



**TERROR-RAZING THE FOREST:
GUNS, CORRUPTION, ILLEGAL
LOGGING, JI & THE INDONESIAN
MILITARY IN PAPUA NIUGINI
*A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION***



**PNG INVESTIGATION INTO CROSS-BORDER ISSUES; CORRUPTION, RIMBUNAN-HIJAU, GUN SMUGGLING, AND MUCH MORE....
(OR "TASMANIA ISN'T THE ONLY PLACE WHERE GUNS AND TIMBER GO TOGETHER")**

Acknowledgments

This preliminary investigation is based on field interviews conducted in Papua New Guinea throughout November 2005. Information was gathered through interviews and conversations that were conducted with West Papuan refugees, guerrillas, priests, bishops, grassroots activists, aid workers, ex-premiers, members of Parliament, NIO agents, PNGDF personnel, ADF personnel, ex-police, pilots, fishermen, villagers, journalists, bookmakers, vanilla growers, marijuana growers and even gun smugglers and a pimp. Over twelve formal interviews were conducted in total, and the majority of those interviewed asked not to be identified in any preliminary investigations (in the hope of ensuring a full scale investigation would be conducted). I received many little nuggets of information from many other sources within our grassroots networks also. Interviews were conducted personally in Port Moresby, Madang, Wewak, Hawain, Moem, and several other undisclosed locations; Proxy interviews have been conducted in Kaup, Hawain coupe 1, Green River, Blackwater and Vanimo. Email contact has filled in the gaps.

Apologies also for the amount of time this has taken, but I have been awaiting extra parts of information from many sources.

I wish to thank all the people and organisations without whose generous assistance and co-operation this investigation would not have been possible. First and foremost the entire network of supporters for West Papuan Justice and liberation. In no particular order the following provided invaluable support and insight, and deserve a big call out and Respect to:

All my wantoks of MeISol, my brother Jacob Rumbiak, National Facilitating committee for a Free West Papua PNG, Friends of the Earth Australia, (Cam and Ila especially), Fred M, ELSHAM, Greenpeace PNG, Dorothy Tekwe, Greenpeace International, AWPA (right across Oz), Dan M, ESCOW, Mary S, Bruce S, JW, "Danny", Toby, Peter Mario and all of the Kreer crew by the little store, the Boram crew esp Paul, all villagers of logging areas, the good people inside RH, BRG, JJ (in OZ), Jimi C, Jim H, MCF, NUS, especially Anna Rose, Students for West Papua, Karina K, KNPBP, West Papua National Authority, Environmental Law Centre POM, Annie Kajir, Vince, Leo, Caritas in Wewak, HELP Resources, PRD, George Aditjondro, Lloyd Jones, WPOZSOLNET, PNG Congress of Trade Unions, Ben Bohane, OPM Northern and Southern Command, John Coconut, Bob Namah, all those that share Ivuta Koae and Kevaro, Jerry Singirok, a certain Lt-Col from the ADF, Maj. AB AUSINT, the Herc crew, two good people in NIO, my muses, the Cassowaries, and those other people that know I am eternally grateful but cannot mention them here, or have inadvertently forgotten them because I have done too much writing..... and most especially the beautiful, ancient and powerful land of One Papua: Mambesak, the Land of the Bird Of Paradise. May she fly free and strong and high, over one old Land like the not so long ago....

Nick Chesterfield, Jirrbal Country (FNQ, "Australia"), January 2006





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Glossary

AFP	Australian Federal Police	MPR	People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat)
ADF	Australian Defence Force	NFC	National Facilitating Committee for Free West Papua (PNG)
AusAID	Australian Agency for Intl Development	NGO	Nongovernmental organization
Bapaknya	"Father of.."	NIO	National (Niugini) Intelligence Organisation
BPD	Village Representative Board (Badan Perwakilan Desa)	NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
BRIMOB	Mobile Brigade, POLRI	ODA	Official development assistance
BRG	Bismarck-Ramu Group, Madang	OPM	Free Papua Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka)
CARITAS	Catholic Church Aid Agency	OSI	Open Society Institute
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations	PAPINDO	Large Joint venture retail venture all across PNG, owned jointly by Kopassus and The Chief, and cronies
"The Chief"	rhymes with "thief": Michael Somare, alleged Prime Minister of PNG	PDP	Papua Presidium Council (Presidium Dewan Papua)
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species	PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
DAP	Papuan Traditional Council (Dewat Adat Papua)	PMG	Papua Monitoring Group
E-IMET	Expanded International Military Education and Training Program	PNG	Papua New Guinea
EC	European Commission	PNGDF	PNG Defence Force
ECP	Enhanced Co-operation Program with AFP, ceased June 2005	POLDA	Provincial Police (Kepolisian Daerah)
EFF	Eco-Forestry Forum	POLRI	Indonesian National Police (Polisi Republik Indonesia)
EIA	Environmental Investigations Agency	PPC	Police Provincial Commander
ELC	Environmental Law Centre	PRC	Papua Resource Center
ELSHAM	The Institute for Human Rights Study and Advocacy	RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
ESCOW	East Sepik Council of Women	RH	Rimbunan-Hijau Group of companies
ESP	East Sepik Province	RPNGC	Royal PNG Constabulary
EU	European Union	SGI	Satuan Gagas Intelijen, Strategic Intelligence Unit, Kopassus
FOS	Friends of Sepik Solidarity	Telepak	Indonesian Environmental Activist NGO
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation	TNI	Indonesian National Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia)
FDI	Foreign direct investment	TPN	Papuan National (Liberation) Army Tentara Papua (Pembebasan) Nasional
GDP	Gross domestic product	TRIKORA	Triple Command of the "People"
GOLKAR	Golongan Karya (Functional Groups)	UnCEN	Universitas Cenderawasih
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/ Acquired immune deficiency syndrome	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
IMET	International Military Education and Training Program	WPNA	West Papua National Authority
IMF	International Monetary Fund	YLBHI	Indonesia Legal Aid Institute Foundation
Intel	The catch all phrase for Indonesian intelligence bodies and agents		
KODAM	Territorial Command Structure, TNI		
KomnasHAM	National Human Rights Commission		
KONTRAS	Commission for Anti-Violence and Forced Disappearance		
KOPASSUS	Special Forces, TNI		
KOSTRAD	Strategic Reserves Command, TNI		
MAF	Mission Aviation Fellowship		
MELSOL	Melanesian Solidarity		
MNC	Multinational corporation		
MoU	Memorandum of understanding		

Note: All currencies are quoted in PNG Kina, which at the time of writing was at PGK1 to US0.30c



Introduction

Upon arriving in PNG the author had immediately started to observe the massive corruption (without even passing customs). Hearing many stories about the lack of support West Papua was receiving from Papuan leaders the author started to ask questions why. Why are Papuans not supporting their wantoks on the other side of the fictitious border, and selling them out for business interests? Where is the loyalty of the father of the nation to his own family? How do PNG leaders allow Indonesian military personnel to run amok deep inside "sovereign" PNG territory and intimidate normal Papuan people?

An opportunity presented itself to go into East Sepik and closer to the border and investigate these issues personally. In doing so, the author was presented with a much more worrying picture than had been previously known, and was introduced to many people that helped join all the dots together. The plan was to dig for dirt, but instead returned with diamonds.

The trigger for this visit was the report into an "unidentified" C130 Hercules flying low over Vanimo at 2 am on October 27th. It was reported in both *"The National"* and the *"Post-Courier"* for several days and was accepted as "just one of those things that are so commonplace we don't even notice". This C130 was reported by many eyewitness to fly at less than two hundred metres above the town, and then headed out to Aitape. It is reported to have inserted an entire company (an entire Hercules-full) into the grasslands and lowland forest around Aitape, an area still traumatised after the massive tsunami of 1998.

This was the most direct and blatant example yet of TNI incursions into the Sandaun and East Sepik provinces. During a time when Australian forces were present in the general area on an unrelated training exercise, it is surprising that the TNI thought nobody would notice. It was postulated that they were either there to help logging workers, to do a dry run for a major insertion, or to scout for physical intelligence around the AusAID-funded highway (that when completed will run from the Jayapura barracks to Wewak).

Whatever their exact purpose in coming in, their presence certainly provided an opportunity for people already frustrated with official collusion with the Indonesian military forces and their logging company proxies to talk about the real state of affairs in the border region. Both local people and refugees expressed great relief and happiness that somebody is starting to pay attention to what may become the greatest peace and security threat that our region has ever faced, unless concerted international action in solidarity is taken now. The only hope is that we, as the international community, will not disappoint Papuans yet again, and stand with them to end this Terror-razing of the forest.





Executive Summary

The resources of Papua, have always been attractive to colonialism and plunder. The first, the Sultan of Tidore, started plundering the island for slaves in the early 1300s. Every successive wave of colonialists from the Portuguese to the Dutch and the Indonesians have had their sights set on the gold and the forests of the land of the Bird of Paradise. What the Australians haven't plundered in PNG is now being flogged off to the highest bidder by those too greedy to realise the future of their land lies *in* their land. And always the highest bidder tends to be the most unscrupulous, the most immoral, and the one most willing to trample over peoples' fundamental rights.

However, now the highest bidder tends to be the one with the guns, the force and the blackmail to allow the most economically nonsensical operations to occur in pursuit of a much more sinister goal. This sinister goal is being facilitated by the so called fathers of the nation, who either are completely naïve to the issue, or are a direct part of it.

The worst timber company in the world?

What has been uncovered in East Sepik is a disturbing picture of official corruption allowing forests to be destroyed and communities intimidated, taking bribes whilst being completely unaware of the true motives behind the operations.

Almost everyone spoken to, especially former timber workers, are highly suspicious of the activities of the logging companies in the area. Roads are substandard, unlikely to last a wet season, and camp areas are built speedily, for purposes other than logging.

More worrying however, is the total impunity in which the companies operate. Or that should really read "company". From the interviews and evidence the author has uncovered, it seems highly likely that the nasty Malaysian Tiong family conglomerate, Rimbunan Hijau is at it again. Infamous in its use of labyrinthine corporate structure and family front companies, it is so hand in glove with the Indonesian military business empire now as to be indistinguishable.

"the military in (West) Papua are involved in every aspect of illegal logging..... Military involvement in illegal activities is taken for granted in Indonesia. Hundreds of reports of military involvement in illegal logging have emerged and there is recognition of this serious problem within the government. Reports of military personnel owning illegal sawmills, backing timber barons and applying pressure for the release of confiscated logs are common and widespread....."²

"They just don't seem to be doing the work here for the timber, they are not here logging for the long term.. Timber is a side issue: it is as if they are really here for something else..."

villager and ex timber worker near Wewak.¹

The behaviour of the logging company workers can only be described as inhuman, perpetrated by people who have had experience in impunity as systemic human rights abusers. Their attitude to Papuan workers has been institutionalised, and many of the workers are alleged to be Kopassus members. These workers have established a sexual slavery trade, deliberately introduced HIV into the local population, and are forcibly prostituting local girls as young as ten. Violence meted out on the Papuan workers is being passed on to Papuan women, with most people living in constant fear. Women are bearing the brunt of all the aspects of the cross border military and economic issues. And who can they turn to for help, knowing that their "leaders" are taking money and in business with the exploiters?

There is the repeated, and known, customs and immigration violations of the Rimbunan

timber boats, and evidence of at-sea transfers of personnel and equipment without customs inspection. There is a question of money and/or alcohol changing hands to Customs in PNG to allow ships in and out without inspection. Witnesses have also reported the transfer of weapons and smuggling at the beachheads. Known Jemaah Islamiyah and Laskar Jihad identities have been attached to the operations, and are intimidating local people also. There are also strong, repeated and confirmed reports of the presence of a certain individual JI chief who is "officially" dead.

To put it simply, the vast majority of locals who have even a slight exposure to what is really going are terrified by the possibilities. These people know exactly the Genocide that happens to their wantoks across the border in West Papua, and having witnessed the presence of foreign military personnel working closely with Rimbunan, they are also worried that some of the same figures connected with TNI-sponsored militia violence across Indonesia are working hand in hand with the cross-border timber operators.

The evidence uncovered is pointing to a concerted campaign of economic, social and military/intelligence destabilisation and domination of East Sepik and Sandaun provinces by Indonesia. Many people fear this is a verbatim repeat of the pre-1962 violence, intimidation, corruption and destabilisation that facilitated the takeover of West Papua, and all the on the ground indications point to that terrifying possibility.

Given the heavy handed presence of the TNI business interests in ESP and Sandaun, one can easily assert that the TNI is treating the PNG provinces like a defacto occupied territory. There have been shootings and attacks on peoples houses and villages. As this report was being written, another village was burnt to the ground and its people left homeless near a timber camp. There are also serious allegations about the involvement of PAPINDO Inc. in the facilitation of TNI aims in PNG, a company that has documented close association with the alleged Prime Minister of PNG, Sir Michael Somare. Somare himself has been seen to be in direct and regular contact with PapIndo figures on trips to Kaup, public events and soccer tournaments, and even barbeques at his house in Wewak. As with RH, PapIndo is very closely connected to senior Kopassus figures. They even share vehicles and houses in Wewak. And of course, anything with Kopassus involvement has the connection with terrorist organisations throughout South East Asia and beyond.

PNG will lose its "independence" to the TNI killer general's unless people across the world stand with all Papuans to fight for an end to corruption and human rights abusers controlling the resources that belong to all Papuans. This includes standing with Papuans who are also fighting for genuine independence from Australia.

This report purely relates to the data collected on a preliminary investigation into cross border security and environmental issues. It is by no means an exhaustive investigation into these issues, and actually raises the need for a fully resourced full scale investigation. Nor is it an investigation into the environmental aspects of the illegal logging, looking more at the social and security aspects. Because of the interconnectedness of every aspect of what is going on in ESP and Sandaun, subject matter merges so cannot be separated easily. It looks closely at the issues of cross border trading relationships, gun smuggling, sex slavery and sexual violence against local women and children, intimidation of villagers and illegal logging.

It must be said also that this report does not follow any academic formula. The author is not an academic, rather an activist, investigator and human rights worker who goes into places and asks all sorts of difficult questions. Therefore this report presents the information in the way that it was collected, with nothing major left out (only that which protects people's safety and security). It is also focussed on an Australian audience because of the reality that PNG is still not genuinely

The unprotected land border that extends for 760km between PNG and Indonesia is invitingly open to illicit dealers in guns and drugs.....

In addition, there are foreigners suspected of engaging in illegal activities by using PNG nationals as decoys for larger syndicates, which take advantage of weaknesses in state institutions, such as lapses in enforcement and sovereignty management.....

Papua New Guinea's political leaders are constantly implicated in the illegal use of guns by the local media.....

***Jerry Singirok, PNGDF
Commander(ret.), May 2005³***

independent from Australian colonialism.

Specifically, the report:

- examines the preliminary indications that allege the involvement in Rimbunan-Hijau and other timber companies in corrupt activities, gun smuggling, and the illegal movement of undocumented Indonesian workers who are linked to both the Indonesian Military and terrorist groups.
- examines allegations of high level corruption and poses many questions which need to be answered on the mess that could be created by inaction.
- questions on the role of the Australian government aid in the funding of certain infrastructure projects that are facilitating TNI economic colonialism, and may actually be assisting in the physical movement of the greatest threats to peace and security in our region.
- questions about the Australian Government refusal to see verified evidence, and to investigate allegations of aid misuse.
- recommends specific actions to commission a full scale investigation to occur, to test and prove beyond all doubt the veracity of the allegations raised here.

There is a therefore an immediate imperative for Australia to start paying much closer attention to the goings on at the border, with 28,000 combat soldiers being stationed there. Even the drovers dog can see what is going on, and these are no "rogue elements". This is the greatest threat to Australia's national security that has emerged in many years, and is a critical challenge to broader peace and security in not just the wider Pacific but the whole world. It is Australia's immediate choice how this will eventuate.





Illegal Logging

In one of the few places in the world where the Land still belongs to the people that were born there, traditional landowners are always reminded: "*Graun em Laip! Lukautim Graun Bilong Yu!*" (Land is Life! Look after your land!). It is therefore distressing to see the duplicity in which the so-called father of the nation is personally profiting off the destruction of his peoples' land. The most obvious thing as one is flying into any location within East Sepik is the illegal logging, which is minor compared to the devastation over the border. The scars left across the landscape show that the wounds will not heal, evidence of some voracious cancer run amok, washing the blood red soil into the sea killing all in its path. It is appropriate that "amok" is a Malay word, because it is Malaysia's foremost robber timber barons that are running amok.

There is today an international awareness about the biological significance, and the importance of effectively and accountably managing the paradise forests. Many multilateral agreements have been signed by both PNG and Indonesia to protect the place where the monsoon is born, the place where the global weather systems that provide rain to grow the world's food are generated. Yet in both countries, a bit of *rupiah komunikasi* or *planti tok kina* have made a mockery of agreements such as CITES. The deliberate contempt that is shown to even lip service to international conventions, and more importantly to the local peoples' wishes, is shameful, and goes to the highest levels.

In conducting interviews to ascertain the true picture of the security situation, the author uncovered such all-pervasive and blatant official corruption that would make both Suharto and Ferdinand Marcos blush. The facilitator of all of this was the biggest monolith, Rimbunan-Hijau. In the words of the Somare-deposed Premier of East Sepik, Bruce Samban: "if they were not these companies I do not think they would be allowed here, because the government, the current leaders, most of them, they live off Rimbunan-Hijau."

RH has been extremely creative in its structuring of operations within PNG and West Papua. As alluded to before, it is infamous in its use of labyrinthine family and corporate structures. In PNG, of which few links are ever acknowledged. According to Greenpeace in their report on RH, "The Untouchables":

"Rimbunan Hijau maintains a veil of secrecy over the true extent of its logging and other business interests but it has interests in more than 60 interlinked companies that are registered in Papua New Guinea.

These companies control more than 50 percent of Papua New Guinea's large-scale commercial logging operations and at least 55 percent of log exports.

Greenpeace estimates that Rimbunan Hijau controls timber rights in more than three million hectares of forest and in 2002 alone, exported logs worth more than US\$50 million from Papua New Guinea."

Additionally, its links to the elite are brazen. Greenpeace again:

"Rimbunan Hijau has close connections to Papua New Guinea's political elite. The Prime Minister has been directly involved in the logging industry and his Deputy has been criticised in an Ombudsman Commission report for 'arbitrary and irresponsible' interference in directing the unlawful allocation of the Kamula Dosa logging concession to Rimbunan Hijau.

The Secretary of the Department of Environment and Conservation was also criticised by the Ombudsman Commission for his role in the same affair.

The Minister for Justice is the Chair of a company that holds the permit for the East Kikori logging concession. His company employs Rimbunan Hijau as its logging contractor. The Minister for Planning, the Minister for Privatisation and the Chief Secretary are other prominent leaders with well-documented links to the logging industry in PNG."

Every time a company is identified it will "pull out" and a new company will take over the operations of the concession. In the Hawain concessions, RH were operating directly but came

under fire due to local agitation against their activities which showed clear linkages to both The Chief, and his son Arthur, who was Governor of ESP at the time. Almost immediately its replacement company came in, called Womwong Ltd. According to our networks, this company was registered in China. It then pulled out sometime in late August, when another company came in, called Sumas (also registered in China, but with suspicious linkages to RH). According to the official version given to the locals, this pullout was the proof that the complaints process was transparent and effective. It is more likely that their activities came under scrutiny and they changed their corporate structure. The only leak in this otherwise watertight setup was that all the same equipment, personnel, and management were seen on site with all three companies, along with the same modus operandi. It is still RH all along, and the Chief is still protecting them.



During investigations that author was involved in several years ago trying to locate Kopassus business worldwide, it was proven that a common tactic of the Chinese-Malay and/or -Indonesian families is for them to utilise vast networks of front companies registered in Guangzhou or Fujian, China. Now that China controls Hong Kong, this is a common place for registering front companies, just as the Carribean is used in the West. However the Chinese connection has historical precedent with the particular families involved. Both the Tiong family who own RH and the Liew family from Indonesia were, in 1910, involved in the formation of HongiChina, the regional ethnic Chinese trading bloc (see *"Who are Shanti?"*, later in this section).

The author and all those consulted in this investigation are mystified as to why a timber operation would go to so much trouble in hiding their ownership, when they clearly have so much political clout to divert any accountability over CITES. It is certainly not to hide evidence of illegal logging, as blatant as this is. The full ramifications of this will become clear through the report. It is looking more and more like they are simply utilising the forestry operations as cover for something much, much more sinister.



Every logging site that the author visited showed outright nose-thumbing at the alleged law. Each log, the export of which is highly illegal under PNG law, show evidence of serious corruption clearly by being allowed into shipping containers, with no evidence of Customs inspection. However, all the illegal logs were marked and tagged, and the companies were keeping the paperwork. When one of our contacts went to verify whether any inspections were occurring with customs, he found them drunk on Indonesian beer and spirits – the Wewak officers were drunk for

almost three weeks, according to our informants. All this was while containers were being loaded with illegal logs in broad daylight.

The method in which the logging companies gain control of the local timber concessions is a well documented process, and would be familiar to anyone with experience of corporate relations with indigenous peoples anywhere in the world. This process is so formulaic that it can be outlined as follows:

How to enslave a country in 8 easy and deniable steps!

Step 1: The first step is always at the highest level of government, by ensuring that the Prime Minister and Forest Minister are paid off handsomely. This will allow the correct legislation to be ignored and other legislation worked around in the usual manner, and will allow blocking of any discussion at Cabinet level by any minister that isn't corrupted already. Those that aren't can then be approached individually with individual bribes, or face a concerted discrediting campaign in the company's national newspaper.

Step 2: Pay off senior figures in the national police forces and bring them into the loop also. This will ensure that the elite paramilitaries are loyal to the company and not the people. Make sure that you include the Provincial and Local police commanders.

Step 3: Make sure you go into joint business ventures at all levels with each of your identified corrupt officials. Make sure you sign the deals in your brothels in Jayapura, paying for all expenses and being very public about doing so. Even if they refuse, make sure they get compromised enough and send them lots of presents and ladies. Make sure the prostitutes are HIV infected of course. That way, you can have another blackmail tool at no extra cost. Remember, do not balk at the initial cost, as you will recoup all your costs immediately. This is the cheap option – remember paying the politicians directly will ensure you do not have to pay royalties to the locals, nor Customs Duties (apart from the occasional case of whisky), nor taxes.

Step 4: Now that you have established loyalty, go into the local communities and start your “consultations”. This may sound like a scary word, but don't worry. Make sure you bring your heavily armed paramilitary police mobile brigade with you. While you are saying how you will help the local community, how you will bring clean water, sanitation, health care and education, don't forget to let the Mobile Brigade loose. Make sure you tell them to take all the pretty girls they want, after all, this is Papua, and Melanesians like sex, that is the stereotype. Tell your Police that this is normal, and they are just offering themselves as thanks for the untold benefits that you are going to bring the villagers. And tell the Police that those who resist are just playing a complex courtship game, and rifle butts are built for beating women into doing what they really want to do anyway.

Step 5: The people will complain about their treatment, but explain to them that they have just misunderstood, and really, you are only doing this for the good of the people. Even better, get your politicians to do this: they are so much more convincing. Explain to them how important progress is at any cost. Express sympathy at the loss of their food gardens, medicine forests, drinking water etc. Tell them now they have money they can buy drinking water (make sure you sell them the water too). In fact, open up a store in the village and feed them on bully beef and white bread and sugar (this is what modern people eat after all). Make sure you include overpriced and ineffective Western medicines. Under no circumstance allow them food that won't bring them diabetes. (This way you don't have to look after them, as they'll all die of preventable diseases). Tell the complaining few the company regrets any misunderstandings, & will fully investigate their concerns.

Step 6: Under no circumstances actually investigate anything apart from the identities of the troublemakers. Send the Mobile Brigade around to deal with them, and make to sure you remind them to rape the wives and girls too (although you probably be specific by this stage). You can't allow a few disgruntled people to ruin progress. Make sure they are made an example of, and burn a few of their villages down for good measure (just an accident of course). Make sure you make their local environment uninhabitable and offer them resettlement (don't actually give it to though).

Step 7: Now you have complete control of the project area, exploit your monopoly by running cross border trade. This is the ideal time to make sure you can land without any customs hassles, and bring in guns to smuggle. Seeing as you are a part of the Indonesian military, why not use the opportunity to bring in your proxies and militia crews, and keep going: set up a few Jemaah Islamiyah and Laskar Jihad camps? But don't forget to give them menial jobs just in case anybody starts looking.

Step 8: Why bother with a sovereign but corrupt government? So much paperwork: just cut out the middleman. Invade, what you planned to do all along. Don't forget to call it a “self defence security occupation zone” though.

Ok, maybe that is what is happening anyway. A handy step by step guide though!

During the course of this investigation, the author was alerted to a bank transfer of K400,000 to the Port Moresby bank account of the Forestry Minister, Patrick Pruitich, from RH. This is part of a regular series of payments that enable RH to get away with illegality at every level. The author has personally sighted evidence, that is also available only to a full scale investigation with protection, that shows similar transfers to the Chief, and to Benny Narokobi.

In several visits, the author drove directly to the logging sites and pretended he was an Australian timber worker facing problems with Australian Government regulation. A conversation was struck up with the Malaysian operations manager at the Shanti sites, who identified himself as "Wee". The author lamented the "bloody greenies that seem to run the Australian government" (which is the opposite to reality), and ask how they get around such restrictive anti-business laws such as CITES. Wee told the author that there was no problem with CITES or Customs



"Wee", Operations Manager, Shanti Forestry, at Kreer, ESP



Shanti Forestry workers loading Illegal logs next to Kopassus share house in Kreer Heights, Wewak

as they had "fixed that problem", and the Forest Officer was "not creating any problems here in East Sepik." He also added that the government has been "made to be on side and we have some useful old friends not far from here." He waved to the west while he was saying this, so there is no doubt in the author's mind that he was alluding to Indonesia, and the TNI in particular. Our friend also let slip that Shanti Timber was in fact a fully owned subsidiary of RH. "Who is your parent? Rimbunan?", asked the author. "Yes, Rimbunan parent, but we also do our own thing..."

The author was quite happy with this response, as a lot of people had been

looking for this connection for a while.

The practice of the getting around the ban on export logs is quite ingenious really. The raw logs are cut short and processed into flitches, which by definition are timber that is cut on four sides to particular dimensions. As one can see by the photographs, this is not the case. The flitches are then subject to export duty and forestry taxes, which are never paid.

In the cases illustrated at the Shanti sites, the Provincial Forest Officer and Customs Superintendent personally inspected, and despite Blind Freddy evidence of illegality and round logs, cleared the cut logs as fully sawn timber ready for export, and signed all the papers.

When confronted by the former Premier, the Shanti people said to the Customs people "Oh, its on the way, we are trying to organise, we will pay,



Corrupt Customs cleared containers

don't worry. Can't you allow the second shipment?" He responded by saying "Put a stop to it," but pressure had been applied to Customs again, and the logs were in the shipping containers at the time of interview.

At the time of writing however, this shipment has been stopped, for now. It is still sitting there at Kreer Heights, opposite the Kopassus/PAPINDO/RH share house, due to the tenacity of our activists on the ground and despite several attempts by Shanti to move the containers.

One may wonder why it is such an issue about allowing cut timber for export out and not raw logs. Firstly there is an issue of disease and quarantine, something that Australia should be officially concerned over. Most tree bark harbours thousand of different organisms that can easily spread debilitating plant diseases such as *Phytophthora* spp., a root rotting fungus that can destroy forests within months. The risk for Australia's vulnerable monoculture agriculture cannot be underestimated (even if there are some of us who would be quite happy to see that happen). This is especially the case given that RH exports these products to Australia through its subsidiary in Brisbane, TLB Holdings. In 2002, 16,653m³ of this illegal timber was exported into Australia¹. This is mainly transformed into veneer and plywood for corporate boardrooms and large developments.

However it is more an issue with economics. To begin with, each teak log is worth between 3,000 and 7,000 Kina by the time it is downprocessed. The resource owners may get between eighty to one hundred kina per log if they get paid at all. About thirty containers of illegal fitches will earn approximately 2 million Kina on sale, so there is a huge amount of money disappearing overseas that the landowners are entitled to get. And a proportion of that is disappearing into the hands of the Local, Provincial and National corrupt officials to enable it.

In allowing multinational companies to come into PNG, the various Somare dynasties had to pay at least lip service to the notion that any exploitation of the natural resources must provide some benefit to the local people. There is a fundamental in PNG which cannot be ignored, and that is ownership of the land belongs to the indigenous people. This is part of the Constitution. Any development must have their full and informed consent by the traditional owner otherwise it is illegal. So how is it that local people are being forced into development that they oppose, destroying their homes and forest?

The simple answer is "Sir" Michael Somare. The author has collected interviews and sighted reams of evidence that show The Chief is over his head in corrupt dealings. Somare is famous for his heavy handed wielding of executive power, overriding the wishes of the people, and making decisions which have personal benefits for him and his (closest) family. The Chief and his wife, the Provincial Administrator, The Finance Minister and the Forestry Minister have been identified in having close pecuniary interests in Shanti's operations in PNG. The ESP Police Provincial Commander also has close connections, and all the police know of this, and several disapprove, but they cannot do anything because the "Big People" are involved. "Boss, because all this big people are involved we are not doing anything." Not many people, not even Somare's own clan, get to see much of this wealth, or any. According to our informants, it is just five or six people here who are politically connected with the current government of the day who are the only ones (you) will see running riot.

Somare has been in close association with the Indonesian military business figures in Wewak. The author personally witnessed two occasions within two days of each other of Somare entertaining these figures on the dais

at the "Somare Soccer Shield" tournament, proudly sponsored by PapIndo, Shanti and the smelly RD Tuna (known in some circles in PNG as the triumverate of evil, and certainly the cause of hardship in ESP). The day before the author was walking past Somare's house where he peered in and saw the PPC, Somare, and several of the Papindo and Shanti figures, sitting in the garage and drinking Indonesian beer! A photo was about to be taken but a senior police officer saw, and threatened the author with arrest. It was deemed unwise to continue. Upon discussion of this

"If you are connected to the leader of the day you can do almost anything you want to do here, you will never be prosecuted....."

"If you are in opposition, no matter if what you do is right you will still be wrong. That is the sad thing about Papua New Guinea..."

Bruce Samban, Former Premier, ESP

incident with local friends, they responded "this happens all the time... this is no news for us."

What causes a man to sell out his country and his closest family? The process of becoming a traitor is a complex one, but it usually be broken down in one, or a combination of all three of the following:

Blackmail, where the target has been so compromised that their loyalty is guaranteed to the blackmailer;

Intimidation, where the target or their family or associates are threatened and coerced into acting towards the principals aims; the principle of feeling powerless and being "unable to rock the boat" also falls under this;

Mercenary, where the target has a choice, and is influenced by cash or material reasons. This can also be influenced by shutting down all other financial options available to the target, but usually it is borne out of the sheer greed of the target. However in ESP and Sandaun, sheer poverty and survival can be a justifiable reason, although this is more economic intimidation.

In Somare's case however, I think the attraction is purely mercenary. "I think they are allowing this kind of Rimbunan style foreign colonialism on their own people. And I don't think that is right. This where everybody should be involved, the people and the international community and everybody should be involved in condemning such leaders."

Many of the senior police are scared of the ramifications that can be unleashed if they investigate corruption too far, especially that involving their own senior officers. Many honest police (there are a few, the author even met three or four) have documented and investigated the cases of corruption so the evidence is there, it is just they feel they cannot do anything as the figures, especially the PPC of ESP, are too close to the "Big Chief". They feel that they cannot do anything, and even the highest levels are timid to do anything. The author also met many public servants who felt fearful to act but did not approve of what was happening, and were waiting for somebody else to take the lead.

It is clear however that these corrupt connections are starting to paralyse governance in the region and enable the logging companies to play their dangerous and destructive game with impunity. When asked if RH's activities involved military intelligence gathering, one person said, "I think it is more economic intelligence. They feel they can come in and use our resources, get rich and have their own country people getting the wealth. They are using it for their own economic and business buildup and development."

Hawain

At Hawain, about 30km west of Wewak, there are several sites of much misery. Whatever the company is calling itself week by week, the same people are causing untold hardship and misery to all the villagers in the entire basin. Together with our networks, the author witnessed personally much evidence of complete illegality. Great piles of teak logs, some over 30 metres in length awaited shipment at a beachhead west of Wewak that had been turned into a polluted wasteland and mud bath. Village water supplies have been destroyed and runoff has severely damaged local sago swamps, one of the staple foods of Papuans. Grandfather trees piled up on the beach, destroying the homes of critically endangered wildlife. Massive logs cut up and turned into road building material, just dumped side to side to cross a swamp, and then dumped on with rocks and dirt. No drainage, no channelling, and just send some heavy vehicle across to compact it. No promise kept.



Abandoned truck stuck in the mud, Hawain

One incident when RH started in the area demonstrated perfectly the attitude of RH (or Sumas). Near Hawain village, the RH crews came in and violated a traditional burial ground and cemetery, which was outside of their concession area. Some villagers had spoken out previously about RH operations, and we received a report that the bulldozers came in and tore open the graves, destroying remains, and literally tossing skeletons into the air. Furthermore, the subsequent



Illegal Rimbunan logging beach head and loading site near Hawain, East Sepik Province

investigation was deliberately stymied by the Provincial Administrator.

In recent months the bulldozers have been working daily through the rain. The author witnessed many examples of the where trees had been cut down, and tracks cut right through the forest to get trucks to the trees. Many times however, trucks would get stuck, so the bulldozers would be used to pull the truck out of the mud and simply cut a new track through the forest. The damage done to the forest is immeasurable by these practices through cutting off access from one ecological community to the other, and destroying food gardens, so that more food gardens must be planted.

As this report was being put together, we received messages that some villages had in fact been burned to ground by RH forces around the Kaup area. However, due to vagaries of Melanesian communication, the author was unable to finally verify before the report was to be completed. This, and other similar reports, must be followed up by a full scale investigation.

According to our informants, Sumas (the timber company at Hawain) were previously operating in West Papua logging Merbau (Kwila in PNG), Teak and other CITES listed species in the Sorong and Fak Fak areas. They had a close relationship with Shanti Forestry figures (who were also TNI) in the area. It seems from initial investigations that Sumas is controlled by the same group of Malaysian and Chinese investors that control Shanti, and RHⁱⁱ. Further investigation will uncover this. The Malaysian operations manager at Hawain, "Ju", prior to his stint in Fak Fak, was formerly the driver for the former Governor of West Papua "province", Isak Indom. (As anybody with any understanding of any part of Indonesia will attest, you cannot be a driver for a governor unless you are a soldier, and a very effective one at that. Unless you are JI of course (more on him later)).

Sumas were forced to suspend their operations around Fak Fak and Sorong due to disagreement with "West Irian Jaya" provincial authorities over royalties. One of the author's contacts in the Bird's Head district of West Papua says that it is much more likely that they argued about who would take the biggest bribe. There has been documented connection between the various logging companies and the Bupati (Regent or district administrator), Mr John Piet Wanane, and the lack of enforcement activities of KSDA, the Conservation Department in and around Sorong. Several figures in this have been implicated in massive corruption and bribery scandals and the head of the regional Forestry Department, Mr. Marthen Luther Rumadas, lost his job in 2002 as a resultⁱⁱⁱ.

In the aftermath of the release in February 2005 of the EIA/ Telepak report into Illegal logging in West Papua, "The Last Frontier", international attention caused a massive greenwashing exercise by the Indonesian government. Over 1500 Indonesian police were seconded to this investigation with a massive US\$1.3 million budget to smash the smuggling rings. However, according to local reports, some senior police were paid a visit by TNI personnel and told to discontinue the investigation. Added to this was the fact that some companies were close to the police, yet some were close to the army, and "an arrangement" would have to be made. Needless to say, apart from some superficial arrests of some low ranking bulldozer drivers, the real bigwigs were allowed to continue their operations

Sumas were one of those companies that did fall victim and were forced out of the area. However, further investigation revealed that its expulsion is in name only as many of the figures in

the West Papua are back operating under a different name. The illegal logging in West Papua is still happening, but it has now expanded east according to Yos Sudarso's dream. It is expanding all the way along the PNG border, with bases in Batom, Digul/Tanah Merah, and Merauke.

Sumas set up shop in Hawain in either July or August, and have been flat out flattening the place since, both ecologically and socially speaking. They are also guilty of perpetuating serious human rights abuses. As a baby of RH, their parent's history in human rights abuse across PNG, West Papua and the many other countries in which they operate are well documented^{iv}. In PNG there has been much documentation and reporting of specific incidents of Police Mobile Brigade abusing people at RH sites in Gulf and Western provinces^v, which was subject of an SBS Dateline documentary in 2002 (see Appendix D^{vi}). The only reason that this has not been documented in ESP and Sandaun before is because nobody has fully been investigating RH operations there on an external basis so far.

None the least are the labour abuses with the local people. RH first came into the area on the promise of economic benefits to the local people as their guiding principles. It was soon clear that this was mere lip service that was being peddled to their paid off flunkies in the government, like the alleged Prime Minister. Not one of the promises made by the Rimbunan group of companies to the local people has been honoured. Not one.

The author spoke with local workers of RH and Shanti operations, and they reported regular discrepancies between what RH said they were getting paid, and what they actually received. At all sites, it is lucky if a worker gets five kina a day, if they get paid at all. Sometimes, the foreman will get up to fifteen kina per day, but that is it. No extras, and then they are docked for lateness (this is Melanesia!), log damage (this is divided between the entire local Papuan workforce). If they complain, they get sacked. However, as is always the case, for the local people there is no choice, and they need the kina, even at five kina a day.

This is a captive market. One common trick is for the company to provide credit at the company run stores for food, in lieu of cash. Then they are surcharged for using credit, yet local people do not have a choice to go somewhere else, because there is nowhere else. Their traditional sources of economy have been completely destroyed by the timber operations, so there is no going back. They have to buy Flame flour, as their Sago swamps "*em bagarap*". Before the timber exploitation started in 1994, people could still lead a traditional life and now if they want to access their garden, they have to walk miles and miles to access strips of garden on other people's land, which creates it owns problems.

Worker safety is a joke, and it has been reported that there have been several deaths and serious (and permanent) injuries, with no accountability. Accidents are so commonplace as to be regarded as trivial, and the attitude is if somebody gets injured, replace them. No sign of concern for the welfare of the injured. The author was unable to gain specific information this vist about the exact nature of the incidents, but it is understood that both at Kaup and Hawain, there were several accidents through tree felling and also malfunctioning heavy machinery. One incident of several injuries that was reported resulted in a series of amputations through substandard chainsaws. It must be said however, that the smaller (4-8 workers) teams work better together and have better personal work safety awareness than on the larger scale operations.

This runs in the face of RH's commitments to managing its workforce and operations according to global best practice (whatever that means). Although it is the best practice of what timber companies are truly like around the world.

So, Who are Shanti?

Far from being a simple partner or even just a recently created convenience shelf company, Shanti Forestry is an entity that defies easy classification. Technically, it is acting as a front for RH, and a lot of the profit does flow through RH. Personnel are interchangeable with other RH operations, but it is the shadow half of Shanti that excites the most need to investigate further.

Shanti is an arm of the families associated with the TNI, but the story of its creation gives the clearest picture of the forces at play.

PT Shanti Group of Indonesia was founded in the early 1980s in "honour" of Shanti, granddaughter of the former dictator of Indonesia, Suharto. Shanti was eldest daughter of "Mbak Tutut", Siti Hardyanti Rukmana; and believed by many competent commentators in Indonesia to be illegitimately fathered by Genreal Try Sutrisno (former Vice President under Suharto).

Shanti was formed in partnership with senior KOSTRAD figures who went on to be Kopassus. PT Shanti Timber has been acknowledged to be a fully owned subsidiary of Rimbunan-Hijau by its own operations managers in PNG, although documentary evidence is hard to come by at the stage. However it seems more likely to be a joint venture between its founders and Rimbunan-Hijau. This may seem like a wild assertion, but given its history and the daily collusion between the two both in PNG and West Papua, the link should be obvious. In Indonesia though, the daily administration of Shanti is carried out by professional GOLKAR Consultants, appointed and accredited personally by Tutut in the early 1980s.

At the time of Shanti Groups major influence under Suharto's patronage, it was referred to as the child of the "Queen" of Indonesia, Tutut (It is widely reported that when Tutut ordered something done, even the highest general and vice president would stand to attention and do whatever she wished). But far more compelling is the depth of the linkages between Shanti and Big Timber in Indonesia with the TNI, and the intricate family histories involved between the founders of Suharto's Indonesia and the Rimbunan Hijau¹.

How the TNI came to fell the forest: the Liem Siew Liang - Tiong family connection.

In the early days of the Indonesian Revolution, founding independence leader Sukarno (who was assisted by the Japanese occupiers to resist the Dutch during the closing days of the Pacific War) encouraged the Communist forerunners of the Partai Komunis Indonesia to become a part of the nationalist revolutionary movement. After Independence in 1948 when the PKI was officially formed and recognised, Bapaknya (father of) Prabowo², the father of the former head of Kopassus and son-in-law of General Suharto, Lieutenant-General Prabowo Subianto, was the leader of the group that opposed the recognition of the communists as being "UnIslamic". He took a fundamentalist "Islamic" approach on the basis that an alliance with communism would threaten all religious beliefs.

In contrast, Sukarno was very pragmatic in all of his principles and would encourage whoever would make the country more unified *in his image*, and under his command. It was not until the mid 1950s that Sukarno started to play with the communists to gain their support to attempt a takeover of the still Dutch controlled West Papua.

In response to this, Bapaknya Prabowo with other Islamic nationalists, some of whom went

¹ This is by no means a complete history. Indeed, such a history fills many books, but it is just a summary of the connections that entwine the TNI to the Tiongs. More information can be found in any history of the Darul Islam movements.

² Unfortunately the author does not know the correct spelling of his name so is referring to him as Bapaknya.



on to launch the initial Darul Islam rebellion³, condemned Sukarno's position in courting communists for the perceived "liberation" of Papua from the Dutch. A large proportion of those opposing went on to initiate the Darul Islam armed movement for the creation of the Islamic State of Indonesia. These DI rebels formed PERMESTA in Sulawesi, and the PRRI (*Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia* or Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia) in Sumatra. At the time the commander of the PRRI was a Batak Mandalin Muslim named Colonel Simbolon, the father of the previous General in charge of West Papua Mahidin Simbolon.

At this time, Bapaknya Prabowo fled to Malaysia, where he was housed and sheltered by the father of the Tiong family of Rimbunan infamy throughout his exile. Prabowo Subianto was born in Malaysia during his father's exile.

Sukarno issued a general amnesty to all DI fighters who had just received a covert CIA shipment (via the 7th Fleet) of 15,000 of US weapons. Several commands of DI took up the amnesty, including Colonel Simbolon who went on to become one of the most 'distinguished' Indonesian families. Bapaknya Prabowo did not accept Sukarno's amnesty as he was highly suspicious of Sukarno's courting of Russian and Chinese communist assistance in Sukarno's high stakes game with the West to get his way (especially over West Papua). Many hardcore DI people saw this as a threat to Islam, which was heavily exploited by the US and their CIA. In this alliance, Bapaknya Prabowo was advising the CIA on who was most likely to lead pro-West regime, and also infamously assisted in the drawing up of the assassination lists which turned Indonesia into a land of blood.

Given this Sukarno suspected that General Haris Nasution, the supreme commander of KOSTRAD, was behind DI. Nasution was the founder of the elite unit RPKD (Regimen Para Kommando Angkatan Darat), the paratroopers who would then become KOPASSANDHA and the Kopassus⁴. Sukarno was especially concerned that *Cakrabidawa* (his elite presidential guard), who were mainly communist, would become a target of DI (and by proxy the CIA) who were agitating to remove Sukarno. In 1964, he, together with the CIA, organised KOPASSANDHA and its General Suharto to launch the September 30 1965 coup d'etat.

During this time the new purged military intelligence courted the former or underground members of DI to assist the bloodthirsty years of living dangerously, including the elder Prabowo. To quote the International Crisis Group in its report "Recycling Militants in Indonesia: Darul Islam and the Australian Embassy Bombing":

"The links of some of the West Java DI leaders with the army were reinforced in 1965-1966 when they were offered weapons in exchange for help in attacking suspected communists (PKI) in West Java, Aceh, and North Sumatra⁵. Danu Muhamad Hassan reportedly even believed that a soon-to-be-notorious officer, Ali Moertopo, saved the DI leadership from annihilation in 1966 by intervening with Soeharto when he thought the latter intended to use the cover of the mass killings that year to wipe out other political enemies, including Darul Islam.⁶"

It was only after General Suharto took power that Bapaknya Prabowo returned to Indonesia, safe in the knowledge that he would thereon have state sponsorship of whatever actions he would take to in furthering his beliefs.

³ The Darul Islam rebellion led by Soekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo created the conditions for the formation of groups like Jemaah Islamiyah from 1978. Several of these early Islamic nationalist identities also split with Jakarta to initiate the Acehnese independence movement Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (like Teungku Daud Beureueh). It is said that the bogeymen Nurdin Top and Azahari has reestablished links with the Komando Wilayan For further information on the history and formation of the Darul Islam movements, please see the International Crisis Group Reports "The case of the Ngruki network" and Recycling Militants in Indonesia: Darul Islam and the Australian Embassy Bombing.

⁴(Kopassus, by Ken Conboy, 2002)

⁵(original footnote) Crisis Group interview, October 2004. It was the army's provision of weapons for this task that convinced some DI members a decade later that the offer from military intelligence to work together to establish an Islamic state was genuine.

⁶(original footnote) Crisis Group interview, October 2004. Moertopo reportedly did this because of his personal ties with DI leaders going back to their days together in the Muslim militia known as Hizbullah, organised during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia.

General Suharto had a great mystery surrounding him: nobody knew who his father was. Officially he was a farmers' child, but his childhood was always a mystery. BP Prabowo was very close to Suharto and knew of his trustworthiness for the job at hand, which is why he recommended him to the CIA as being the only choice to be the brutal but efficient strongman that would guide Indonesia back into the hands of Western interests.

During the Second World War, Liem Siew Liong's parents were also long-standing successful business people in Malaysia, surviving the Japanese alongside their close friends in the Tiong family. The Chinese-Malay interests had always traded with the European colonial powers very successfully, and both the Liem and Tiong families knew which side their bread was buttered on, despite their heritage. The Tiongs were one of the primary trading families in the British Malaya, as were the Liems in the Dutch East Indies. A formal regional trading bloc, HongiChina, was created by the ethnic Chinese trading families around 1910 to safeguard Chinese trade from Euro-colonial exploitation. The Tiong and Liem families were a significant part of the formation of this vast trading network, and became personally close.

The young Muhammed Suharto grew up in central Java, and was raised by Bapaknya Liem. Many analysts believe that Liem Siew Liong's father was the father of Muhammed Suharto. His mother was also financially supported by Bapaknya Liem, and Suharto was sent to study by him at Dutch military school. He graduated ahead of his classmates and was 16 when Japan invaded, who gave him further training, instrumental in the formation of his military prowess and brutality.

When Suharto took power in 1965, slaughtering over a million communist sympathisers (and ethnic Chinese suspected of being communists), his younger Chinese brother and his family escaped Suharto's persecution. Liem Siew Liong and his blood brother were given positions to be in charge of Strategic Economic Planning. Suharto's eldest son, Sigit, then married Liem Siew Liong's daughter. After 300,000 people in Bali were turned into blood, Liem Siew Liong's ran the majority of business in Bali.

After the marriage, Liong divided the "Balinese" business empire between the Sigit "brand" (hotels, beer, nightclubs, drugs, tourism, prostitution and gambling, including the infamous "Tommy's Laundry" Casino on Christmas Island); Bambang "brand" (mega construction and sport); Tutut "brand" (mega bridge, road, infrastructure construction and military supplies and arms); Tommy brand (automotive and aerospace import and manufacturing). Suharto's granddaughter, Shanti, was made to be the co-ordinator for all logging, forestry, pulp, paper and plywood and forest products manufacturing activity. The National Strategic Economic Advisor is Bapaknya Prabowo.

Therefore with this final connection it is clear as to the close family relationships between the Suharto business empire, the Tiong Family and Liem Siew Liong. Shanti Timber, as part of the Suharto and Kopassus empire is in the partnership with family, the Tiong Rimbunan-Hijau empire. So given the historical connection with the founders of Kopassus, we should be in little doubt that any RH operation will always be a front for Kopassus and its penchant and plans for domination, subversion, terrorism and security disturbances.

Kopassus has always been the *angkatan anjing penjagga* (army guard dog) for Suharto and has always had its eyes on the resource of Papua New Guinea, ever since Suharto commanded Operasi Mandala, the invasion of West Papua. In Jayapura, the statue of Admiral Jos Sudarso, one of the architects of the invasion of West Papua has him facing and pointing to the east, with his right hand outstretched towards the south, Australia. Since the 1950s, one doctrine that has been taught in Indonesian military colleges is that of the hope for assisting Aboriginal peoples to rise up against our own oppressive occupiers. However as a descendant of the traditional custodians in the land that is now called Australia, the author can affirm that this will never be case. The Indonesian military seem to forget that Papuans are Aboriginal also, and will never side against the occupiers with a people that kill our indigenous brother and sisters. The Commonwealth of Australia might be rapists and genocidal thieves, but they are nothing compared to the Indonesian military.

And now we have Shanti Timber, which may help facilitate that terrible fifty year old dream into becoming a reality.



The Invasion Road

To begin with, we must acknowledge the reality that AusAID projects around the world are not renowned for the care in which they are put together. They also have never been known to provide any direct benefit to the people that they purport to be assisting. In fact, more often than not, the spirit in which they have been traditionally designed is one of greed at best, and utter stupidity and short sightedness the norm.

AusAID is infamous and not very well liked in PNG, especially not the "Papuaans" who continue to work for the *masta*, for the simple reason that Australian Official Development Assistance (ODA) is designed purely to provide a benefit to Australian companies. Generosity is offset by destruction of yet more indigenous communities, unsurprising since destroying Indigenous communities is what Australia is so good at. Shining examples of generosity to the local people such as the haul road to the Porgera mine; assistance to Ok Tedi mine to build more polluting infrastructure, and extra training and weaponry for the RPNGC Mobile Brigade so that they can shoot more schoolchildren in school, instead of providing them with resources for learning, and a future for PNG. Funding HIV programs without looking at who is deliberately using HIV as tool for Genocide next door, and who is bringing it in to PNG for the same reason.

So it came as no surprise for the author to learn that AusAID was facilitating another monument to greed, corruption and utter stupidity. This time that monument is a road, a road to somewhere, a road that Australia just should not go down. There is a simple logic to this road though, although it is only simple to those who actually live in the area, care about the people and the consequences of allowing the Indonesian military to business in the area. It is also simple to those that are getting ready to roll across.

The genius Australian government thinks this road starts at the "secure" border of West Papua. However it starts a little further to the west, right under a statue of Yos Sudarso, right outside the military barracks in Jayapura. It heads straight through the border, the hoped for "free trade zone" and now out the other side of Vanimo. In fact within the next month, when last fifteen kilometres of the road is completed, it will go all the way to Wewak, and all those new logging coupes, er, villages.

AusAID reckon they are on the ball. AusAID will say that they sacked the previous contractor, Barclays, who failed to come in under budget. So they got another local contractor who, rushing to complete the job, is doing a substandard job (at least the shoddiness will ensure the IT NI invasion force are slowed by the potholes and falling bridges). Another local contractor with close connections to Chief.

But they never look at the bigger picture. Why would Michael Somare be so effusive about opening roads with his business partners, the Indonesian military? This is a road that is going to bring nothing but misery to people in East Sepik. In all reality, there is a challenge Somare to outline one genuine benefit that will flow from this road to the people of ESP, and not just his own bunch of cronies. Free trade or blood trade? Is AusAID quite happy to fund genocide (oh, it already does in West Papua^{vii}) for PNG also? Because that is what will be happening if it continues, without checking each project out in a transparent and public manner, to fund projects with close ties to the Indonesian military.

The author urges a transparent and open investigation be set up to look at all disbursements awarded under AusAID to verify the strategic usefulness, and to see whether any breaches of PNG or Australian law have occurs through the use of AudAID funded infrastructure.



The Indonesian Military, PNG Police & Weapons Smuggling

The ease of availability of small arms in PNG has always been an issue of concern to all nations in the Pacific. It is perhaps one of the greatest single factors in the larger threat to peace and security in the Pacific. This years Pacific plan put to the leaders of the PIF reiterated that concern, and the Enhanced Co-operation Programme (ECP) of the Australian Federal Police was heavily involved in combatting the illegal gun trade.

In 2004 this problem reached such an extreme level that a Gun Control Committee was formally established by Parliament to investigate and report on the issues. It was chaired by retired Major-General Jerry Singirok, himself having personal experience in 1997 with the wide ranging implications of resource company corruption through the Sandline affair. It was charged with investigating and reporting on issues relating to small arms proliferation throughout PNG, specifically focussing on PNG based sources of weaponry.

However very little public attention was given to the external sources of the weapons and only a very basic reassurance at the government level was sought from the Indonesian Ambassador when evidence was uncovered, despite the hard work of the Committee. Furthermore, there was strong evidence uncovered of the involvement of logging companies and workers in the smuggling of the weapons. The official Indonesian, and Somare-backed, version of reality was conveniently printed in the Rimbunan Hijau owned "National" to rebut the Gun Control Committee's allegation of involvement of Indonesian personnel. However witness statements have detailed watched transfers of weapons at Rimbunan shiploading points taking place under supervision of identified Kopassus officers, that give lie to these assertions.

That said, evidence has been uncovered that suggests quite strongly that the work of the Committee in investigating the sources in Sandaun, and their connection to bith RH and PapIndo, was directly blocked by the Chief himself, his son Arthur, and figures closely associated with him^{viii}. This clearly warrants further investigation.



THREE TYPES OF WEAPONS THAT HAVE BEEN OFFERED FOR PURCHASE IN ESP: (FROM L TO R) SS1-M5A, SS1-R5, JAGAWANA. THESE ARE ALL MANUFACTURED BY PINDAD (THE INDONESIAN STATE WEAPONS MANUFACTURER) AND ARE STANDARD ISSUE TO KOPASSUS AND TNI APART FROM THE JAGAWANA (ISSUED TO FORESTRY WORKERS). ALSO OFFERED WAS FACTORY 5.56MM AND 9MM AMMUNITION.....

The author was was offered on three separate occasions through two different sources both in and around ESP, both numerous older SP-6 rifles and more worryingly, SS1-R5s, SS1-M5As, Jagawana and once a Heckler and Koch MP5K sub-machine gun. When asked by the author where these came from and if this was fair

dinkum, was told with a smile, "over the border". The author was genuinely surprised, as most people in Wewak knew of his connection to the non-violent liberation movement. "They do not care who you work for Mister, so long as they get the money" was the response from one source.

One particular incident highlighted the brazenness of the smugglers. Our networks in Wewak had identified several boats in particular as being involved in the weapons trade, namely the tug

"Nusantara 8", and two logging barges "Boongaya" and "Ronmas 10". All of these vessels are closely connected to RH operations in the area, supplying both the operations in Hawain and Kaup (Romnas 10 and its crew were at Hawain when the author was there).



A young Papuan boy closely connected to our contacts had paddled up to the hull of the Nusantara 8 early one morning, a usual custom to see if the crew wanted to buy any fish. After them buying some fish off the boy, he was asked in Bahasa Indonesia by a very well built (he looked like a soldier, according to a boy, who is a refugee) and long haired crew member if any of his wantoks wanted to buy any guns. Without missing a beat, the young boy asked what sort of guns he had, and what he wanted for them. He replied that he had both SP6s, SS1-R5s, SS1-M5As and pistols, and that he would settle for one kilogram (meaning marijuana) for each, and that cash he would work out later.

The crewman also made it clear that the offer would be open any time that the Nusantara 8 or any other Indonesian boat was in port. All this was happening in the presence of a customs officer. This purchase would have been followed up if there were the funds available to facilitate a purchase for the purposes of recording evidence only, but it is unlikely that the opportunity will end.

The Nusantara 8 is a boat that belongs to the Indonesian government. Anyone who has any experience in Indonesia knows that one of the Indonesian elites favourite terms is *Nusantara*. It means "archipelago" and its most famous use is to describe the TNI's dream of Indonesia: *Dari Sabang untuk Merauke, satu kepulauan Nusantara*. Anybody that says otherwise has rocks in their head, or is the Australian Foreign minister (*sama sama*).



Mechanic at Hawain, believed to be JI AND TNI

Upon visiting the Hawain area, it was learnt that the barge *Ronmas 10* was being used to bring in suspicious boxes of ammunition and weaponry ashore. Our witness described seeing the military men aboard the *Ronmas 10* bringing ashore several identical olive green metal boxes for transfer up to Hawain. Being an ex-guerilla himself he was under no illusion as to what those boxes contained, and although he wasn't close enough to see all the stenciling on the boxes, he was unmistakable that it came from PINDAD. He also said that there were cartridges for the old SP6s, and several hundred 5.56mm rounds. We now have a few of these rounds in safe possession for identification, liberated by our witnesses.

Upon writing the report the author received further contact reporting boxes of bullets being found along the roadsides in the Hawain area, and also east of Aitape (see "C130 Incident" in this document). This is a very worrying development, as this is exactly what is done just prior to a militia action. Although the author cannot imagine them too useful after a wet season in the rain.

What did pique our informant's interest though was the movement of about thirty to forty fuel and oil 44 gallon drums off the boat. They were all new, painted in orange enamel, and "instead of going *slosh* they went *clunk*". The Indonesian gentlemen weren't treating them like fuel drums either. Furthermore, there were several examples of machinery and vehicles arriving on the barge that had to be towed or visited by a mechanic and welder before they could be fueled up. Our informants believed that this was indicating that their fuel tanks were actually hiding places for guns, which is the oldest trick in the book. (This could be thwarted simply by requiring that all vehicles must be able to be started upon unloading, although that is only an option where the enforcers of the law have not been bought off.) The mechanic at Hawain, has been identified by several informants as being a serving member of KOSTRAD, the TNI Strategic Reserve, based in Jayapura. (This is not out of the ordinary: as shown before with the Shanti issues, KOSTRAD have

been doing a lot of the administrative work for the TNI business empires). More worrying though, is that he has also been identified as being a suspected member of Jemaah Islamiyah. The witnesses should know- they have personally experienced militia attacks in the past over the border.

The author also heard direct evidence of an underwater weapons drop off a reef near a coastal Island. These guns were dropped next to the reef in four sealed coffins by a new (this rules out the PNGDF!) military helicopter (and the author asked the PNGDF, and their Iroquois was grounded in another part of the country waiting for parts). A person had been given GPS coordinates to locate the coffins, which they had already done so, but were told to wait for cash. There is a large amount of photographic and direct evidence and co-operation of this available *only* if a full scale investigation occurs.

Credible reports have also been received that point to the involvement of the gun smugglers in the vanilla trade, bringing in the guns to vanilla traders and their proxies across ESP and Madang. When the traders go over to Jayapura to sell their Vanilla, they come back with pistols and rifles, and nobody checks them at the border, because the police are involved. Apart from the military issue weaponry, there is also a high availability of "British Gas guns". These are then modified with extra pipework being done to convert them into high powered guns. They are so easy to make, and can put a hole through a wall if need be, certainly powerful enough to kill.

Earlier in 2005, an entire shipping container full of Indonesian sourced high powered weapons was found near Wewak. The author was unable to speak to anyone though with an intimate knowledge of the incident in the area, so this will be left for the full scale investigation. Documents and photographs were still making their way to the author at time of writing.

The extreme proliferation around ESP alone points to a worrying trend. All weapons have been offered for sale at levels way below black market prices. One contact put a fully automatic SS1-R5 at less than K3500, and it was allegedly still in its wrapper and grease. (It is likely that this came straight from PINDAD in Bandung, which gets around the assertions from the Indonesians that none of their guns are missing from any of their armouries; they know exactly where they are!^{ix}). Maybe this was a case of the author being lucky (or unlucky) on the ground and somebody wanting to give a really good deal, but this is unlikely. What it does indicate though is that the price of weapons is being deliberately undersold on its market value. There can be only one reason for this, the ramifications of which shall be further detailed later, but that is one of flooding the area with cheap weapons to create security disturbances.

One theory that has been put repeatedly is that this is part of a "grand plan". Hypothetically (of course) this would see people "deniably" connected to the TNI⁷ bringing in low cost weapons, encouraging people to start moving guns inland and many in the area. The TNI would then accuse West Papuan "Separatist" groups of being involved in the cross border gun trade, and launch a full scale security operation to hunt down "terrorists" and gun smugglers. There could be provocations to create the need for armed defence by villagers, which would create an easily identifiable target for elimination. There may be a subtext in a militia operation of which possibility will be expanded on later. There is ever increasing evidence to back up this scenario and further documentary evidence will soon be available that shows this clearly.

There is strong precedent for this theory. When General Benny Moerdani was chief of ABRI, in 1984, he had personally organised the smuggling of small arms from PINDAD to PNGDF to be used against the fighters of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army on Bougainville via "a Malaysian logging company", which can only have been the infamous RH. This was prior to the seizure of the destructive Panguna mine by the affected Bougainvillean landowners, who being indigenous, and also making a stand against the TNI's primary taxpayer Rio Tinto and its environmentally and culturally genocidal practices, warranted Indonesian terrorist action. At the time Jakarta wished to create a security disturbance or even a war, so that they could then officially offer to PNG assistance in crushing the separatists, thereby consolidating their complete control of indigneous Melanesia through a full scale military occupation. However its premature discovery shelved that plan.

⁷ It would be deniable if the smugglers didn't sport huge and obvious Kopassus tattoos on their arms!

THE ILLEGAL BORDER AIRFIELD

A green skinned flying source in a coincidental meeting on the back of a Hercules at an unidentified airfield, told the author how they had been flying along the border area, trying to make sense of their outdated maps, when they noticed a brand new 1600 metre grass runway not far from Green River on the border. (They gave me the coordinates, at 141° 11.248' E, 03° 58.12' S). "This is probably the best airstrip that we have ever seen in PNG, there wasn't a bump on it... and we noticed it because it wasn't up here the last time we looked". Not that they were there looking, because the Prime Minister's office (Not the defence ministry, which is telling in itself) has specifically prohibited that sort of activity.

Nowhere around the airfield were there any tracks to or from it, and certainly none large enough to accommodate a bulldozer. They believed that a heavy-lift helicopter, possibly a Chinook, had brought in two D-9 dozers to build the strip, which had been done as a raised strip with proper drainage. From the observation of the Hercules crew, who were flying just above tree level, they could see that it had a new and very even covering of young (small bladed) grass of less than a foot. When questioned further they also did not notice any erosion or dieback of the surrounding jungle, other than where the initial trees were cut, of which many still had green leaves. There had been a lot of rain in the two weeks before our encounter, so grass usually grows very fast in these conditions. This would indicate that the strip had only just been built maybe two to three weeks before, a month at the outside. The pilot also observed that there was only one or two sets of wheel ruts (or depressions) so it had only been used sparsely.

Upon further investigation, it was found that the only Chinooks (officially) in PNG at the time were all in Madang, and flying in the general area, initially having provided security at the PIF. Whilst in Madang the author chatted to several of the crews, who maintained that they were forbidden from the border area as it was an "Area of Exclusion", and they had been doing operations around the Madang area only. The author has been unable to verify whether or not the HeviLift Russian Mil helicopters based in Port Moresby were involved, but this is unlikely. They were busy at Porgera replacing liberated power pylons, and at Lihir and other gold mines (as far as we know they were not at Ok Tedi), and two were being serviced. Our networks are in the process of accessing records to verify their locations at the time.

So this leaves only one source for these helicopters, and once again it is our "friends" with the red berets. Given that the TNI are currently building a new base just across the border at Batom, we could hazard a guess as to where the bulldozers came from too (see "Batom Economic Opportunities Base" in the Security Disturbances and Implications section).

The author received many reports of border overflights into the Green River district for the last two years of unidentified Cessnas or other small 5 or 7 seaters. They have been flying in very low, often lower in altitude than the mountainside vantage point of witnesses (who are now in Port Moresby), and always flying close to the terrain, closer than even the craziest of mission pilots. Speaking with several MAF pilots (old-timers in the area), who remarked that anyone flying like this would need a high degree of training to successfully negotiate mountain air currents and wind shears so close to the terrain. They added that civilian pilots steered relatively clear of terrain for precisely that reason, and the only reason for doing so would be to come in under radar. And of course, all local pilots know that there is no radar, so the only people that could possibly think that are those that are trained to avoid radar, in other words the Indonesian military. Additionally, local PNG aviation services are prohibited from flying cross border from that area, and two witnesses with

LOST!?

A senior ADF figure told the author anecdotally of the time several years ago when he was in the Blackwater border refugee camp on a medical relief operation. A KOPASSUS platoon landed one afternoon in their helicopter. They were shocked to see ADF personnel there as they were walking through the camp intimidating people, and walked up to the ADF, putting their weapons away. The Australians stood there with their hands on their hips, when the Indonesians sheepishly and quietly said "Um, we are lost!". The Australians replied "Sure you are. Get back in your helicopter and turn around and get lost again. You know exactly where you are, so you better find your way back, and quickly" They did.

binoculars reported that the Cessnas always had a little black stencil on the tail that said "TNI-AD".

So why the concern about a mystery airfield? Given its proximity to the Sepik, and specifically the Hauser River (a major tributary), there should be concern. The Sepik has always been a route for east bound smuggling and this was evidenced in 2002 with a major weapons seizure near Maprik. An ADF team intercepted an Indonesian made weapons smuggling operation then with RPNGC involvement. These weapons, mainly high powered automatic weapons, and including some SS1s, were brought in to East Sepik by motorboat down the Sepik River, and were bound for Wewak, where they were to be traded for marijuana and the taken up to the Highlands via Madang and Lae (the coastal freighter route). (The author has been unable to personally verify exactly what happened to those weapons, but has been assured by ADF personnel that they were taken back to Australia, and not left in the hands of RPNGC (which would have been the quickest way to lose them)). They are usually smuggled inside betel nut bags, but the police wised up to this and the practice has changed. During the gun amnesty in 2004, several Indonesian weapons were handed in as far as Goroka, and they even turned up in the Solomon Islands during the RAMSI mission amnesty. Strangley enough there happens to be a large RH operation there too, not that anything is being implied.



**TNI SS1s
surrendered to
AFP/RAMSI in
Solomon Islands**

Sexual Violence and sex slavery

For those that deny that this happening, the smugglers are leaving a trail of evidence. Wherever they tread, they leave behind a wake of violence and intimidation. Local men are pressured into running for them, and are treated harshly when they refuse *and* when they comply. As a result, the local women cop the brunt of the violence in the trade, both from their mistreated men perpetuating the cycle, and from the smugglers directly. The East Sepik Council of Women almost weekly deals with issues of smugglers, mainly foreign nationals (the vast majority Indonesian) who have raped the local women. There are many mixed race children being born in the area also. It is reaching a crisis point, and no body seems to want to help. "Most of the activity is taken at the local level, they do not know which authority will help or not, who to trust, they are helpless... Who else (can) they go (and) talk (to) about the politicians?....." They know who is behind it, but they are scared to speak out because they know that all levels of the government, right up to The Chief, are involved^x.

It must be said that the sexual slavery issues are not limited to the smugglers. Prostitution is so commonplace in the area that it is said up to half of the women have had some personal experience of prostitution near logging camps in ESP and Sandaun. It is common for loggers and other "white men" to come cruising around looking for women and girls, and get women to come with them on "tours" or "joyrides". There is a stereotype of promiscuity in the area, which doesn't help those women who choose not to engage in this behaviour. Even if there is promiscuity, there is still the basic issue of consent. These "affairs" as they are referred to are almost always coerced, but happen mainly due to the sheer reality of poverty of a foreigner offering any money to a girl for sex.

Many times, these women disappear for days at a time, and then come back bruised, used and abused. Local women are often forcibly kidnapped from their villages and taken to the logging camps. They are then forced to perform sex acts on loggers and Police, and sometime have to "service" the whole camps. As Greenpeace have reported previously (and this is still happening), women who are made pregnant by this are expelled from camp, and forced to walk back in shame to their villages. Now however, within the villages there is beginning to be an understanding of the victimhood of the abused women, as certain introduced beliefs have previously put a stigma onto

abused women. This understanding is overcoming the lack of facilities to allow women to pick up the pieces from their shameful treatment, who if not for the resolve of local women's collectives like ESCOW would be left alone. ESCOW have an uphill battle in a highly patriarchal society, and have to shelter many women who have been sexually abused. They are subject to regular threats and intimidation, by government, police and logging company workers, but the abusers seriously underestimate the women they are trying to silence.

One incident the day before the author's visit in particular left a nasty impact. Our informant's sister-in-law near Hainan had been approached by a Malaysian man working for Sumas and implicated in the transfer of weapons from the Ronmas 10. He had taken this young woman on a "drive" and she had initially agreed to an affair, although it was true this was only for cash. However, it soon turned abusive and the woman was returning from her "drives" with the man battered and in great distress, and would not communicate with anyone for days at a time. Her family and community decided enough was enough, and a village meeting was called to stand up to the logging company workers. Upon hearing of this, the Malaysian man drove into the village and stormed into the meeting, demanding the return of "his girl". When told that this would not be happening, he attempted to assault people, but was prevented from doing so by the villagers. He then threatened extreme physical harm on the entire village, and said that he would be back with the Mobile Brigade. However, the villagers just got even angrier with him and he left. At the time of writing, this incident seemed to be on the mend for this particular woman. She had not been approached any further by the logging workers, and was undergoing traditional healing and support. However, as said before, this kind of sexual predation is common in the area and is symptomatic of the extreme violence and disdain with which the Indonesian military front companies operate.

Even more worrying is the way poverty has forced young people to expose themselves to great risk. Whilst investigating the illegal timber yard at Kreer Heights, the author was alerted to what goes on in the RH/Kopassus share house nearby, less than one hundred metres from the timber yard. It was alleged that the south east Asian forestry and military personnel invited boys as young as nine (mainly between 15 and 19, young boys with no jobs) to the house, where they were plied with alcohol and drugs, and forced to perform sex acts on the RH and Shanti figures in return for cursory payment. This rather far reaching allegation was confirmed through speaking with several community figures around town, and later with some ADF personnel. These ADF personnel were particularly angry with one particular Australian expatriate businessman resident in Wewak (referred to as the "Fat Fu**er") who had also been visiting this location and engaging in regular exploitation of young (prepubescent) boys *and* girls at the Kreer house. When the author was at the yard he noticed a white man near the house, and had also notice the vast (over twenty) young boys and girls that were close to this house. Thankfully, the ADF personnel had been surveilling and gathering information on him. Other people who nobody knows the identity of have been giving him some more physical "warnings" that he would be "going down" and he would have nowhere to run.

The local Police have regularly been informed of these activities, yet they do not wish to investigate at all, either through fear, or because they are a part of it. However, as the ADF personnel said, "PNG law might be able to be bought off, but any Australian citizen is still subject to extradition for child sex crime."



Security Disturbances & Implications

Perhaps the most worrying aspect of the entrenched illegality present alongside timber operations in ESP and Sandaun is the ease in which certain "terrorist" groups are able to gain very easy entry. The corruption in the Customs service ensures that the very ships that need to have intrusive inspections are the very ones that are paying off people so they get ignored.

At the wharf in Wewak, there is a pretence of security, but the only reason for this is that Guard Dog Security (the only uncorrupted security force in PNG) strictly control access to the wharf. However, this is only for boats that actually go to port, and Customs do not actually go anywhere to do anything about the blatant illegality as detailed earlier. They don't have to. There is much evidence (and bottles) gathered to show that they have not been doing anything other than drinking the Indonesian beer and arak the finds its way to them.



X: At-Sea Transfer Locations

Despite the obvious presence in town of Indonesian military personnel, neither customs nor the Police seemed to be concerned about their comings or goings. During the time while the author was present in the area, RH owned (or contracted) ships were landing illegally at many sites, including Hawain and Kaup. The three boats before; *Boongaya*, *Ronmas 10* and *Nusantara 8* been interchangeable in their work and crews, and involved in landing up to forty undocumented at a time. Looking at it from a governance angle, lot of customs duty that is not being paid, every time the boats lands. There is a lot of revenue that PNG is missing out on, although it is still going into the pockets of the politicians.

Witnesses who are traditional fisherman had reported witnessing at sea transfers of the three vessels on several occasions, north east of Wewak too, about 60 nautical miles off Kaup. Allegedly these transfers involved army crates, weapons and personnel both in and out. Our witnesses were so incensed by how blatant this was, so they launched a series of complaints in regard to what they witnessed, but they found the Customs drunk for three weeks whenever they tried.



RH Log Ship awaiting at anchor off Hawain Beach, ready to load and unload without going through Customs (apologies, monsoon hit in full force, hence blurry photo)

The Chief Engineer of *Ronmas 10* at Hawain also confirmed to our informants that regular at-sea transfers had taken place just off Wallis Island (about 50 km NW of Wewak, just off the Bismarcks) every two weeks. This barge was meant to go to Serui, then Fak Fak, and to

Kalimantan. However this was a round trip that took four weeks and the barge was always back every two weeks. Our informant was suspicious about this and so asked the engineer: The Chief engineer responded that they never went all the way back, that they only put out at sea at the location described above and did transfers to bigger ships at this point. (While the author was on the beach he witnessed personally the *Ronmas 10* loading up, while on the other side of the passage waited the big log ship.) It was found that the empty barge would head out to sea, and load up off Wallis Island, and then returned with new military figures on board, and suspected militia men. Every time this happened was when the ammunition and suspicious items were observed also.



Rimbunan Hijau workers near Hawain, who have been identified as TNI (KOSTRAD) soldiers stationed at Fak Fak, West Papua, by West Papuan informants.

It isn't just guns, weapons, Indonesian special forces and terrorists being moved. Many black market consumer goods are also being moved such as TVs, VCD players, stereos, and washing machines. Yes, guns and washing machines (and guns *in* washing machines). It gives a new meaning to laundering the profits of weapons smuggling,

Indonesian military personnel presence

During the author's time in ESP, the presence of the TNI was palpable, and quite oppressive. There were many reminders daily that the heavy hand of the TNI was poised over ESP, and every kina spent in Wewak would eventually find its way into their greedy and ruthless hands. From the Shanti yards to the RH compounds and the PapIndo stores, there was evidence of TNI at every step.

The author had been warned repeatedly that he would require security in ESP from Indonesian aggression. The locals are not a problem, nor is there the danger of real *raskols* like in other large towns in PNG. The police are easy to avoid if you aren't the type to go to brothels and pubs. However, the economy is almost entirely run by the Indonesians.

The PapIndo was perhaps the most obvious case of this, and is the largest store in Wewak. It was from having people observe the PapIndo that we were able to piece together the relationships between the various sections of the Indonesian military plan in the area.

On November 12 at about 11 a.m., a friend saw three very tall and large Indonesians lounging out the front of the PapIndo, into which two of them went. He went inside to keep an eye on them, although he had to be careful not to get caught because of a large boycott of PapIndo. He observed closely two Indonesian men, both with long hair and to use the Australian parlance, "built like brick s***houses". Both were wearing "muscle tops" and most telling of all was the same tattoo on both of their left arms. He described the tattoo as a large up-ended bayonet, topped by a red eyed skull with a red beret. This is the unit insignia of Kopassus. There was also an Indonesian flag on the shoulder of the taller Kopassus. They bought civilian clothes, biscuits and beer. Our witness was in no doubt about their identity as he had been around Kopassus regularly as a student at UNCEN in West Papua. He then tailed two of the Kopassus for a few more hours, and what he saw was interesting. They ended up getting followed back to the wharf where they were observed returning to the Nusantara 8, the tugboat implicated in the offer of weapons earlier. Whilst at the wharf, the tug was visited regularly by a crew in Dyna truck. These crew remained oblivious to our invisible man.

On this day also, we received information of these Kopassus people being seen at the PapIndo residential compound, upon the old "Colonial Hill". The author went there to verify, and

due to lack of cover, was unable to photograph the individuals when a well built Indonesian man came out of the front door and started to talk to the author to ask what was going on. Unfortunately he was very mindful of cameras, and the author's explanation of being a "dumb, lost tourist" didn't wash. Having been interrogated many a time by intelligence officials, the author can attest that this man was definitely not a shopkeeper. However, the author did record the details of the Dyna truck from the *Nusantara 8*, LAP-343.



the "multiple-owner" truck in question at the Shanti site

This truck had been seen many times around town, at the the Caltex, and the Shanti sites, and was also seen at Hawain on the day of the author's visit there. The Dyna was commonly seen on the side of the road with the PPC and his Landcruiser, chatting to the occupants in a very friendly manner. It was also seen the day before by another witness who claimed that a bald Indonesian intelligence agent of Malay extraction who used to be stationed in West Papua was driving it around. Our witness reported that he was seen having the truck filled up, and that he carried several 44 gallon drums on the back, with two full diesel and two full petrol drums. Another witness corroborated on this and also described that when the attendant went to fill up some empty drums that were marked "unleaded" he was yelled at by the Malaysian man, who picked up the drums and moved them to a different part of the truck tray. The witness also described the drums as making a clunking sound inside when shifted. Yet another witness to this followed the truck (he was going the same way) along the Angoram and Kaup road. It seems like this truck was actually the Kopassus truck, even though it is registered to a certain large timber company in Lae.

"Where there are Indonesian soldiers, there are militias and Jihadists... the two are inseparable..."
Rev Sofyan Yoman, President, West Papua Baptist Church.

We spoke with ADF personnel at Moem immediately upon receiving this information to convey it officially, and they (informally) said that "it looks like SF (Special Forces) through and through." This was the occasion where a number of ADF and the author sat down and talked about the many times when they were on border patrol in East Timor since 1999. In this discussion, they detailed their experience with Kopassus and their proxies the militia. One regular occurrence was when a contact was occurring in the border area, the 1RAR patrol would give chase, and under Australian rules of engagement, were prevented from firing unless fired upon. These rules of engagement were exploited by Kopassus, as they do not follow rules and are quite proud of their war criminal status, through consistent and provocative incursions. They would then run across the border, change into civilian clothes, and come back as "militia" within the next hour. The ADF that were spoken with were in no doubt whatsoever of the identities of these solidly built Indonesians in Wewak.

Jemaah Islamiyah and Laskar Jihad

The author heard many reports and witness statements of the presence of Indonesian and Malaysian militia terrorists in the ESP area. All of these reports corroborated one another, and were consistent with what we had also heard in our entire time in PNG, and with prior experience with Indonesian backed militias. As outlined in the section "Who are Shanti?", the involvement of certain individuals tied to the Darul Islam movement in the companies, and the military forces, raise serious issues about the involvement in the region of members of the Darul Islam movement, and by default and through activity, of Jemmaah Islamiyah.

They have a proven connection to members of *Satuan Gaguas Intellijen* of Kopassus. SGI, the military intelligence wing of Kopassus is notorious for many acts of human rights abuses across (and outside) Indonesia since its inception. One cannot forget that its founder, Brigidiar General Ali Murtopo (who infamously said in 1969 to Clemens Rumaweri,



Laskar Jihad training camp

one of the few survivors of the sham "Act of Free Choice", just prior to the vote: "We don't need Papuans, we do not care what Papuans want, we need land. If Papuans want independence, they can go and build a country on the moon, on the sun, on a star or a planet"^(xi)), was the man who in 1978 was ordered by Suharto to form JI. Murtopo's brief was to create an organisation that all the former DI rebels would go to, create terrorist outrages on civilian targets, and therefore cause the population to shy away from supporting even moderate Islam as a political force. It did its job well, with direct co-operation from Kopassus in explosives training and urban warfare techniques. However, the spider sprung the trap, and many of its top cadre were arrested, killed, or put in prison. As a result, it was rather quiet until 1998.

There is a dearth of evidence available that shows that Lt-Gen Prabowo Subianto in early May 1998 was involved in reforming the new cadre of JI recruits into an active force. It is on the public record that Anak Prabowo was heavily involved in the murders, disappearances and arrests of



People's Democratic Party (PRD) activists, who were agitating Indonesia wide for the overthrow of his father in law, Suharto. He was charged, tried, found guilty and disgraced because of this fact (and fled to Jordan with his schoolmate from ADF Duntroon, King Abdullah). However, just before the burgeoning *Reformasi dengan Revolusi* movement was thrown into action by the shooting of students at TriSakti University, there is evidence that Prabowo and his SGI cohorts were in contact with the Ngruki school educated "sons of DI" cadre of JI, who up until then had been embracing political dialogue and spiritual paths to jihad. Chief amongst these is the now infamous double agent Fauzi Hasbi (see Appendix C: "Inside Indonesia's War on Terror").

"So there is not a single Islamic group, either in the movement or the political groups that is not controlled by Intel. Everyone does what they say."

Umar Abduh, convicted terrorist and former JI member

Despite experts and the official line stating *ad nauseum* that Abu Bakar Bas'iyar was the spiritual leader of JI, this seems unlikely. He had no involvement with the military wing of JI in 1978, otherwise he would have been imprisoned like all of the other cadre in the early eighties. They were given the all clear to embrace armed struggle again. One can easily understand that the current cadre, many the sons of the 1978 cadres, would have been highly suspicious of this sort of offer. They would have had to see that the TNI was embracing the same strategy as the highly militant armed violent jihad faction of JI, and would have had to have guarantees as well as material.

It is the author's belief that the guarantee was for *carte blanche* action, and co-operation in the Maluku, East Timor, and West Papua, in return for the allowance of implementation of Sharia Law in Aceh in 1998, and immunities from prosecution. The TNI were desperate to create a need for the people to want them to still have power, and if they could create a much more violent alternative, then the people would have no choice. There have been serious allegations from very well respected sources, such as former President Wahid, that the TNI were engaged in terrorist activities, such as the Christmas Bombings in 2000, the continued violence in Maluku and Sulawesi, and all the Bali bombings (see Appendix C: Inside Indonesia's war on Terror, SBS Dateline, October 2005). It is imperative that countries pushing the official line start to look at what they are doing, and seriously examine all the implications of TNI involvement in terror.



Laskar Jihad fighter in Maluku, Christmas 2000

Of course the connection of Laskar Jihad to the TNI is even more well documented. Upon the

sideways overthrow of Suharto, suddenly "Islamist" militias were mobilising against Christian targets all over eastern Indonesia. It has been proven by the Indonesian Ad-hoc war crimes tribunal, the UN Serious Crimes Unit and many other international bodies that the TNI created and ran the militias during the violence of East Timor in 1999, and now the very same people who were commanding are involved in the West Papua issue. Even just a cursory examination of the Maluku issue will show the involvement of Kopassus hand in glove with Laskar Jihad, as any picture of human rights abuses will attest to. It is a matter of record of the introduction of thousands of Laskar Jihad fighters *every week* into Sorong and the West coast of West Papua has been facilitated by the TNI over recent years^{xii}. There is a strong allegation that the TNI have been siphoning special autonomy aid funding to purchase seven large white ships, that are bringing in these LJ fighters at three shiploads per week. This is to shift the demographic, just across the fictitious line on a map, and even West Papuan Muslims are being sidelined. These fighters, in their off time, are given jobs in the RH and TNI controlled timber operations, so it stands to very clear reason that these fighters would be at the same RH connected operations over the border.

At Hawain, there is now confirmation of the existence of weapons smuggling, and Kopassus moving around freely around all the RH operations, running large businesses and being in close contact with those who are meant to be enforcing the law but often just take the cash. There is no control on their movement in and out of PNG whatsoever, and there is a lot of interest in starting camps. Even the captain of the *Ronmas 10* was Indonesian military, as were all permanent crew.

Several people have been identified by our informants as being likely to be LJ, especially the few that have threatened local people, and threatened them with "the sword of Allah". (in their words). However, the militia men's spiritual leaders would not be very happy if they knew about their student's involvement in sex slavery and prostitution. This aspect alone confirms that these people are what are known as "TNI Islamists", as in only Islamic when they are pretending to create something that the TNI can crack down on.

At the Shanti Timber site in Boram, the author tried to speak with one very suspicious gentleman. He said he was from Mindanao, and his manner of "70's American cowboy" belied the fact that he was certainly somebody who had been around US Asian influence. Even though he seemed to be doing timber work, he was covered from head



Suspected Abu Sayyaf fellow at Boram, proudly modelling the JI Christmas bombing fashion range

to toe with not one bit of skin, eyes or hair showing, like Michael Jackson on a sunny day. Immediately upon prayer time, he joined all the other so called timber workers immediately in a very devout prayer, not what the author is used to seeing in Muslim circles. His demeanour suggested he knew he was under surveillance, and he was harder to pin down than an epileptic butterfly. It is because of this particular behaviour and the fact that the man was speaking Arabic, not Tagalog, that the author contends this man is an Abu Sayyaf man. And because he was dressing straight out of the JI Christmas (bombing) fashion catalogue.



our "Azahari", "Ju", Operations Manager at Hawain

One gentleman in particular who was mentioned earlier excites interest. He is "Ju", the Malaysian operation manager for Sumas at Hawain. The author first noticed him because he was a dead ringer for a recent picture of the so-called mastermind of JI, Dr Azahari bin Husein, and specifically he had the same yellow glasses and Haji beard that Azahari had. He was not in a happy mood to see the author, and told him so in a clear west coast Malaysian English, demanding identification. The author responded in kind and said that "you do not need to know, Doctor, but I know who you are, but why don't you say who you are", to

A "Jihadi" named Robert.



This man, who calls himself "Robert" while at Hawain, is a Malaysian who has close and documented connections to both KOPASSUS and Laskar Jihad. His previous job, by his own admission, was in Fak Fak in West Papua, from late 2003 to early 2005 (a very long time for a logging contractor to be in one place). He was working on several RH concessions co-owned by TNI figures around Fak Fak, Sorong and other centres on the Bird's Head Peninsula, and on some of the new Bintuni Bay illegal forestry concessions, which are said to be operated by Shanti timber. He is now working with the Sumas timber concession, although he has been also seen on Shanti sites, and carousing with identified Kopassus and Kostrad personnel of the *Boongaya*, and *Ronmas 10*,

Robert had been observed for many months by our West Papuan Muslim networks on the inside in attendance both at the Fak Fak *pesantaren* and also the mosque, wearing t-shirts made by Laskar Jihad. He had also been seen on a LJ operation in late 2003, when both Noordin Top and Mahidin Simbolen were known to be in Fak Fak. He also allegedly is a veteran of the Sulawesi and Maluku conflicts from 1998.

More to the point though, he has been asking many locals about the local topographies and conditions; and where and how he could set up camps out of the way. He was also asking our informants how he could get close to the local people, and how he could get to a situation where the "other groups" could operate without

which the "Azahari fella" (as he became known) just started to stare ahead. The author did have a few scary moments but a bit of bravado pulled us all through.

Every one of the locals that came into contact with him were quite bemused with his conduct when they weren't scared by it, and did not believe for a moment that he was an operations manager. He was never seen with a data sheet, he was never seen doing any administrative work, and certainly never seen doing any dirty work. In fact whenever there was a loading or other managerial work to be done, the Operations Manager from the RH site at Kaup would have to be flown in to actually do the work.

As mentioned previously, "Ju", if that was his name, used to be the driver for Isak Indom, the former Governor of West Papua. And again, "we all know that anybody who is a driver to a governor is definitely a soldier!" Most telling however is that he seemed, from most observers, to be closest with the Kopassus and militia men. He was said to have a subservient manner to the Kopassus, and a superior manner toward the LJ and JI suspects. "Ju" was also seen at several of the alleged weapons transfers between barges. Witnesses also reported that at other locations where the Police Mobile Brigade officers were onsite, they were always following his command. This mans identity needs further investigation, as does the veracity or otherwise of the actuality of Azahari's alleged death in Java the very same day as the author's encounter. The international community needs to independently verify the DNA and dental records of the dead man that the Indonesian military claims is Azahari, because the actions of this man and others close to him indicate something more sinister. Even if "Ju" is not Dr Azahari, and even if the Indonesian police really did kill Azahari in Bandung, instead of killing someone that looked like him, parading their body, arresting and torturing his brother until he agreed with their version of events⁸, there is still a clear

⁸ This has happened many times before. The last example was at the ambush of the American schoolteachers

involvement of Jemaah Islamiyah and Laskar Jihad operatives freely moving around ESP. This is consistent with local people's reports of who they have seen, and wholly consistent with the TNI involvement in militia formation and terrorist activity since the late 1970s, and especially since the fall of Suharto.

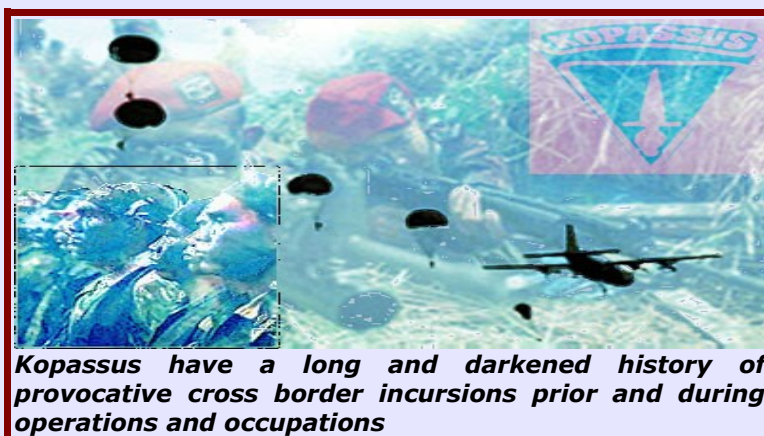


Jemaah Islamiyah structure acknowledged by the Australian Government

These connections and their ramifications must be investigated thoroughly and fearlessly. Even the Australian government has acknowledged that JI has divided its operations into regions or *Mantiqis*. Papua New Guinea and Australia comprise together Mantiqi 4. In the intelligence that the Australian Government has gleaned, it has shown that Australia and PNG have long been targets for the Indonesian military. One cannot separate the current economic colonialist activity of Indonesian military owned and linked business in PNG from the operation of JI, LJ, Abu Sayyaf and other South east Asian terrorist groups. Nor can one separate these activities from the black activities of SGI and Kopassus and the day to day activities of these terror proxies, and their business covers.

C130 Incident

Perhaps the most serious series of reports that the author received concerned the incursion of a fully laden, unidentified C130 Hercules early on the morning of October 27th over Sandaun and Vanimo. The initial report appeared in the *Post-Courier* on October 28 and was taken up across all the media, although not going into detail. However, as mentioned in the introduction, this was accepted "as one of those things that happen".



Kopassus have a long and darkened history of provocative cross border incursions prior and during operations and occupations

at the Freeport mine in 2002, which the TNI claimed was carried out by the OPM. They even paraded a dead West Papuan man which they said was one of the attackers, but this backfired on them when an autopsy showed that not only had they killed the Papuan the day before the attack, but he was suffering from elephantiasis of the testicles, which prevented the man from walking, let alone leading a forty-five minute ambush with Indonesian military hardware (supplied by Australia). The chief police officer of West Papua at the time, General I Made Mangku Pastika, named the TNI as being a chief suspect in the shootings. He then lost his command, and was sent across to Bali to be chief there. Ironically, he was in charge of the Bali investigation, but obviously learned his lesson and didn't investigate the links between JI and TNI too closely.

This certainly generated a lot of interest, and so questions were to be quite straightforward, so the author believed. However, getting an accurate picture of this one incident proved difficult, especially not being able to get to the scene. However the following chronology was ascertained from discussions with witnesses via networks, and "off the record" comments from certain green skinned officials.

After about 2 am on the morning of October 27th, the C130 was witnessed flying just out to sea coming in from the west. It then turned towards Vanimo where it flew very low between 150 and 250 feet above the ground due south across town. It then flew on this track for a few more kilometres, before making a sharp left turn heading in the general vicinity of Aitape. Before leaving the Vanimo area, it apparently took on small arms fire from a PNGDF unit, and there were some reports of light impact sustained. A contact, who was west of Sissano lagoon at the time, had also reported seeing a plane fly over in "half way through the night". He awoke due hearing a very low eastbound aircraft increase the pitch of its engines, and looked outside from his bed to see a silhouette of a Hercules against the starlight (witness was ex-PNGDF so he knew what he was looking at). Our witness stayed awake to monitor its return journey, which occurred less than 30 minutes later. He noticed that upon the Herc's return the loading ramp was open and it was once again flying very low, only about 150 feet, heading back toward Vanimo, but also heading out to sea.

The PNGDF in Vanimo sent out a platoon the next morning to hunt for the Hercules, but the author was unable to secure an interview with the commanding officer to verify the platoon's actions. However, it has been brought to the author's attention that there was physical evidence recovered from the investigations by PNGDF. This is obviously something that can and should be investigated much further, and co-operation should be forthcoming.

Upon discussing this incident with a friendly Hercules crew, they expressed their concern about this. Having gone through many many years of specialist training for low level night flying, these pilots were curious about the how and why the pilots were able to do such advanced manoeuvres. They contended that only a pilot with long term specialist training, and more to the point, advanced night flying equipment, would fly at that altitude, and one would only fly at the altitude to conduct Electronic counter measure and radar avoidance. And that they would only climb and return with an open ramp if they were dropping a Herc load of red berets.

It is the author's understanding that as part of the Russian weapons and Sukhoi jet fighter deal that former President Megawati Sukarnoputri signed with Russian President Vladimir Putin, Indonesia was set to receive specialised equipment and training for its airforce. The state of the art night vision and data systems that have been developed by the Russians would obviously be a part of this. This is even more worrying when one considers that as part of Operasi Mandala, the invasion of West Papua led by General Suharto in 1963, there were present in eastern Indonesia, over 30 Russian Pilot instructors, 5000 Spesnatz troops and even six Soviet nuclear armed submarines. In a strange twist to this situation, a former KNLV (Dutch Air Force) officer in West Papua, Kees Faas, told the author of the time in 1962 when he was ordered not to fire on invading Indonesian Hercules aircraft, because piloting the Russian Spesnatz parachutists and the Indonesian paras were American pilots. The US was an ally to the Netherlands, and one could not shoot down allies. This was brought up as a possibility, but the Herc crew were adamant that no Americans were on board. That leaves the Russians again: whoever was piloting that Hercules had been receiving some very intense and advanced training. The friendly Herc crew commented that nobody flies that deep into another country at that time of the night unless they were on a particular covert mission.

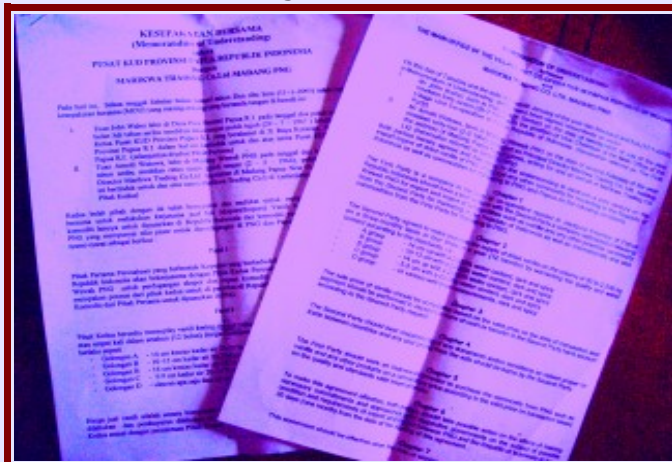
Therefore from all reports that the author collected on this incident, it seems likely that a covert company sized group of Kopassus had successfully been inserted into the grasslands east of Aitape, near the area where the coastal road cuts back coastward from the Torricelli Mountains foothills. What they are doing is anyone's guess, but the author contends that it is for surveillance and reconnaissance of the long range road in preparation for the official opening early in 2006, and for possible forward bases. In "off the record" discussions with a senior ADF fellow somewhere not connected with anywhere else, it was postulated to the author that the Kopassus deployment was to prevent West Papuan leaders from crossing through PNG to attend a critical leaders meeting near

Lae at the end of November. This information was acted on and people were able to adjust plans to suit, although the Wewak PPC did detain some for a few days at the behest of his PapIndo Kopassus mates.

The TNI Madang Vanilla Connection

The author was alerted also to a connection between the Vanilla industry in PNG and Kopassus through the provision of a Memorandum of Understanding. This MoU shows a contract between the head of the Village Co-operative Development Body, who is a Kopassus man, and a dupe in Madang. There have long been allegations of Kopassus involvement around Madang, and here we have the first direct documentary evidence of it.

The KUD or village unit co-operative co-ordination bodies, have historically been heavily exploited by the Indonesian military as means of laundering profits from illegal business ventures, and especially in Papua are more often not administered by our favourite red berets.



This particular example is by no means isolated, but it is the first (of many) that we can provide documentary evidence for. The signed and sealed MoU (above) is between the Vice Chairman of the KUD from all of Papua, John Wahei, and a vanilla trader, Marikwa Trading, in which the Indonesian government body agrees to buy all the PNG vanilla from Marikwa (at Jayapura prices). Trouble is John Wahei, even though of Papuan heritage, is senior Kopassus (what is known in Papua as a "coconut"), and has also been implicated in human rights abuse in Abepura, and around Sentani prior to his business posting. He has also been identified by our informants as owning several brothels in and around Jayapura (perfectly normal behaviour for a Kopassus).

The main concern over this partnership is that it stipulates both parties must ensure that there is government approval for access to agents into the village vanilla areas of PNG. This allows Kopassus to "legally" come deep into PNG, to Madang and the east of PNG under cover. During the time of the Pacific Islands Forum, the author's networks received several credible reports of Kopassus in the area, which presented a direct threat to some of the more outspoken members of the PIF.

The fear of what these incursions can mean is well founded. The Indonesian vanilla traders/Kopassus have exploited the lack of oversight in coming across the border and have been moving freely around PNG whilst undocumented. ESCOW reported that there was a major increase in the reports of intimidation, sexual violence and rapes when the vanilla buyers were in the province, and in turn the effect on the local men returning from Jayapura has also been visited on the local women. The cross border vanilla trade is responsible for a wholesale negative impact on PNG communities, and there is no demonstrable community wide benefit for the high social costs involved. The Marikwa case is the tip of the iceberg that highlights the reality that the TNI is utilising the poverty induced desparation of PNG to further its economic colonialist ambitions, just as it is in every other sector of PNG life.

BORDER SECURITY

Border Security is an academic concept in PNG: That is, it doesn't exist in any other form but on paper. What little security that does exist is completely compromised by consistent and blatant corruption from RPNGC, Customs and the NIO in Vanimo, and the obvious five or six close cronies of Somare.

To quote the former PNGDF Commander Jerry Singirok:

"The security implications of the Indonesian land border with PNG and the Australian sea border with PNG are ominous. This situation continues to pose a significant threat not only to PNG, but

to neighboring countries as well. The PNG/Indonesian land border has not been patrolled for approximately 10 years, as Defence Force resources were committed to Bougainville; meanwhile, the Force is undergoing massive manpower cuts from 5,200 to 2,500 by end of 2004. This fact alone will inhibit manpower planning for border patrols on the ground, although it is doubtful that border patrols have ever been regularly undertaken in the area."

However, what is more disturbing is the way the Police, who are meant to be enforcing security are the very ones threatening it, both indirectly through collaborating with the Indonesian military (that kill their brothers and sisters on the other side of a fictitious line on a map). Their brutality and corruption is renowned the world over, but it is even getting to a point now that even the corrupted are agitating for change.

The author gained direct documentary evidence that showed the connections between the ESP Police Provincial Commander and the timber companies operating under the umbrella of RH. The PPC was said to have had all his expenses paid for a trip to Goroka for the National Gun Summit by the company WPK, another RH subsidiary. Given the connection with the gun smugglers through RH, it is no surprise that at the gun summit, the PPC blocked any further investigation into further smuggling in ESP. He also received free passage and entertainment in Jayapura on at least three separate occasions, with two witnesses seeing him coming out of brothels in Jayapura. This would come as no shock whatsoever to anyone with any familiarity in the area^{xiii}. It has been documented many times as to the collusion and dealing done in the Kopassus controlled brothels of Jayapura. The prostitutes are free (and they give HIV for free) for anyone in the military's favour, although even the Indonesian military has seen the danger of utilising the prostitutes it has brought over to give Papua Niugini HIV.

It must be pointed out that the author was unable to get to Vanimo this trip due to both a lack of finance and a security issue (the author has spent time around Vanimo previously). However, several interviews were conducted with people who are and/or have been "in the loop" and in positions of influence. They detailed the methods in which the TNI exploited the corrupt connections. The sleepy Customs on the border would not bat an eye as the new highway, as Vanimo people regularly go to and from "Pura: the shopper's paradise". Most business in Vanimo is controlled by the same figures as in Jayapura, and now that the highway is open, more and more people are utilising the cheapness of Pura. This is not necessarily their fault or because of greed: why pay top dollar, double the price to Australia even, when you can go to Pura and get it for a tenth of the price of Vanimo?

Whatever their motivation though, Vanimo people are feeding the tiger, and do not seem to care what they are doing to their wantoks by patronising the TNI. The time a few years ago when the author was in Vanimo was very uncomfortable. The outright contempt and racism with which the TNI business treated the Papuans was so palpable it would hit you in the face. Even the *Lonely Planet* for PNG mentions this, but faced with low rupiah and slave prices, how can there be any choice. Even the provincial government does its shopping for school supplies and other administrative goods in Pura, thereby causing even more destruction to the local economy.

The police in Vanimo also are vastly underfunded by Somare. To offset this, Vanimo Forest Products stepped in to make sure they would have no issues with loyalty, and having been directly funding the PPC, a brother in law of our informant, and most of the Police in Vanimo for at least the last five years. The PPC there was even implicated also in selling weapons elicited from his TNI business partners. Sandaun Province as an administrative entity is effectively finished. "Vanimo is owned by the timber company.... there is no provincial government," said Samban.

VFP, which of course is a fully owned subsidiary of (take a stab in the dark).... RH, have even been contracted to build the new PNGDF barracks near Vanimo (although they better not count on the PNGDF loyalty to RH, as PNGDF are a bit different to the Police). The Provincial government has recommended to the National government that they accept the tenders, and they are on the same side, so they accepted them. VFP then went and starting the construction of the officers complex. At least they are using local timber. The joke is that RH is now the Asian version of Halliburton, the infamous cartel run by US Vice President Dick Cheney, although on the ground this is no laughing matter. Just like Halliburton, if one argues with them, they will invade.

For all intents and purposes, indications are that Vanimo is being treated as an occupied territory by the TNI business and corruption forces, not to mention the Intel forces. To paraphrase several of the authors correspondents, from the Administrator down all of Vanimo are totally collaborating as the proxies of the business empire. If they run out of money, they simply turn up at the consulate and ask for a cash advance, which the Indonesians are only too happy to provide (*rupiah komunikasi* ensures loyalty after all). "It is like it is not a part of Papua Niugini, it is being run by the Indonesians or the timber company."

One of the more worrying reports the author received is that over the six months to August of 2005, there have been unconfirmed (as yet) reports of the presence of certain TNI top brass in Vanimo "lording it up" with the corrupt RPNCG elite of Vanimo. One was described as a particularly nasty looking fellow with a fat moustache who was being feted at every turn. He was also described as a former police chief. This can only be Timbul Silaen, the former East Timor police commander in 1999, and most recently the former POLRI chief in West Papua. Silaen was indicted by the UN Serious Crimes unit for Genocide and crimes against humanity for his role in organising militias in the 1999 carnage in East Timor. Both Silaen and Mahidin Simbolon, the former TNI Commander alongside Silaen in all postings after 1996, have been seen regularly in Vanimo, especially since their retirements. These two mates of terror have been thick as thieves with militia men (especially Euricio Guterres of Aitarak infamy, who was the guest of both of these men in Wamena, Sorong and Jayapura, West Papua throughout 2004). They are regularly seen to be along for the ride whenever there is a terror campaign on the ground throughout Indonesia (see "*Inside Indonesia's War on Terror*", Appendix C). If these reports received can be verified and turn out to be true, then this is an extremely worrying development. The presence of these two in PNG can only be seen as proof that there is a wider terror campaign afoot, and PNG politicians better watch out.

The author spoke extensively to a few trusted NIO agents (wantoks) about his concerns whilst in PNG, who for obvious reason, cannot be identified as to the date or the place. They reported how their particular office used to be quite well resourced, but as soon as they started to gather credible intelligence and evidence of the entrenched illegality of the incursions and infiltrations, and more pertinently the connections between the TNI business empire and Michael Somare, they were hobbled. They now only receive a budget of K1600 per month, which include salaries for just two officers. Their only vehicle had to be sold, they can only make phone calls with Telikads bought out of their own pockets, there is no internet access. They have no office guaranteed and they are continually harassed by the PPC. They don't even own a camera between them, much less a tape recorder. (The author never thought that he would be touting for this, but certain good NIO need a two digital cameras and an MP3 voice recorder, and some extra phone cards. If any one feels like helping out, please get in contact with the author!)

Batom "Economic Opportunities" Base

Through our networks on the other side, we received information that the TNI were opening up a base just inside the West Papuan border in Batom for "Economic Operations and Opportunities". This is directly adjacent to the border from the Green River illegal airfield, which may of course just be a simple co-incidence, as unlikely as they are in Indonesia. Approximately one thousand combat troops are to be stationed there, as are many "civilians" attached to the operation. However, many of the Kopassus figures there are purely there for business, not as yet for major combat operations. There is a confirmed presence there of Shanti Timber and RH, and the airfields and construction are being contracted out to RH companies. Interestingly, there also has been the confirmed presence of several heavy lift helicopters (our sources say they "looked old" so that could mean either a very battered Chinook or a Russian heavy lift) and a new battle Helicopter (which would have to be one of the new Russian death ships at right (behind the Huey), which the author is unsure as to



their lifting capacity), and two Hercules. There are indications that the runway is being readied for landings of the new Sukhoi 30s, although the Indonesian airforce are making the new Sukhoi base at Merauke, which has privately worried some senior ADF personnel too.

One guess as to which Malaysian conglomerate got the concessions for the processing of the timber in the area of the base. This is consistent with the TNI/RH bases at Digul, Tanah Merah, and around Merauke also, area which RH have turned into wastelands. RH also was given the concession for all timber along the Trans-Irian Highway, which runs from Jayapura to Merauke just inside the border. This alone is enough to indocate the possibility that RH and TNI were together involved in the construction of the illiegal Green River airfield.

Harrassment of Dissidents

The Somare government is unique in PNG government as actively actively collecting intelligence on behalf of the Indonesian military. On many instances certain individuals close to the PPC and in NIO Vanimo have been documented as handing over information on West Papua sympathisers and refugees to both SGI and BIN in the Intel brothels in Jayapura. This has resulted in reports of increased intimidation, ranging from Kopassus figures staring menacingly, and drawing their fingers across their throat^{xiv}, to firebombing of entire villages (near Kaup) and shootings at grassroots workers' houses^{xv}. There are constant visits from Police and summons to report to the PPC regularly Many

"victims" of these activities refuse to be intimidated, and continue to speak out, but are finding it difficult to do, especially given the lack of interest from people in Australia. For example, Mary Soondrawu, described how when she first started to organise against the violence with RH and its connections to corruption and Indonesia, she received phone threats, and even had her house shot up repeatedly over a five month period in 1995. Mary also reported that she had recently been approached by Somare's senior people and told not to "interefere in a good thing". A national government officer, attached to the Department of the Prime Minister, came to visit Mary at the ESCOW office to warn her. This man was one of those known as "coming and going" to Jayapura, and told Mary, "Our government is working very well with the Indonesian government and you should not disturb that."

Mary replied that "you know it is a free country. You are a government officer, you do your work and I do my work, and who I am in contact with has nothing to do with you."



Mobile Brigade waiting for a chance to crack heads

TNI activities. So far nobody has been disappeared (yet) but many locals are fearful that this will happen soon if the TNI are not stood up to by the so-called sovereign government of PNG. There has been a long history of people investigating any allegations in the area being seriously threatened in Vanimo and ESP, like Andrew Kilvert's experience in being detained by the NIO back in 1999. (At the time of writing, even the author was under investigation by the NIO for writing this report. The author supplied his telephone number for any clarification, but so far nothing has been heard from them.)



RPNGC doing their idea of community work

At the time of interview, Mary had not heard anything direct from them again.

This is merely the tip of the iceberg. Especially for those involved in justice issues over the border and for refugees, the author received reports of a wide range of harassment. For refugees in more remote areas, there is a great deal of fear, and local villagers are consistently threatened by Indonesian nationals for sheltering refugees. As one village elder reported to me, "they are our family, our wantoks. What are we meant to do - abandon them to the killers?"

Further investigation will show a clearly demonstrable linkage between harassment and threats, to the cross border

It is even more worrying with the recent announcement by the pro-Indonesia Sir Rabbie Namaliu that PNG would be sending Mobile Brigade police to the Jakarta "anti-terrorism" training centre in 2006, for training in "security on immigration, border management, illegal smuggling of weapons, human trafficking and illegal fishing". Given the allegations raised by this report of the involvement in TNI and Mobile Brigade in these exact issues, this would be laughable if the ramifications were not so far-reaching and dangerous. This will however further cement the Mobile Brigade's loyalty to Jakarta, and ensures its total corruption and disloyalty to PNG people. From an observer's

point of view, it look for all the world like Jakarta have been given a free hand to train its proxy security forces for its occupation, like the Japanese trained some of the grandfathers of the current TNI top brass. However, it will be in for a rude shock when it tries to instill a measure of discipline into Mobile Brigade, as this would have to be the most institutionally corrupt and ill-disciplined police force in the world. The Indonesian police and military are the most corrupt, but they do show a high degree of discipline in being a law unto themselves, and to their big picture projects. PNG Police however have the discipline of vultures at a carcass.



**Mobile Brigade doing TNI work:
attempting to shut down peaceful West
Papua gathering, Goroka, August 2005**



Conclusions & Recommendations

There have been a lot of fine words and noise from the international community about combatting illegal cross border activity, and the porous border between PNG and West Papua is now presenting a clear security threat to peace and stability for the entire Pacific region. Fundamentally, the Australian government must start to address what its own intelligence agencies have been telling it for years. Terrorism is the highly profitable business of the TNI, and since the days of Yos Sudarso, it has had designs on extending its physical and economic influence. This is old news, and this was precisely the reason that right up until the early sixties, Australia was against Indonesia being in West Papua (Australia has always contended that PNG would always be a buffer to Australia, since the days of the Pacific War). *Satu Indonesia dari Sabang untuk Madang, satu kepulauan Nusantara: From Sabang to Madang (or Melbourne), one archipelago. One must remember that the architect of the secret SGI plans for JI, Ali Murtopo, also wished to take the whole island of Papua. His infamous line again:*

"We don't need Papuans, we do not care what Papuans want, we need land. If Papuans want independence, they can go and build a country on the moon, on the sun, on a star or a planet"

As this preliminary investigation has demonstrated, the writing is on the wall, on the bare mud of the destroyed forest and etched on the weapons and stencilled on the boxes of ammunition being smuggled. This is much more than an issue of illegal logging, as blatant and future destroying as this is. This is much more than just a simple issue of corruption, even the level of corruption that has plagued PNG beyond immediate salvation. This is about the very survival of a nation, and the reality of what the CIA describes as a "a barely functioning parliamentary democracy, tending toward anarchy." It is also about a population of 5.6 million people on Australia's doorstep not having access to basic facilities, having their homes, livelihoods and self-sufficiency destroyed. A failed state on Australia's doorstep represents the greatest threat to security and stability in the region, and the blame lands squarely at Canberra's feet once again. With hostile military forces on our immediate doorstep, funding, training and fomenting terrorism for domestic power games, and having documented links to most of JI, Laskar Jihad and Abu Sayyaf. And where is the concern for the human cost of this terrible reality?

PNG is being turned gradually into a colony of Indonesia by the same people that were behind the destruction of East Timor, the enslavement of Aceh, and the Genocide in West Papua. The people of Sandaun and ESP are at grave threat from a highly expansionist, genocidal and racist TNI, and Australia will have blood on its hands yet again if it fails to do anything. There is a great fear in the heart of Papuans who are suffering already that even if Indonesia fails to immediately launch a full scale occupation and kill people directly, they will cause terror and intimidation through their proxies. They have watched their own family suffer, and many are scared of the safety to themselves, their families and clans if they speak out at all. This is why they are asking for people of good heart to come and investigate, to ask the difficult and hard questions and document the reality of what is occurring in such a blatant fashion. Australian expats living in PNG have too much personally at stake, or are too closely involved with business, political or even more dubious connections to be relied upon. The only way this can continue is if it is nicely swept under a carpet. This is 2006, and the world of information is powerful weapon against the corrupt.

Whilst this is happening, the international community should not be treating colonisation and invasion as a *fait accompli*. Radical things will happen from disenfranchised and threatened people, and Melanesian people are not known for taking things lying down. One only has to look at the recent history of the region. The Bougainville uprising, war and blockade ultimately cost the lives of over 100,000 people, but the people eventually won the peace, through standing up to a particularly evil multinational and never wavering in their dream of respect for their land. Over this same issue,

the PNGDF led a revolt in 1997 which released many years of pent up anger at foreign domination. And in 2000, PNGDF rose up alongside the people in what was one of the first global uprisings against international capitalism. The World Bank protests brought many networks together which are just waiting for the moment to spring into action. People in the west should never underestimate the deep and abiding connection to the mother Earth, and the anger of heartbreak that is felt by a people that cannot understand why people can abuse their mother. *Graun Em Laip em Papua*, and any person who tries to break that connection will incur the wrath of not just the ancestors, but the organisation of a people that figured out respectful agriculture a good ten thousand years before any whitefella threw seeds to the ground.

Land belongs to the landowners in Papua, and the author can testify to the many warnings he heard all over PNG. People are ready to take the birthright of caring for country to radical new levels, and have no problem in destroying the machines that destroy their land and their future. And it will happen in such a way that every yellow machine of destruction will mysteriously burn at the same time. Mobile Brigade cannot be in every place at once, and they will have to figure out at that point who they work for. *Ten thousand burning bulldozers – have it your way*. Despite many expats asserting that there is no such thing as a national identity in Papua, one thing unites Papuans, and that is their land. Grassroots networks have and will be further ensuring that any information about what the companies are up to will get communicated into the remotest mountain or swamp villages, and especially warning people about the Indonesians. It will be easier with support from supporters outside Papua, and the networks are hoping that Australian and other concerned people in solidarity will assist, especially women.

Because in PNG, when something goes wrong, one can usually blame Australia for it in some way. The "problem" with this is the retaliation can also get affect business greatly, especially those who treat their Papuan workers like blackbirded slaves, and their land like a lolly shop. It is in Australia's interest to stand with grassroots Papuans to resist the Indonesian colonialism, because failure to do so will hit Australia so very hard. The increased and unchallenged risk of genuine terrorism on Australian soil and direct military aggression is obvious enough even for the most blind to see. There is no choice for a Brisbane line in 2006, but all Canberra needs to do is speak with its own people in green uniforms. Even the blind see more than our government, especially former Indonesian President Abdurrachman Wahid (no disrespect to a man who was the only honest and non- war criminal President in Indonesia, which is why he got set up and ousted), who did not shy away from naming the TNI as being behind terrorism right across South East Asia (see Appendix C).

To be thoroughly blunt, the international community must realise that if something walks liker a duck, quacks like a duck, looks like a duck, eats like a duck, shits like a duck, smells like a duck, flies like a duck, swims like a duck, tastes like a duck, and has a line of ducklings behind it, then it probably is a duck. If it looks like, smells like, spawns like, hides like, acts like, and talks like terrorism, then that is what it is. The Indonesian military are laughing at Australia, laughing that they can fall for all lies that are being peddled about stopping terrorism. They are terrorism. The TNI stands for, in more ways than one, *Terrorismus Nasional Indonesia*. The use of proxy milita forces is a part of its founding strategy in the doctrine of WANRA or the "Peoples' Resistance". This was how Indonesia beat the Dutch, and it is how Indonesia has shaken off all comers that challenged its territorial expansionism.

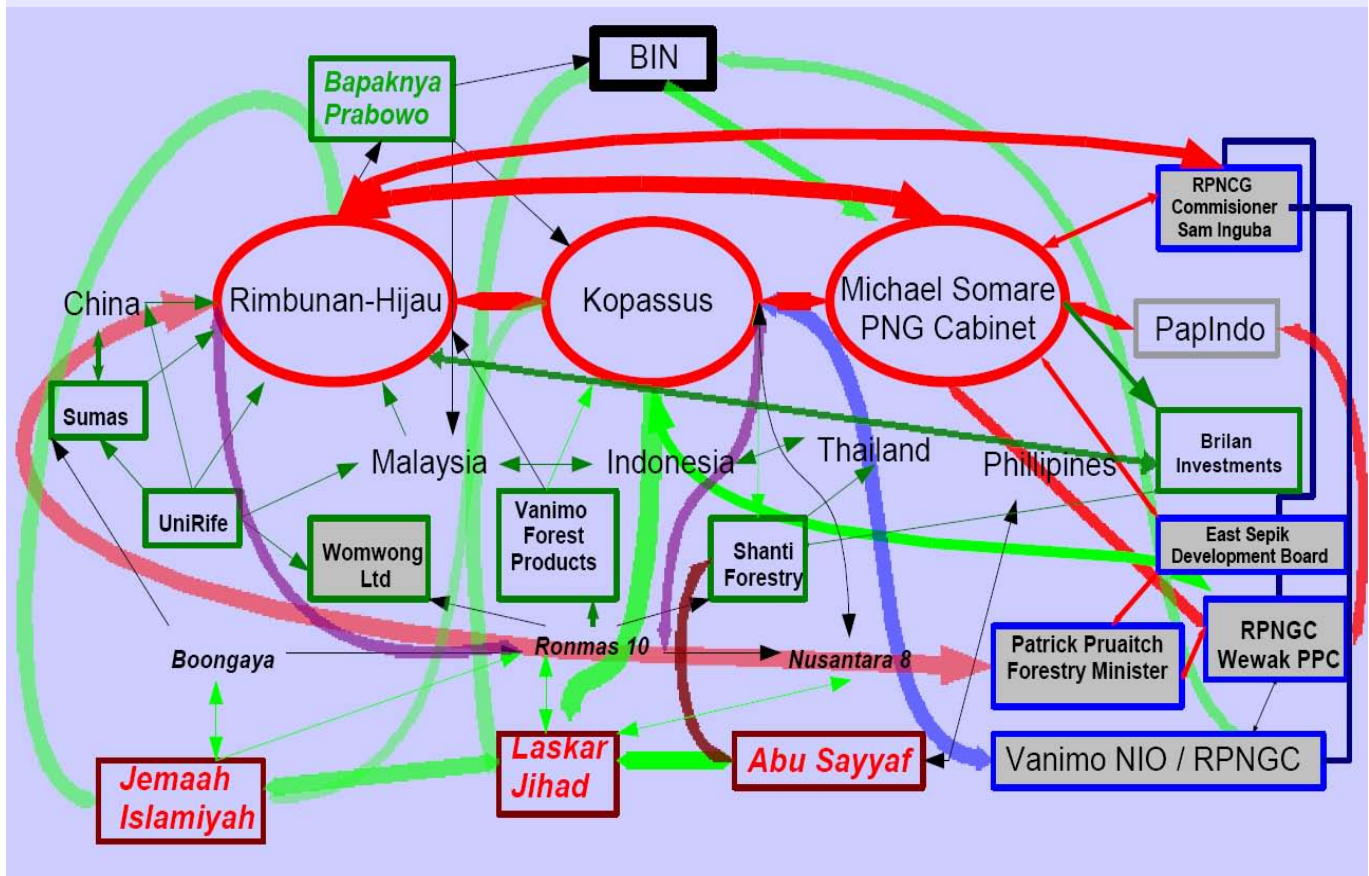
If Australia is serious about combatting terrorism, it needs to immediately, fundamentally and honestly address exactly who the terrorists are, who is funding them, training them, arming them and providing them with cover. It cannot anymore accept platitudes from the Indonesian military, nor can it accept useless platitudes also from the proven PNG lackeys of Jakarta, the house boy Michael Somare et al. The executive in Canberra must start listening to its own military and intelligence services as to who and where the genuine terrorists are. In all honesty, the terrorists do not wear keffayah, they wear red berets and camouflage. If one wants to stop terrorism, maybe one should stop arming and legitimising the terrorists.

The alternative to inaction is not a pleasant one. If the international community looks at what is going on honestly with the TNI it will see that the reality does not fit the "War of Terror" worldview. One only has to look at what is going on is Sulawesi right now. The author can guarantee that there is the involvement of our favourite Malaysian timber conglomerate in the

bombings and activities there, and it has been demonstrated that some of the individuals involved at Hawain and Kaup are involved in the violence there.

This is not an issue that can be won through the Aid dollar, no matter how well intended. Australia today is a bit like those rich sugar daddies who are too concerned about the pleasure from their young gold diggers to notice their little pleasure giver is actually slowly putting a dagger through their neck, and taking all the gold from the safe. In fact, Australia as a nation is more like that individual Australian man identified at the the Kreer compound preying on the young kids. But he is not the Mamasan that is running and profiting from the whole show, just a stupid, immoral, criminal and blinded punter. Australia is too happy to give out billions in corrupt aid in the hope that people will like Australia through the dollar. However by not checking on how and who the aid is spent and by whom, the corruption that is bred actually facilitates threats to security and more. People like Somare and his cabal of kago cohorts take and take, living above and beyond their means to pay it back (nothing is for free after all). They have fallen victim to the blackmail of the wily and greedy tiger already chewing on its meal, and now the tiger wants to eat again.

Australia, the people as well as the government, need to take the lead and wake up to the reality of who the TNI are, and what they are doing in PNG, and do all in its power to act for a decisive solution to the TNI's expansionism. To put this in a framework of naked self-interest (which the only way those in the West usually respond), if the international community fails to take action on this clear and present danger in the border areas of PNG, it will mean more body bags, more dead Westerners. As identified earlier, the terror networks of South East Asia firmly have PNG in their sights as a springboard to Australia, or Mantiqi 4. It usually takes a dead white man to get action, and this will happen if none is taken. The problem is, what is Australia and the international community going to do stop the deaths of the black women and men that are already happening?



O what a tangled web they weave: spaghetti chart of relationships between PNG, RH, and Kopassus

This report is not just about showing the myriad problems in ESP and Sandaun. It is to find a just a lasting solution to the mess in PNG that is acceptable to the owners of the land. It is time for a full scale investigation into the issues raised here, and there is an identified need to canvass the following possibilities of action.

1: FULL SCALE INVESTIGATIVE PROJECT:

A minimum two month International monitoring project must to be established to fully investigate and test the allegations raised within this report. Aim for this project is to be commenced immediately after the wet season in March or April – depending on what global warming has to say (although further revelations may speed up this timeframe). Project will comprise multiple and fully mobile and communicating investigation teams made up of invited human rights investigators and lawyers, jurists, investigative journalists and activists with a view to culturally appropriate investigations. Ideally this should be made up at least four (4) concurrent teams, with a minimum women's component on each to work with the grassroots women's networks (Boys, it is the women of Papua, on both sides of the border who are copping all the abuse and doing the most work trying to find solutions to the systemic violence: we need to back up these brave and powerful women all the way) . Each team must contain people with the following skills:

- Tok Pisin and Bahasa Indonesia Translator;
- Stenographer;
- Video operator (professional standard);
- photographer;
- Audio recorder
- 2 x licensed drivers (minimum);
- 2 x security personnel (local)
- Legal investigator;
- human rights investigator;
- environmental investigator;

All team members must be comfortable in working in extreme tropical climates with no Western comforts (village accomodation, which is actually quite comfortable). The authors experience of staying with villagers in their own environmetn was not only just rewarding, but actually opened up more doors and a freer flow of information than if staying in a hotel. Besides, hotels are notoriously expensive in PNG, with not many around, and not many below K300 per night. Team members must also be willing to learn Tok Pisin and Bahasa Indonesia if they do not already speak it. Team members will also be expected to contribute to village work while they are staying there. Foreign nationals will be working alongside local networks, but due to the tight lipped movement and the reality of *taim bilong masta* not finishing, non-Papuans can get more answers when working with locals.

Each team will also need to have the following equipment for safety, security, interviews and evidence:

- 1 Portable, high speed packet data HF transceiver, with email and data capability, most likely Barrett 2040 or Q-Mac₂
- 1 Solar roll (lightweight packable solar panel)
- 1 small wind generator
- 1 wind up generator
- 1 robust "battlefield" high speed notebook computer designed for tropical conditions including 2 spare long range batteries
- 1 Satelliite Phone
- 1 5+ megapixel digital still camera
- 1 video camera
- 1 mp3 voice recorder using SD or memory cards
- 5 waterproof field notebooks
- All this must be contained within a portable, comfortable, robust, waterproof backpack type container.
- In addition selected centres must have access to surveillance equipment such as laser directional mikes if required and 500mm telephoto lenses on 6 megapixel digital SLR cameras for effective intelligence collection.

This investigation relied too much on human kindness and very grassroots solutions, and borrowed equipment due to lack of substantial finance. However this was very limiting as we could not follow up leads when they happened, and so a reasonable budget will be required. PNG's cost of

living and travel is twice that of Australia (blame *long pig bilong Jesus* for that one). We are looking for interested parties to provide funding for up to K12,000 per person for a two month period (not including equipment costs above, which we are also looking for donations to cover).





Each team will need sufficient funding to cover the following:


- Vehicle hire
- boat (and pilot) hire ;
- fuel;
- food;
- airfares (most places are only accessible by air, or a week long walk – there will be a few week long walks though);
- and for the following on a restricted basis:
 - discretionary budgeted operations to ease interception of internal TNI and PNG documentation as further evidence.
 - purchases of restricted smuggled items to be made with full accountability and oversight by trusted PNGDF and/or ADF personnel, in order to record serial numbers, photographs and origins of weapons prior to surrender, destruction and compensation by properly competent legal authorities.


Total costs estimate for a professional two month project is above K100,000 (A\$50,000), but this includes personal contributions and costs. (To put this in perspective, a similar project under UN auspices would cost several million dollars – got to give them their \$850 per day “danger and hardship money”). Still, it is a lot of money, and we would also be looking at having financial managers come on board. The figure given is only a ballpark figure, and is being thrown out to encourage people to start applying for professional funding. Any donations or assistance to garner funding for this critical project would be appreciated. Further details on investigations teams have already been formulated, and for security reasons, are available only for perusal by potential donors and participants. Please contact the author directly (contacts on back cover) to get involved, or to advise on the mission.

2. FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS:

The following points have also been identified by PNG networks as needing immediate attention from concerned international solidarity workers:

-  There is a need for women's anti-violence workers to come and get involved voluntarily at the coalface with grassroots women organisations in ESP and Sandaun. This would be especially useful for Indigenous women, or for those non-indigenous folk, those with a proven and accepted record with grassroots and traditional law backed advocacy work with indigenous communities under threat from resource corporations. Quite simply, the women of East Sepik are wanting to know where their sisters are, and why they have not been on the ground with them, or if they even care about Papuan women (Their words). Maybe it is time for Australian women to show by example that this isn't the case.
-  A full investigation into the the role of Michael Somare, Patrick Pruaitch, Benny Narokobi, and Rabbie Namaliu, and the National Alliance around the use of Rimbunan-Hijau funds to sway legal process under PNG law, and for being the front for Indonesian colonial activities; investigation of the links between Michael Somare and his share in the PapIndo empire.
-  Direct assistance and donations to local grassroots networks for evidence gathering, surveillance and administrative equipment (especially digital cameras with long range lenses), and legal and activist support for when the inevitable harassment intensifies.
-  A transparent and open investigation be set up to look at all disbursements awarded under AusAID to verify the strategic usefulness, and to see whether any breaches of PNG or Australian law have occurs through the use of AudAID funded infrastructure.

 Formal alliance to be built between all those researching and acting Rimbunan-Hijau and its subsidiaries anywhere in the world, the links between resource exploitation and Indonesian military corruption, and the connection between terrorism and military networks in the region;

 Increased utilisation of the MeSol network across the Pacific for concerted and co-ordinated action to raise the issues in the border region of PNG/West Papua; to foster Pacific wide consciousness of cross border solidarity and security issues.

The people of East Sepik, Sandaun and all of PNG have right to expect a future. They have a right to have an existence free from threats to their security and well being, and have a right to live in peace, free from destruction, forced labour, and destruction of their forests and livelihoods. Most importantly these Papuans, like all Papuans, have a right to not be colonised, brutalised, invaded, and subject to genocide – which is what will happen if the TNI businesses are not challenged immediately. Just look across the border at the killing of over 400,000 of our wantoks.

The people of the West, and especially those that call themselves activists, have an obligation to stand with those Papuans who are fighting for a more sustainable and just future. Especially given the reality that our wealth is derived from the suffering and exploitation of these very people. Our freedom that is being so quickly eroded through apathy was won by Papuans sacrificing themselves in their thousands for Australia in the Pacific War. Anyone remember the “Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels” and Kokada?

Never before has our peace and security, and even our very survival as a species, been so dependent on working with our neighbours, our wantoks and family, to combat the greed of terror, and the terror of greed.

The choice of allowing real terrorism to destroy our future is now dependent on standing up where we have a chance. The border of PNG and West Papua will be the next global hotspot, and with 28,000 troops there now, the TNI are preparing for what it describes as “foreign interference”. However, it is the community of nations obligation to interfere in the face of genocide and aggression. How can one be neutral in the face of genocide? To do otherwise would be inhuman.

The people of PNG need support in standing up to the Mafia that is running the country at the moment, and they need the facts on the ground to be seen irrefutably by the outside world. In the interests of peace, security and stability for the wider Pacific region, the mafioso thief Somare must be held to account. For those in PNG are going to make support for the people of West Papua a major election issue in 2006, and Somare's allegiance to Indonesia will become an albatross for re-election.

Ultimately though, it is *your* choice what to do, if peace is going to survive in the Pacific, and if you are going to do it *now*. A nuclear and terror free Independent Pacific is the only solution: Melanesia governed by all Melanesians for the benefit according to Law. If nothing is done, we will have to call the Pacific, the Terrorific, as there will be no peace. (And this closing statement is bound to annoy more than a few people, which is why it is here). As a village idiot named George once said: “You're either with terrorists, or you're against them.” You just have to figure out who the terrorists are.....

Which side are *you* on, and what are *you* going to do about it?



Endnotes

Quotes

1. Personal interview, W of Wewak, 7/11/2005
2. EIA/ Telapak 2003
3. THE USE OF ILLEGAL GUNS: SECURITY IMPLICATIONS FOR PAPUA NEW GUINEA, Jerry Singirok, "State, Society, and Governance in Melanesia" 2005/5 ANU Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

Endnotes

- i. "The Untouchables" Greenpeace 2004 (sourced from Forest Authority PNG)
- ii. Personal interviews with West Papuan contacts, November 2005
- iii. In "Sorong: a haven for illegal Logging" Forest People's Alliance, 2002;
- iv. "The Untouchables" Greenpeace 2004
- v. See Masalai-i-Tokaut, "Police Chief Inguba covering for Rimbunan Hijau atrocities" 15/11/2004.. www.cotse.net/users/masalai
- vi. Appendix D... The transcript has been removed from Dateline's site, and is likely to be removed from others, so it is attached in fully as an appendix.
- vii. See "Genocide in West Papua?", Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Sydney Uni, 2005;
- viii. Personal interview with former member of Gun Control Committee, ESP, 5/11/2005
- ix. The National (PNG) 6 May 2005, "Indons wants care on drugs-for-guns claim"
- x. Interviews with Mary Soondrawu, and Bruce Samban
- xi. Personal Interview, Port Moresby, 29th October, 2005
- xii. Rev. Sofyan Yoman, President, West Papuan Baptist Church
- xiii. See "In bed with ABRI" Andrew Kilvert, 1999
- xiv. Wewak, Personal Interview with WP student
- xv. ESCOW
- xvi. Confirmed as Lae

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full Papua Map pg4 Courtesy New Internationalist, Issue 344, West papua Will be Free (go and get yourself a copy of the 2005 NI ARK CdRom: support the magazine that supports justice)

weapons pg21 , discourtesy of PINDAD

video stills pgs29, 30 Laskar Jihad (or TNI, not sure what is what)

pg25 Australian Federal Police

JI Structure chart p33, from "Transnational Terrorism", DFAT, Common(stolen)wealth of Australia, 2005

All images of the Indonesian military and/or their weapons the author happily stole from their websites and proxies (go one sue me TNI.... copyright unfortunately rests in the bullets in the bodies of your many victims)



Appendices

TRANSCRIPTS OF ON-RECORD INTERVIEWS

Due to legitimate security concerns, only certain limited transcripts are reprinted here. This is a public document, therefore these are only transcripts of the interviewees who consented to the publication of identifying information. All other information can be made available for secure viewing for verification purposes, but at the discretion of the author, in the physical presence of the author, and with the permission of the interviewees.

Appendix A

Interview 1: Mary Soondrawu, President, East Sepik Women's Council (ESCOW)



INT: Now we were talking before about how some of the logging operations were affecting the local women. Can you tell us what is happening with these logging operations – particularly the local logging operations and also with operations involving Rimbunan Hijau; if there has been any intimidation of local women; and how it is affecting local women?

MS: Thank you. The issue of Rimbunan Hijau is going back to early 1994. When they started to come into the province, the Council of Women took up the front line campaign against logging, and this was the big issue that the council of women took up.

And we had a big campaign... ah we had a big operation on the west coast of Wewak, and where the land was destroyed, where the company went into the sacred area and started digging up the graveyard.

And the people, right after, they called up a meeting at our home to really see what was happening and to share eyewitness about the graves... the cemetery was literally dug up by the dozers and the skeletons were scattered here and there.

The administration of the province did not even respond to that particular concern that the people raised.

When I went in, I was addressing that with the people there – that was early 1990s - we had to took up the campaign again and had to look for support outside..... Which as a women's movement we are handicapped, but because being an activist people come to me, I am trying my best.

When I went to the radio and I was taken to see the extent of the operation that was taking place... and finally I was able to get in a lawyer which we were able to make an impact and that shut up the area.

But the issue of digging up the graves that really was never addressed until today, and now they are back... under a different name, but as a subsidiary of Rimbunan Hijau.....

INT: Ok, so What is the name of the new company?

MS: Is it Womwong? Because it Womwong before but now it is a different name again. There is someone I can call today, he'll have to come up and explain.....

and they went up again now, they are operating, and they have not built the road, they are just bringing in dozers and cut down the trees, put them on the big trucks and ah, during the rainy season they not, the trucks cannot move and they use the dozers to push the trucks and the timber on them right down to the coast. So they're now literally taking the logs out, under what arrangement I do not know, maybe through the politicians

who know what is going on but the people don't even know....

INT: Do you have any evidence of involvement of senior politicians, and are you in any position to suggest.....

MS: Yeah, probably i will lead you to somebody, they will know of this...olsem.. also a campaigner who is dealing with it right now, but he is looking into it, these issues of concern.... issues of corruption on the forestry board for the province..... (organising talk)

Its not only this particular project but there is another project on the east coast that we are looking into where they are harvesting and logging. I heard that The company is coming through Arthur Somare, the member for Angoram/ Maprik, the son of the Prime Minister, an ah they've been in operation for a while now.

And they are now having women who are having children, mixed race children right now from these men, which I am hearing from my women who are coming in. I think two days ago there is another woman came in wanting me to come down and to see for myself what is happening with the young girls there, happening on the ground at that particular logging site on the east coast. I think it is a subsidiary to Rimbunan Hijau; and now they have moved into another logging site which is still in the electorate of Angoram/*****, of Arthur Somare.

So this is three areas now that this company has come in, and I am sure this is Rimbunan Hijau.

INT: Just to focus on what is happening with the women there: Is there any reports of the sex being, I suppose, coercive.....

MS: sex workers?

INT: No, no, the sex that is happening, is it being coerced by the foreign workers, or....?

MS: oh Yeah.....

INT: yeah? Through a degree of force?

MS: Yes, yes, thats what I've heard

INT: OK.....

MS: OK like people are now being... they are helpless.... Most of the activity is taken at the local level, they do not know which authority will help or not, who to trust, they are helpless... Who else they go talk about the politicians?

And in typical Melanesian way, you know they can't...

INT: wantok?

MS: Yeah, wantok and Big Man, they get scared of them....

INT: You can see, I think, an established pattern here, yeah?..

MS: Yeah (nods).

INT: In terms of the mixed race children.....

MS: Sorry?

INT: Are they of Indonesian descent?

MS: Yeah, Asian...

INT: What, Filipino? Korean?

MS: No I think they are... no not Filipino....

INT: Taiwanese?

MS: No they are definitely Indonesian....

TL: Yes, this, Rimbunan Hijau?

INT and MS: yeah, yeah

TL: Yeah we had a couple, a handful of Indonesians come round to our camp and they are, you know, looking for lovely wantoks, they are here.... so we don't know....

INT: Yeah, but I was meaning in terms of the mixed race children....

TL: Yeah, previously they had this logging; Rimbunan Hijau was here before...

MS: Kaup

TL: And also at Hawain, yeah but previously there were some incidents...

MS: Mixed race children...

TL: Indonesian?

MS: And Malaysian..

INT: Just or and?

MS: And. Malaysian AND Indonesian.

INT: Now....

MS: Filipinos they are for the fish

INT: Now in terms of Hijau or the workers involved in this company; I'll just make it clear that this tape is going to be edited and typed and its not going to... and the allegations, cos, you know how they are (LAUGHTER ALL ROUND).

MS: I understand, understood you

INT: So we will refer to them as Rimbunan, it is not an implication of their legal liability, we're just covering ourselves here....

Now, Can you tell me again what the location, the villages this was happening....

MS: Hawain....

INT:or was this happening right across.....

MS: Hawain, and also East coast... we can take a drive later this afternoon and I can show you, I can take you to see the place...

INT: Hawain?

MS: Yeah Hawain. Hawain logging. And I'll have to ring the guy who came up to see me last week concerned with what is going on. Especially with the building of the road and how they went straight through and (inaudible).... burial site(inaudible)...

TL: going through the village burial site...

INT: I'll just try to keep on one topic at a time. You've got testimonies and stuff about this?

MS: I'll have to check with G*****....

INT: Because if it is alright I'd like to include that it in the report, the witness statements and testimonies....

TL: Mary just said that you can have a physical inspection of the site yourself and interview with the locals⁹. We will get a man who can get us some things, who will get us right out there.

OTHER ORGANSING OFF TOPIC TALK.....

⁹ This visit was unable to proceed due to the presence of RH workers and managers at every point which would have caused physical danger to the interviewees...

File ref : VO02.wav

.....

INT: (0:45) Now we've got people who are on the Rimbunan environmental side of things; Greenpeace are already dealing with that. What I am also trying to find out is about the infiltration of people and what they are doing and how they are affecting people in the area...

MS: I think their movement here is, it is freely, they are in and out of the province, even how the people are moving from here to Irian Jaya and back. Their information, then going and coming (inaudible) only not free.... When this gun control committee was visiting the province, there was an issue of gun smuggling, following the movement of people going in and out which resulted in that big forum we had down at the marketplace. And there was the mention of the high powered guns which the police confiscated.....

INT: Was that the mobile brigade that confiscated that, or was that the normal police?

MS: That was the normal police...

INT: Ok. Would they still have those weapons?

MS: That I wouldn't know because, again, at that time it was raised they then went up to Goroka.....

INT: OK we'll figure that out from another angle....

MS: ...and then we heard of Australian soldiers coming, and they went up to....(whispering¹⁰...) So there was something happening in Maprik Other than that, there are situations that, you know;well people are just moving around freely... I mean we don't have good government authority to check for people, so you don't know who is here right then, and who is not here. So this is our suspect, but people are probably adamant about what is going on.

INT: Have any of the local women been witness to any of the gun.. or weapons transfers or movement?

MS: To my knowledge, no.....

INT: ...Or have they received any intimidation from any one in the gun trade?

MS: Um, earlier on, up the river, Yes, that there were women... because of the movement up the river and women were being raped because of this type of men carrying guns up the river. And I think the police intervened and that quietly ended.

INT: Now the people moving the guns, any idea where they were from?

MS: Um...

TL: Can you get me off the record?

Tape ends

File ref : VO04.wav

MS: They are really coming in ... the cases where, when we interview, we conducted because of other related issues as a part of the violence at the homes with regard to drugs, alcohol and pornography that are coming in from that side of the world....

INT: What sort of drugs are ...?

MS: Marijuana

¹⁰ We spoke with a senior ADF member the night before who talked about the seizure near Ambunti of Indonesian weapons by ADF personnel after being intercepted on the Sepik....

INT: Mainly Marijuana

MS: Marijuana is mainly traded, our men go in selling marijuana on the other side and they are coming back home. And they are constantly traveling between here and Jayapura, and this is creating an uprising in the families...

I had a very serious case that I was handling up there two months ago involving a guy and the whole family, and the daughter is here because of certain abuse that he inflicted on..... Because of this marijuana trade and its involvement with guns from the other side, and this person who was involved was an auxiliary member of the police squad, but I have confronted the situation.

INT: Is there any indication of any systemic involvement of members of the police force?

MS: Yes. (inaudible) me I would say yes, because for the situation that I am here now, handling cases for the women's side, I have cases now coming from the Policewomen, but they do not know how to handle it because their husbands are policemen, and I have even seen physically abusive.

I was handling an uprising from the high forest up in the highlands, the community (inaudible)... from our community a whole lot of our young boys fell up out of the police strike.

....There at the police station I could see that there is division in the police ranks right away... And this says to me that there are different women there who feel that a lot of police work that is going on is not right..... but they do at least try to, you know a certain decision is made

.... observing the truth of the results up there, the whole police force is totally to me, disintegrating; they are not seen to be police in uniform ever, they are just in civilian clothes hanging around the police station. There were cases when their own policemen were promised guns from the other side... and maybe you have different factions, they have stopped a lot of progress of East Sepik issues...

INT: In terms of the violence that is caused by the people who are involved in drugs, firstly were these people having tendencies towards violence prior to their involvement in this; and secondly, if they weren't especially, what do you think may have caused them to become.. or to use a lot of violence upon their return from West Papua?

MS: I started seeing the increase of that activity, especially violence, when we had the return of the vanilla group that was having people moving in and out at will, people coming from all directions from across Papua New Guinea and from that direction (waving, indicating West Papua) causing some sort of confusion I would say, I mean people of the Sepik are never part of that activity at home here.... they are very quiet and normally just going about their own thing.... at the peak of the vanilla boom that was causing a lot confusion and a lot of family violence at home ... maybe because of money coming in, maybe because of people with different contacts coming in with different information

(organisational Talk)

I was getting the impact with the vanilla boom that women are coming in with increased numbers suffering violence and (inaudible) in the home.... men are bringing in two, three wives ... that again law enforcing agencies are the same....

INT: I was just wanting to clarify, traditionally this has been a polygamous area, yes?

MS: No, traditionally we only find that no, if there is polygamy in practice it may be a wife of a brother that has died, that the brother is trying to take responsibility and marries the brother's wife to look after the generations... not really what I have seen now...

INT: So its more informal...

MS: Yeah...

INT: Not something that is justified by traditional law.

MS: No. Now I am watching the young generation coming in for comforting in total confusion. Now in East Sepik alone we have a little tribe of our own in conflict with each other, and women are caught in between.

INT: What steps have women taken on a grassroots level to defend against the violence from... number one the sexual violence from the foreign workers; and secondly against the sexual and physical violence from their own community?

MS: I would say from the outside issue we have not looked into that seriously because of the capacity that the organisation has. However we have got complaints coming from the cannery itself, women who have come in

complaining about what they have seen happening there but I have not been to the cannery yet. But on the other side, generally we are dealing with women as they come every day, and we create awareness. We work with them in the whole Sepik district, the women are carrying out our mission and assisting women wherever they can. And we are now working closely with the police on certain issues, but we cannot reach out to the outback the outside coming in that could help us, but we are handicapped by our internal structure, our communications we cannot reach out to the local women.. but we have to... even with our research from HELP resources look at the vanilla buildup and the issues at the cannery would be good to get hold of the findings, yeah... that research they are dealing with that day to day...

INT: I think we really need to start to organise.. to get the networks in Australia to start to fund the investigations here and a tour around Australia, an information tour.... they really need to pull out their fingers...

MS: Yeah... Sorry?

(Detailed explanation of the term "pull out their fingers")

MS: We see the problems, but we can do what we can..... Even the government, they are supposed to be reporting to, or working closely with us: its not working with us. So we say to them, we cannot even let you see our reports unless you show that you are working with us.....

INT: Do feel that there are some conflicts of interest that are becoming obvious with, I suppose, lack of co-operation from certain agencies?

MS: That is clear, they are listening together but they are not consulting each other, the NGOs on the ground who are dealing with that. And the women we alone work with the other networks.....

(not clearly audible, but talking about ESCOWs organisational structure, not directly relevant to this report....)

(13:44)

INT: Is there anything else you want to add, in terms of what we are trying to find out about in terms of cross border?

MS: I am... I feel that we are not receiving information that we should receive in tune as to what is going on, maybe we are so much involved with our own thing with our own organisation, I feel we really need to know what is happening.... and people moving there... We hear of government officers going but coming, just on a government level... I have someone going there knowing of my contact with the issue of... of my involvement with West Papua..... and I was told that they are gonna.. that the government is working very well with the Indonesian government and that I should not disturb that.

That Papuan came up, a Papuan New Guinean government official to come up to the office and I said you know it is a free country. You are a government officer, you do your work and I do my work, and who I am in contact with has nothing to do with you. These are things that is coming from the government level...

INT: Was that Provincial or National?

MS: National. That they have a good working relationship growing and I should not be doing something that would prevent that.... And I said "I am just a person, I mean, you do your work and I do mine." But that particular person did not come back again.

INT: You haven't received any other intimidation?

MS: No. Previously with the logging, yes, I had people come up with the guns, that lasted five months...shoot me up at my house....

INT: OK, When was that?

MS: 1995. I heard... um there were phone calls to me but I told the people in the office, any phone calls, screen them for me. So, they started doing that and nobody called any more. (laughs)

INT: I don't suppose you saw if the guns were Indonesian or Australian did you? (Laughter!)

MS: No. I had... There was a number calling here and I still have it.. I rang and there I rang back and there was an Asian voice answering and the number registered on my mobile....

INT: Ok they (joking around)

MS: (17:45) Its three something... a Port Moresby number... Yes, that's the one on the 24th.... 323 1998... I rang back a got a voice.... I didn't want to ring back again because that might cause something....

INT: I think that that's the Indonesian Embassy... I'll grab that, write it down in a sec.... 24th of what???

MS: 24th of this month, last month... October..... yeah 24th of October at about twenty eight minutes past four...

INT: Hmm, OK, that's the Monday of the Civil Society Forum.. yeah right, (laughter) that makes sense (laughter)...

TL: What is the time again?

MS: twenty eight minutes past four in the afternoon.

INT: Well they are not going to be happy now that we know the connection.... But I think it may be Michael Somare's office to tell the truth, or one of the "businesses"...

MS: Ya, I think that is so...

INT: PapIndo.

MS: Yes.

INT: I am sure Somare is implicated in it somehow. So it was definitely an Asian voice?

MS: (inaudible) maybe Malaysian, Indonesian. But yes, definitely an Asian...

MS: And then they just hang up...

TL: You don't have any previous record on this number?

MS: No this number, this is the first time.....

INT: Dopes!!!

MS: But I didn't want to take it off the screen until I have told people.

TL: I have it on our screen and we will find out later, give them a call, anytime.

INT: Yep. Well OK, I reckon we'll stop....

TAPE ENDS

INTERVIEW ENDS

Appendix B

Interview 2: Bruce Samban, former Premier, East Sepik Province



File ref : VO07.wav

(General introduction and discussion off tape about the purposes of the interview in terms of exposing the corrupt linkages between the senior PNG politicians and the Indonesian militatray and logging)

BS: It is good that you have organised to get me here because this is what I have been doing for last

twenty.... I was the former Premier and that is what I tried to do... I also went to gaol because I was Premier. At the time, my government were going too far, too powerful, in fact we were challenging this outrage, and they saw that I was a threat. So what they did was they organised... they take people to go and bear false witness and then they take me to gaol. They gave me five years. But after two and half years, after we appealed and we did our investigations ... and we proved... it all came back to the former member for Wewak, Benny Narokobi and the Chief himself, they were right behind it.

I had very very strong evidence but I never got to a hearing, and it was all very quickly done, to stop me, because what I was doing at the time was to disturb these (inaudible) Indonesians and what they were doing in this country.

I am a very small person but I am very very thankful that people like you will be involved and I am sure that will be my fight, and that of the majority of people in Papua Niugini; especially East Sepik. So I must tell you my friend, I am not afraid to say anything, I am not afraid to face Chief if that has to be, because that is what I want to do for my people and I was... I mean my life has been ruined, completely ruined and.... I mean nobody can employ me, they know what I am like, I am not employed, I am on the street but I do what I can do for people from time to time... we have to sit down about the issues which are not correct...

So I am (inaudible) on the forest thing, just got an... on with one last week So I am sorry to say, I investigated a bit... The current people, the so-called "Shanti" Forestry... that's the one... which are involved with harvesting of teak trees. Teak tree is one of the species which is endangered in Papua Niugini, and is very very expensive....

INT: CITES?

BS: Yes, and its not for sale very cheaply. But our forest officer in the government here, and I am sure that there are people at the back, and I have evidence of (inaudible) three quarter grabs of the Chief and his wife, with the Manager. They are all part of the company Shanti Forestry. I (inaudible) that on Monday.

What they are doing... what I think well is wrong with the harvesting of the timber... teak trees. They are getting what they log, they cut down the trees. What they do is they cut it short, and they put it into large pieces which are known as Fitches. Fitches are banned, or fitches are also banned. If you have to export them, then there are certain fees that have to be paid, to the provisional authority or to the national government...

But in our case in East Sepik, the forest officers are also involved, the customs are also involved. I say they are involved because in their investigations... or in their inspections into supplying or allowing exports, of the first shipment of ten containers, it was declared sawn timber. And it was already exported, without paying thirty percent or holding fees or whatever they call it... the process, ah government fees... they never paid it. And after investigating on Monday they told me "Oh its on the way, we are trying to organise, we will pay, don't worry. Can you allow the second shipment?"

I said "put a stop to it". And the second shipment is now ready for packing into containers but I have managed to tell them to stop it until proper investigations are done and (inaudible). I've left a message with the Administrator's Provincial Executive officer, but I don't whether the message is got to the administrator or not, but I will follow that up tomorrow¹¹.

That's one. When I say that I have photographs of top leaders at the back... I think they are allowing it, I think they are allowing this kind of Rimbunan style foreign colonialism on their own people. And I don't think that is right. This where everybody should be involved, the people and the international community and everybody should be involved in condemning such leaders.

INT: Just to confirm, what is the name of the company?

BS: Ah Shanti Forestry, s-h-a-n-t-i, Shanti Forestry. They are listed as Shanti Forestry Limited in Wewak, and they are based opposite us in Madang or Lae, I'll have to confirm that.^{xvi}

INT: Moving to Rimbunan, what's the evidence, ah what are some the things you have got evidence about that Rimbunan have been engaged in, in and around Wewak area in terms of both corrupt practices, maybe getting on to "other" fields in a minute...?

BS: Rimbunan really reach, as far as I know during my term as Premier, Ah Rimbunan is the parent lead, is the mother company.... I would not be surprised if Womwong Timber, if Shanti Foestry, people like that are connected with Rimbunan. What they do is they break them up into small groups, they send them everywhere under different names, but the whole thing, I think the parent company would be Rimbunan-Hijau.

INT: sounds like Rio Tinto have been giving them lessons...

BS: You know if they were not these companies I do not think they would be allowed here, because the government, the current leaders, most of them, they live off Rimbunan-Hijau. Therefore they allow, they allow timber companies, anything to... or anybody who has connections to Rimbunan, I'm sure they can have most of

¹¹ It wasn't administered.

the country (laughter).

There is another group in the Kaup one, the Kaup one is called Brilan, Brilan Investments...

INT: B-r-i?

BS: Brilan Investments. B-r-i-l-a-n. They are based in Kaup, which is Worakas (?) (inaudible) village. Brilan is based there, and what they are doing is there are exporting logs, and logs is definitely a complete ban in Papuan New Guinea. We are not to export log, no matter what species, whether its cheap tree or expensive tree, all logging¹² is banned. But here in East Sepik, I am not so sure... I'll have to check and come back to you...

But two shipments... two shipments of logs have already gone out... gone out without the forestry or customs doing anything about it.. they know about it, but because the big people are involved that can't say anything. They said to me, "Boss, because all this big people are involved we are not doing anything." So that is the attitude of public servants and people like that around here in East Sepik, they reckon this guy is like a god or something and nobody talks against him, and they allow two shipments of logs out of here, no taxes, papers or anything....

INT: Just for the benefit of the tape, this is the big "Boss" were talking about.....?

BS: Boss, they refer to me...

INT: na, na na, na... the chief, Somare..

BS: Oh yes, they reckon he is the godfather... Two lots, or two shipments of logs from his own area, nobody said anything... came up from the same area. The export or shipment from Kaup, but the timber came from that whole area...Merambak, lower Sepik area. They get all the resources from the out there, bring it to Kaup and bring in barges to bring it to the big ships. Two shipments gone, and customs did nothing.

INT: Just on the involvement of certain nationals in Rimbunan. Um, Is it mainly Malaysian loggers, or is it Indonesian loggers or both, or mainly Indonesians...?

BS: Ah mostly Malaysians, or Asians: Singapore, Malaysia, and definitely Indonesian; they bring in cheap Asians to do the logging for them and they also come and get our people involved. Not all our people, but people who are directly involved with the current political leaders of the day... who are, who lean towards the current government, not to the opposition...

INT: So it is definitely that local people get involved through mercenary reasons, or... like because they are getting paid that their financial interest is there, or are there any local people that are becoming involved through threats?

BS: Well, local people are involved through political groupings. What the political leaders do is they go to their own supporters, their own police, and tell them to harvest their trees.... get them involved, and they are telling them "we will be giving you money", all these kind of things....

MS: Not all communities.....

BS: No not all communities, not everybody is involved, just the political groupings... they select where to go, where their people are supporting, they don't..... like East Sepik.... its all a part of the forestry, and everybody is very very interested, you know, in making money for themselves.

The forest officers also on the ground are not effective... like Shanti Forestry we are talking about... teak tree alone.. about 30 containers of fitches to export it, they make about 2 million Kina.. but the provisional tax component... five percent... would be about one point five... one thousand five hundred Kina. And the resource holders were only paying about eighty to a hundred kina per log... But these people make about between three to seven thousand kina per log as soon as it goes to down processing. So that is the kind of money that we are missing out on, and our people are missing out on and its a very very sad thing for our people. We have our "leaders".

And I am very very privileged, you know, to meet people like yourself, and if you can... and we will help too... If it means going to (inaudible) then we will have to, especially this with a rally, report it. If you go into Wewak now and walk around, you will see how many people just walk the street... they just wandering, they have nothing to do although our land is very very rich. It is just five or six people here who are politically connected with the current government of the day who are the only ones you will see running riot... they are only the few, just six or seven of them about the place... all of the rest of us, all the people you know they are very poor, looking like they have nothing to do, no jobs....

It is a very very sad situation for East Sepik especially when the "father of the Nation" is from this province.

¹² Log exports

INT: Now on "him", have you got any direct evidence of payments or fund transfers to him from companies at the moment....

BS: No not really, not directl, but from associates, from his associates, there is a real investigation, a commision of inquiry or something.

INT: We will definitely find it....

BS: There are other associates connected to him where we have evidence, but can't get through right now, because what is happening now in Papua New Guinea is (inaudible) but you can see what is happening... if you are connected to the leader of the day you can do almost anything you want to do here, you will never be prosecuted. If you are in opposition, no matter if what you do is right you will still be wrong. That is the sad thing about Papua New Guinea.

INT: Yep...

BS: You know like me, brother, my direct evidence is my case. I put in an appeal in and what happened was they directed a lawyer to hide.... to put my notice of appeal away. So my lawyers couldn't find the appeal, so I had to go through all these things, until I had to organise somebody to break out of gaol. They broke straight out of gaol and went and arrested two (inaudible) connected with Bernard here, and that is how they became afraid and thaey had to start a proper investigation... And that came all the way to the top leaders, and they knew what was happening so they had to get me released, released out of gaol without even compensating or doing anything... so what I've done is I've arranged a new appeal, but it can't go through you know, they are in power. But when Bill Skate was in power, he organised me to go and face the fraud squad, anti corruption, everybody. So I gave them all the evidence and they came up to arrest the true culprits, and the policemen they sent out to be corroborate it with the criminals, when they were supposed to be suspended, Somare came to power and he stopped the whole thing. My appeal is still pending but we cannot do anything now because they are in power. So that is the kind of evidence we have in Papua New Guinea about our leaders.

INT: They are playing some very dirty, but quite sophisticated games. I suppose, moving on to the weapons and the smuggling. What indications, and once again direct evidence would also be useful, have you got on the involvement of Rimbunan on movement of weapons

BS: Well not direct, not direct from me personally, but from friends, but from other young... You know, during my days as Premier, I came up from the grassroots setback, I was an ordinary broadcaster, radio announcer to become a Provincial Member and then on to Premier, and I have very strong community network, very stong grassroots based network. But there are also a lot of small people who are on the other side, on Somare's side, on the government side who are also connected with me... And they gave me a lot of evidence, evidence of actually seeing things happen, they... these are small people, they also move around with them, provide security for the political cronies or whoever, they go with them, they see actual transactions, of guns and money, its hard evidence. But like I said small people can't do anything against our "big" people in this society, so they just keep quiet, I mean they talk about it, what can they do about it? Even the police can't do anything, that's to satisfy....

INT: We saw and learned about that yesterday, hey!!

BS: Mmm. You know our PPC – I am not afraid to say this – our PPC here, he is directly connected with the Prime Minister and he is also corrupt. But we couldn't get rid of him. The police hierarchy, the police- even his own policemen, they report it all directly to the hierarchies, but they can't even do anything, because he is with the Big Chief.

And even as nothing with guns, I must say this, the... our Defence Forces, our security and armed forces are also involved, because they are one of the poorest....

INT: Can I just clarify, the defence forces or the police force?:

BS: Defence, Police, the lot. Our three discipline forces in this country are the worst equipped discipline forces in any country. Because they are so ill equipped and resourced, they are tempted to go into these things you know, they allow... they allow transactions of guns and money, and allow things to not be paid. I have some very good close friends and I even had my own brother involved, he was a policeman, you know they tell me everything... but who is going to do anything, because they are connected with the...?

But our discipline forces... you know it is a very sad thing, even they cannot open it, the members of the discipline forces, they can only say "Look what can we do? We need to live on, you know we need to survive, we need our kids to have an education..."

For instance Wewak town now, you need to just have a look at our police force, they are working with the

Asians who are buying the vanilla, who are buying the timber... Our own police are now becoming their security, they are not supplying security for the people of East Sepik. I am proud to say though there are people like Guard Dog, so I stand by Guard Dog and other private security operations in Wewak. They are providing the security for the people of East Sepik, not the police force... they are working for the Asians and the people who have money.

INT: Yes we noticed there were a few... questionable.. characters last night at the roadblock.... Yeah that doesn't surprise me at all.....

So, I mean obviously there are weapons in the area.....

BS: There are weapons. And even some of the leader's colleagues, those "small little presidents", small little business connections, they carry pistols around, they carry guns around, threatening street people. But the police don't arrest them, the police are connected, like the PPC won't do anything. Like last month, One of them went down and threatened a somebody with a pistol down at the betting shop but he is all connected with the Chief, so nobody did anything. They also trade with.... they go over to Indonesia, or Jayapura to do vanilla, they bringing guns, they bring back pistols.....

INT: Is it directly associated with vanilla sales that the weapons are coming back?.. number one..... and number two, do you know what types of weapons are coming back?

BS: Most of them are, most of them are pistols, what they do is bring the small pistols in, and some of them are British, like the British pump action gas guns. What they do is they bring them in and reassemble them and they put in proper pipes and make them able to work like real shotguns. Most of them come in as sport guns and gas guns. They bring a lot in like that.

INT: What about military issue weaponry? Is there much of that coming in across with this?

BS: Real evidence I have not seen directly one. There was a.... well from indirect evidence, from people that have seen it, some have come in. I have seen in Goroka myself which came in from Wewak, and I met that person myself who got here, who came here, who got it in the bag of betel nut and took it up to the highlands and sold it.

INT: Must have been a big bag of betel nut.....

BS: Just like the police or the army people would have the proper name for it, it was more or less like an AR-15, or something like that...

INT: Was it a very sort of "cut-away" type of rifle?

BS: It was like a machine gun.... like a machine gun

INT: Yeah, yeah, Sort of like where the stock folds in?

BS: Ya

INT: Yeah?

BS: Ya..

INT: So it was an SS5?¹³ (sic)

BS: Yes something like that yes that is the one...

INT: OK, That is Indonesian military issue..

BS: I saw one, but through my network connections like I said there is a lot of evidence from guns crossing through Wewak to, especially to up in the highlands...

INT: Now how does it get up there, does it get flown up there?

BS: It gets flown up there, it goes by ship... What they used to do earlier, about three or four years ago, is the highlands people they come and buy betel nut in big chicken feeds... and what they do is they slip the (inaudible), the guns, in between the betel nut, and then they take them up there. Until there was a tip off and they started to know what was happening so the police came in and they stopped it.

¹³ SS1-R5, established after photographs seen.

But until three years ago... now we have no control over it, it went to, back to them, that is how they supply guns to highland provinces now.. and our people were trading it for marijuana. The Highlanders came in with marijuana, they traded it in with our boys for guns....

INT: OK, we'll get back to Rimbunan with this..... Have you had any indication that Rimbunan are involved with the Jayapura runs at all, or any individuals associated with Rimbunan?

BS: Not directly now, I do not have that evidence... but I am just waiting for a brother of mine to send me now a paper of some transactions done by Rimbunan-Hijau to the Forests Minister. 400,000 was transferred to him two months ago straight into his account in Port Moresby, and friends of mine have the documents now, which we should be hanging the forest minister soon (laughter). I am also waiting for them to send the copy of the transactions.....

INT: 400, 000 Kina right...?

BS: Yes 400, 000, that's only one. But, they have evidences of.... well these friends of mine have gone to the bank and they have through their own associates... he is involved in other transactions which go to over about three million, this forest minister, that he received from the timber company, well this will be very very interesting. But if we can get your contact, as soon as I do that, as soon as I get the transaction document i'll get you a copy....

INT: Yep, would be great.... moving on from weapons, um... the movement of certain "fundamentalists" or people associated with Rimbunan..... Have you had any indication of.... ah, we've had quite a few reports of, about people like JI, basically "religious fundamentalists" from Indonesia, Phillipines and Malaysia moving into the Rimbunan camps.... ah..

BS: Like I said earlier, Rimbunan is a parent company... the small companies like Shanti forestry and people like that, we will really need to go and find out the real connections. If they are connected with Rimbunan Hijau then the kind of evidence we are now talking about it is directly involved with them. So Rimbunan-Hijau is only the parent name... I can't be saying I have no evidence..... because if I am saying that I have evidence now, if they are connected with Rimbunan-Hijau then definitely then that is all Rimbunan-Hijau.

INT: I'll just clarify, when I am talking about Rimbunan I am also talking about it subsidiaries. When I am talking about - hypothetically - Rio Tinto for example... you know, Rio Tinto also involves all its front companies, its fully owned subsidiaries, its investment arms, etc etc. So yeah I mean, obviously any company or individual that is connected with any companies or individuals that are connected with Rimbunan *is* Rimbunan.

BS: Mmmm.... Brother, in East Sepik you will find that there is no, that there is no real restricted group of people that are connected with these people. What has happened, like I said earlier, is because our people are made to be poor, or to look like they are poor, they are denied opportunities. So people like these Asians... you find that church people go for assistance, they go and beg for money, congregations beg for money, small people beg for money, others... almost...(sigh) you know all walks of life have people involved in one way or the other... you know we really don't have a choice in this country, like I was saying earlier; It is only four or five people who are connected with the leaders that are well off, all the others, all below the poverty levels so they really have no choice.

INT: Yeah, hmmm

BS: You know this Shanti Forestry, they are living in my nephew's house, they have no place to stay, so they are staying inside, they are paying very cheap accommodation but what can you do.....? Because he needs to live on so he allows them to stay.

I went to see him on Monday and I said to him "you know what is happening, these people, they are not right" He said "I know they are not right, but I need my money."

I said "OK OK, alright alright".

You know, he is a very strong SDA, he is a church elder, but he allows it to stay... for it is a bit of money at the end of the day

INT: Now speaking of people preying on poverty,(31:31)

*****CLASSIFIED*****

(33:11) TAPE ENDS

BS: Drugs, there is very hard evidence, in fact I live in a small settlement, that is supplied by very small people.... they go by small boat to Madang, go up to Goroka, Hagen and the Highlands provinces, bring in marijuana..... they take it across the border, exchange them for guns or money... or beer... all sorts of...

INT: Why would anybody want Indonesian beer? (Laughter)

BS: Yeah they bring in a lot of, not just beer but... alcohol... Indonesian alcohol, sell them for higher fees, make a little bit of money for themselves. They bring in nets, fishing nets. Most of them is especially nets and spirit... they bring them in to sell on the other side and get a little bit of money... they don't succeed in bringing in arms.....

INT: So marijuana is basically the new kina, really....

BS: Yep, they got our policemen, army, defence force, they are all involved... you know our soldier boys, they go and get drugs, they get marijuana... they give them to some of the members of the discipline forces to help sell.. or they tell them we are coming through, we are passing through when they are on the border stations, they tell them we are coming across but they don't do anything about like checking them...

Maybe we haven't a problem, you go into the street, they will get it at the market.... you will see some policemen smoking it themselves

INT: That reminds me of when I got to the airport, a friend in Australia had warned me that I might have some interesting experiences at customs... (off topic)....

BS: You know just in front of my eyes, just this morning someone came to my house, a brother in law was selling beer. So they came up with a hundred small packets, they came up for one kina each, they are going for one kina. "So listen we have a hundred here, we'll give you the whole hundred, just give us a carton of beer" And this carton of beer was eighty two kina and they said "No we'll give you a hundred". So you have no choice, you take the hundred you give them the beer, just this morning....! (laughter).

TL: It has become the kina...

BS: Yeah they put it into a kina size, cut it up into a newspaper bits and sell it for one kina each....

TL: Marijuana has now taken over the currency...

BS: More or less like a currency yes, a currency where a carton of beer costs thirty four kina but they give away over a hundred kina worth of marijuana!! (laughter)

INT: I suppose when the original kina are being pulled out of the ocean in a huge rate you have got to have some sort of kina. Now where are the main, I mean when they go across the border, where are the main area that they go to with the trade goods?

BS: Like from Wewak, they go to Vanimo, some they just go to Aitape, and from Aitape they go on the back road, they go to, they have crossings on their own small bush tracks, and the ah, proper routes.. and they go by boat. But the boat now with the current civilians, and with current top up with the security, that they can't now, and use bush tracks instead of the boat....

INT: Now is there any evidence that you have got – now we are getting into risky business – the NIO and the Police in Vanimo, that regularly take their "all-expenses paid holidays" in the brothels of Jayapura.... Um, do you have any, once again indications or direct evidence.....

BS: Yes.

INT: ...of them being involved in movement back of weaponry?

BS: I have direct evidence of the current PPC that was paid for by the timber company out there - WIP or WTR,

MS: WPK

BS: WPK, over to Jayapura, they paid for his expenses. And they even paid for his expenses up at Goroka when he went with me to the National Gun Summit. He shared some of that money with me, he bought some beers and we drank them together and he told me everything!

INT: Are you able to give me a copy of that at all? Are you able to give me a copy of some of that direct evidence.

BS: Brother, I am the evidence. I met this guy, and he went and bought me beer and we were drinking together and he told me eall this things. But when we really need to go to Vanimo to, if you just go to Vanimo and you will have hard evidence... they are on their payroll.... they are on the payroll... the police, its(inaudible).... they have no money up in Vanimo so the timber company, the timber people we were talking about. the timber company is directly involved in funding the police force over there. So in Vanimo there is no police force. No Customs. And this PPC he is a brother in law of mine. I know very well and he sold them too many guns, and even government officers there... you know your brother Tobias ***** He is funded by them in Vanimo too...

MS: HUH? WHAT???

BS: Yes, they are funded illegally by the timber company over there... Sandaun province is finished.

MS: Oh my god.....

BS: Vanimo is owned by the timber company.... there is no provincial government.

MS: Oh, My daughter is over there.....

BS: There is no government, there is no administration over there in Vanimo, I saw it with my own eyes last year when I went over there...

INT: So it is a company town.....

BS: The Defence force over there, the company supplies them with meals, with food stores...

MS: Oh No!

BS: Yes. And provisions, when they need it.....

MS: You're joking...

INT: Sounds like the Papua New Guinean version of Halliburton.....

BS: It is run by Indonesians. You know these people when they are running short of money, they go to the embassy, they just tell them "we want some money".. ah consulate... hard evidence, I saw it with my own eyes...

INT: Maybe thats the way I can get some money: go to Vanimo and give the Indonesians some dodgy information.....

BS: You know the barracks being built now, that's being built by the timber company, Vanimo Forest Products.... it is being built by the company... so the government accepts that, its on the same side, they accept the company's subsidy and they go ahead and build the officers' complex.

INT: So Vanimo Forest Products, I take it thats more the company of

MS: Rimbunan...

INT: Rimbunan...

MS: Its a subsidiary.

INT: This is gold..... you see no-one in Australia talks about this.... there's no problems here. I think this is one of the first times this is talked about.....
(organisational talk)

BS: I was approached there by the Police Commissioner up in Goroka for the gun summit. I brought him a copy of the documents we got back here on corruption, on East Sepik corruption... there was a lot of dealings that came back to the Prime Minister's group. And I was up in Goroka with the Police Commissioner, and I saw one with the Police Commissioner that he was reading with his lawyers and everybody and he said "Brother this is straight and hard evidence, but if we ask you to, if we give you the warrant, to serve on the Prime Minister

are you prepared to do it?".... I told him "Brother, you give me warrant if you are afraid to do it, I will go and do it, I will serve it on the Prime Minister".... and they went and I've never heard anything since... July. July Conference, I gave him the book.. I gave him more hard evidence and after reading it he asked me the question, he said "Are you prepared to serve the summons?" The seconds with me went away and that is the last I heard from him.

MS: This the police commissioner?

BS: That is the kind of evidence that is here, that if you deal with the big people then you are safe.

INT: None of this surprises me... I mean some of this got raised when a colleague of mine, Andrew Kilvert – he is a journalist – he wrote the piece, quite a while ago "In Bed with ABRI" . Got detained by NIO in Vanimo. Would you agree with statement that for all intents and purposes that Vanimo is an occupied territory?

BS: Sorry ?

INT: Would you agree that Vanimo is already an Indonesian occupied territory?

BS; Well, with the evidence that I was telling you....

INT: That is the only conclusion....

BS: Well, thats what it is... thats what it looks like. I mean the civil servants from the top down, from the administrator down and you know political leaders and police.... you know they are susceptible too to these people, they are just grassroots from day to day like I said. We have reached a level that some would call below poverty or something, and our people even though they don't agree and they are poor... they accept whatever they can get from well, anybody... and like I am telling you with the evidence of what I saw with my own eyes in Vanimo, it is almost like it is not a part of Papua New Guinea, it is being run by the Indonesians or the timber company...

And my friend I will say the same in Wewak if we are not careful... We have police people directly invovled with them and our top public servants... well the evidence I am giving you now about Shanti Forestry, well Wewak, I will not be surprised if it becomes Vanimo. These people that come in, well our leaders are directly involved with these corrupt Asians, there with them.

INT: Now, looking at the obvious connection that you have already detailed, have you also had any indication of Indonesian intelligence activity within these companies, like actual direct intelligence activities; and with regard to that have you had any reports of any direct harassment, or intimidation or surveillance of people in, both of West Papuans and PNG nationals, by the timber company, and threats ectera?

BS: Yes there are still a lot of threats. When our people complain about being paid very low salary, below labourer salary, they abuse them, they threaten them with sacking. A lot of evidence. They also use our small people to bring in the women, especially women for them, they give them a little money, they also pay the women and they pay the people that bring them in... what they call the pimps... like I said because the people are below poverty level they accept anything.

Something happening right now, the young boys go round with no jobs, not even working with the company... they go round and see the Asians, they bring along their tupela, they get their young friends, they bring them along to the Asians, get a little bit of money and go and drink. It is very very sorry.

INT: OK Speaking as a former soldier, would you feel that some of the activity is of an intelligence value that they are doing?

BS: Whom are you referring to?

INT: Rimbunan.

BS: Well Rimbunan, again, we are referring to....well ok anyone connected with Rimbunan for that matter, they are also doing.... I don't have any direct evidence, but from what we read in newspapers the parent company Rimbunan-Hijau also supports the government of the day.. It supports the ruling political parties in the Phillipines, in Indonesia, in Thailand, in Malaysia. Rimbunan Hijau is a very very powerful company. In fact at the beginning of my government we wanted to invite them over to ah... we have a very big region, all the way from ah.. the April River down to my area, Angoram/Solome very very big region on the river... There is eaglewood, kauri pine, and I forgot the species of the tree which is very very rich but is not found in very few countries, and the poorest countries in the world....

(trying to figure the species)

But there is all kind of species in the region.... anyway... we wanted to bring them in as a kind of bargaining for some of these negotiations, for a percentage that we felt at the time was right... anyway we met him, we met him in Bandung and had some discussions with him, and we found the percentages wasn't right. They wanted to give us twenty five percent. Because we did not have the money at the time, they were insisting that they be given seventy five, and that we be given twenty five, and that is not on. So we left them out, and we sent in their (inaudible) and we read all about them... they are a very powerful company.

There was a lot of intelligence networks and they supply the kind of information that they want about this country, and they also sent it to the government. And I think that is why that a lot of the people in the company are interested in coming to Papua New Guinea because of that kind of information that they send back home to their own countries...

INT: Do you think this is purely economic intelligence, or physical terrain intelligence or social intelligence?

BS: I think it is more economic intelligence. They feel they can come in and use our resources, get rich and have their own country people getting the wealth. They are using it for their own economic and business buildup and development.

INT: Now have you heard of any military operations in the area, Indonesian military incursions into.....?

BS: Not so much in East Sepik, but across in Vanimo, on the border area from time to time there has been the Indonesians crossing into our territory. Every time they have the excuse "Oh you know we are after our own people, we are after Indonesians," they use the excuse... their reason is they are running after their... OUR Melanesian brothers and sisters will run from them across there... but most of the time they are chasing the guerillas...

INT: What was the name of that..... the conversation we had the other night with ah.... that fella in green... can't really say while the tape is on.... but he was there.. ah.. "that" level of them... he was telling the story about when he was in the camp and an Indonesian helicopter landed and they walked up to him and he told them "You better turn around boys, what are you doing here, and they said "Oh Oh we're um... lost".... What was... Was that the one you were at at the same time? What Camp was that?

JW: Blackwater....

INT: of course. (To BS) Have you had any information on the C130 incident Friday week... ah Thursday week ago? Um there was a C130 that flew across Vanimo at two o'clock in the morning, headed for.

BS: Ha ha Yes... I saw it in the papers, the reports about an plane flying across our side of the border and flying low, flying very very low...

INT: Have any of your networks had any further information on that?

BS: No, No last week I was down with malaria for the past two weeks, This is the first day I've been out of bed...

INT: yeah, give me a week, I'll probably have Malaria too!

BS: But Tuesday I will get some information and I will check out something and get it to you...

INT: Yeah, appreciated. Because what we've found out is that they went to.. they are possibly still around Aitape at the moment and yeah... who know's what they are doing?

BS: Well there is evidence of... almost daily they come to Vanimo and go back. Like I said because our Administration and government people they are more or less controlled, they are funded by them, so they come in freely and go back.....

Now the Highway is connected they come and go illeggally all the time bringing in kago. Our people go there, our top people....

INT: And I suppose when the road open all the way through to here....

BS: Yes, well they are doing it right now. Our public servants in Vanimo, don't worry for shopping in Vanimo, th ey are doing their shopping in Jayapura. I was there last year when I saw this evidence, I was acting for someone else.... he was supplying exercise books for the school... so he asked me to go to Vanimo to

negotiate with the government there.hey said, "Nah we are getting it cheap from over there so we don't need to buy anything from Papua New Guinea". Everything. This, the government getting supplies cheap from over in Jayapura, not from Papua New Guinea.

INT: Which just drives up the price of everything even further in PNG... it doesn't matter if you are getting four hundred thousand kina payments every month though does it, they don't care.

(organisational talk for next few days)

BS: (LOGGING corruption) I know the Forestry Officer didn't want to tell me, but I know what he is trying to imply. After talking with him I went to somebody, the labour people, to customs, and they told me "Shut Up. Stop Talking."

I said "Why?"

"They are very big people involved, what are you going to do?"

I said "Come, I will give you the evidence" so they showed me the three, just three of our guys, the Chief and his wife and people shaking hands with the guy in Singapore, giving him the OK to come to Wewak.

TAPE END;

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INT : Do you want to make some comment on what we are looking at right now, here at this timber stockpile?

BS: Yes like I was saying earlier... earlier in the morning without even seeing this this but ah... Fllitches, like I said they are sawn timber, sawn on all four corners, properly sawn.... They are allowed with certain fees. But now you can see there is evidence of corruption. But you know,Most of them are round, they are not properly sawn timber... These are still logs, they are round. It goes to show how these people come and corrupt us and they run away with our resources and they make a lot of money out of us, our resources...

INT: mmm. Cheers..

TAPE ENDS

INTERVIEW END.

Appendix C

SBS DATELINE

Archives - October 12, 2005

Inside Indonesia's War on Terror

Today - as you would almost certainly know - is the third anniversary of the first Bali bombing and our major report tonight provides an alarming twist to the ongoing terror campaign being waged in Indonesia. David O'Shea, a long-time "Indonesia-watcher", reports that where terrorism is concerned in that country - with its culture of corruption within the military, the police, the intelligence services and politics itself - all is never quite what it seems.

REPORTER: David O'Shea

When the second Bali bomb exploded, Australia once again found itself on the front line in the war on terror. But for Indonesians, this was simply the latest in a long line of atrocities. They have borne the brunt of hundreds of attacks over the years, most of them unreported in the West. Once again Australia and Indonesia joined forces in the hunt for the Bali killers.

SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO, INDONEASIAN PREIDENT: We are determined to continuously fight terrorism in Indonesia with an effective global, regional and international cooperation.

JOHN HOWARD, AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER: Tragic incidents such as this so far from driving apart the people of Australia and Indonesia would only bring us closer together.

This show of unity is impressive and it plays well to Australian audiences but many Indonesians don't see it that way.

JOHN MEMPI, SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE ANALYST (Translation): Why this endless violence? Why are there acts of terrorism year in, year out? Regimes change, governments change, but violence continues. Why? Because there is a sort of shadow state in this country. A state within a state ruling this country.

For seven years I've reported from every corner of this vast nation and seen first hand the havoc that terrorists wreak. Tonight I want to tell you a very different story about Indonesia's war on terror. It contains many disturbing allegations even from a former president.

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID, FORMER INDONESIAN PRESIDENT: The Australians if they get the truth, I think it's a grave mistake.

REPORTER: What do you mean?

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Yeah, who knows that the onus to do this, to do that -- orders to do this, to do that came from within our own forces, not from the culprits, from the fundamentalist people.

TERRORISM - THE CASH COW:

Indonesia's police are doing very nicely, thank you very much, out of the war on terror. They now have all the latest equipment, courtesy of the millions of dollars pouring in from the West. The money ensures the world's most populous Muslim nation remains on side in the fight against terrorism.

Mastering all of this new technology represents a steep learning curve for the Indonesian police. Unfortunately today they forget to set up the X-ray machine properly.

POLICE (Translation): Is the film in?

POLICE 2 (Translation): I haven't put it in yet.

Luckily there's an old print lying around from a previous exercise. Because of the war on terror, American and Australian support for the Indonesian police has never been stronger. During Dai Bachtiar's 5-year reign as police chief, Indonesia endured countless act of terror including three major ones - in Bali, then the Marriott Hotel and the Australian Embassy in Jakarta. These massive blasts might have forced the resignation of any other senior official but Dai Bachtiar managed to survive with the backing of powerful friends at home and abroad.

POLICE CHIEF (Translation): I met Paul Wolfowitz.

In Indonesia's parliament earlier this year, I found the police chief boasting about how he gets the star treatment when he visits Washington.

POLICE CHIEF (Translation): I went to Washington, to the White House, to the West Wing. I spoke to Colin Powell in his office. I went to the Pentagon, I met the director of the CIA, the director of the FBI, I met them all.

Indonesia's police are in charge of the war on terror. Years of human rights abuse by the Indonesian military, or TNI, mean it's now out of favour in Washington, but it seems the police can do no wrong.

POLICE CHIEF (Translation): I asked Powell. "You say the TNI has to reform, don't the police have to as well?" Building trust takes time.

Many Indonesians would find the idea of trusting the police laughable. It has long been regarded as one of the most corrupt and incompetent institutions in the country.

Former president, Abdurrahman Wahid sums up what many people here believe.

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: All of them are liars.

REPORTER: Just to be clear, you have your doubts about the police ability to investigate properly all of this?

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Oh, yes.

But none of this seems to worry Indonesia's allies in the war on terror.

POLICE (Translation): Have you just got back?

DAI-BACHTIAR, POLICE CHIEF (Translation): I see this man a lot.

POLICE (Translation): Were you in America? Did you get any more money?

DAI-BACHTIAR (Translation): 10 million. We get big bucks. We got 50 million all up. Sure. They keep asking about 88.

That's Detachment 88, the police counter-terror unit which receives a great deal of the international aid, including substantial assistance from Australia. Like the military, Detachment 88 is controversial. Its members stand accused of repeatedly using torture in interrogation of suspects. But these allegations don't seem to even raise an eyebrow.

DAI-BACHTIAR (Translation): The Secretary-General of Interpol came to visit Aceh. I met him. He said our police were dealing with terrorism in a professional manner. 500 million euros. For the police. Long term. So far I've received directly 500 from Denmark. They gave 5, but 500 all up. The Dutch gave 2.

The money is flowing like water but outside the chamber, unrelated to the anti-terror funding, is a scene that should make donors think twice. A man from the Religious Affairs Commission sitting next door counts cash to be distributed amongst voting politicians. Call it corruption or even the trickle down effect, but it's this kind of informal funds distribution which keeps the wheels turning in the Indonesian economy.

DAI-BACHTIAR (Translation): Well now, for example, the other day I got 2 million from Holland... From America... it was 50. Is it 50 already? You know how much the army got? 600. Then they had to get involved.

With all the cash flowing about, some politicians want to stay as close as possible to Dai Bachtiar.

POLITICIAN (Translation): Isn't our police chief great? That's obvious.

With the cash cow growing fatter by the day, some analysts even suggest the police now have too much to gain from the war on terror.

JOHN MEMPI (Translation): But why is there always this worry about bombings? This subservience to foreigners, this paranoia about bombs. You must help us with money, with equipment and training, so that we can do something. We need funds to combat these terrorists. And to convince the foreigners bombings do happen. Indeed there are acts of terrorism in Indonesia but done by "terrorists" in inverted commas.

A TERRORIST ON THE PAYROLL:

To most Australians terrorism in Indonesia means Jemaah Islamiah. Abu Bakar Bashir, Dr Azahari and Noordin Mohammed Top have become household names and we're led to believe they're the masterminds behind every atrocity.

But there's another side to the JI story that Australia hasn't heard and it's part of the extraordinary family history of this man.

LAMKARUNA PUTRA (Translation): This is Tengku Fauzi Hasbi after he was released. He returned to working and supporting his family.

Lamkaruna Putra's father was an Acehnese separatist leader descended from a long line of Acehnese fighters. He went on to become a key figure in Jemaah Islamiah. Fauzi Hasbi who used the alias Abu Jihad was in contact with Osama bin Laden's deputy. He lived for many years in the house next door to Abu Bakar Bashir in Malaysia and was very close to JI operations chief Hambali. Umar Abduh is an Islamist convicted of terrorism and jailed for 10 years under the Suharto regime. He belonged to a group that attacked police stations and hijacked a Garuda flight to Bangkok. He remembers Fauzi Hasbi as a hardliner who traded arms was willing to commit acts of violence.

UMAR ABDUH (Translation): Fauzi Hasbi is known in the Islamic movement as someone who, from the beginning, has supported the Jihad as the struggle of the Muslim people, aside from his background in the Free Aceh Movement.

Fauzi Hasbi was so relaxed amongst the militants, and they with him, that he even took his son to a critical meeting in Kuala Lumpur in January 2000 as JI was preparing for its violent campaign. The attendance list was a who's who of accused terrorists.

LAMKARUNA PUTRA (Translation): There was someone from MILF in Mindanao, his name was Ustad Abu Rela,

commander of the Abu Sayyaf. Ustad Abdul Fatah from Patani was there. People from Sulawesi and West Java came to the meeting. The organisation was managed by Hambali. Rabitah means organisation. It linked Islamic organisations.

REPORTER (Translation): So Hambali was chairman?

LAMKARUNA PUTRA (Translation): Yes, Hambali chaired it.

Hambali and co would have known their colleague Fauzi Hasbi had been captured in 1978 by this Indonesian military special forces unit but they wouldn't have known that he became a secret agent for Indonesian military intelligence. The commanding officer that caught him was Syafrie Syamsuddin, now a general and one of Indonesia's key military intelligence figures. These documents obtained by Dateline prove beyond doubt that Fauzi Hasbi had a long association with the military. This 1990 document, signed by the chief of military intelligence in North Sumatra, authorised Fauzi Hasbi to undertake a special job. And this 1995 internal memo from military intelligence HQ in Jakarta was a request to use brother Fauzi Hasbi to spy on Acehese separatist, not only in Indonesia but in Malaysia and Sweden. And then this document, from only three years ago, assigned him the job of special agent for BIN, the national intelligence agency. Security analyst John Mempi says Fauzi Hasbi alias Abu Jihad played a crucial role within JI in its early years.

JOHN MEMPI (Translation): The first Jemaah Islamiyah congress in Bogor was facilitated by Abu Jihad, after Abu Bakar Bashir returned from Malaysia. We can see that Abu Jihad played an important role, he was later found to be an intelligence agent. So an intelligence agent has been facilitating the radical Islamic movement.

The extraordinary story of Fauzi Hasbi raises many important questions about JI and the Indonesian authorities. Why didn't they smash the terror group in its infancy? Do they still have agents in the organisation? And what information, if any, have they had in advance about the recent deadly spate of terror attacks?

The Indonesian intelligence chief refused Dateline's request for an interview and dead men tell no tales. The man who held all the secrets, Abu Jihad was disembowelled in a mysterious murder in early 2003, just after he was exposed as a military agent. His son, Lamkaruna Putra died in this plane crash last month.

PROMOTING TERRORISM:

Fauzi Hasbi's death led to a flurry of speculation about shadowy intelligence links to Indonesia's terror networks.

UMAR ABDUH (Translation): So there is not a single Islamic group, either in the movement or the political groups that is not controlled by Intel. Everyone does what they say.

Umar Abduh says his terrorist group was incited to violence after infiltrators showed a letter saying Muslim clerics would be assassinated.

UMAR ABDUH (Translation): There is a document stating that the Muslim leaders would be executed, we as a younger generation were immediately angered. Damn it, this is not right, we have to kill all those Cabinet members and military leaders, that was our plan.

And he's not the only one who says he was used by intelligence agents. Another convicted terrorist is Timsar Zubil who exploded three bombs in Sumatra in 1978. Although no-one was killed, he paid a heavy price.

TIMSAR ZUBIL (Translation): At first I was sentenced to death, it was changed to a life sentence, I served 22years.

Zubil now believes he was set up by former president Suharto's intelligence agency.

TIMSAR ZUBIL (Translation): We may have deliberately been allowed to grow in such a way, that we young people who were very emotional, were provoked into committing illegal acts.

REPORTER (Translation): Who let this happen?

TIMSAR ZUBIL (Translation): The ones who had the authority to ban us, in this case the ones in power, the Suharto regime. I have only started thinking of this recently, but at the time I was active, I didn't think it through.

After Zubil was captured, beaten and tortured, something remarkable occurred. The authorities made up a provocative name for his group - Komando Jihad.

TIMSAR ZUBIL (Translation): It hadn't occurred to us to use that name, but they told us that was to be the name of our organisation. We had no plans to use the name Komando Jihad. They told us to just accept it for the time being and if we wanted to deny it later in court, that was up to us. But it made no difference to the court, they insisted that the name was indeed ours.

STATE SPONSORED TERROR:

Indonesia's recent history of terrorist attacks began with a deadly campaign that unfolded on Christmas Eve 2000. Bombs exploded almost simultaneously at 18 sites, mostly churches, across six provinces, 19 people died and 120 were injured.

Jemaah Islamiah took the blame. It was the first real mention of the group in Australia. But Indonesians had another theory - they suspected the military, the only organisation with the capacity to pull off an operation of this scale, a full two years before the first Bali bomb.

The respected news magazine Tempo even splashed the allegation on its front cover as part of a special investigation. The most revealing information in the report related to the bomber's network operating in Medan, North Sumatra. The man convicted of making the bombs in Medan is somewhere behind these prison walls.

Our repeated requests to interview Edi Sugiarto over many months have been ignored by the Indonesian authorities. Guilty or not, reputable sources claim he was so severely tortured before his trial he would have admitted to anything. But it's clear he wasn't acting alone.

The Tempo investigation included telephone records revealing sensational information of direct links between the bombers and military intelligence. The records also show that Fauzi Hasbi, the military intelligence agent in Jemaah Islamiah who we mentioned earlier, was at the centre of the plot. He had spoken to Edi Sugiarto, the bomb maker, seven times and had also called a businessman well connected with the military 35 times.

That businessman in turn rang a Kopassus special forces intelligence officer 15 times and the officer had called the businessman 56 times.

With Edi Sugiarto in jail, all further investigation ceased and five years on, sources in Medan are too afraid to talk. The trail has gone stone cold.

TERROR IN TENTENA:

George Aditjondro is an early riser. As Indonesia's leading researcher into corruption in high places there never seem to be enough hours in the day. For two years he's been investigating a terror campaign in Poso, Central Sulawesi. His research reveals that terror in Indonesia is much more complex than we are led to believe.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO: There is a mafia, a corruption mafia in Poso who were defending the interests of themselves because if the corruption leaked, the corruption mafia could be exposed, that means the end of their career and also the end of their additional income.

Aditjondro says this corrupt network of local government officials, police and others is using terror to protect a local racket in Central Sulawesi.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO: Between corruption and terror, there is a very close link because those who were carrying out the terror were paid with corruption money.

Central Sulawesi had just emerged from years of conflict before the latest outrage on May 28 this year. In the predominantly Christian town of Tentena, 60km to the south of Poso, two bombs left 23 people dead. A blast that claimed more victims than the second Bali attack, but received scant coverage outside Indonesia.

The first foreign journalist to arrive on the scene, without any evidence at all reported Jemaah Islamiah was to blame for the attack and then promptly flew back to Jakarta.

Like the latest Bali bombs, the two bombs that exploded here were full of shrapnel, designed to kill and maim. The first one went off at 8.05 in the morning when the market is busiest.

WOMAN (Translation): This is a thoroughfare, people are always passing, people who want to go there pass here.

This woman is one of thousands of Christian refugees who found sanctuary in Tentena during sectarian violence that cost hundreds of lives in recent years.

WOMAN (Translation): I'm still traumatised. We were chased out of our villages and came here, but it is not safe here either.

A second bomb blew 10 minutes later around 200m away on the other side of the market. Reverend Rinaldy Damanik says it was placed and timed to cause maximum casualties.

REVEREND RINALDY DAMANIK (Translation): The bits of metal in the bomb flew as far as that church. What's

really going on? They showed they can do it under the police's noses. That's the police station, imagine this happening in front of the police station.

Reverend Damanik is a powerful figure in this Christian stronghold. For years he defended his community as Islamic fighters swarmed in to wage jihad. I first met him at Christmas in 2001 after villages all around Tentena were razed. He was convinced the army was behind the violence and had even left a calling card.

REVEREND RINALDY DAMANIK (Translation): This is an ammunition box that we found at the time of the attacks in Sepe. It is clearly labelled, Department of Defence, Republic of Indonesia. 1400 pieces of 5.56mm calibre munitions. This means it was meant for M-16s.

George Aditjondro says that in every Indonesian hotspot, the army foments trouble by funding and arming both sides. In the case of Central Sulawesi, both Muslim and Christian militia.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO: So the money do not have to come from rich people like Osama bin Laden and the weapons doesn't have to come from southern Philippines or from other exotic places but is actually coming from the official sources and that is why I am saying that the kind of terrorism which we see in Indonesia is home grown terrorism. It's a kind of dual function or triple function of the armed forces.

The late reverend Agustina Lumentut told me in 2001 that the Indonesian military was using proxy armies to do their dirty work.

THE LATE REVEREND AGUSTINA LUMENTUT: It is for sure, for sure that the army is behind the jihad, or in front of jihad, yeah. No other interpretation.

It was proved beyond all doubt that one of the extremist groups, the Laskar Jihad, was supplied, transported and incited by the central government to go on its murderous spree.

THE LATE REVEREND AGUSTINA LUMENTUT: Who dare among them to say "Stop going that." Because they have reason for doing that, they are registered officially by the government, the central government.

Indonesia's President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is applauded in Australia as a moderate Muslim leading the fight against terror in Indonesia. But as the influential coordinating minister for politics and security, he chose not to stop the Laskar Jihad and was even supporting them.

SUSILO BAMBANG YUDOYONO: They also play a role in defending truth and justice that is expected by Muslims in Indonesia. For me, as far as what they are doing is legal and not violating law, then this is OK. This was a ridiculous statement.

Yudhoyono was well aware of the carnage that was under way. Since 2001 things had improved somewhat, as Reverend Damanik tells these politicians from Jakarta visiting after the May 28 bombs. But local leaders are afraid terrorism is being used to derail reconciliation between Muslims and Christians.

REVEREND RINALDY DAMANIK (Translation): The wounds are very deep but they can be endured. But the question is, what is happening to this country? People can't work because they're always on their guard, what can we achieve when we're like that? What's happening to our country? We need to think about this, but it's hard to answer right now.

With weapons handed in and a peace deal holding up well, Reverend Damanik's former sworn enemy is also very suspicious about the times of the bomb in May. Muslim leader Adnan Arsan wonders whether the attack was designed to prevent the army from leaving.

ADNAN ARSAN (Translation): Just when a security unit's work is over and someone says "We're going home and I hope there's no more trouble". Just as they are being recalled there's another explosion and more killing.

In the days following the blast, all the big names in Indonesian security and intelligence descend on the area. Central Sulawesi police commander Arianto Sutardi tells me the investigation is going well.

REPORTER (Translation): Sir, have you any idea who the perpetrators are?

ARIANTO SUTARDI, POLICE COMMANDER (Translation): We've arrested some already and we're pursuing others.

Then national police chief Dai Bachtiar, the man receiving all the foreign cash arrives to assert his authority. After less than one hour on the ground, he's made his assessment.

DAI-BACHTIAR (Translation): We all hope- incidents like this are criminal acts, we need to expose the perpetrators and put them on trial. People entrust this task to the security forces.

Considering the evidence of corruption here and the police chief's record of enforcing justice, that's unlikely. George Aditjondro's research has uncovered a scam involving local police who have looted up to \$2 million for the resettlement of refugees.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO: You can see a cabal involving both the district head, the acting district head at the time, certain police agents, certain people within the department of social affairs and their friends. They were carrying out both the corruption as well as using the corruption money to pay the terrorists. So you can see we are talking about home grown terrorism paid by home grow corruption.

He says the May 28 Tentena blasts were an attempt to stop honest police uncovering more about their scam.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO: You can say that the bombing can be seen as the apex, the ultimate development of the kind of terror which they were committing. It had gone as far as paying police to decapitate a village head man, the village head man of Pinadapa.

The corrupt and murderous cabal identified by Aditjondro is now suing him and the police seem to be in no hurry at all to follow up the leads as he identified. Instead on his departure the police chief Dai Bachtiar offers another bland statement about the certain groups responsible for the violence.

DAI-BACHTIAR (Translation): The situation seemed so promising but certain groups have taken advantage of it to carry out actions such as bombings, which of course will again cause fear and anxiety.

As Dai Bachtiar's plane heads back to Jakarta, more bigwigs arrive. Syamsir Siregar is the recently appointed head of the national intelligence agency BIN. His appearance is supposed to inspire confidence in this investigation. But BIN has a long-standing dismal reputation in Indonesia for dirty tricks. The agency is currently fending off damning evidence that it was behind the poisoning of Indonesia's best known human rights campaigner, Munir Said Thalib. As I reported earlier this year, Munir was given a lethal dose of arsenic in his orange juice on a Garuda flight to Europe. On the Tentena bomb investigation, Siregar has nothing to say.

REPORTER (Translation): If you don't want to talk about this, what about the Munir case? How's the internal investigation into the involvement of.....

SYAMSIR SIREGAR (Translation): You speak good Indonesian!

REPORTER (Translation): If any rogue elements are involved, what will you do?

SYAMSIR SIREGAR (Translation): We'll take action. I've given orders to act against rogue elements.

Rogue elements indeed. Travelling with him is Timbul Silaen, he was police chief during the carnage in East Timor. He was acquitted of crimes against humanity, one of several commanders who escaped justice for orchestrating the bloodshed. Now he's officially retired from the police force. So what on earth is Timbul Silaen doing here with the new chief of intelligence? Is he just along for the ride or is he now on the intelligence payroll? Whatever the answer, the continuing role of these same old state terrorists is truly disturbing. It's no wonder the locals are now deeply suspicious of anyone sent in to protect them. While the police can claim some success arresting terrorists in Java, in this region results are few and far between. After years of state sponsored terror, no-one wants to help the authorities. This woman jokes that fear of talking to the police has become a popular movement.

WOMAN (Translation): The tight lipped movement. People don't want to be witnesses. They are scared so they shut up, if they see something they deny it, they're scared.

The first real break in the investigation comes a week after the attack and leads police to, of all places, Poso prison. Incredible as it may sound, a police forensics team finds evidence the bomb was manufactured in the workshop, used for prisoner rehabilitation.

POLICE (Translation): It's a workshop for teaching them welding skills.

The fact that the bomb may have been assembled in a state-run facility further bolsters the central thrust of Aditjondro's remarkable research. That there is high level involvement in terror in Sulawesi.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO: What we have found out is just the tip of the iceberg. It shows a permanent pattern which has been going on for the last five years.

For the record, the authorities reject his allegations.

QUESTIONS ABOUT BALI:

Two weeks after the second Bali attack and despite plenty of help from the Australian Federal Police, Indonesian authorities are still pursuing the culprits.

But a familiar pattern has emerged. Asia's most wanted men, the so-called masters of disguise, Dr Azahari and Noordin Top have been named as the masterminds. And once again everyone is insinuating Jemaah Islamiah is behind the bombs. That may eventually be proved correct, but so far no evidence has been produced, at least publicly, to back that claim. As we've shown tonight, after enduring years of state-sponsored terror, it's no wonder many Indonesians question what they're being told about this latest atrocity.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO: You hear again the sources - the statements that it was carried out by Azahari and Noordin Mohammed Top and a radical Muslim groups behind it. Although what I heard is this actually shows a rivalry, internal rivalry within the armed forces.

George Aditjondro didn't provide any evidence to back his allegation, but theories like this are hard to write off just yet. Former president Abdurrahman Wahid tried in vain to rein the military and it cost him the presidency. In 2003 just after the Marriott Hotel blast, he was clearly frustrated by foreign intelligence claims that JI were to blame.

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: They can say whatever they want but we are here, we live here, we know them. But I won't say who.

REPORTER: But you know who it is, you think?

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: No, no, I don't know. When I said that I meant we cannot know - we cannot know the truth about that. That is the problem always.

REPORTER: But that bomb has been blamed also on Jemaah Islamiah.

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Yeah, I know but you don't have any kind of proof. The proof is that the bomb is similar to that belong to the police. It's a problem for us then. Every bomb there until now it belongs to the government.

Today is the third anniversary of the first Bali attack that saw 202 people killed, including 88 Australians. Abdurrahman Wahid now has questions about that attack as well.

While some regard him as an Eccentric, he is the former president and is often described as the conscience of the nation, revered by tens of millions of moderate Muslims. As such, he's one of only a few people publicly prepared to canvass the unthinkable - that Indonesian authorities may have had a hand in the Bali atrocity. He believes that the plan for the second, massive at the Sari Club, which caused the majority of casualties, was hatched way above the head of uneducated villagers like Amrozi.

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Amrozi was involved in the lighter bomb. That's a problem always. Even though I agree that he should be given a stiff punishment, but it doesn't mean that he is involved. No, no, no.

REPORTER: So you believe that the Bali bombers had no idea that there was a second bomb?

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Yeah, precisely.

REPORTER: And who would you suggest planted the second bomb?

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Well, it looks like the police.

REPORTER: The police?

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Or the armed forces, I don't know.

Wahid's speculation is chilling and again there's no evidence to support it. But there's no doubt that he's a barometer of how many Indonesians view the whole terror campaign.

BACK TO THE FUTURE:

This ceremony in July marked a significant moment in the evolution of Indonesia's fight against terrorism. The

nation's most senior police watched as their chief, Dai Bachtiar, was replaced by General Sutanto, touted as a cleanskin.

Following his swearing in, he made an impressive start - launching a high profile anti-drug campaign and promising to crack down on rampant corruption within the police force. But for now, he's getting familiar with the rhetoric required for the job.

GENERAL SUTANTO (Translation): We are sharing experience with other countries in order to eradicate the terrorism.

But it's not the experience sharing with other countries that matters, like every police chief before him, he will only ever play second fiddle to the army and will struggle to control the cabal of rogue elements who still wield massive power here.

Abdurrahman Wahid says that no policeman would dare to properly investigate repeated allegations that their big brothers in the military are involved in the terror campaign.

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: They know it's against see, what they do - was against you see, several, you know, senior officers, even of the police itself. So they don't want to be involved.

REPORTER: Because?

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Of the fear.

REPORTER: The fear of what? Of the senior officers that are involved in this?

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

At the moment it's the police who are receiving all the equipment, support and training to take on the terrorists. At the opening of this multimillion dollar training facility, which is part funded by Australia, the Indonesians were keen to show off their skills. The war on terror has brought the two nations closer together, but any Australian concerns about corruption and human rights in this new partnership appear to have been put aside for now.

But the Indonesian police's leading role in the fight against terror may be about to change anyway. In the wake of the latest attack in Bali, President Yudhoyono has taken steps to rehabilitate the military's tarnished name and bring them back into the counter terror drive.

For those who risked their lives opposing Suharto's brutal military, it's a disturbing thought. That the retired general, President Yudhoyono, known in Indonesia by his initials Sbyeah, may be ushering in a return to those bad old days.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO: Now, General SBY, himself, he doesn't like to be called general SBY, he likes to be called Dr SBY has made the statement that the military is ready to help, to assist the police in chasing the terrorists. In other words, the military is looking for an alibi for a reason to reconsolidate their power as during the Suharto period.

Appendix D

SBS TV Australia

Transcript Dateline 3/11/04 *

RH = Rimbunan Hijau

Mark Davis: And now to our exclusive report from Papua New Guinea (PNG). A country of great concerns to Australia in recent years, after 12 months of negotiation, it has recently been agreed to that a contingent of Australian Federal Police (AFP) will be deployed to PNG to assist with the justice system there. But their task may be even harder than has been anticipated to date. In this report Bronwyn Adcock (**BA**) travels to the remote Western Province (WP) for a revealing look at policing PNG style- her investigation exposes an unholy alliance between corrupt police and a major logging company.

BA: This is the only way to travel in the WP of PNG. Incredibly remote and vast, it is the poorest and least developed province in PNG. It is also home to one of the world's great rainforests. This airline is owned by logging company RH PNG Ltd- related to Malaysian multinational RH. It's the biggest player in PNG's logging industry. Today it's taking me for a close-up look at the province it virtually controls. We are landing at Kamusie- one of its largest logging camps .

Guide: This is it, this is Kamusie. You are going to meet very shortly the boss of this area.

BA: Ling Kuok Poh (LKP) is the operations manager here. He has been in charge of the camp for 14 yrs. For years critics have accused RH of damaging the environment, mistreating workers and exploiting local communities but Ling is at pains to point out that his company is a model corporate citizen.

“So this is the school..?”

Schools, medical clinics, shops, houses- almost everything here and in most logging camps across the province was built by RH. With few exceptions, the national govt. has simply abdicated responsibility to the company. This has large parts of Western Province in the unusual situation of having a foreign company as de-facto govt. and here in Kamusie, and an operations manager as de-facto governor.

Gabriel Samol, RH senior manager: And with regards to the landowners, they have a lot more respect for him than their own leaders, unfortunately that's the perception they have. They call him as a governor of the province for the local people here because he has been present with them for the last for 14 yrs. One thing you will find around here?.the presence of govt. institutions is zero.

BA: Another thing lacking here is a viable police presence. When law and order breaks down the company has to fly in police at its own expense. But just who do the police work for when they come to Kamusie, the govt. of PNG or RH? I've come to see a policeman who was one of those regularly flown in. He says it is the company calling the shots.

Emmanuel Bani (EB): So our duties on that camp was to patrol the roads, highways in the jungles to make sure the company operations were running smooth without fear or without being attacked by local landowners and when the landowners complained about their rights, that's where we stepped in- we stepped in on behalf of the company.

BA: Constable Emmanuel Bani is a member of an elite police unit called the Southern Command Taskforce. For seven years his allegiance was to RH. Now in an extraordinary move he is breaking ranks. For his security and that of others we can't tell you certain details about his situation including which country he's in now.

EB: I thought of the welfare and the safety of my family. I feel safe now and I can do anything and say anything that I want to say to the media to expose the corruption.

BA: So you were essentially the private security of the company?

EB: We are deployed as security guards, personal A team of the RH company and every RH company worker in Port Moresby headquarters and any camp in the Papuan region knows us by name.

BA: So how did the local landowners feel about you then?

EB: They feared me a lot, they feared me and my boss and my other members, they feared us, they hated us.

BA: They had good reason to hate **EB**, he and his fellow police officers were more likely to dispense justice with their fists than with the law. As a young recruit fresh out of police college he was hand picked to join the Southern Command Taskforce based in Port Moresby. He discovered how the law was enforced in Western Province in 1999 when RH took him to his first assignment.

EB: I was woken up from my bed with a knock at the door and orders were given to me saying there was a RH bus waiting for me. I was supposed to get on that bus and taken up to the airport.

BA: The task force was flown here, to the Panakowa veneer mill. In recent years RH has invested millions of dollars into this mill and when I visited last week there were no signs of trouble. But 5 years ago disgruntled workers were rioting and foreign staff were being attacked. Constable Bani says the manager, who is now dead, gave orders to allow police on the ground.

EB: We handled those suspects good and proper.

BA: What do you mean..?

EB: I mean we bashed them up, we hit them with huge irons, and when we mobilised there, we made sure that these people who complained against the rights of their benefits were being manhandled. We belt them good and proper.

BA: So how violent, did people get seriously hurt?

EB: Yes, some were flown to a Daru hospital, some broke jaws, some broken hands, legs, beaten black, deep cuts on their hands, the pain they got was just so big- they bled you know.

BA: But why are you blaming the company for your actions, I mean aren't you the one who went in there and was violent?

EB: I became violent because of their actions, because of their instructions.

BA: According to Bani, it was his understanding that he and fellow officers were expected to use violence on workers and landowners. But sometimes there were explicit orders as well. Did you take orders directly from the company?

EB: Yes, we took orders from the company management on the ground.

BA: **EB** soon found that his new line of work was a profitable one, especially for a lowly paid policeman. He says whenever he was working in logging areas the company paid him a daily allowance. On top of that he received sporadic lump sum payments and he names the operations manager at Kamusie as the one who paid him.

EB: For example, Mr Ling he paid us appreciation money some sort of money which I call some sort of like bribery type of money. I've got monies worth about 3/4/5 hundred extra to my allowances, there on the campsite. When I'm trying to come back to Port Moresby, when he hands this over to me suddenly, he gives it to me and he tells me that I'll see you back next week again.

BA: The lump sums Bani was paid varied. And it was his impression that at times the money was a reward for being violent. And how did it make you feel towards the company when you were given that money?

EB: I felt that the Asians respected me, they had respect for me and I felt that the police force couldn't give me this type of money, and money was my life, that was something that my family benefited out from.

BA: Did it make you want to do a better job for the company?

EB: It made me feel to do anything that the management wanted me to do, the company, RH company. If instructions were given by them, when I knew that the orders were not good for the benefit of our country, I did it because I knew I would be paid well.

BA: Over lunch in the company dining room, I put these allegations to Ling. Some people do say you even sometimes pay the police to do jobs for you?

LKP: Actually we just give them support, support for when they go out. We give them meals, transportation and some assistance on the refreshments.

BA: Do they ever get paid bonuses for doing jobs?

Ling: We are not doing any social payment.

BA: Do they ever work for the company on jobs, do you ever request they do things?

Ling: No

BA: At its company headquarters on the other side of the country in Port Moresby. RH agreed to respond to the allegations raised in this program. The 3 executives I spoke told me that the task force is only ever flown in when there is a genuine law and order issue to deal with. There is a history of violent attacks on company staff and property.

J.K. Balasubramaniam (JKB), RH Company Secretary: If there is situations on the ground which require a task force assistance of course we called it, but this requests are not often.

BA: Do you accept that there has been a major problem with police brutality in some of the logging areas over the last 7-8 years?

JKB: I don't think so, there's been any police brutality.

BA: None at all?

JKB: I.. I don't think so

BA: RH acknowledges that an official allowance to cover incidentals is paid to visiting police. It also provides transport and logistical support but it denies paying lump sums.

JKB: It is inconceivable that a large multinational like RH would pay large lump sum to the independent Royal PNG constabulary to suppress and conduct police brutality against the peaceful citizens of PNG in Western Province. That is simply inconceivable.

BA: But he is saying that when he is working, he still is a member of Southern Command Task Force

(SCTF), he was paid money on many occasions by Mr.Ling and that the company both directly and indirectly condoned the violence he perpetrated against people.

JKB: As I said earlier the company do not condone police brutality against the peace loving Papua New Guineans.

BA: One of the main sources of tension in logging areas comes from land owners who won't fully cooperate with the logging company. John Danaiya (JD) and Mauli Kulu are landowners from near Kumusie. Today they are in Port Moresby to meet with their lawyers to discuss a legal claim over the issuing of timber permits. It's a trip they have made before. They have been complaining about both the company and police brutality for years now.

JD: The police aren't following govt. policy. Are they working for the govt. or for the company?

BA: Although they don't have the insiders view that constable Bani has, is their perception of what goes on around Kamusie the same?

JD: It's like the company wants to weaken the people. They want to disadvantage them. For example, if I'm the landowner and the company wants to cut my trees for timber I allow them to do so because people are frightened. The company called the police in and authorised them to go against the landowners. Do the police who deal with the landowners do this of their own accord? Or is it Mr Ling's doing because he's part of the Task Force and acting like one of them? He always sends them out in airplanes and some days he sends them out in vehicles because that's what he does.

BA: At the end of my interview with John and Manali, I pass them a photo of Constable Emmanuel Bani. Is he a member of the Task Force this man? John and Munali are coy, they don't want to say too much about Constable Bani, but there's no doubt they would be astonished to learn that their one time adversary is now on their side. Do landowners have a real reason to fear that the police will get them if they speak out against the company?

EB: Yes of course because they have seen it. Their children grew up and they have seen it happening, their father opened mouth and the mouth it was been shut by a huge timber 4 by 4 ;and otherwise the son says the same thing and it will be shut by a maybe a gun barrel.. you know.. so this fear has been there and they cannot fight against the company and so the company can do whatever it wants to do.

BA: EB says he's been considering his decision to speak out for some time. His main motivation is personal. He too was a landowner in Western Province and RH will soon begin operations on his ancestral land. He doesn't want what happened to the people around Kumusie to happen to his people.

EB: My old land is going to be under threat. My old land, I don't like RH to get it there because they have soon bad practices bad pictures when I was with them.

BA: I took EB's story to the RH executives but RH insists it has a good relationship with landowners in the logging area. I have spoken to and interviewed a member of Southern Command Task force and he worked for the Taskforce since 1999 and he says 'that RH used the police to drive fear into land owners'

JKB: Well, we deny this allegation, they are unsubstantiated. I think the police has many times investigated this in recent years and it has also been published in the local paper that all these allegations are unsubstantiated.

BA: So do you deny having any knowledge of police violence in the area?

JKB: I'm not saying that we don't have any knowledge, we are saying that we do not condone or encourage police brutality against the peace loving people of Western Province.

BA: The Southern Command Taskforce is a small unit with its own hierarchy, it's ultimately answerable to the southern command division of the PNG police. John Maru is in charge of southern command. He says he has conducted a thorough investigation into allegations of police brutality. So do you accept that there has been a problem at all with police brutality in some of the logging areas?

JM: I think it is a lot of utter rubbish. That is not the case that I know of.

BA: What about the allegation that the southern command task force essentially acts on behalf of RH company out in Kumusie?

JM: That is again utter bullshit, it does not serve the purpose of the company. EB; maybe I don't know he's got his own reasons to state what he says. I would also at this point in time like to deny categorically categorically that policeman are not on the payroll of the RH logging company.. never. They are never on the payroll.

BA: He said, that at times he was incredibly violent, you know, broke people's jaws, either because the

company either directly asked him to or indirectly asked.

JM: I don't think he would have been guided by the company to do anything of that sort. He knows in himself that he is a trained and basically qualified policeman doing such things again of course is against the law.

BA: On a guided tour of Kamusie by the company we found evidence that police brutality does occur. We are introduced to Dr Willie Bellarosa, who runs the clinic in Kamusie. Do you ever see any cases that people are bashed up by the police? Assaulted by police?

WB: Yes, sometimes often sometimes not? I would think when was the last time this month I haven't encountered any .. I think last month was the last time.

BA: Earlier this year a forestry review team, set up by the PNG Govt. traveled to WP to look at logging areas. It was interested in all aspects of logging but found particular problems with police activity in a number of camps. Dateline has obtained a copy of their draft report into the RH logging site of Wawoi Guavi where Kamusie is. It says

V/O: "The use of physical force by the Police Task Force to intimidate employees and landowners was one of the major issues raised by all members of the community. The people most certainly welcomed the presence of police in the area but not in the manner they were behaving and under the total control of the company."

BA: At one camp, the review team spoke to landowners who....

V/O: "claimed that any agreement they signed for the land to be used freely by the company was signed under duress in the presence of the police force."

BA: RH rejects the findings in this draft report. Although the final report is yet to be signed off on, the draft has been circulated and the Govt. has already acted.

Joshua Kalinoe, PNG Govt. Chief Secretary: Yes, we have commenced action on the reports. Firstly is the police, we've asked that I've requested the police commissioner to withdraw the taskforce which he has done and we are monitoring the situation on the ground very closely to make sure that policemen in logging camps are not there for too long.. we rotate them.. because the longer you keep them.. they become too friendly to the operating company.

BA: The man ultimately in charge of the SCTF, John Maru denies his men collaborate with the company and is clearly disgruntled by this decision. So why did the commissioner order you to take the SCTF out of Kamusie?

JM: I don't know.. I told you before no answer was given no reason..

BA: But clearly he thought there was a problem with the SCTF to remove it ..?

JM: I can't suggest that it's best you interview him he will tell you.

BA: Despite the withdrawal order, Constable EB has told Dateline that some members of the Taskforce are still going into the area. Do you feel a bit like you have made some really foolish decisions in the last seven years? Do you feel regret?

EB: Of course.. Yes I regret.. I feel sorry for my people you know. I apologise for what I have done but I followed orders because I wanted my bread and butter like any other employee.. you know.

BA: The money was obviously incredibly important to you?

EB: It was important, it was very important to me.

BA: Is that the only reason you did all this?

EB: It wasn't the only reason.. it was because of the orders that was given you know .. the relationship between the company and the bosses.. the superiors that I have was very tight you know very close and if I didn't execute what the company wants well they would complain to my bosses.

BA: Constable EB believes that the work he did for RH held sway with his bosses in Port Moresby. So do you think SCTF does a good job?

LKP: Yes they are doing a very good job. Very good job.

BA: Dateline has recently obtained a copy of a letter written by RH operations manager Ling Quok Poh. It concerns Constable Bani. It's written to Bani's overall boss John Maru and cc'ed to the Commissioner of Police. It commends Bani for his work in an intelligence operation in WP for which RH provided logistical support. The letter recommends

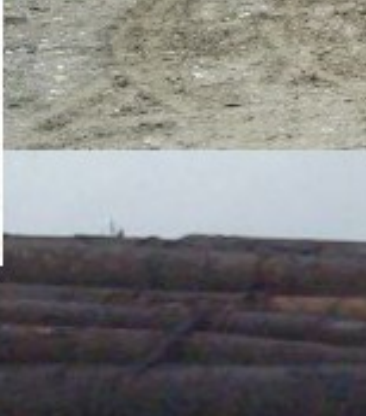
V/O: .. EB for immediate promotion at your discretion whenever convenient, strongly recommended, your favourable consideration and action shall highly be appreciated.

BA: Constable EB no longer expects he'll receive any promotion. Once this interview is broadcast do you expect that you will be able to return to PNG?

EB: I don't think so.. I don't think so I will return back to PNG that soon. It will take me a couple of years before I get back to PNG because this is very fresh.

The End

Mark Davis: Filmed and reported by Bronwyn Adcock. And that story has already created something of a stir in PNG. As she tried to leave the country her passport was confiscated and she was questioned by police about this story. Despite today's claims by the PNG Govt., Bronwyn entered PNG on a legitimate journalist visa.



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Dedicated to all those struggling for an end
 to ALL violence, and to a free Melanesia of
 justice and sustainability....