



## The Politics of Purchasing Weapons from Indonesia: A Threat to Security Strategy

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## Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Methodology</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>The Cooperation Agreement and the Purchase of Military Equipment from Indonesia</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Enterprise Profile and Quality of PT. Pindad (Persero) – Indonesia</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Control System for Weapons in Indonesia</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Political and Strategic Aspects</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Summary of Recommendations</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>15</b>

## Introduction

Timor-Leste and Indonesia recently are really enjoying a romantic cooperation in some important sectors. This cooperation has occurred on economic, social, security-related, and even political fronts, as the two countries vie for Timor-Leste's induction to the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). This occurs in spite of the historical rivalry between FALINTIL and TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia), who were enemies during the Indonesian occupation. It is the first time Timor-Leste appears, 15 years after the people of Timor-Leste separated from Indonesia. It can be said that, though these enemies aimed to kill each other in the past, now these powers are looking to support, lend funds, and sell military equipment to each other.<sup>1</sup> This cooperation can strengthen the relationship between these neighboring countries and serves as an importance means of enhancing good relations, peace, and stability in region.

But one must consider another angle as well, from the perspective of policy and strategy, if these countries are to depend on each other for military equipment. Enemies can be friends, yet this depends on each county's interest. Timor-Leste and the Republic Indonesia are developing and dealing with the defense cooperation area, and the main provision of this contract is that Timor-Leste intends to purchase military equipment from PT.PINDAD (Persero) and other entrepreneurs from Indonesia that produce the military's equipment.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to this, Timor-Leste has purchased weapons on a large scale from the PT.PINDAD (Persero). 75 'PM2-V1' weapons were issued to the National Police of Timor-Leste (PNTL) in 2012. According to the Indonesian media, Timor-Leste will purchase more military equipment. Therefore, Timor-Leste will communicate intensively with Indonesia through the contract that has been signed by leaders of the two countries. However, Timor-Leste needs to know that Indonesia does not ensure yet management and controlling of the weapons themselves. Some weapons have been used by some terrorists in Asia,<sup>3</sup> entrepreneurs, civilians, and other army groups in Papua.<sup>4</sup> These weapons have also been used in some conflict areas in Indonesia, such as Poso and Maluku. Those weapons are produced by the PT.PINDAD (Persero), and the weapons are being sold by individuals of the National Indonesia Military (TNI) and the Indonesia

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1 Report of Fundasaun Mahein. (18 April 2011). Mahein's Voice. 18, Dream and Reality for the Development and Professionalism of FALINTIL-Force-FDTL.

2 Fundasaun Mahein (17 February 2014). Timor-Leste Concerned with new weapons deal with Indonesia. <http://www.fundasaunmahein.org/2014/02/17/timor-leste-strikes-troubling-new-weapons-deal-with-indonesia/>

3 Tempo Interaktif. (2009. Agostu. 31). DPR Soroti Penjualan Senjata Pindad. <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2009/08/31/063195240/DPR-Soroti-Penjualan-Senjata-Pindad>

4 Atjehcyber Team (2014). Tentara Jual Senjata: Ke Papua Bawa M-16, Bawa Pulang 16 M. Disponivel iha: <http://www.atjehcyber.net/2014/02/tentara-jual-senjata-ke-papua-bawa-m-16.html>

Republic Polices (POLRI), including weapons stolen from the TNI and POLRI armories.<sup>5</sup>

On another note, Timor-Leste and Indonesia have close boundaries and seas, and this poses a potential threat. If any situation occurs along the border line, Timor-Leste and Indonesia will blame each other if criminals or terrorists use these weapons.

In this report, FM wish to challenge the cooperation between Timor-Leste and Indonesia, because these two countries are enjoying partnerships in other important sectors. Yet, the security sector needs to become better defined in terms of tactical and military strategy. The main focuses of this report are the cooperation agreement and purchasing of military equipment from Indonesia, the enterprise profile of Indonesia, the quality of weapons, and the control system of weapons in Indonesia as well as the political and strategic implications of this equipment dependency.

### **Methodology**

The methods used in this report are a discussion held at FM by the research team called Security Sector Discussions (SSD), and this report will analyze Timor-Leste's policy regarding the dependency of weapons issue from Indonesia. This report also used the gathering of information over weapons and made descriptive analysis of the previous FM's report including the report of the Eventual Commission about the weapon acquisition process from PT. PINDAD (Persero) Indonesia. Other sources are from reports of international organizations as well as national and international media.

This report concludes with recommendations to the government about its policy of supplying arms and security equipments to the security and defense institutions of Timor-Leste. The government should consider every aspect of policy and security, as well as tactics and strategy, in light of potential dangers in the globalized world of today.

### **The Cooperation Agreement and the Purchase of Military Equipment from Indonesia**

The governments of Timor-Leste and Indonesia have signed the bilateral agreement relating to defense and security through Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in Dili in 2011.<sup>6</sup> As stated in this agreement, Indonesia has a commitment to facilitate the purchase of weapons by Timor-

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5 Tempo Interaktif. (2009. Agostu. 31). DPR Soroti Penjualan Senjata Pindad.

<http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2009/08/31/063195240/DPR-Soroti-Penjualan-Senjata-Pindad>

6 MAW/SR. (2011. Agostu. 20). RI – Timor Leste Sepakati Peningkatan Kerjasama Pertahanan. <http://dmc.kemhan.go.id/post-ri-timor-leste-sepakati-peningkatan-kerjasama-pertahanan.html>

Leste from PT. PINDAD Indonesia.<sup>7</sup> On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2011, the Internal Ministry of Republic Indonesia affirmed that Indonesia and Timor-Leste have agreed to an export of weapons to Timor-Leste.<sup>8</sup>

Timor-Leste and the Republic of Indonesia defense collaboration is being intensified via speeches of the Prime Minister, as well as the signing of a new agreement by the Defense Minister of Timor-Leste, Xanana Gusmão, and the Indonesia Defense Minister, Poernomo Yusigiantoro, in Jakarta on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2014.<sup>9</sup> The main provision of the agreement is that Timor-Leste intends to purchase military equipment from PT.PINDAD (Persero) Indonesia.<sup>10</sup>

As the FM published in the previous report, the Indonesian media broadcasted that the FALINTIL-Defense Force of Timor-Leste (F-FDTL) liked the products of PT.PINDAD and will move forward with the purchase of SS-2 rifles and G2 automatic pistols from PT.PINDAD, Indonesia.<sup>11</sup>

**SUKOHARJO** – Angkatan Darat Timor Leste tertarik melengkapi peralatannya yang dibuat oleh PT Pindad. Deputy Direktur Pemasaran dan Penjualan PT Pindad, TriyonoAndriSusilo, mengatakan pada tahap awal ada tiga jenis senjata buatan Pindad yang akan dibeli oleh Angkatan Perang Timor-Leste yakni senjata serbu jenis SS-2 yang juga digunakan TNI. “Selain senjata, Angkatan Darat Timor Leste juga akan memesan amunisi buatan PT Pindad,” jelas Triyono kepada wartawan di PT Sritex, Sukoharjo, Jawa Tengah, Sabtu (28/1/2012).

Selain itu, Angkatan Darat Timor-Leste juga akan memesan pistol jenis G2 serta truk angkutan personel seberat 2,5 ton dengan harga antara Rp 300 juta sampai Rp 900 juta per unit. “Untuk harga truk angkutan personel militer tergantung medan di Timor-Leste,”

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7 Fundasaun Mahein. (13 August 2012). Timor-Leste Poised to Purchase more Weapons? Mahein Nia Hanoin Lisuk August 2013.pdf.<http://www.fundasaunmahein.org/2012/08/13/timor-leste-sei-sosa-kilat-barak-tan/>

8 Fundasaun Mahein. (13 August 2012). Timor-Leste Poised to Purchase more Weapons? Mahein Nia Hanoin Lisuk August 2013.pdf.<http://www.fundasaunmahein.org/2012/08/13/timor-leste-sei-sosa-kilat-barak-tan/>

9 DMC. (11 February 2014).Indonesia - Timor Leste Tindak Lanjuti Perjanjian Kerja Sama Pertahanan. <http://www.kemhan.go.id/kemhan/?pg=73&id=1318>

10 Fundasaun Mahein (17 February 2014). Timor-Leste Concerned over new weapons deal with Indonesia.<http://www.fundasaunmahein.org/2014/02/17/timor-leste-strikes-troubling-new-weapons-deal-with-indonesia/>

11 Fundasaun Mahein. (13 August 2012). Timor-Leste Poised to Purchase more Weapons? Mahein Nia Hanoin Lisuk August 2013.pdf.<http://www.fundasaunmahein.org/2012/08/13/timor-leste-sei-sosa-kilat-barak-tan/>

sambungannya. Keputusan Timor-Leste membeli persenjataan buatan Pindad, terang Triyono, karena Indonesia dianggap paling dekat secara geografis. Pindad sudah melayani pemesanan persenjataan untuk Kepolisian Timor-Leste. “Kalau tidak ada halangan, pesanan dari Angkatan Darat Timor-Leste ini baru yang pertama. Sebelumnya, Negara itu hanya pesan untuk kepolisian saja seperti dua unit kendaraan water cannon,” urainya.

Sementara itu Perdana Menteri Timor Leste, Xanana Gusmao, mengatakan Timor Leste masih perlu melakukan pembenahan di sektor pertahanan. “Tepat 20 Meinanti, Timor-Leste genap 10 tahun, masih banyak kekurangan negara ini yang harus dibenahi,” pungkasnya.<sup>12</sup>

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2013, the Indonesian media released again that Timor-Leste has intensively communicated with PT Dirgantara Indonesia (PT DI) to strengthen their cooperation. Furthermore, it was announced that Timor-Leste will purchase plans from PT. Dirgantara Indonesia,<sup>13</sup> as it has been released on portal *detikfinance* that Timor-Leste will purchase two plans from Indonesia.



Source: Portal of *detikfinance*, accessed on Tuesday 2 July 2013.

**Jestor ka Manajer Pemasaran PT DI, Teguh Graito** - menyebutkan khusus untuk NC212 sejumlah negara saat ini tengah intens komunikasi untuk melakukan kerjasama. Kebutuhan NC212 diantaranya 2 unit untuk Air Force Filipina, sebanyak 6-8 unit untuk Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MoAC) Thailand, 6 unit untuk Myanmar Airforce, 2 unit untuk Nepal Army, 2 unit untuk Papua Nugini, **2 unit untuk Timor Leste Air Force**, 2 unit untuk Biman Airlines Bangladesh dan 2 unit untuk Air Madagaskar<sup>14</sup>

12 <http://news.okezone.com/read/2012/01/28/337/565292/militer-timor-leste-tertarik-beli-senjata-buatan-pindad>

13 Fundasaun Mahein. (10 July 2013). Security Information: Close or Secret? Mahein Nia Lian No. 56. July 2013

14 Yulianti, Tya Eka. (2013). Pesawat *Made in Bandung* Laris Dibeli Timor-Leste, Malaysia Hingga Madagaskar. Bandung – Indonesia.

<http://finance.detik.com/read/2013/07/02/192613/2290746/1036/pesawat-made-in-bandung-laris-dibeli-timor-leste-malaysia-hingga-madagaskar>

In 2012, Timor-Leste made a large-scale purchase of weapons from PT.PINDAD (Persero) Indonesia. This process, which included the purchase and importation of 75 weapons, was carried out in a less transparent manner by the General Commander of the National Police of Timor-Leste (PNTL). Those weapons (PM2-V1) that were produced by PT.PINDAD (Persero) and purchased by Timor-Leste for PNTL use did not prove functional during an examination of these 5 weapons, and the process of purchasing these weapons is still in discussion.<sup>15</sup>

### **Enterprise Profile and Quality of PT. Pindad (Persero) – Indonesia**

PT.PINDAD (Persero) is an Indonesian manufacturing company that produces material and mechanical equipment for war purposes. The company is located at the Jendral Gatot Subroto No. 715, Bandung, 40284.<sup>16</sup> This company continues to produce weapons, bullets, and special vehicles to further supply and develop the security and defense sector of the Republic Indonesia. PT. PINDAD's products have been sold and distributed domestically, and they have also been sold abroad.

This company (PT.PINDAD) is an Indonesian public enterprise, according to regulation No.41/2008, established by the Ministry of Public Enterprise (BUMN). Structurally, the commissary of PT.PINDAD is led by General Budiman, who is currently occupying responsibility as Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Air Force (KASAD). Other commissariat responsibilities are performed by occupied by officials and reformed military personnel, many of whom have become specialized in armament technology, metallurgy, mechanics, and other related practices.

This enterprise refers to its slogan, “*No compromi to quality,*” as a guide for production. Quality in production and distribution are cited as priorities in the ethical code of the company PT.PINDAD (Persero), SKEP/21/P/BD/XII/20012.<sup>17</sup> However, the engagement contract and the production quality of PT.PINDAD goods shipped from the company to the government of Timor-Leste are questionable.

The class of weapons ordered from PT.PINDAD (Persero) is like an experiment for Timor-Leste, because this weapon (PM2-V1) is a new production, which has been developed by combining the new type, SS2, with the old cannon. This weapon can be used by forest guards and authorities who assume the responsibility of law and order. However, the PNTL General Commander Longuinos Monteiro declared in national media that he himself designed the PM2-

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15 Fundasaun Mahein. (23 April 2013). Existence of the missing weapons is unclear and a polemic issue in Timor-Leste. Mahein nia Lian No. 49. Pdf.

16 PT. Pndad (Persero). <http://www.pindad.com/contact-us>

17 PT. Pindad. (2012). Kode Etik dan Perilaku Perusahaan PT. Pindad (Persero). <http://www.pindad.com/downloads/division/Kode-etik-Perusahaan.pdf>.

V1, and he further said that Timor-Leste is the first country in the world that use this weapon from PT.PINDAD Indonesia.<sup>18</sup>

Even though PT.PINDAD maintains its slogan “*no compromi to quality*”, this is not shown in practice, because the record shows that five PM2-V1 weapons been purchased by Timor-Leste were not well-functioning during examination. Because while try to shoot 100 bullets over, but some of their components were broken. Therefore, it appeared doubt in regards of the production quality from this company at the time. In fact that this weapon (PM2-V1) is not new production but these weapons just modified from other weapon with old cannons that may prejudice for the maintenance expense in the future, because Timor-Leste still lack of resources and less capacity in terms of producing the weapon.

### **Control System for Weapons in Indonesia**

This Company (PT.PINDAD), established under the Ministry of Public Enterprise (BUMN) of Indonesia, produces war materials and mechanical equipment for police and military in Indonesia and abroad.<sup>19</sup> Their weapon PM2-V1 is the first of its kind and has attracted attention in international marketing, particularly by the government of Timor-Leste.

FM expresses concern, as PT.PINDAD is a controversial enterprise in Indonesia. This company has generated mistrust, due to its involvement in selling its weapons illegally. Furthermore, these weapons have been used by some civilian and terrorist groups in other countries in Asia. In March 2013, the Indonesian Police inspected to residence of Hercules and detected that Hercules possessed hidden weapon in his house. These weapons were produced by PT.PINDAD (Persero).<sup>20</sup>

PT.Pindad (Persero) is distrusted as well for its involvement in selling its illegal weapons to some foreign countries. For example, on 31<sup>st</sup> August 2009, the police of the Philippines captured some of the commerce ships that moor at the Kosteira Mariveles area of the Philippines. At the time, the police confiscated 10 pistols and 50 big guns (SS1-V1) produced by PT.PINDAD

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18 Fundasaun Mahein. (23 April 2013).Existence of the missing weapons is unclear and a polemic issue in Timor-Leste. Mahein nia Lian No. 49. Pdf.

19 PT. Pindad (Pesero). Tujuan dan Sasaran Perusahaan.ih<http://www.pindad.com/goal-and-company-objective>

20 This information has been published in the previous FM report over the existence of missing weapon that was not clear and controversial in Timor-Leste, Mahein’s Voice No.49, 23 April 2013.



(Persero). The Indonesian National Parliament and DPR (Member Parliament) are very concerned about such acts.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, the importing of weapons to Timor-Leste is under review. The Eventual Commission's analysis of the weapons acquisition by PNTL revealed that an illegal falsification of documentation by the authorized representative of PT.Pindad occurred during this process. For example, the amendment document signed on 09 April 2012 and the amendment document signed on 02 July 2012 show two different signatures.<sup>22</sup> Prior to this, the director of PT.Pindad has neither shown cooperative effort nor addressed intelligent people for the purchasing weapon by the PNTL.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the weapons acquisition process of PT.PINDAD Indonesia resulted in a political battle in Timor-Leste, in which the PNTL General Commander, Longuinos Monteiro, and the Secretary of State for Security, Fransisco Guterres, blame each other for shortcomings in this acquisition.<sup>24</sup>

This practice clearly shows that the PT.PINDAD enterprise does not have good interior control and management of its weapons. Other analysis has shown that this company has a bad profile, because there is no transparency or control system for the weapons, many of which have spread illegally around the community.<sup>25</sup> Even worse, security authorities such as POLRI and TNI have become agents in selling the weapon to criminal groups. In one instance, a weapon which was insured by POLRI was used in a raid against CIMB Niaga Bank in Medan. The weapon, SS-1,<sup>26</sup> is a production of PT.PINDAD. Despite all of this evidence and the company's profile, Timor-Leste remains ambitious in purchasing PNTL weapons in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, Indonesia itself does not guarantee the control of weapons, and illegal production of weapons is still increasing. However, Indonesian police will continue inspecting workshops and

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21 Tempo Interaktif. (2009. Agustus. 31). DPR Soroti Penjualan Senjata Pindad.

<http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2009/08/31/063195240/DPR-Soroti-Penjualan-Senjata-Pindad>

22 The Eventual Commission (03 February 2014). Report of the Eventual Commission concerning the weapon acquisition process of the PNTL at PT. PINDAD (Persero). Page. 18

23 The Eventual Commission (03 February 2014). Report of the Eventual Commission concerning weapon acquisition process of the PNTL at PT. PINDAD (Persero). Page. 25

24 Fundasaun Mahein. (23 April 2013). Existence of the missing weapons is unclear and a polemic issue in Timor-Leste. Mahein nia Lian No. 49.

25 Subagyo. Agus. Peredaran Senjata Api Ilegal Di Indonesia.

[file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/PEREDARAN%20SENJATA%20API%20ILEGAL%20DI%20INDONESIA%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/PEREDARAN%20SENJATA%20API%20ILEGAL%20DI%20INDONESIA%20(1).pdf).

26 Subagyo. Agus. Peredaran Senjata Api Ilegal Di Indonesia.

[file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/PEREDARAN%20SENJATA%20API%20ILEGAL%20DI%20INDONESIA%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/PEREDARAN%20SENJATA%20API%20ILEGAL%20DI%20INDONESIA%20(1).pdf)

factories of weapon which are suspected producing the illegal weapons and selling them illegally to domestic and foreign communities. In January 2012, Indonesian police made inspection to a workshop in Kediri, Jawa Timur, and they were able to seize seven large guns.<sup>27</sup> Another operation investigated a factory of weapons in Malang on 30 June 2014, during which the police collected proof regarding the distribution weapon to foreigners. This investigation uncovered 227 weapons that were ready for use and a remaining 157 big guns that have not been yet designed.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, some individuals involved in conflict in Maluku and Poso received arms from security authorities (TNI/POLRI), who sold 'M-16' and 'AK-47' weapons at a price of US\$700. Investigation later revealed that these weapons were stolen from the armory. It is suspected that other weapons are trafficked into the country, coming from the Philippines (Davao territory) and Kupang NTT by sea.<sup>29</sup>

Reports from Indonesian media also revealed that members of the TNI who were stationed in the Papua province sold weapons and ammunition to the Army Groups of Papua that fight for their independence. This was uncovered in light of the fact that the bullets of the Army Force of Papua are always in supply, and there continues to be gunfighting against the Indonesia's security. It is said that these personnel "go to Papua carrying M-16 and return with 16M". Those weapons are produced by PT.PINDAD Indonesia.<sup>30</sup>

*Atjehcyber Team – Tentara jual senjata: Ke Papua bawa M -16, bawa pulang 16 M. Gubernur Papua Lukas Enembe mencurigai adanya oknum TNI atau Polri yang menjual amunisi sisa tugas ke masyarakat Papua. Penjualan amunisi secara ilegal itu yang membuat konflik atau kontak senjata antara TNI atau Polri dan kelompok bersenjata tak pernah berhenti. Lukas menegaskan, bahwa penembakan itu terjadi karena ulah aparat yang justru datang ke Papua dengan menjual amunisi ke masyarakat lokal. Karena itu, dia meminta Kapolri dan Panglima TNI menertibkan para prajuritnya yang kerap kali menjual amunisi ke warga Papua. Kecurigaan ini bukan tanpa alasan, dia yakin hal ini terjadi karena kelompok bersenjata tak pernah kehabisan peluru saat baku*

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27 Subagio, Afnan. (2012. Janeiru. 29). Polisi Gerebek Pabrik Senjata Api Ilegal. <http://news.okezone.com/read/2012/01/29/340/565357/polisi-gerebek-pabrik-senjata-api-ilegal>

28 [Ridwan](#), Mohammad (2014. Jullu. 01). Polisi gerebek pabrik senjata ilegal di Kota Malang. <http://www.lensaindonesia.com/2014/07/01/polisi-gerebek-pabrik-senjata-ilegal-di-kota-malang.html>

29 Subagyo. Agus. Peredaran Senjata Api Ilegal Di Indonesia. [file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/PEREDARAN%20SENJATA%20API%20ILEGAL%20DI%20INDONESIA%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/PEREDARAN%20SENJATA%20API%20ILEGAL%20DI%20INDONESIA%20(1).pdf)

30 Atjehcyber Team (2014). Tentara Jual Senjata: Ke Papua Bawa M-16, Bawa Pulang 16 M. Disponivel iha: <http://www.atjehcyber.net/2014/02/tentara-jual-senjata-ke-papua-bawa-m-16.html>

tembak.

*Soal pembelian secara ilegal, dia menegaskan, bahwa keamanan di Papua sangat ketat sehingga sulit membawa senjata atau amunisi ilegal dari luar Papua kecuali membeli dari aparat yang bertugas di Papua. Senada dengan Lukas, Anggota Komisi I DPR Yorrys Raweyai mengatakan, kejanggalan juga terjadi saat para aparat yang datang dari luar Papua membawa penuh amunisi, namun setelah pulang amunisi tak bersisa. Sehingga dia juga yakin, kelompok bersenjata di Papua mendapatkan amunisi justru dari aparat keamanan sendiri.*

*"Dari mana amunisi bisa masuk ke sana, ada indikasi pasukan di-BKO-kan datang bawa peluru, pulang tak bawa apa-apa. Jadi ada istilah, datang bawa M16 pulang bawa 16 M," kata Yorrys yang menemani Lukas bertemu dengan Wakil Ketua DPR Priyo Budi Santoso. Menurut dia, amunisi dijual oleh para aparat keamanan dengan harga Rp 1.500 per butir. Dia juga yakin hal ini terjadi karena selongsong yang ditemukan dalam penyisiran tempat kontak senjata itu berasal dari PT. PINDAD (Persero) yang dipakai aparat keamanan. "Amunisi terbatas, kenapa kontak senjata dari tahun ke tahun amunisi tidak pernah habis temuan selongsong buatan Pindad, dari mana itu barang?" kata dia.<sup>31</sup>*

A report by the International Organization Crisis Group (ICG) urges the Indonesian government to prevent circulation of the illegal weapons, solidify the mechanism for controlling weapons at military and police armories, and perform audits upon the imported weapons. These requests are made in light of illegal purchasing of weapons, stealing from armory, and provision of weapons to conflict groups.<sup>32</sup> These developments indicate that means Indonesia's control system for weapons is questionable still in doubt. Finally, some of these weapons used by some enterprises, civilians, and other of illegal army groups are distributed and sold by PT.PINDAD.

PT.PINDAD (Persero) is a public enterprise company, or BUMN,<sup>33</sup> but is unable to control the weapons that they produce, many of which have fallen into the hands of criminals, entrepreneurs, and civilian groups. Even worse, Timor-Leste and Indonesia have very close land boundaries, so these illegal activities come with a large risk. FM worries that weapons from PT.PINDAD can be used by criminal groups and may infiltrate Timor-Leste, if it did occur in this nation, responsibility for the actions will be unclear, because such weapons are similar to those of the PNTL and will be hard to identify.<sup>34</sup>

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31 Atjehcyber Team (2014). Tentara Jual Senjata: Ke Papua Bawa M-16, Bawa Pulang 16 M. Disponibel iha: <http://www.atjehcyber.net/2014/02/tentara-jual-senjata-ke-papua-bawa-m-16.html>

32 Setiwan, Agus. (2010. Setemburu. 09). Mengkhawatirkan, peredaran Senjata Api Ilegal di Indonesia. <http://www.dw.de/mengkhawatirkan-peredaran-senjata-api-ilegal-di-indonesia/a-5988410>

33 BUMN – Badan Usaha Milik Negara – República Indonesia.

34 Fundasaun Mahein. (23 April 2013). Existence of the missing weapons is unclear and a polemic issue in Timor-Leste. Mahein nia Lian No. 49.

Timor-Leste is facing problems in the management and control of weapons, as hinted by rumors spread around communities that there are illegal weapons. In addressing this big problem, one must further analyze the unclear importation of weapons by Timor-Leste in the beginning of 2013.

### **Political and Strategic Aspects**

The government of Timor-Leste is in a hurry to purchase weapons from Indonesia but does not thoroughly analyze the political and strategic consequences of such a purpose. From a political and strategic perspective, Timor-Leste and Indonesia are neighboring countries with close land and maritime boundaries, some not yet fully resolved. FM believes in the possibility of a gunfight incident at the border line of Timor-Leste and Indonesia, related to criminal movement across the border as well as border disagreements between communities who live in that area.

The government of Timor-Leste needs to consider potential threats and consequences of its neighboring relationship with Indonesia. In particular, security issues at the border line should be considered, as the border line area is of concern to state sovereignty. Because the concept of security in modern times has been changed in dynamic ways, one must not focus only on conventional threats (military or war threats) but also non-conventional threats, such as entities and contraband crossing over the borderline. These include terrorists, pirates, illegal fishing enterprises, human traffickers, drugs, weapons, and others.

Threats of non-conventional character sometimes present large challenges for nations that are in fragile control of the border line, such as Timor-Leste. In one instance, weapons traffickers attempted to carry 13 (rakitan) weapons, 109 bullets, 6 grenades, and M16 weapons over the border to Timor-Leste. Luckily, all of these items were confiscated by the TNI at border line. In September 2002, Australia called attention to its citizens in Timor-Leste, suggesting that they return to Australia, in light of a potential terrorist attack against them in Timor-Leste. At that time, the Australian embassy in Timor-Leste was also closed for a week.<sup>35</sup>

Sometimes, the situation at the border line of Timor-Leste and Indonesia spurred conflict within both communities. For example, in 2013, the Indonesian Military Force (TNI) entered to Timor-Leste area (Oe-cusse) with the reason to search for missing buffalo which they suspected were stolen by Timorese people. In 2012, people of Timor Tengah Utara (TTU) confronted people in Pasabe, Oe-cusse because of a land dispute.<sup>36</sup>

In October 2012, a member of TNI shot a Timorese man, Lucas da Costa Neto (45), in Mota Masin, because Lucas had allegedly attacked the Indonesian army force. In April 2005, a PNTL

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35 The Eventual Commission (03 February 2014). Report of the Eventual Commission concerning the weapons acquisition process of the PNTL at PT. PINDAD (Persero). Page. 29

36 The Eventual Commission (03 February 2014). Report of the Eventual Commission concerning the weapons acquisition process of the PNTL at PT. PINDAD (Persero). Page. 31

member shot an Indonesian military officer at the border line, and the PNTL recognized that the victim was injured in his thigh.<sup>37</sup> From the problems mentioned above, one can see potential dangers along the border line, because Timor-Leste and Indonesia have been enemies in the past, even though the leaders of these two countries are currently in cooperative agreement. However, conflicts of interest will always occur, and these will potentially occur in the border line area in the future.

This phenomenon has been experienced by other countries in Asia, such as South and North Korea, who are becoming enemies after constant provocative military movement. Meanwhile, China and Japan are earnestly increasing their forces with modern equipments, in preparation for a possible future conflict over land and maritime disputes.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, some countries in East Africa, such as Eritrea and Ethiopia, have a long history of border conflict. These two particular countries were a single entity at one time, but Eritrea started to revolt in the 1960's, before finally becoming an independent country in 1991. After Eritrea's independence, these two countries have continued to engage in border dispute, and there is constant gun-fighting in the border territories.<sup>39</sup>

On the other hand, considering the potential threat from both neighboring and non-neighboring countries, there is a chance for Timor-Leste to develop its defense and security sectors confidentially. Indonesia and Timor-Leste are currently on friendly terms, but one need look no further than geopolitics and past history to realize the potential danger of Indonesia to Timor-Leste. Border stability, demarcation of maritime boundaries, and control of citizen migration represent critical needs in preserving a positive present and future relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia.<sup>40</sup>

It is with this in mind that FM expresses concerns regarding Timor-Leste's dependency upon Indonesia for weapons and military equipment. At present, Timor-Leste's government has designated Indonesia as a distributor of arms and military equipment for the defense and security institutions of Timor-Leste. This policy represents poor security strategy, because Timor-Leste and Indonesia share close geographic boundaries at land and sea.

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37 The Eventual Commission (03 February 2014). Report of the Eventual Commission concerning the weapons acquisition process of the PNTL at PT. PINDAD (Persero). Page. 31

38 The Eventual Commission (03 February 2014). Report of the Eventual Commission concerning the weapons acquisition process of the PNTL at PT. PINDAD (Persero). Page. 31

39 The Eventual Commission (03 February 2014). Report of the Eventual Commission concerning the weapons acquisition process of the PNTL at PT. PINDAD (Persero). Page 25

40 The Eventual Commission (03 February 2014). Report of the Eventual Commission concerning the weapons acquisition process of the PNTL at PT. PINDAD (Persero). Page. 31

## **Summary of Recommendations**

1. FM recommends that the Ministry of Defense and Security review the distribution policy of arms and security equipment within the security and defense institutions of Timor-Leste.
2. FM advocates and supplements the recommendations of the Eventual Commission investigation, asking the government to consider the consequences of international policy and potential threats in this globalized era. Furthermore, it recommends that the government maintain the strict confidentiality of its security and defense sector development.
3. FM recommends that the Indonesian government and the newly-elected President of Indonesia follow up and fortify the control system for weapons at the armories of the TNI and POLRI, as well as some enterprises that produce weapons. These weapons have become a concern for both Indonesia and Timor-Leste, because they have been used illegally by terrorists, civilians, and other militia organizations. For the time being, Timor-Leste maintains its interest in purchasing weapons from Indonesia.

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