

CURRENT AND FUTURE DANGERS IN AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALL words and sentences in Red above and throughout this document must be omitted from any publicly released documents. [REDACTED]

SUMMARY OF KEY ISSUES RAISED IN THIS PAPER:

1. Dangers to Australia's long-term security caused by a variety of factors influencing the course of events in Indonesia.
2. The probability of a large-scale refugee exodus to Australia within the next 3-5 years if oppression of minority groups left unchecked.
3. Recently discussions with a number of local Indonesian and overseas leaders regarding the concerns of Islamists controlling the national agenda
4. What can Australia do to help create better relations with Indonesia and to help Indonesia to be a more stable and reliable partner?

1. Dangers to Australia's long-term security caused by a variety of factors influencing the course of events in Indonesia.

- a. *Despite the official disbanding of the "Laskar Jihad" there are still ongoing & only partially restrained attacks by the Islamic "Jihad" and their trained followers in Central Sulawesi, Ambon, and North Maluku. The Islamic Jihad is a network or brotherhood consisting of numerous organizations whose goal is the establishing of Islamic Sharia Law throughout Indonesia and Indonesia becoming an Islamic State. Some of the more visionary radical elements aligned with "Jama'ah Islamiyah" want to establish a S.E.Asian Islamic nation which would then set its goal on conquering, if necessary by force, other nations in the region, such as Australia, for Islam.*

To the present time these Islamic Jihad forces are acting with impunity and apparent immunity, although the Bali bombing seems to have caused a temporary halt to many of the major attacks, but in their place there has been a massive increase in the numbers of small bombings and bomb-threats throughout the country:

1. Central Sulawesi

August - September 2002

During the month of August the Christian homes in the villages of Matak, Malitu, Malei, Silanca, Sepe, Betania, Bategencu, Mayumba, and Peleru, were razed to the ground leaving several hundred homes destroyed and 3500 people homeless. The villages of Taliwan and Tomata were also attacked but were saved by the military.

Anger by some of the Christians whose villages had been burned down and loved ones killed created a negative response by burning down some unoccupied homes of Muslims.

As a result of both internal and international pressure, extra troops were sent in. Also on the 15th & 17th August major earthquakes in the area destroyed 300 homes of Muslims. This was seen as a bad omen and further attacks were temporarily halted.

The Jihad then changed to political attack. As a result, one person has been arrested – Rev. Rinaldy Damanik of the Presbyterian Church. He is accused of possessing firearms when he went to the village of Peleru where he was helping to evacuate the Christian community who were being killed by the Laskar Jihad and their homes being burned down. None of the Laskar Jihad who burned the villages and killed the villagers have been arrested. Some of the Laskar Jihad have returned to Java since the Bali bombing and after the announcement on October 14 that the Laskar Jihad were now disbanded. However, many have integrated into the local Islamic community through marriage and are remaining behind with the several thousand local Muslims they have trained in the philosophy of the Laskar Jihad.

September bombings in Central Sulawesi

The campaign of terror has currently moved mainly to the capital of the Province, Palu, where there has been an increase in bombings in both secular and religious places

- Assembly of God Bible School in Palu was bombed – 2 students and one policeman seriously injured. The church was also damaged.
- The GPDI Ekklesia Pentecostal Church in Palu, which was bombed last New Year's Eve, was again targeted with the police exploding a device outside the church
- The Christian & Missionary Alliance Church in Ampana was bombed and destroyed – no casualties
- The Salvation Army Hospital in Palu was targeted but the bomb was safely removed and exploded by police
- During September and up to the Bali bombing there were an average of three bombings a week in the Provincial Capital of Palu, usually small and without loss of life. Furthermore there have been numerous bomb threats against different targets, especially property owned by the Christian community. Since the Bali bombing, activity in Palu has quieted down.

2. North Sulawesi

August - October 2002

During the last several months there have been over 20 serious bomb threats, including the bombing of the Philippine Consulate on the 12th October in Manado, just hours before the Bali bombing. Since that time there have been numerous bomb threats in the city and on Tuesday 22nd October (just 3 days ago) a live bomb was discovered in the Manado market place called "Pasar 45." A few of the recent targets of bomb terror in Manado apart from regular threats against churches include the following:

- 8 October – 2.00pm - family of Kawulur-Sumual in Teling Atas
- 12 October – Immanuel Christian Bookshop in Wanea
- 12 October – Philippine Consulate-General bombed
- 14 October – Christian University UNSRAT threatened
- 14 October – Matahari Department Store
- 15 October – Army Hospital in Teling

22 October – Live bomb found in Pasar 45

24 October – Church Festival in Sario sports field

- b. *The building of the Islamic jihad forces in Papua (Irian Jaya) in preparation for forced Islamization and genocidal attacks against the indigenous community.*

The Jihad forces are continuing their build up and now have established bases in the townships of Sorong, Fak-Fak, Manukuari, Jayawijaya-Wamena, Biak and Jayapura, while other townships are in the process. They will seek an incident “to defend the unity of Indonesia” e.g. an OPM attack (perhaps that’s what’s behind the Freeport killings). Estimates of their current strength is 3000-5000. They establish bases and then recruit and train locals (in Papua these locals = immigrant Muslims from Java and Sulawesi) to swell numbers. This is what the militant jihad have already done in Ambon, Ternate and Poso.

- c. *The role of foreign hard-core Islamic elements from Malaysia, England, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and Pakistan in developing jihad and Al Qaeda plans & strategies within Indonesia and Australia.*

- In Ambon – Al Qaeda leaders were brought by Jafar Umar Thalib and introduced to the Maluku Governor – Latuconsina in 2001.
- In Ambon – Omar al Faruq (Kuwaiti) was operating with the Laskar Jihad and travelled with Jafar Umar Thalib [REDACTED] in April 2001. [REDACTED]. Al Faruq’s Indonesian was limited and was obviously on good terms with Jafar Umar Thalib. It has since come out that Al Faruq had several Indonesian KTP (identity cards given to Indonesian citizens) with variations of his home town, name, parents name, etc. One of the KTP’s was from Ambon.
- In Galela, Halmahera, North Maluku, Abu Jibril Abdurrahman, now arrested in Malaysia involved with Al Qaeda sponsored terrorism and co-leader with Abu Bakar Ba’asyir of Jama’ah Islamiyah. Abu Jibril Abdurrahman was involved in a massacre of Christians in Duma, Halmahera June 19, 2000 when over 200 women and children were slain in the Presbyterian church. Before the attacks he was filmed preaching at a large rally in Galela, North Halmahera, holding the Al-Qur’an in one hand and a pistol in the other stating that Muhammad taught us not just the way of the Book but also the way of the Steel.
- In Lata-Lata, North Maluku, 1700 Christians were force Islamized and force-circumcised after the pastor and church elders beheaded. Several of the youths were then taken to Java and placed in Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) run by Jama’ah Islamiyah in Bandung, Ciputat, Cianjur and Indramayu in West Java, and Tanjung Priok in Jakarta. They were trained to join the jihad, participated in pro Taliban and anti-USA demonstrations and burned the USA flag. They were also registered to go to Afghanistan and support Osama bin Laden before they were “re-kidnapped” from two different Pesantren in West Java. Many other Maluku Christians are still suffering the same fate. The rescued youths named certain Indonesian political parties and leaders, such as Amien Rais, Hamzah Haz, Eggy Sujana as being part of the circle of the conspirators.
- In Lata-Lata and several other villages in North Maluku where mass “conversions” and circumcisions took place, the victims testified to the fact that Malaysian medical staff were involved in the mass circumcisions of the men, women and children and that the Indonesian armed forces together with Government officials helped to oversee these violent abuses of human rights.
- In Poso, Central Sulawesi, there have also been several foreigners – Afganistanis, Pakistanis, Kuwaitis & Saudi Arabians involved in training local jihad operatives in

strategies to attack the Christians. Al-Faruq was also involved in Poso. There was an al-Qaeda training base near Lawanga, Poso [REDACTED] and right up to the time of the Bali bombing and the Laskar Jihad recall on October 14, there still were active jihad training camps in the area – one called Camp Taliban.

- d. *The role of rogue elements of the Indonesian security forces in conducting terrorist activities, as have occurred in Papua, Ambon, Poso and North Maluku.*
- In Poso, some Police and Military units have been involved with the Laskar Jihad in attacking, killing, looting and destroying Christian villages. The police killed one of their own who protested at what some of his superiors were doing. The policeman was deliberately knocked over while driving his motorbike by a police vehicle overtaking him. The vehicle then backed up and ran over the policeman to make sure he was dead.
 - In Ambon, Gen. Firman Gani, the Provincial Police Chief, acknowledged that 20% of his troops became involved in the fighting and one of his policeman had murdered a superior officer so that he could distribute weapons to the Laskar Jihad.
 - In Ambon, Soya, eye witnesses [REDACTED] named TNI – Kopassus as the ones conducting the massacre in the village – April 28, 2002. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
 - In North Maluku, Indonesian military – TNI – Brawijaya (East Java) units (mainly 511, 512, 521) have been involved in massacres of Christians and forced Islamization throughout 1999-2001 in a number of different villages, including in Duma, North Halmahera on June 19, 2001.
 - In Papua, TNI Kopassus were involved in the murder of Theys Eluay
 - In Papua, TNI Kopassus were involved in the murder of USA school teachers
 - Some Indonesian Generals have described [REDACTED] that there are “Green” sections of the military who support an Islamic revolution.
 - Some Indonesian Generals have explained [REDACTED] that when the Laskar Jihad went to Ambon they visited and had the approval of the major political leaders (such as Amien Rais, Hamzah Haz (who calls himself a personal mentor to Jafar Umar Thalib), Yusril Mahendra, Akbar Tanjung, Eggy Sujana etc) and that they believed that the Laskar Jihad is a partly military sponsored movement.
- e. *The denial of free speech (particularly of the press) caused by threats from the Islamic jihad by their occasional visits to the offices of the Press. Furthermore, unchallenged propaganda and false news reports circulated by the Islamic controlled sections of the media forming negative public opinion unprofitable to the cause of free speech, democracy, justice and regional stability.*
- The Laskar Jihad and the FPI (Front for the Defence of Islam) have visited the HQ’s of the major newspapers and warned them about negative press. The editors/owners have stated [REDACTED] that if they printed what was really happening, they would be bombed.
 - The radicals control the content of what is reported so that they can control the propaganda war. Their goal is to win sufficient people from the centre (i.e. moderate nationalists) and to pull them into the radical camp in order to win the next elections and then take control of the country. They do this by manipulation of the news and by planting hatred and fear of Christians into the mindset of the moderate Muslims and thereby convincing them that radical Islam is their only hope for true peace, justice and prosperity. e.g. in Poso after several months of

bombings, bus attacks, villages destroyed, farmers murdered etc. (all of whom were Christian), and none of the papers identifying the attackers or their victims – always called “unknown” or “unidentified”, a Muslim leader wrote an article in the national press saying that with all these “mysterious” attacks in the region the Muslims were living in terror of being attacked and hence the jihad were needed to guarantee their safety. The implication being that the victims were Muslims and the perpetrators Christian. This is then used to influence public opinion in favour of the radicals as well as neutralize foreign opinion by planting the concept that it is “sectarian violence” or a “communal conflict” rather than the persecution and eradication of a minority group.

- In Ternate, false reporting by the Islamic Press incited the massacre of Christians in Ternate and Tidore, the burning down of every Christians home and destruction of all churches except the Catholic Church which became an accommodation hostel.
- The Laskar Jihad website took [redacted] reports and lists of the confiscation of weapons in the village of Gorua, North Maluku, from the homes of every Muslim resident and published them as a list of weapons confiscated from Christians. It was then used as evidence of the evil intentions of the Christians against the Muslims.
- Radical newspapers like “Republika”, “Laskar Jihad” and magazines like “Sabili” etc. frequently incite fear and hatred against Christians and praise the youths that die as martyrs, especially praising their hatred of Christians, desire to kill Christians, and desire to die as martyrs and gain the 72 fairy women in heaven as characteristics to be copied by all Islamic youth.
- The goal is to turn Indonesia into an Islamic state modelled after the Taliban’s Afghanistan and the Ayatollah Khomeini’s Iran as a base for creating an Islamic State throughout S.E.Asia. Evidence of this is seen in the promotional material used by the radical Islamic Press and the activities of Laskar Jihad, FPI, Jama’ah Islamiyah and their networking colleagues in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines.

f. *The gradual imposition of Sharia Law & denial of natural justice.*

- In Ternate, mosque calls to prayer signal the stopping of traffic, closing of shops. This continued until recently. Since a temporary Governor, Sarundayang, was placed in charge of the Province, this practice has been discontinued and a greater degree of stability appears to have been restored on the island of Ternate.
- In Poso, mosque calls to prayer close nearby shops. The wearing of the *jilbab* by women is compulsory and many Christian women [redacted] [redacted] have been abused for not wearing the *jilbab* and a Christian woman who wore the *jilbab* but her necklace with a cross was visible was beaten, even though escorted by police. Many have been physically beaten as well [redacted] [redacted]
- In Ambon in April 2001, Jafar Umar Thalib, stoned to death one of his warriors for committing adultery, using sharia law as his justification. He publicly acknowledged throwing the first stone.
- In Aceh, Sharia Law has caused the forced closing down of many churches, especially in the District of Aceh Singkil, under threat of death, and the Christian community is living in fear.

g. *The hijacking of the “Reformasi” movement by Islamic radicals to make “Reformasi” identical to the imposition of Sharia Law.*

- The “Reformasi” movement was supposed to be a pro-democracy movement but it has now become identical, in the propaganda of the radical movement, to the imposition of Islamic Law. If Islamic Law is not imposed then “Reformasi” has failed. If Sharia is not imposed there can be no true peace in Indonesia they claim. This means that it is in the direct interest of these groups to continue to create unrest to further their goal of an Iranian or Afghanistanian revolution throughout Indonesia. Restoration of peace, stability and prosperity would disprove their ideology or philosophy.

2. The probability of a large-scale refugee exodus to Australia within the next 3-5 years if oppression of minority groups left unchecked.

- Elimination of freedoms and Human Rights of Christian groups in Aceh, Minangkabau, Bekasi, Ambon, North Maluku, Central Sulawesi, Papua & Lombok
- Oppression of minority ethnic groups such as Chinese, Posonese, Dayaks & Papuans, and potentially Torajan & Balinese either for economic, political or religious reasons. (This was written before the Bali bombing.) While in Bali last week the local population were very agitated at the grievous loss of life and possible suppression of numbers of the real toll of Indonesians as they were doing all they could to prevent the Hindu Bali youth from launching attacks against the Islamic community in the emotions of the moment. If the Bali bombing proves to have a direct link to the Islamic community there is the danger of reprisal attacks from the Hindu community.

In the event of the attacks in the Luwu area of South Sulawesi, near Toraja, and against Christian Torajans by Islamic Bugis communities, escalating, and attacks in Poso and Ambon continuing, and if with the retreat of the Laskar Jihad war veterans returning to Java means an escalation of activities in Java ahead of political elections in 2004 then increased violence could lead to increased illegal boat people fleeing to Australia. If the radicals were to gain power and the oppression of minority groups was to increase then the trickle of refugees could burst into a flood.

- Oppression of minority political groups could take place if there is a slightly changed political landscape with radical elements able to take control of the political agenda. They have already signalled in their public statements that the political system would be ruled by sharia law which would mean the end of democracy, freedom of speech and freedom to form opposition political parties.
- The Islamic jihad plans the use of violence and creation of refugee problems in order to be able to send jihad and Al Qaeda “plants” into Australia along with the refugees to help them establish their bases for the fulfillment of the long-term goal, the conquest of Australia.
- The Islamic jihad reject democracy, the existing Indonesian legal system and human rights which are considered to be a western conspiracy plotting to destroy the Islamic faith. In its place they want an Islamic regime implementing Islamic law.

3. Recently we held discussions with a number of local Indonesian and overseas leaders regarding the concerns of Islamists controlling the national agenda:

a. Two separate British Parliamentary Delegations in Jakarta and in Central Sulawesi – mixed Christian and Muslim.

- [REDACTED] the delegation led by Baroness Cox, Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords [REDACTED] went to Poso, Central Sulawesi. Their report to the House of Lords was

extensive in their criticism of the evidence of misinformation given out by the local government in Poso

- b. *Indonesian MP's, several Generals, former Ambassadors, former Cabinet Ministers, key businessmen, National Church Leaders, high-ranking Presidential Advisors & leading academics.*
- [REDACTED] national leaders from the Christian community discussing updates and field reports and they are very concerned with the whole unimpeded thrust of the jihad, the divisions in the military and the police and they recognize that the next 2-3 years will be extremely dangerous years in Indonesia and that the future direction of the country could be determined in that period of time. If they are concerned, then so should we.
- c. *Vice-Consul of the USA – Mr. Joaquin Monserrate, [called "Wakin"]*
- Mr. Monserrate was unable to visit the real areas of conflict (as also occurred with Scott Thurbon from the Australian Embassy in December 2001). A few days after the Australian delegation failed to be able to enter the zone they wanted to see, [REDACTED] What he saw caused him to remark that he had been "deceived" by the governmental authorities. [REDACTED]
- d. *Active Indonesian intelligence operatives*
- [REDACTED] senior operatives in Indonesian military intelligence who have also expressed their concerns over the trends of events, certain political and government leaders, whom they believe are positioning themselves for the advancement of their own political and religious ambitions. These political leaders are therefore prepared to allow, endorse, support or ignore elements that are causing disruption within the Indonesian community. They are also prepared to sacrifice relations with neighbouring countries like Australia if that will serve their purpose.
 - Military intelligence operatives believe that there is a conspiracy between certain elements of the military, ex-Soeharto business leaders, Islamic fundamentalists – for separate goals, to make sure that the Megawati government does not succeed over the next 2 years for if she succeeds, the nationalists will win, and Megawati will be re-elected President. They must discredit her by continuing to challenge her intelligence, her being a woman, her ability to solve the economic crisis and for inability to bring national security. For this reason they say that the next 2-3 years will be a period of increased instability.
 - These military operatives also believe that there is an international Islamic network dedicated to the destruction of a nationalist and secular Indonesia so that an Islamic Indonesia can be established. They are willing to attack both nationalist or secular Muslims as well as Christians in order to maintain instability, frighten off foreign investment, slow down the economic recover so that their goals can be achieved. Anyone who stands in their way, they either identified as being part of the Soeharto "New Order" partnership (GOLKAR) or American imperialism. The radicals fear that a revived Indonesian economy and political stability will destroy their hopes.
4. **What can Australia do to help create better relations with Indonesia and to help Indonesia to be a more stable and reliable partner?**

extensive in their criticism of the evidence of misinformation given out by the local government in Poso

- b. *Indonesian MP's, several Generals, former Ambassadors, former Cabinet Ministers, key businessmen, National Church Leaders, high-ranking Presidential Advisors & leading academics.*
- [REDACTED] national leaders from the Christian community discussing updates and field reports and they are very concerned with the whole unimpeded thrust of the jihad, the divisions in the military and the police and they recognize that the next 2-3 years will be extremely dangerous years in Indonesia and that the future direction of the country could be determined in that period of time. If they are concerned, then so should we.
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4. What can Australia do to help create better relations with Indonesia and to help Indonesia to be a more stable and reliable partner?

- a. Continue to put positive pressure on the Indonesian Government to make sure that they uphold justice, human rights, law and order and to not allow the Islamists like Laskar Jihad, FPI, MMI, Jama'ah Islamiyah etc to set the political agenda and destroy Indonesia as a democratic and free society.
- b. Encourage, strengthen the resolve and even reward the Indonesian Government for taking a hard line against terrorists from whatever religious group they come from. Help give the Indonesian Government the political will.
- c. Persuade other countries that it is in the best interests of all peace-loving democratic nations to help Indonesia out of its economic crisis as the ongoing economic crisis is a swamp that is breeding many potential desperate Osama bin Laden's who would be willing to die in the cause of Allah than see their family die of starvation. Eradication of extreme poverty will starve the jihad of recruits.
- d. Assist Indonesia to develop a youth employment program and thus help deprive the jihad of their breeding ground of future terrorists. Perhaps even assist by increasing aid to get more children to school and to stay at school longer and especially to learn practical skills to empower them to break out of the cycle of poverty. Increase training in agricultural and technological development. Massive spending now in assisting Indonesia will save us from even greater spending in the future. If the worst scenario was to happen and hundreds of thousands were to flee to Australia, or if a radical Islamist Government was to attack Australia the cost would be massive, and not just in finances. That's why Australians should see a massive investment in Indonesia as a massive investment in the long term peace, security and prosperity for Australia and the region in which we live.
- e. Become a "friendly" partner with Indonesia in the war against terror. Don't just warn Australians about Indonesia and order them out, but help Bali and Indonesia to recover. Encourage tourists to return but offer intelligence and even police support and presence on the ground to work with the Indonesian authorities for the next couple of years as an assurance to all Australian tourists to Bali (and of course tourists from all other countries as well). This is not to say that the Indonesian authorities cannot do it, but a physical, visible Australian police presence and active liaison for the next two years would help assure foreign tourists that security was taken seriously. This would be a great hand of friendship to help Indonesia that could prove productive for many generations. Australia must not miss this opportunity to act now, and to act decisively for friendship with Indonesia. Australia can act against terrorism by not giving in to terrorism. We must not give in to terror or the terrorist wins. That's why we must act to get people going back to Bali.

NB

Addenda 1 to 5 were accepted as Exhibit 7