

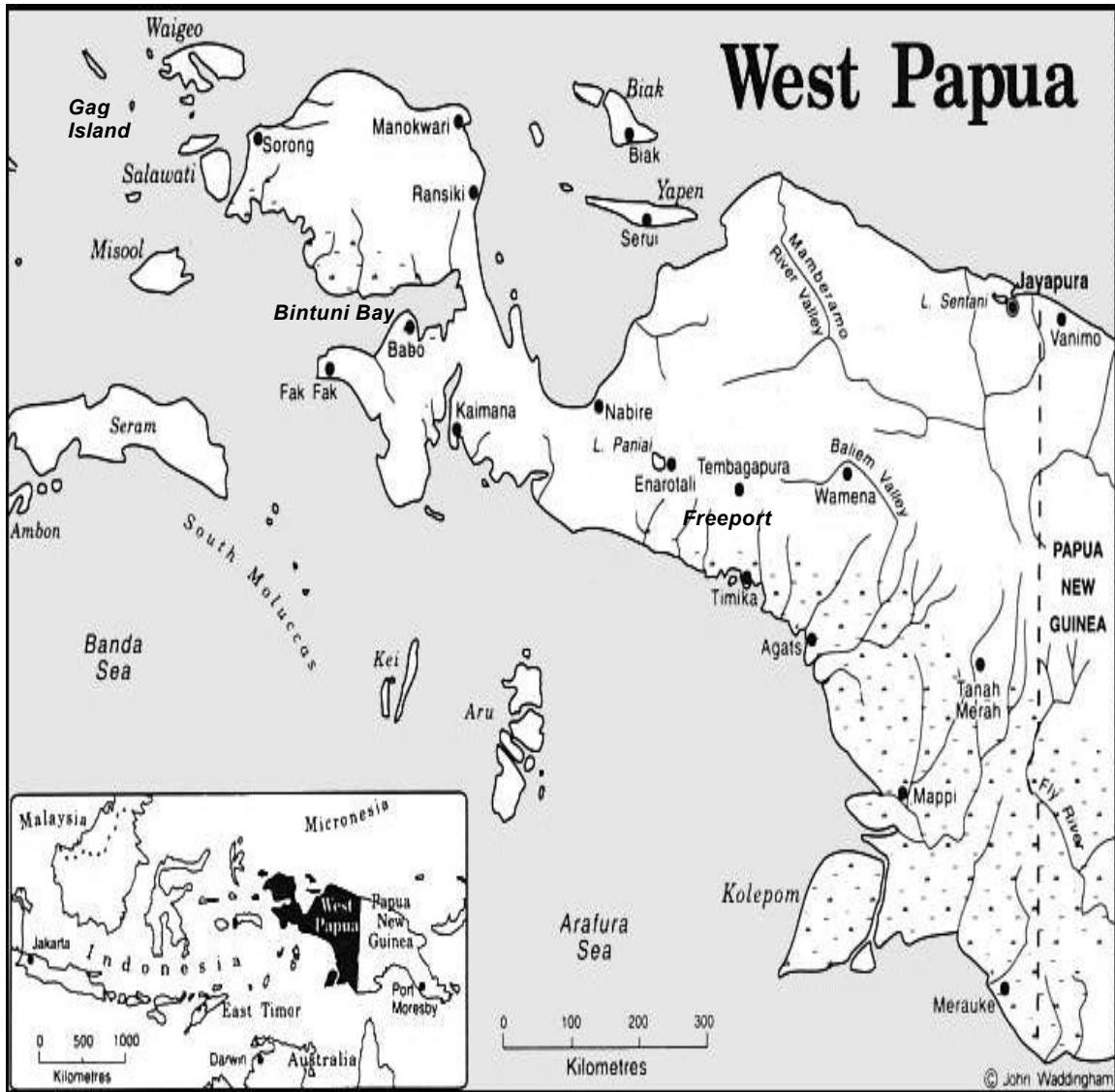
# **Standing Up for West Papua:**

**How Australia profits from an illegal and  
brutal occupation and what you can do about it.**

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## A Word on Freedom

*“Nothing can stop a people who have decided to be free”*

South Africa’s Archbishop Desmond Tutu

The people of West Papua have been struggling for freedom and dying under military rule for nearly 40 years. Freedom in West Papua is often equated with independence but it also refers to people’s desire for concrete improvements in their life; everything from wanting to ‘straighten history’ to land rights, respect for indigenous traditions and tangible improvements in health, welfare and education. For the record I do not take a position on independence. As outsiders I believe we do not have that right. Nor will we suffer the consequences.

An independent state is one possible milestone in the long struggle for freedom. Independence might solve some problems but it will not solve all problems. While I do not take a position on independence I am unapologetic and resolutely committed to supporting self-determination for the people of West Papua. West Papuans have never had the opportunity to freely determine what political arrangement best supports their aspirations. This may well be an independent state but it could also be something like the special autonomy package earmarked for West Papua, free association, a land rights based approach, some sort of federal arrangement or even something else that reflects indigenous beliefs and traditions. This booklet is based on the premise that the role of Australians who want to stand up for West Papua is not to support an outcome we think is best but to support West Papuans concrete aspirations and throw our energy behind just and peaceful processes for change: self-determination, upholding human rights, and working to protect the living land West Papuans intimately depend upon.

## Introduction

For nearly four decades, West Papuans have endured an illegal and often brutal occupation by Indonesia's military forces. The plight of the West Papuan people is similar to that of the East Timorese. In 1999 Australia stood up for the East Timorese. It is time we did the same for the West Papuans.

Given the long, largely forgotten and seemingly intractable conflict in West Papua let me begin with a preposterous claim: despite the illusion of Indonesia's monolithic invincibility, in reality Indonesia's rule in West Papua is fragile and subject to removal.

Indonesia's occupation of West Papua is extremely vulnerable on two counts. Firstly, repression breeds dissent. Jakarta's response to resistance is not to address underlying Papuan grievances but has always been more repression, sometimes overt, increasingly covert. Sometimes fear descends and open rebellion dissipates. But in the hearts and minds of Papuans, dreams of freedom are nourished and take root. Jakarta knows this. Consequently, while the core causes of the conflict remain unresolved Indonesian rule in West Papua cannot be maintained without repression on a near continual basis. Yet each act of repression only stokes the fires of dissent and deepens feelings of alienation amongst West Papuans. With each human rights violation West Papua slips further through Jakarta's fingers. The legitimacy of Indonesian military rule in West Papua is further eroded and exposed by the resolute peacefulness of West Papuans, who continue to seek peaceful ways to resolve the conflict even when met with state sanctioned violence.

Secondly, Jakarta is utterly dependent on diplomatic, military and economic support from international elites to maintain the occupation: diplomatic recognition of the fraudulent 1969 Act of Free Choice, multinational corporate investment, and military aid to the Indonesian military. In turn, Jakarta's western elite allies like the Australian government and Australian based corporations depend on ordinary people like workers, soldiers and ordinary citizens to carry out their policies. In many cases the cooperation of these groups of people is tenuous and could be withdrawn. As a result, despite the illusion of Indonesia's monolithic invincibility, in reality, Indonesia's rule in West Papua is fragile.

International grassroots withdrawal of support for Indonesian military rule in West Papua will weaken the legitimacy of the regime and strengthen the struggle for freedom. This small booklet encourages you to play your part and suggests where to focus efforts to create change. Jakarta and Canberra want your cooperation to maintain what is an illegal and often brutal occupation maintained by military force. By standing up for West Papua you will add your strength to a people determined to be free.

*[In this booklet the Indonesian regime in West Papua is described as an occupation because that seems the most accurate word to describe the reality. When I refer to Indonesian military rule in West Papua I refer to a policy and system of rule. I love and respect Indonesian people and have always found them to be warm, hospitable and unflinchingly friendly.]*

## **West Papua: an issue whose time has come**

West Papua is a breathtakingly beautiful land unbelievably rich in natural resources. Less than 150 km from Australia and bordering the independent state of Papua New Guinea, West Papua has a landmass roughly half the size of New South Wales. Indonesia and West Papua were former Dutch colonies. The Republic of Indonesia was created in 1949 when it was officially granted independence after a long struggle against their former colonial masters.

Recognising that West Papua had no strong political and cultural ties with Indonesia, the Dutch retained control of the territory and with support from Australia, began to prepare West Papua for independence. Indonesia, however, maintained its claim to all the former Dutch territory and conflict erupted. Concerned that Indonesia was seeking support from the Russians, the United States brokered an agreement between the Netherlands and Indonesia. It was the cold war and the United States and other Western powers like Australia considered West Papua a price worth paying to stop Indonesia's perceived drift towards communism. West Papuans were excluded from consultations, which finally resulted in the 1962 New York Agreement. While limited the New York agreement did stipulate that the West Papuans political and human rights were to be upheld. Transitional authority was assumed by the United Nations who quickly passed authority over to Indonesia on the condition that there was to be an internationally acceptable act of self-determination within six years.

The 1969 act of self-determination was called the Act of Free Choice. A cursory inspection of the process soon shows why West Papuans call it the Act of *No* Choice. West Papuans political and human rights were fundamentally violated. 1022 West Papuan men, less than 1% of the population were handpicked by Indonesians and under duress and outright violence were told to 'vote' for integration with Indonesia. Those that campaigned for independence were imprisoned, beaten or disappeared. Whole villagers were strafed and bombed from the air. Thousands fled into neighbouring Australian administered New Guinea. During the turmoil two West Papuans boarded a light aircraft to alert the United Nations General Assembly to the travesty of injustice that was taking place. When they landed on Manus Island, in what was then Australian administered New Guinea, the Australian officials at the request of the Indonesian foreign minister at the time, arrested and jailed them. In this climate of fear, not surprisingly 100% of those who 'participated' in the Act of Free Choice 'chose' to remain with Indonesia.

Both armed resistance by the OPM (Free Papua Movement) and unarmed resistance, mainly in the form of peaceful flag raisings continued. Following the fall of Suharto in 1998 widespread peaceful public expressions of the people's aspirations culminated in the formation of a parallel parliament, the Papuan Presidium Council (PDP) with a clear mandate to pursue independence. The leadership committed itself to a path of peaceful dialogue and 'the straightening of history'. However, after the initial euphoria felt by West Papuans during this flowering of the 'Papuan Spring' in August 2000 the military

acted quickly to reassert their control over the province. In November 2001 the leader of the PDP, Theys Eluay, was assassinated by *Kopassus*, Indonesian Special Forces.

At the same time Jakarta gave the province Special Autonomy in an effort to resolve the long-standing conflict. However, instead of implementing the legislation – one that the vast majority of West Papuans reject – Jakarta is now attempting to divide the province into three. A move that not only contradicts greater self rule supposedly guaranteed under Special Autonomy but one that is seen by West Papuans as an attempt to undermine their identity and which many fear will ultimately see a dramatic increase in the numbers of military personnel stationed in the contested territory.

Although a blanket of fear has returned to the resource rich province, West Papuans continue to creatively search for peaceful ways to resist what they almost universally describe as an occupation secured by international fraud for the purpose of exploitation. Theft by outsiders maintained by military violence. In 1999 Australian's did themselves proud and stood up for the East Timorese. It's time we did the same for the West Papuans.

## Why does Indonesia want West Papua?

There are prevailing historical, political and economic reasons why Indonesia wanted and still wants to rule West Papua. These reasons are necessary to understand because of the way they work to reinforce Indonesia's determination to retain West Papua even at the expense of gross human rights violations.

The Indonesian consensus is that West Papua is part and parcel of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, an area that included the entire former Dutch East Indies, from 'Sabang to Merauke'. For many Indonesians West Papua is a place of exile for nationalist heroes who resisted Dutch rule. The territory became in academic Ben Anderson's words, a 'sacred site in the national imagining' and it still remains a rallying point for Indonesian nationalism. The current Indonesian president Megawati Sukarnoputri recently said that '... without Irian Jaya (the former Indonesian name for West Papua), Indonesia is not complete'. Many Indonesians still perceive Indonesia as the liberator of West Papua.

Politically, Indonesia was a nation imagined and created in the context of a liberation struggle against the Dutch. The concept of an Indonesian state was always grounded in political struggle. Indonesian liberation fighters resolutely resisted appeals to nationalism based on ethnicity or religion. For this reason West Papua is considered an integral part of the Indonesian State precisely to demonstrate that Indonesia was a political concept and not based on religion or ethnicity.

West Papua is a land of unbelievable wealth. It has extensive mineral deposits including nickel, gold and copper as well as oil, natural gas, valuable tropical timber and fisheries. Whilst a potent combination of colonial history and nationalism motivated Indonesia's initial push into West Papua, the continued occupation is significantly sustained by the abundance of natural resources and the high levels of wealth this generates for Indonesian and international corporate, government and military elite. Up to 70-80% of the Indonesian military's budget is generated by military owned and run businesses. Through legal foundations, legitimate businesses and illegal activity such as extortion, drug-running, gun-running, prostitution, illegal logging, illegal mining, illegal fishing and the smuggling and sale of flora and fauna, the Indonesian military has its fingers firmly in the economic pie. On one hand the Indonesian military sees itself as the defender of the nation and on the other it operates like a mafia who will do anything to protect their economic interests.

These historical, ideological and economic factors coalesce into a strong determination by Indonesia's elite's to hold onto West Papua at all costs. West Papua is as one Indonesian diplomat said to me 'something to die for'. In reality it has become something to kill for.



## **Why Australia supports Indonesian military rule in West Papua**

Australian foreign policy towards Indonesia has always been pragmatic and ambivalent. Australia supported the 1975 invasion of East Timor and for 24 years insisted that the former Portuguese colony was an inseparable part of the archipelago. In 1999, as a result of massive public outcry Australia reversed that policy and sent in troops to protect East Timorese from the orgy of violence unleashed by the Indonesian military. Failing to learn the lessons of East Timor Australians continue to not only turn our back on West Papuans, we kick them while they are down.

Foreign policy towards West Papua has been lacking in wisdom, courage or foresight. During the 1950's Australia supported the notion of unification between the two halves of New Guinea, even going as far as signing a joint statement on development and self-determination with the Dutch in 1957. John Kerr (who later became Governor General) even went as far as proposing a Melanesian federation that united the two halves separated by an artificial border. By 1962, however, Australia had executed a 180-degree policy back-flip even to the point of forcibly detaining West Papuan dissenters to Indonesian rule who sought sanctuary in what was then Australian administered New Guinea. The underlying factor that characterises these policy contortions has always been the eagerness of political and corporate elites to put their own interests above those of ordinary people and if necessary protect these interests by military force.

The Australian government currently supports continued Indonesian rule over West Papua for three reasons. Firstly, as the most populous Muslim country in the world Indonesia has become a much wooed ally in the so called 'war against terror'. In this regard ordinary Australians and ordinary Indonesians have much in common, we are both resisting elite support for a 'war on terror' that is eroding civil liberties and escalating conflict. Secondly, Australian corporations, particularly in the mining sector, have heavily invested in Indonesia. Corporate profits are prioritised over justice. The third reason Australia supports Indonesian military rule in West Papua is strategic. Any conflict in West Papua will inevitably affect regional stability. The Australian government supports Indonesia in an attempt to keep the lid on regional tensions. Ironically, however, it is the international community's unwillingness to confront and help resolve the causes of conflict in West Papua that is fuelling tensions in this troubled and beautiful land.

## **Why Focus on Australia? Why Not Focus on Indonesia?**

While West Papuans and progressive Indonesians can work to alter Indonesia's *will* to continue the occupation, a crucial role of the international solidarity movement is to develop campaigns to undermine Jakarta's *power* to maintain the occupation. In Australia this will happen not by directing campaigns at the Indonesian government, something Australians have little leverage over anyway, but by directing campaigns at the ways ordinary people in Australia help Australian elites support Jakarta's occupation of West Papua. Rather than focus on trying to change Indonesian policy, I argue that people who want to stand up for West Papua should do so by focusing their efforts on persuading those groups within Australia who support the occupation to withdraw their support. In Australia that means focusing on the way the Australian government upholds the Act of Free Choice and aids the Indonesian military violence. It also means taking a stand against corporate exploitation and *for* environmental protection.

There are two other reasons for focusing on Australia. Firstly, Australia provides significant support to the occupation. Secondly, Australia is the major power in the region, and is seen as such by people in the West Papua. For better or worse, the Australian government's policy and the attitude of government representatives, civil servants and civil society, will have a major bearing on conflict in the region. In the period following the events in East Timor in 1999, Australia's international standing was increased, particularly in the eyes of the United States, which was happy to let Australia assume the leadership role. Whether Australia does the same for West Papua depends on you and I.

## **Standing up for West Papua**

The following sections outline how Australia profits from and supports the occupation. It is divided into three broad campaign domains: diplomatic, military and economic support for military rule in West Papua.

It is vitally important to design nonviolent campaigns in support of West Papuans with the following two broad strategic objectives in mind.

1. Undermining Australian elite support for the occupation. Strategically directed action in Australia will undermine Jakarta's power in West Papua and strengthen the hand of West Papuans struggling for freedom.
2. Build a movement of people who will stand-up for West Papua. This is the slow but significant work of research, relationship building, community education, alliances and cooperative action.

Actions will be effective to the extent that they are focused on the sources of Australian support for the occupation, maintain nonviolent discipline, maximise opportunities for participation and capture the imagination of the public.

## **Justice Denied!**

The Australian government supported the 1969 Act of Free Choice and continues to uphold the fiction that the sham referendum was a legitimate act of self-determination. Reversing earlier support for West Papuan self-determination and the possibility of a unified island of New Guinea, the Australian government did what it could to ensure the Act of Free Choice lead to integration with Indonesia. The Australian military collected evidence of Indonesian atrocities directed towards West Papuan civilians, including evidence of rapes, beatings, lootings and torching of villages. The Federal Government concealed this information from the Australian public.

Declassified United States government and United Nations documents given to Australia before the Act of Free Choice took place estimated that 95% of the West Papuan people supported independence, and therefore that the Act of Free Choice would be a mockery. Despite this Australia continued to support the Act of Free Choice and gave their support to Indonesia's proposal to scrap a 'one person one vote' system.

When West Papuans resisted the Australian government helped ensure their voices would be silenced. In May 1969, at the request of the Indonesian government Australian officials arrested and detained Willem Zonggonau and Clemens Runawery, two West Papuans who tried to travel to the United Nations in New York to protest the conduct of the United Nations. Manus Island in Australian administered New Guinea when the plane they were traveling in was forced to refuel. The men were prohibited from leaving Manus Island and their protest went unheard. When the Indonesian military got wind of

the men's departure they were furious and started to seek retribution. Terrified, Willem Zonggonau's younger sister fled across the border with thousands of other refugees where Australian officials detained her. During this time Australia shared intelligence relationship with the Indonesia military. This relationship continues to this day and intelligence on border movements is still shared with the Indonesian military.

Australia played an active role in ensuring that the UN General Assembly accepted the result of the Act of Free Choice without debate. Australia lobbied countries that were concerned about the conduct of the vote, including Malta and several West African countries that supported self-determination for West Papua.

In early 1999, Australian government documents relating to the period surrounding the Act of Free Choice were released under the 30-year rule. These documents are held in the National Archives of Australia in Canberra, and formed the basis for Mark Worth's excellent documentary 'Act of No Choice', screened on SBS Dateline in 1999.

## **In bed with South-East Asia's largest terrorist organisation**

Australia is intimately involved with Indonesian military. The Australian Defence Force trains the Indonesian military and Australian arms companies arm the Indonesian military. Australia also shares intelligence information.

### **The Indonesian military's links with terrorist groups in Indonesia**

The Indonesian military has close links with Jeemah Islamiyah, suspected by many as being behind the Bali bombing. Laskar Jihad (Holy Warriors), a group within the JI network enjoys the protection and support of the Indonesian military. In recent years they have established themselves in West Papua. The Indonesian military provides training and weapons to Laskar Jihad as well as opportunities to participate in legal and illegal business activities.

Perhaps the most notorious group in Indonesia who routinely uses violence to achieve political ends is *Kopassus*, the Indonesian Special Forces. Kopassus was the group who armed, trained and organised militias in East Timor. The same group who murdered the West Papuan independence leader, Theys Eluay in November 2001. The Indonesian military, including *Kopassus* has also been accused by the West Papuan human rights group, Elsham of killing 3 teachers from the giant Freeport mine in the bid to extort money.

The Indonesian military has waged war and sowed terror across the archipelago. It is the major source of insecurity for all Indonesians from Aceh to West Papua. In the case of West Papua, no-one knows for sure how many have died during the last forty years but killings have been on such a scale as to threaten the very survival of the West Papuan

people. Far from helping stop violence and terrorism, foreign support for the Indonesian military only makes them more effective, efficient and professional human rights abusers.

### **Militarism and savage capitalism**

There is also a direct link between savage capitalism and militarism. Corporate exploitation in West Papua is directly facilitated by militarism. Resource extraction industries are a lucrative source of income for the Indonesian military (also known as the TNI). According to academic activist Lesley McCulloch and retired Australian Army officer, Robert Lowry, the Indonesian military only receives 20%-30% of its operating budget from the state. The remainder is made up from legal and illegal business activity.

The hand-in-glove relationship between global capital and the TNI is characterised by shared interest and mutual dependency. If multinationals resist the TNI's involvement in places like West Papua, the military seeks to extort money and/or engineer incidents that create the pretext for them providing a security presence with the aim of leveraging greater economic advantage. Consequently, many corporate elites feel that they have to engage the military to protect business interests, whilst the TNI view multinational investment as a legitimate source of personal income and institutional financial support. In fact, the distinguished outspoken Indonesian academic, George Aditjondro, who has spent many years studying the financial interests of the Indonesian military, argues that it is impossible for *any* company to do business in Indonesia without some links to either the police or the military. This is certainly the case with gold and copper mine, Freeport. Megawati Sukarnoputri's civilian Defence minister, Juwono Sudarsono, recently conceded that the military incited unrest at Freeport to highlight the benefits of their presence. The local commander requested and received payments considered 'necessary' for operational costs. As a result, Freeport/Rio-Tinto paid TNI a one off payment of U.S \$35 million and pledged annual contributions of U.S \$11 million.

### **Australian support for the TNI**

Although the support the Australian government provides to the TNI is extremely small when compared with that of the United States or Britain, it is an extremely significant part of a policy framework that helps legitimise the TNI, strengthens the culture of impunity surrounding the TNI, and helps create a stable climate seen by the market as conducive for foreign investment, even though that stability sits on top of a social volcano. Campaigns to alter the will and undermine the power of those who support Australia's military relationship with the TNI will help de-legitimise the TNI and strengthen the hand of those in Indonesia and West Papua working to end human rights abuses by the military, end impunity and return the military to the barracks.

### **Australian companies arm the TNI**

Australia arms the TNI, although what is supplied and who supplies is concealed by commercial in confidence agreements. What I do know from Department of Defence documents is that in 1999/2000 Australia sent 14 shipments of military aid – weapons,

ammunition and military equipment and 207 shipments of dual-use goods (goods that can be used for both military and civilian purposes) to Indonesia. In 2000/2001 Australia sent 11 shipments of weapons, ammunition and military equipment and 143 shipments of dual-use goods to Indonesia.

The Australian government also supplies Nomad surveillance aircraft to the TNI. As recently as this year Nomad aircraft were used in military operations in West Papua. Nomads are also used to monitor the maritime border between Australia and Indonesia, effectively subcontracting the TNI as bouncers to keep out refugees.

In addition the Australian government agency, the Export Finance and Insurance Corporation also provides loans to the Indonesian government for military equipment. For example during the 1998-1999 financial year the EFIC loaned the Indonesian government US \$5.1 million dollars to help buy equipment and services for military transport aircraft. Whilst 'commercial in confidence' agreements maintain the veil of secrecy surrounding arms deals, major Australian and Australian based arms companies include Australian Defence Industries (ADI), Tennix and SMA (Scientific Management Associates).

These arms companies depend on workers and union members. Ironically, weapons, ammunition and military equipment made by workers in Australia could well be used to repress workers in Indonesia, where the TNI and Indonesian police systematically use violence and intimidation against labour organisers and people resisting the social and environmental impacts of local and multinational corporations. The principal union for workers at ADI plants around the country is the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (AMWU). The MUA (Maritime Union of Australia) is also responsible for loading many of the shipments destined for export.

It is not unrealistic to envisage unions supporting action to halt military aid to Indonesia. After all they were at the forefront of action in support of East Timor. The MUA also has a long and glorious history of international solidarity and has supported liberation struggles within Indonesia without fear or favour. The AMWU was one of eleven unions who signed a memorandum of understanding with West Papuan independence leaders, Jacob Rumbiak and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther Wanma in September, 2000. 'The purpose of this Memorandum of Understanding is to express solidarity with the aspirations of the West Papuan people....' The first point of the memorandum expresses union concern about human rights abuses committed by the TNI.

### **Australia trains the TNI**

Although the United States is the principal provider of military training to the TNI, the Australian Defence Forces (ADF) are an important provider of training to the Indonesian military. For over ten years Australia trained members of the TNI who organised militia violence in East Timor. Australia then went into East Timor to protect ordinary East Timorese from the very people we had trained. Despite the popular impression that Australia ceased to arm and train the Indonesian military after the Indonesian military

and militia orchestrated violence in East Timor in September 1999, according to the Defence Minister 'Australia maintained defence relations with TNI. At no time was the relationship severed. ADF and TNI personnel remained in each other's country throughout the crisis period.'

It is instructive to remember that years of training the Indonesian military may have limited military engagements between the Australian and Indonesian Defence Forces in East Timor in 1999, but it did nothing to reduce violence against the East Timorese by the TNI and prevent the torching of East Timor during the orgy of post-ballot destruction in September 1999. Defence cooperation between Australia and Indonesia may have stopped Indonesian boys killing white Australian boys but it certainly did nothing to stop the Indonesian military slaughtering East Timorese and razing the country to the ground. In the end, ADF personnel were sent to East Timor to protect ordinary East Timorese from the very people Australia had armed and trained.

In the 1999 to 2000 financial year Australia trained 56 members of the Indonesian military. During 2000 to 2001 this figure increased to 72. (Later figures are not yet available). These soldiers were trained at bases around Australia and given Australian government scholarships to study at Australian universities. Between 1999 and 2001 the total cost to the Australian taxpayer was over \$10 million dollars. Since the Bali bombing the Australian Government has also advocated resuming combat training with Kopassus. The arming and training (including non-combat training) of the Indonesian military by Australia not only supports the organisational capacity and effectiveness of the Indonesian military to maintain their occupation in West Papua, it also helps legitimise the Indonesian military as a military that respects human rights.

### **ADF resistance to military ties with Indonesia**

Since Australia's peacekeeping operation in East Timor, however, ADF personnel, have become increasing politicised. As a result, not only could the ADF be influenced by external public dissent about defence-related activities with the TNI, the ADF is also subject to internal dissent within the military and defence department. One strategic goal for those who support greater debate over the Australian governments relationship with the TNI is to help create and widen spaces for internal dissent within the ADF and defence department. This will help undermine the power of the ADF and the Australian government to support TNI repression, not just in West Papua but also throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

Dissent within the armed forces is more widespread than is popularly believed. In 1999 top-secret intelligence information was leaked to sympathetic supporters when it became clear the government was not taking into consideration information that clearly showed the TNI were responsible for militia violence in East Timor but was instead pursuing their own agenda and interests. This dissent has continued. Disappointed that information has still not been shared with United Nations staff investigating serious crimes in East Timor, Defence Signals Directorate (DSD) officers recently exposed the cover-up by leaking documents to *The Age*. Amongst many ADF personnel, one officer

says half-jokingly, TNI stands for 'Trust No Indonesian'. The previously staunch apologist for Suharto, former minister for foreign affairs, Gareth Evans, who once claimed that the invasion of East Timor was 'irreversible' now admits (to his credit) that 'many of our earlier training efforts helped only to produce more professional human rights abusers.'

## **Investing in violence and ecological destruction**

Multinational companies operating in West Papua are locked into an uneasy relationship with the Indonesian military who facilitate exploitation by providing security. Plunder by multinational corporations results in massive ecological destruction. These corporations are either Australian owned, part owned or based in Australia.

### **Freeport**

In December 1994, covered in mud and naked except for the traditional highland penis gourd, Amungme tribal chief Tuarek Narkime walked the long road from his village in Banti up to Tembagapura, the Freeport company town. Confronting Freeport officials, he said simply, "Gentlemen, I am angry with God. Why has He created such beautiful mountains, valleys and rivers, rich with minerals and placed us – the indigenous peoples – here in this place that attracts so many people from around the world to come, exploit our resources, and kill us?"

Freeport McMoRan, the United States based company which owns and operates the gargantuan gold and copper mine makes over a million dollars U.S profit per day, and its CEO, Bob Moffett is one of the highest paid in the industry. The company is one of Indonesia's 'largest corporate taxpayers, among the biggest private employers and one of the top exporters'. Freeport started operations in 1967, two years before the question of sovereignty was even resolved. The company's supply base is in Cairns, Australia. Supplies for the mine are the responsibility of the 100% Australian owned company International Purveying Incorporated (IPI).

Freeport is literally moving a mountain to mine gold and copper. This mountain is the indigenous Amungme people's ancestral grandmother. Freeport has cut off her head and is now digging out her stomach. Her remains are strewn across the landscape. Rock waste fills two highland valleys. In 1999 a massive rock pile collapsed into Lake Wamego, causing a massive tidal wave that killed four workers.

The rivers are the Amungme's ancestral Grandmothers milk but tailings have poisoned the water and destroyed over 100,000 square kilometers of rainforest, the Amungme and Kamoro's people ancestral land and source of livelihood. Experts believe that forest die back as a result of poisoning will increase dramatically. These tailings are deposited into the Aghawaghon, Otomona and Ajkwa rivers at the staggering rate of over 200,000 tonnes a day. To place this amount in context, consider that BHP's controversial Ok Tedi mine - which was later abandoned by the company because of environmental damage – dumped tailings into the Fly River at the rate of over 80,000 tonnes per day.



The Indonesian military provides most of the security at the mine, supported by Freeport's security personnel. Over 220 people have been killed by either the Indonesian military or by Freeport security personnel. No-one has been held to account. According to Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM), human rights violations 'are directly connected to [the TNI] ... acting as protection for the mining business of PT Freeport Indonesia.' Because the TNI is so intimately involved with Freeport, the Amungme people have concluded that 'the root cause of the human rights violations is Freeport'.

### **The Australian connection**

To continue to extract these resources, multinational companies do not significantly depend on the people whose land they exploit, but on the support of employees, contractors, unions, suppliers, people who transport supplies, shareholders, investment fund managers, international financial institutions and export credit, finance and insurance agencies as well as governments and public opinion. This relationship has transnational dimensions.

The Freeport mine, is significantly dependent on Australia. Freeport's supply base is in Cairns. The provision of supplies is coordinated by the Cairns-based 100% owned Australian purveying company, International Purveying Incorporated (IPI), who buys from 'some 740 Australian companies ... including 296 in Cairns'. According to the chair of the Cairns Chamber of Commerce, Freeport (through I.P.I) is the largest purchaser of goods in Cairns generating at least AUS \$50-70 million dollars worth of business for local companies each year. Fruit and vegetables for Freeport employees are supplied by Tong Sing, a Cairns based supplier. Beef is supplied from cattle stations in the Northern Territory, some of which are believed to be owned by the Bakrie Brothers, an Indonesian conglomerate that has 10% shares in PT Freeport Indonesia.

The vast bulk of these goods, along with a range of materials necessary for maintaining the infrastructure of the mine and the three townships that supply the mine, are transported to West Papua every ten days by Freeport's supply ship, the *Java Sea*. In 1997, the MUA locked horns with the Australian government and Patrick Stevedores over attempts to de-unionise Australian wharves. The MUA purposefully chose the *Java Sea* as the boat to strike against. This strike was successful. The MUA also singled out Freeport for action during the TNI orchestrated militia violence in East Timor in September 1999. In addition to refusing to load Indonesian cargo, particularly those with high-level links to the TNI, Newcastle MUA members also refused to load grinding balls destined for Freeport on board the *Arktis Fantasy*. Freight is also supplied by air from Darwin and Cairns. In addition, most of the expatriate employees including several hundred contractors, regularly fly into either Darwin or Cairns on recreational leave.

Freeport is also heavily supported by the Australian British mining giant, Rio Tinto, a company whose name is 'synonymous with abuse of social, labour, environmental and human rights wherever they operate' says mining watchdog the Mineral Policy Institute.

Rio Tinto, holds an effective 20% stake in Freeport's West Papua operations through its 13% equity stake in Freeport McMoRan. In addition, Rio Tinto holds a 40% of the Grasberg deposit.

The major Australian unions associated with Freeport are the MUA, who handle freight to and from the mine, the CFMEU, whose members work at the mine, and the TWU, who service flights from Cairns to Timika and Darwin to Timika. According to an Australian Government report, 'Freeport ships all of its supplies from Australia through Cairns.' Mining companies such as Freeport are also heavily dependent on large injections of capital from investment funds, financial institutions, and support from insurance agencies and export credit agencies to begin, expand and continue resource extraction. Increasingly this finance is being politicised. For example, in 1994, as a result of widespread environmental and human rights concerns, the United States Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) cancelled Freeport's political risk insurance. According to Hugh Morgan, the CEO of the Australian-based mining transnational Western Mining Corporation (WMC), financial restraints caused by the increasing requirement to be culturally and environmentally sensitive coupled with the increasing difficulty of securing capital, 'are effectively "starving" the mining industry of funds'.

### **BHP-Billiton's open pit nickel mine planned for Gag Island**

Gag Island is an underwater paradise. On this 12 square kilometer island surrounded by fringing coral reefs, BHP-Billiton plans to establish an open pit mine on two-thirds of the island and refuses to rule out dumping toxic waste directly into the ocean, a practice outlawed in Australia. The other options for waste disposal include strip mining the island section by section or building a tailings dam in a small valley in the north of the island. This valley is home to indigenous people's food gardens.

Gag is situated in the ecologically diverse Raja Ampat archipelago located approximately 150 km North-West of Sorong. Gambir, the only village on the island has a population of around 600 people who depend on their gardens and fishing for food. Recent marine surveys in the Raja Ampat archipelago have discovered hundreds of fish, mollusc and coral species previously unknown to science. Local people have been told little about the company's intentions. The mine is yet to begin operations.

### **BP's Tangguh LNG Gas Project**

Built around Bintuni Bay, the site of the South East Asia's second largest mangrove forest, the US\$2 billion Tangguh ('all powerful') project will involve three gas fields, a processing plant, accommodation complex ('new town'), airstrip, pipeline and port facilities. There will be at least two offshore gas platforms in the Bintuni Bay, which will feed LNG via pipeline, to the processing plant on the southern side of the Bay.

BP expects the project to be operating by 2006, and to supply gas for at least 30 years. There are also another potential eight gas fields in the Bay. Activists hold serious concerns that like Freeport, the project will result in grave human rights violations as the

Indonesian military engineers 'incidents' to justify their presence and lever economic benefits. General Mahidin Simbolan, ex-East Timor commander, recently visited the mine site uninvited with a posse of armed men. Activists are closely monitoring the company's social and environmental impact. BP is hoping the project will be a demonstration of socially and environmentally responsible resource extraction. Critics point to the companies past record in Colombia and elsewhere as well as the fact that Pertamina, the Indonesian State Oil and Gas company ultimately has the final say in what goes ahead in Bintuni Bay.

## What you can do

- ?? Tell your friends and colleagues about West Papua.
- ?? Display a sticker.
- ?? Voice your concern. Write letters to politicians, newspapers and ring up talk-back radio.
- ?? Join Amnesty International's Indonesia list and advocate for West Papuan and Indonesian political prisoners.
- ?? Organise for a speaker to speak about West Papua. Contact your local support group at the back of this booklet.
- ?? Join a support group and get active. Find out where your nearest support group is at the back of this booklet.
- ?? Form your own West Papua support group at your school, campus, workplace or neighbourhood
- ?? Support the campaign financially: Make cheques payable to: *The Free West Papua Collective* and send them to: P.O.Box 2091, Lygon St North, East Brunswick 3057.
- ?? Join a PBI team in Indonesia. ([www.peacebrigades.org](http://www.peacebrigades.org))
- ?? Pray!

### The Act of Free Choice

- ?? Write to the Secretary-General of the United Nations requesting him to initiate a review of the conduct of the United Nations during the Act of Free Choice.
- ?? Write to your local federal member and federal senator requesting them to support a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the Australian government in West Papua between 1962 and 1969.
- ?? Urge groups or organisations you are involved with to write letters. A sample letter is attached at the back of this booklet.

### Australian military ties with Indonesia

- ?? Consider participating in a training to prepare for nonviolent action to resist Australian support of the Indonesian military.
- ?? If you work in an Arms factory support moves for greater transparency of arms sold to Indonesia. Leak information about what is supplied to Indonesia.
- ?? If you help transport military aid to Indonesia, leak information about what is supplied.
- ?? If you are a soldier educate yourself and fellow soldiers about West Papua, East Timor, Aceh and the history of human rights violations by the Indonesian military.

- ?? Leak information about Australian defence cooperation with the TNI. Contact the Free West Papua Collective at [info@freewestpapua.com](mailto:info@freewestpapua.com)
- ?? Speak-up for moves to support greater transparency and accountability surrounding military relations with Indonesia and a refusal to provide military aid to countries with poor human rights backgrounds.
- ?? If you are a student, researcher, work in a University or have access to information about scholarships provided to Indonesian military officers contact the FWPC at [info@freewestpapua.com](mailto:info@freewestpapua.com).
- ?? If you work at EFIC leak information about Australian government financial support for the Indonesian military.
- ?? If you are an experienced researcher consider making your skills available.

### **Corporate exploitation in West Papua**

- ?? Support moves for extra-territorial regulation of Australian corporations operating overseas. Basically this means that Australian corporations have to obey the same rules overseas as they do in Australia.
- ?? If you are a shareholder in a company operating in West Papua consider engaging in shareholder activism. Contact the Free West Papua Collective at [info@freewestpapua.com](mailto:info@freewestpapua.com) (Freeport's shareholders have already raised concerns at shareholder meetings in the past and Freeport and the TNI, aware of the politicisation of their activities that results from such public action, blocked the Amungme women's leader, Yosepha Alomang from attending Rio Tinto's 1998 AGM in London.)
- ?? Educate unaware investment fund managers about corporate exploitation in West Papua.
- ?? Help research the activities of corporations
- ?? If you are an AMWU member support moves for greater transparency of arms company's (like ADI – Australian Defence Industries) selling arms to Indonesia, and leak information about what is sold to Indonesia.
- ?? If you are a CFMEU member provide information about the activities of mining companies operating in West Papua
- ?? If you are a MUA or TWU member provide information about the transport of goods to West Papua

## Conclusion

Central to the struggle for freedom in West Papua is the ancient legend about the Morning Star. The story tells of *Kumeseri*, the Morning Star giving Manarmakeri, a humble village man the gift of peace and renewal. Refusing to keep the secrets for his tribe alone, Manarmakeri left West Papua on an journey to gather support to herald in a new age of freedom, peace and justice. Jakob Rumbiak, a West Papuan leader now living in Melbourne who endured 10 years in Indonesia's dungeons and shared a cell with East Timor's president Xanana Gusmao says, "maybe Manarmakeri came to Australia? Maybe he wants *you* to join him to help free West Papua?" The truth is the Indonesian government is utterly dependent on the continued support and public indifference of the international community to maintain the occupation. By standing up for West Papua you can help undermine a brutal occupation and give hope to a people whose time has come.

Because Australia exports terror, ecological destruction and social dislocation to West Papua, Australians are ethically compelled to stand up for people in West Papua. As Australians committed to doing justice, our task is to transform Australia. In doing so, the hope is that we will not only make Australia a more just, peaceful and sustainable place, but that we will help make our region and even the world, a better place too. It is extremely naïve to expect that government, corporate and military elites will change their policy just because we ask. As can be seen in the case of West Papua, those policies protect powerful vested interests, secured and maintained by military violence.

Inspired by West Papuans themselves, ordinary people in Australia do not have to be resigned to playing out the role of passive observers of the world outside their window, but can be the subjects of history. It is a great privilege and joy to accompany those who struggle for freedom. Doing so is a small way we can share the cost of the struggle with our sisters and brothers in West Papua and throughout our region. Self-determination and justice in West Papua will take time. There will be a cost. But it can be done. Receive the gift of the Morning Star and stand up for West Papua today.

## Sample letter to Kofi Annan about the Act of Free Choice

The Hon Kofi Annan  
United Nations Secretary-General  
UN Plaza  
New York, NY 10017, USA  
Fax: 001 212 963 2155; 963 7055, 963-4879  
Email: sg@un.org; ecu@un.org

Your Address

Date

I am writing to urge you to personally intervene and order an investigation into the conduct of the United Nations in West Papua during the Act of Free Choice in 1969 - a shameful episode in the United Nation's history.

According to the 1962 New York Agreement the United Nations agreed to protect West Papuans human and political rights and ensure that an act of self-determination in accordance with international practice took place. I am deeply concerned that the United Nations, which was responsible for supervising the Act of Free Choice, accepted the vote of just 1022 Papuans (less than 1% of the population) who were handpicked by Indonesian security forces and forced to vote to remain part of Indonesia under extreme duress and outright violence. In particular Articles 16, 18 and 22 of the New York Agreement were clearly violated.

A review of the conduct of the United Nations during the Act of Free Choice would not only restore confidence in the United Nations it would also help resolve one of the core causes of conflict. Therefore, I respectfully request the Secretary-General initiate without delay a review of the conduct of the United Nations during the Act of Free Choice.

A grave injustice was done to the West Papuans. It is time to make amends.

I look forward to receiving a reply from the Secretary-General.

Yours sincerely

[Please carbon copy all letters to West Papua Action in Ireland who are coordinating the international campaign - [wpaction@iol.ie](mailto:wpaction@iol.ie) as well as the Free West Papua Collective who are assisting the coordination of the Australian campaign - [info@freewestpapua.com](mailto:info@freewestpapua.com).]

## Useful Websites

- ?? Free West Papua Collective – Melbourne: [www.freewestpapua.com](http://www.freewestpapua.com)
- ?? Australia West Papua Association – Sydney: <http://www.zulenet.com/awpa/>
- ?? Australia West Papua Association – Brisbane: [www.geocities.com/awpab](http://www.geocities.com/awpab)
- ?? Australia National University, Cendrawasih University and UNIPA –(The State University of Papua) resource site for West Papua: [www.papuaweb.org](http://www.papuaweb.org)
- ?? Dewan Musyawarah Koteka (DEMAK – Penis Gourd Council) and OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka – Free West Papua Organisation): [www.westpapua.net](http://www.westpapua.net)
- ?? International Action for West Papua: [www.koteka.net](http://www.koteka.net)
- ?? West Papua Action – Ireland (coordinators of the International Act of Free Choice Campaign): <http://westpapuaaction.buz.org>
- ?? Friends of People Close to Nature: [www.fpcn-global.org](http://www.fpcn-global.org)



# Contact Your Local West Papua Solidarity Group

## ACT

Australian West Papua Association – Canberra  
E: [rose.costelloe@apex.net.au](mailto:rose.costelloe@apex.net.au)

## Queensland

### **Brisbane**

Australian West Papua Association - Brisbane  
PO Box 5409,  
West End 4101  
Tel: 07 3255 0576.  
E: [awpab@yahoo.com.au](mailto:awpab@yahoo.com.au)  
Website: [www.geocities.com/awpab](http://www.geocities.com/awpab)

### **Cairns**

Cairns Australia West Papua Solidarity - CAWPS  
Tel/fax: 07 40591084  
E: [sciberf@bigpond.com.au](mailto:sciberf@bigpond.com.au)

## New South Wales

Australia West Papua Association - Sydney  
PO BOX 65,  
Millers Point 2000  
Tel/fax: 02 99601698  
E: [iris@matra.com.au](mailto:iris@matra.com.au)  
website: <http://www.zulenet.com/awpa/>

## Northern Territory

Australians for a Free West Papua  
P.O. Box 2155,  
Darwin NT 0801  
Tel: 08 89419663 or 08 89832113  
Mob: 0419 807175  
E: [woodsstreet31@hotmail.com](mailto:woodsstreet31@hotmail.com) or [rwesley@ozemail.com.au](mailto:rwesley@ozemail.com.au)

Airi Ingram  
Co/ Drum Drum  
GPO Box 1852  
[ingrams@octa4.net.au](mailto:ingrams@octa4.net.au)  
Ph. 0889272355  
Fax. 0889272893  
Website: [www.drumdrum.com.au](http://www.drumdrum.com.au)

ASIET Darwin  
Action in Solidarity with Indonesia & East Timor  
Tel: 8981 4714 or 0419 800 861  
E: [darwin@asiet.net.au](mailto:darwin@asiet.net.au)

### **South Australia**

Australian West Papua Association – Adelaide  
P.O. Box 29,  
Kilkey 5009  
Tel: 08 8345 4480  
E: [dave-arkins@bigpond.com](mailto:dave-arkins@bigpond.com)

### **Tasmania**

Tasmania West Papua Association  
33 South Terrace  
Lauderdale 7021  
Tel: 03 6248 1373

### **Victoria**

#### **Ballarat**

AWPA Central Highlands  
P.O.Box 1743  
Ballarat Mail Centre Vic 3353  
(chair)  
Tel: (03) 5332 4747  
Fax: (03) 5331 8937  
E: [rsmhayes@netconnect.com.au](mailto:rsmhayes@netconnect.com.au)

(secretary)  
Tel: (03) 96465931  
Fax: (03) 9646 8626  
E: [d.giblin@ballarat.edu.au](mailto:d.giblin@ballarat.edu.au) or [stephi@sx.com.au](mailto:stephi@sx.com.au)

## **Melbourne**

Australian West Papua Association – Melbourne  
P.O. Box 1093  
Windsor 3182  
Tel: 9510 2193  
E: [wpmerdeka@yahoo.com](mailto:wpmerdeka@yahoo.com)

Free West Papua Collective  
P.O. Box 2091  
Lygon St North,  
East Brunswick 3057  
Tel: 0438 503 532  
E: [info@freewestpapua.com](mailto:info@freewestpapua.com)  
Website: [www.freewestpapua.com](http://www.freewestpapua.com)

## **Warrnambool**

Australia West Papua Association – South West Victoria  
237 Koroit St,  
Warrnambool 3280  
Tel: 5562 2225  
E: [mickyjd2000@yahoo.com.au](mailto:mickyjd2000@yahoo.com.au)

## **Western Australia**

Group waiting to be formed in Perth. Interested people should contact Bill Baruford.  
Tel: 08 9361 5073

\* New groups please make contact with AWPA in Sydney and the Free West Papua Collective in Melbourne.