Reproduced from *The Sulu Arms Market: National Responses to a Regional Problem* by Lino Miani (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at < <a href="http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sq">http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sq</a> >

#### The Sulu Arms Market

The **Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS)** was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

**ISEAS Publishing**, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

# The Sulu Arms Market National Responses to a Regional Problem

# Lino Miani



INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES Singapore First published in Singapore in 2011 by ISEAS Publishing Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Pasir Panjang Singapore 119614

*E-mail*: publish@iseas.edu.sg *Website*: http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 2011 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore

The findings and recommendations contained in this book are those of the author and in no way represent the policies of the George and Carol Olmsted Foundation, the American Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, the United States Army, or any other part of the United States Government, nor do they necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publisher or its supporters.

#### **ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

Miani, Lino.

The Sulu arms market : national responses to a regional problem.

- 1. Arms transfers-Philippines-Sulu Sea Region.
- 2. Arms transfers-Southeast Asia-Prevention.
- 3. Firearms industry and trade-Southeast Asia.
- I. Title.

HD9743 P53S9M61 2011

ISBN 978-981-4311-11-3

Typeset by Superskill Graphics Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my beautiful wife Yoko for convincing me to seize the opportunity offered by the late Major General George Olmsted whose vision and generosity allowed us to lead a wonderful and interesting life so briefly in Malaysia. I can only hope that my experiences there will empower me to give back half as much as I have received.

My thanks to James Clad, without whose confidence and encouragement, this work would have remained unpublished; Brigadier General Anthony A. Smith, whose unwavering interest in my experiences motivated me to keep learning; and Dr Rohan Gunaratna, whose vast experience in the region provided a vital context to my work.

My thanks also to the faculty of the Department of International and Strategic Studies at the University of Malaya, especially Associate Professor Jatswan Singh Sidhu, for his guidance and high standards throughout this process, but perhaps more importantly, for the hours of good discussion and his belief that my work is worth printing.

I would also like to thank (in no particular order):

Colonel Rick Thomas and Chief Bill Moore at SOCPAC; Colonel Kevin Clark, Lieutenant Colonel Fred Riker, and Commander Greg St. Pierre at JUSMAG-Philippines; Police Senior Superintendant Napoleon R. Estilles at the PNP Maritime Group; Dante Orate at the Department of Homeland Security-Immigration and Customs Enforcement;

Special Agents Tim Teal, Paul Griffith, Derek Odney, and Kent Marchant of DEA; Special Agent Neil Kelly of ATF, Special Agents Qasim Majied and David Lobb of NCIS; Jake Wohlman, Chris Wood and Paul Watzlavick at the US Embassy in Manila; Commodore Jason Donovan at the US Embassy in Kuala Lumpur; Dr Zachary Abuza at Simmons College: Jolene Anne Jerard of the International Center for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore; Colonel David Maxwell at USASOC; Mior Roslan of PDRM (Ret.); Dzirhan Mahadzir and Tony Davis at Jane's; Captain (Ret.) Mat Taib bin Yasin of TLDM; Jennifer Santiago Oreta at Ateneo de Manila University; Chief Keith Pang and Lieutenant Eric Hu at JIATF-W; Colonel Luis Fernando Velez-Zapata of the Army of the Republic of Colombia; Major Tom Stevenson, USA at the Malaysian Army Staff College; Harris Couch of Glock USA; Major Lino M. Miani, USAF (Ret.) (my father and editor); and several anonymous special operators, intelligence officers, and military and police professionals. This research would not have been completed without your efforts.

# Contents

Ack	<i>xnowledgments</i>	V
Tak	ole of Contents	vii
List	t of Figures	ix
List	t of Tables	xi
List	t of Common Abbreviations and Acronyms	xiii
Gle	ossary of Terms	xvii
1.	Introduction	1
	The Importance of the Sulu Arms Market	1
	Significance of this Research	7
	Limitations	14
2.	The Illicit Arms Market: Analysis of a System	19
	Shades of Grey	20
	Components of the Arms Market	22
	The Global Geography of Guns	27
3.	The Sulu Arms Market: The Players	60
	Colonial History	60
	The Communists	63
	The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)	65
	The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)	70
	The Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	73
	The Criminals	78

4.	Supply and Demand in the Sulu Arms Market 93		
	The Demand Side: Routes	93	
	The Demand Side: Smuggling Principles and		
	Practices	101	
	The Supply Side: Sulu as a Source	108	
5.	<b>Regional Counter-Trafficking Policies</b>	118	
	Multilateral Cooperative Initiatives	120	
	Bilateral Initiatives	126	
	United States Brokered Multilateralism in		
	the Sulu Arms Market	130	
	Philippine National Efforts	139	
	Malaysian National Efforts	142	
Со	nclusion	153	
The	e Current State of the Sulu Arms Market	154	
The	e Way Ahead	157	
Bib	liography	169	
Ind	ex	201	
Aba	out the Author	215	

### **List of Figures**

	Figure 2.1	Components	of the	Arms	Market
--	------------	------------	--------	------	--------

- Figure 2.2 Regional Market Complexes
- Figure 2.3 The Southeast Asian Regional Market Complex and its Sub-Complexes
- Figure 3.1 MILF's Black Market Suppliers
- Figure 4.1 The Geography of the Sulu Arms Market
- Figure 4.2 The Maluku Route Cluster
- Figure 4.3 The Palawan Route Cluster
- Figure 4.4 The Sulu Route Cluster (Sabah)
- Figure 4.5 The Sulu Route Cluster (Mindanao)

## **List of Tables**

Table 2.1	Types of Arms Markets and Their	
	Characteristics	19
Table 2.2	Licensed Production of Western	
	European Small Arms	36
Table 5.1	Cooperative Initiatives Affecting the	
	Sulu Arms Market	129

## List of Common Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACTC	ASEAN Centre for Combating
	Transnational Crime
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
AMDA	Anglo-Malayan Defense Arrangement
ARMM	Autonomous Region of Muslim
	Mindanao (Philippines)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group (Philippines)
ATF	Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms
	(United States, Bureau of)
BAKORKAMLA	Badan Kooperasi Keamanan Laut/
	Indonesian Maritime Security
	Coordinating Board (IMSCB)
BFAR	Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic
	Resources (Philippines)
BID	Bureau of Immigration and
	Deportation (Philippines)
BUCUS	Bureau of Customs (Philippines)
CARAT	Cooperation Afloat, Readiness, and
	Training
CWS	Coast Watch South (Philippines)
DAMCOR	Danao Arms Corporation
	(Philippines)
DEA	Drug Enforcement Agency
	(United States)

DENR	Department of Environment and
	Natural Resources (Philippines)
EADS	European Aeronautic Defense and
	Space Company
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional/
	National Liberation Army
	(Colombia)
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias
	de Colombia/Revolutionary Armed
	Forces of Colombia
FPDA	Five Power Defence Arrangement
GBC	General Border Committee
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armée/Armed
	Islamic Group (Algeria)
GWOT	Global War on Terrorism (Pakistan)
HuM	Harakat ul-Mujahedin/Sword of the
	Mujahedin (Pakistan)
IADS	Integrated Area Defense System
ILEA	International Law Enforcement
	Academy
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence Agency
101	(Pakistan)
ISPS	International Ship and Port Facility
101 0	Security Code
Л	Jemaah Islamiya (Indonesia)
JIACG	Joint Interagency Coordination Group
JIIICO	(United States)
JIATF-W	Joint Interagency Task Force–West
J17111'- VV	(United States)
	(United States)

JTF	Joint Task Force
JUSMAG	Joint United States Military
	Assistance Group
KMM	Kumpulan Mujahedin Malaysia/
	Malaysian Mujahedin Group
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
	(Sri Lanka)
MARINA	Maritime Industry Authority
	(Philippines)
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MMEA	Malaysian Maritime Enforcement
	Agency
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
	(Philippines)
MNSTC-I	Multi-National Security Transition
	Corps-Iraq
MOF	Marine Operations Force (Malaysia)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDFB	National Democratic Front for
	Bodoland (India)
NSCN	National Socialist Council of
	Nagaland (India)
NORINCO	China North Industries Corporation
NPA	New Peoples' Army (Philippines)
ODC	Office of Defense Cooperation
	(United States)
OEF-P	Operation Enduring Freedom-
	Philippines
OIC	Organisation of the Islamic
	Conference
PACOM	Pacific Command (United States)

PCTC	Philippine Center for Transnational
PFLP	Crime Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PNP	Philippine National Police
PoA	Plan of Action
ReCAAP	Regional Cooperation Agreement
	on Combating Piracy and Armed
	Robbery against Ships in Asia
SEACAT	Southeast Asia Cooperation Against
	Terrorism
SATI	Southeast Asia Tri-Border Initiative
S/CRS	State Department Office for the
	Coordinator of Reconstruction and
	Stabilization (United States)
SOG	Special Operations Group (MILF,
	Philippines)
SSTR	Stability, Security, Transition, and
	Reconstruction
TSCP	Theater Security Cooperation Plan
TTEG	Tripartite Technical Experts Group
UAE	United Arab Emirates
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
	(India)
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the
	Law of the Sea
WESTMINCOM	Western Mindanao Command
	(Philippines)
WORLD-MPC	Workers' League of Danao Multi-
	Purpose Cooperative (Philippines)

### Glossary of Terms (In order of relevance)

- Arms: Any weapon wielded by Man. Includes weapons of mass destruction, planes, tanks, and capital ships; demolitions, ammunition, and any individual or crewserved weapons.
- Ammunition: All projectiles, such as bullets and shot, that can be fired from guns or otherwise propelled.<sup>1</sup>
- Demolitions: A term used to describe explosives and the firing systems and detonators used to detonate them. The firing systems in particular can be everyday-use items such as cell phones and two-way radios and will not be considered "demolitions" until they are paired with explosives and detonators into a complete system.
- Small Arms: A term generally understood to refer to small caliber weapons including revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, sub-machine guns, assault rifles, and light machine guns. Small arms are a category of light weapons.<sup>2</sup>
- Light Weapons: A term generally used to denote weapons of a weight and size such that they are either man-portable or crew-portable. Includes light mortars, grenade launchers,

light anti-armour rockets, and medium and heavy machine guns. This term is often used in conjunction with, and sometimes as a synonym for, small arms.<sup>3</sup>

Guns: A term usually used to describe a weapon that uses expanding gases caused by an explosion in a chamber to propel a projectile. This book will use this term interchangeably with "small arms" and "light weapons" but will not use it to describe heavy artillery, which is outside the scope of this research.

Firearms: This term is a synonym for "guns".

- Munitions: This term includes firearms and the ammunition used by those arms.
- Arms Transfers: This term describes any process of handing over arms from a source to an end-user. Transfers can be legal or illegal, licit or illicit, and can be the result of a purchase, a trade, or a diversion such as theft.
- Arms Trade: Refers to the overall system of arms transfers, methods of payment, and supply of arms.
- Arms Trafficking: Refers to the organized *illegal* transfer of arms.
- Illegal: Prohibited by law or official rules.<sup>4</sup> In the context of the arms trade, this term can refer to the manufacturing or transfer of arms, the legal status of banned weapons or materials, or to the status of end users that are under sanction by national or international laws.

- Illicit: Not accepted by society at large. In the context of the arms trade, this term can refer to the manufacturing or transfer of arms, the legal status of banned weapons or materials, or to end-users that are of disputed or uncertain legal status. For example, an arms transfer from a factory in the United Kingdom via a transit point in Turkey to a Sudanese end-user banned by the British Government, may be considered a violation of British laws but is perfectly legitimate in the view of Turkey and Sudan. Outside observers would properly identify such a transfer as illicit.
- Combined Operations: Military operations that include elements from the armed services of two or more countries. For example, a patrol conducted by naval vessels from the Philippines and Malaysia is a combined patrol.
- Joint Operations: Military Operations that include elements of two or more services from the same country. For example, a patrol conducted by Navy boats and Air Force helicopters is a joint patrol.
- Paramilitary: Of, relating to, or being a group of civilians organized in a military fashion.<sup>5</sup> This term is used interchangeably with "law enforcement".
- The Sulu Zone: Refers to the area that encompasses north and east Sabah, the Sulu Archipelago, southern Palawan, western Mindanao, and the northern part of the Celebes Sea. "The Sulu Zone" is a synonym for the "tri-border area" and the "Sulu Sea region".<sup>6</sup>

#### Notes

- 1. *The American Heritage College Dictionary*, 3rd Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993), p. 44.
- Tulliu, Steve and Thomas Schmalberger, Coming to Terms with Security: A Lexicon for Arms Control, Disarmament and Confidence-Building, UNIDIR/2003/22 (Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 2004), p. 36.
- 3. Ibid.
- 4. *The American Heritage College Dictionary*, 3rd Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993), p. 676.
- 5. Ibid., p. 990.
- 6. James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone*, 1768–1898: *The Dynamics of External Trade*, *Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981), p. 103.