car searches and spot checks are air rifles purchased in Indonesia for hunting.¹¹⁴

Finally, Taiwan and Hong Kong are favourite places for gun purchases from crooked dealers who want to sell guns for self-defence, even though they are no longer granted permits. The dealers take their chances with Indonesian customs, but almost certainly, some shipments get through.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Indonesia is in better shape than most of its neighbours when it comes to control of firearms. Not only is the rate of gun ownership low, but conflicts that fuelled smuggling of weapons from abroad and construction of homemade guns have mostly ended; in the one remaining conflict, in Papua, the rebels have few guns and most of those are stolen or purchased from security forces.

There are a number of steps the Indonesian government can take to reduce the circulation of illegal guns. The police and military can improve measures to secure their respective stocks. This should include a thorough review of procedures in place for storing and checking inventories and ensuring that misuse or illegal possession of guns, including by senior officers, incurs serious punishment. That review should be extended to include guns held in PERBAKIN storage centres and those confiscated from crime scenes and used as evidence in trials. Any member of either the police or military found to have illegally sold weapons or ammunition should immediately be dishonourably discharged.

The police should work toward full computerisation of the unit at police headquarters in Jakarta that issues all permits. They might consider a system in practice elsewhere, in which anyone seeking a permit would have to bring in

the weapon with five rounds of ammunition. The police fire the rounds into a ballistics drum and keep the spent rounds for forensics purposes. The round is also incorporated into an automated Ballistics Identification System (IBIS). This would also enable the police to identify home-made weapons.

The police might consider setting up a special task force to investigate online sales of weapons and see how these might be better monitored.

Customs officials or other appropriate authorities should conduct a thorough audit of all companies licensed to import firearms, looking at imports, inventories and sales, and ensuring that all guns are accounted for.

The airsoft industry needs far stricter controls to ensure compliance with the 2004 regulations on registering weapons. It is particularly important to ensure that all airsoft guns are properly marked with orange barrels so that they are easier to distinguish from real weapons, but the potential for misuse of these “toys” will continue to be high.

The most important measure to curb illegal firearms, however, is to strengthen anti-corruption mechanisms more generally. Corrupt officials are the biggest obstacle to crime prevention in Indonesia.

Jakarta/Brussels, 6 September 2010

¹¹² Sarah Parker, “Commentary on draft arms law in Timor-Leste”, *East Timor Law Journal*, August 2008.

¹¹³ “Laporan Pelaksanaan dan Evaluasi, Komando Pelaksana Operasi Korem 161/Wira Sakti” [“Evaluation and implementation report, Military District 161/Wira Sakti, Operation Implementation Command”], TNI, January 2010.

¹¹⁴ Crisis Group interview, PNLT district commander, 19 April 2010.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF INDONESIA

