



POLICING THE PACIFIC POLICING THE PACIFIC POLICING THE PACIFIC POLICING THE PACIFIC

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### **SERIES SYNOPSIS**

The Australian Federal Police find adventure and challenges in the region as they join the multinational police force known as the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) and embark on a tour of duty to East Timor.

Australian Federal Agents have policed the Solomon Islands since 2003 at the invitation of its Prime Minister as part of RAMSI. The Solomon Islands has been torn apart by ethnic violence during a four year period of civil strife. During this time rival paramilitary gangs have raped, kidnapped, tortured and murdered, yet the perpetrators often remain at large, sheltered by their local communities.

This series follows several Australian Federal Agents deployed to the Solomon Islands, where they patrol the streets of the capital Honiara, the remote and dangerous Weather Coast and outer islands that rarely, if ever, see law enforcement. In the final episode we are reacquainted with Australian Federal Agent Dave Elson who makes a tour of duty to Dili in East Timor after the recent unrest.



## EPISODE SYNOPSES

# EPISODE 1: DAVE'S NEW BEAT

Australian Federal Agent Dave Elson is nearing the end of his 18-month tour of duty to maintain the fragile peace as a community constable in the Solomon's remote outer islands. He patrols the Weather Coast, an area that looks like paradise, but until 2003, this area was a battleground for warring tribes in a four-year cycle of revenge killings, rapes, murders and village raids.

Also part of the RAMSI project, Papua New Guinean police officer Maggie Babate is Dave's boss. Together they visit remote villages on foot, including the now arrested militia leader Harold Keke's stronghold, educating people on the future of the Solomon.

Together Dave and Maggie aim to break down the deepseated fear the people harbour, encouraging them to talk to the police so that community and broader issues can be resolved through the legal system, rather than traditional justice practices. In what appears to be a fairly relaxed assignment Dave familiarises himself with Pidgin and dances with the locals, little knowing he will be heading off to police the dangerous streets of East Timor where our series picks up with him again. (See episode 4.)

# EPISODE 2: DEAD MAN'S TALE

Australian Federal Agent Paul Chambers is in the Solomon Islands to investigate killings that occurred during the civil conflict which ended in 2003 and to hopefully bring the perpetrators to justice. He travels to a remote island to exhume the body of pastor Cederic Hairiu so that cause of death can be determined and his family and community can finally put him to rest.

Meanwhile, Sydney Federal Agent Adam Stuart is involved in monitoring the Solomon Islands environment which is exploited for its forestry and fisheries. He visits logging companies clear-felling forests to ensure that the companies are operating with proper permits. He also visits an export company that sends clown fish to the Australian aquarium market, noting that due to the popularity of films such as Finding Nemo, these life-paired fish will have to face a future without their partners. To get these fish, locals sometimes blast the reef, destroying it for a pittance compared to the money the exporters and resellers earn.

# EPISODE 3: THE DISILLUSIONMENT OF PATRICK VEITCH

Melbourne Federal Agent Patrick Veitch teaches the Solomon Islands police what he has learned on Melbourne's streets, but with the national elections there are surprises in store for Patrick.

After 12 years as a Federal Agent he is seven weeks into his mission in Honiara, where, along with other Pacific police, he is helping local police build their skills and policing knowledge. In return Patrick and his Australian colleagues need to understand and work through cultural barriers and the tensions of a population fed up with corruption.

As riots emerge on the streets of Honiara and the Australian Federal Police arrest the politician, recently made Prime Minister, the need for law and order in the Solomon Islands becomes even more important.

# EPISODE 4: DILI'S NEW STREET COPS

Australian Federal Agent Dave Elson, who we met on the Weather Coast of the Solomon Islands in Episode One, is now deployed to East Timor. He and his colleague Danielle Woodward spend six hours a day, seven days per week patrolling the streets of Dili, the capital of the fledging independent nation of East Timor.

Danielle, from Melbourne, is on her second tour of duty to East Timor, which is part of the broader Australia Asia Pacific Regional Assistance Mission. She wants to extend dialogue as a means of managing the violence. She impresses on the locals that they need to call the police rather than take action into their own hands when trouble arises. She hopes to get warring gangs to engage in dialogue rather than the tit for tat violence that is commonplace.

Meanwhile Dave finds working in East Timor more highly pressured compared to his experience in the Solomon Islands. In the Solomons he made one arrest in 18 months. In East Timor he averages five per day as the gang violence since independence and the departure of the Indonesian police force continues.



### **CURRICULUM LINKS**

Curriculum links include Studies of Society and Environment, History, English, Geography, Legal Studies, Language Studies, Personal Development, Vocational Studies and Civics and Citizenship.

## **KEY TERMS**

RAMSI = Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands

UN = United Nations

PPF = Participating Police Force

RSIP = Royal Solomon Islands Police

## **BEFORE WATCHING**

The three sections below provide an outline of the events leading up to the political crises in the Solomon Islands and East Timor, as well as an overview of RAMSI.

### SOLOMON ISLANDS—BACKGROUND

The Solomon Islands is a nation in Melanesia, east of Papua New Guinea. It comprises close to 1000 islands, including Guadalcanal where the capital, Honiara, is located.

The Islands have been inhabited by Melanesian people for at least 30,000 years and were made a protectorate by the United Kingdom in the 1890s. Self-government was achieved in 1976 and independence from the UK in 1978, although the Islands remain part of the Commonwealth.

The political situation in the Solomon Islands began to deteriorate following the 1997 election of Bartholomew Ulufa'alu. The conflict was attributed to what was commonly known as 'the Tensions', largely between the Isatabu Freedom Movement (IFM, also known as the Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army) and the Malaita Eagle Force (MEF). Both groups reflected ethnic populations from the islands of Guadalcanal and Malaita, and Malaitans residing in Guadalcanal. Harold Keke was one of the leaders of the IFM and has since been convicted for the murder of a cabinet minister.

Solomon Islands police and government agencies became heavily influenced and undermined by the ethnic rivalries, making governance and law enforcement a significant problem.

In October 2000, a peace agreement was negotiated between the ethnic factions and the Solomon Islands government-it was known as the Townsville Peace Agreement. Amongst other things, the parties to the treaty agreed to a weapons and general amnesty, reconciliation and restructuring of the police.

Despite this, 'the Tensions' continued and came to a head in 2002 when militants from the island of Malaita mounted an insurrection, resulting in the brief detention of Ulufa'alu and his subsequent forced resignation. Manasseh Sogavare was chosen as Prime Minister by a loose coalition of parties.

Guadalcanal militants retaliated and sought to drive the Malaitan settlers from Guadalcanal. In new elections at the end of 2002, Allan Kemakeza was appointed Prime Minister. In light of ongoing lawlessness and political instability, as well as bankruptcy, the Solomon Islands government made a formal request for outside help. That help came in July 2003 with RAMSI, an Australian-led contingent of Australian and Pacific Island police and troops. Some 2200 police and troops led by Australia and New Zealand began arriving over the next month under Operation Helpem Fren.

In 2006, Snyder Rini was elected Prime Minister, although his election was not well-received. Allegations were made that Rini had used bribes from Chinese businessmen to buy the votes of parliamentary members. Mass rioting followed the election, resulting in much destruction in the capital, particularly its business district. Rini eventually resigned before facing a vote of no confidence in parliament, and Sogavare was once again elected.

### **RAMSI**

RAMSI has focused its work on three broad areas.

- Machinery of government—helping the Solomon
   Islands government better serve the people. The focus
   here is creating effective cabinet and parliamentary
   processes, reforming the public service, electoral and
   civic education, improving governance in the provinces,
   and introducing accountability mechanisms and
   institutions.
- Economic governance—creating a more prosperous economy for the Solomon Islands. This is achieved through strengthening public finances, encouraging business and economic growth, and supporting provincial farmers.
- Law and justice—creating a safer Solomon Islands through policing and supporting the legal process.

The latter aspect of RAMSI's role is the focus of the documentary. RAMSI is rebuilding the Royal Solomon Islands Police (RSIP) through training and mentoring. This is done through the Participating Police Force (PPF), comprising some 250–300 police from 14 countries. According to RAMSI, the PPF will stay in the Solomon Islands until the RSIP becomes a stronger and respected police force.

### EAST TIMOR—BACKGROUND

Timor is a tiny island of the Malay Archipelago about 500 kilometres northwest of Australia. The west of the island is part of Indonesia, with East Timor constituting an independent nation.

While the documentary looks at peacekeeping initiatives in 2006, East Timor's recent history has been marked by decades of violent conflict and struggles for independence.

Prior to 1975, East Timor had been a Portuguese colony for 460 years. Its first opportunity for independence came in the wake of political instability in Portugal, which had effectively abandoned its colony. On 28 November 1975, East Timor declared itself independent. Days later it was invaded by Indonesia. Justification for the invasion was based on allegations that the popular and leftist East Timorese Fretelin party was communist. For the following 34 years, East Timor was a province of Indonesia, whose rule in the province was often marked by violence and brutality such as the November 1991 Dili massacre. During this time, the East Timorese guerrilla force, Falantil (the military arm of Fretelin), fought a campaign against Indonesia.

On 30 August 1999, following a UN-sponsored agreement between Indonesia, the United States and Portugal, a UN-supervised popular referendum was held. The East Timorese voted for full independence. The vote led to violent clashes instigated by the Indonesian military and aided by Timorese pro-

Indonesian militias. A peacekeeping force led by Australia intervened to restore order. Gradually, international pressure forced Indonesia to withdraw tactical support and the militias dispersed. East Timor joined the UN on 27 September 2002.

For further background on the path towards an independent East Timor, you could access either of two documentaries Film Australia has produced—*East Timor - Birth of a Nation* and *The Diplomat* (follows freedom fighter and Nobel Peace Prize winner José Ramos Horta in the final tumultuous year of his 24-year campaign to secure independence for his country).

The latest conflict arose in April 2006, and is the context for Episode 4 of *Policing the Pacific*. The crisis arose out of disputes within the East Timorese military, as well as tensions between the military and police. The dispute soon escalated into violence, particularly in the capital Dili, from where an estimated 21,000 civilians fled. By the end of May 2006, gangs from different parts of the country were fighting in the streets of Dili and there were concerns that the conflict was igniting wider regional conflict among the civilian population.

On 24 May, East Timorese Foreign Minister José Ramos Horta sent out an official request for military assistance to the governments of Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand and Portugal, each of which deployed troops. Operation Astute was the name of the international military response and was led by the Australian Defence Force.

One of the main problems was the outbreak of gang violence, which the foreign military forces had limited capacity to deal with. Australian Defence Minister Brendan Nelson commented: 'Policing has fallen apart in East Timor and what you're seen on the streets is basic lawlessness. We don't want to contribute to that by having Australian soldiers, if you like, gunning down these young criminal thugs. What we need is police.'

## Activities

- Locate the Solomon Islands and East Timor on a map.
- Identify the other Pacific nations involved in the RAMSI mission.



### AFTER WATCHING: KEY THEMES

## REVENGE VS JUSTICE

In Episode 2, Paul Chambers investigates two sets of murders. The second one, the killing of three young men, was an act of retaliation in response to the first murder (of Cedric) in a neighbouring village. The narrator comments: 'The boys themselves probably had nothing to do with Cedric's death, but that's irrelevant in this system of revenge justice.'

The crises in these two countries are examples of societies torn apart by vengeance, with different groups responding to violence with violence. The division infiltrated their political institutions, villages, military, business and even the police forces (which are meant to be maintaining peace).

The problem with revenge 'justice'—'an eye for an eye' or 'payback'—is that it can degenerate into a cycle of violence, where one reprisal is followed by another until the society itself becomes the victim. It can break down relationships of trust between people and agencies, creating an atmosphere of fear, and damage the integrity of those institutions whose function it is to maintain peace.

We might contrast this system to, for example, the rule of law, where justice is based on a set of principles and fair processes. Part of the role of the officers in *Policing the Pacific* is to encourage trust in a more peaceful resolution of crime and conflict. This is not easy as the officers are dealing with the perception that revenge is more effective than legal processes, as well as the natural emotional reactions to violence which demand that justice be swift.

Reconciliation is another important 'antidote' to revenge, and is a process often untaken to break cycles of violence. Addressing past wrongs is an important part of reconciliation, and much of the work of the officers in the program involves investigating crimes so that there is some closure for local communities.

Following independence in East Timor, the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation was established to investigate human rights violations between 1974 and 1999. It is one of a number of such commissions in the post-conflict nations, including South Africa, Chile and Fiji.

- How does revenge manifest in the Solomon Islands and East Timor? Give some examples of conflict in the program where revenge was an issue.
- What do you think it is like for the people who are caught up in such a climate of vengeance? Identify comments made by officers and civilians on the social climate in both countries.
- There are a number of burials throughout the series. How important is the grieving process in achieving peace?
- How did the officers and other negotiators go about resolving disputes?

- Identify some examples of reconciliation in the program.
- What are some differences between vengeance and justice? Think of some of the characteristics or values of a just society.
- What might be some other 'antidotes' to these cycles of violence?
- When and how does revenge take place in our own culture?
- Identify a moment when you have felt like taking revenge on a person who has wronged you. What did you feel and how did you respond?

### Activities

- 1. **Position cards**. Working in small groups, students are allocated one of the conflict situations in the program. Each student represents a particular group's interest in the conflict and writes up on a card what that position is, what they may seek from revenge and how they might obtain it, what they might say and an alternative resolution.
- 2. **Dramatisation**. Students divide into groups and present to the class an example of how revenge can operate at school and then show how that conflict might be resolved based on their understanding of reconciliation.

#### **PEACEKEEPING**



**Peacekeeping**, as defined by the UN, is 'a way to help countries torn by conflict create conditions for sustainable peace'.

A central ingredient of peacekeeping is that it is **consensual**. Whether a peacekeeping mission is undertaken by the UN or a regional group (such as RAMSI), it is essential that consent is given by the sovereign or internal factions of the territory concerned. In the case of the Solomon Islands and East Timor, their respective governments had formally requested external assistance to help build peace in their territories. It is also vital for those involved in peacekeeping to be impartial and without a vested interest in the conflict.

Among other things, peacekeeping forces are used to:

- supervise ceasefires and the demobilisation of military forces (Mozambique);
- o arrange and supervise elections (Cambodia);
- o remove landmines (Cambodia);
- o protect aid workers (Somalia); and
- o act as a buffer between conflicting ethnic groups (Cyprus).

In the Solomon Islands and East Timor, their respective governments requested peacekeeping support. However, this is not always the case. There are situations where political structures have collapsed or the conflict is between two states, neither of which are interested in peacekeeping assistance. In these circumstances, the UN Security Council (comprising China, France, Russia, the USA and the UK, with 10 non-permanent members) may initiate a peace—often referred to as **peacemaking**. This often involves a ceasefire leading to negotiations, at which point a peacekeeping force may be sent.

In some limited circumstances, the UN Security Council may be required to **enforce** the peace, which may require some armed military involvement.

Since its inception in 1948, the UN has undertaken 61 peacekeeping missions. As at October 2006, it was involved in 16 such missions, including the UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste. While the UN has a prominent role in peacekeeping, regional organisations can also lead peace missions (for example, RAMSI) upon a request from the sovereign state in need of support.

- What comments were made by Solomon Islanders about RAMSI's work?
- The program's opening titles quotes Prime Minister John Howard: 'We have a special responsibility in this part of the world.' Discuss.
- Are you aware of any other activities peacekeepers might do? What do you think they don't do?
- Once a more stable climate has been achieved, efforts can be made towards peace building. Think of some aspects of the Solomon Islands and East Timor that might need attention for long-term stability.
- Why is consent an important requirement in undertaking a peacekeeping mission?

## Activities

• Case study. Students research and write a report looking at another peacekeeping or peacemaking mission. Students report on circumstances, what nations were involved in the mission, their role and impact/achievement.

• Essay Australian involvement in the Pacific (including RAMSI) has come under criticism from some in the region for threatening the sovereignty of Pacific nations and accusations of Australia being a regional 'bully'. Do you agree? When does intervention in such conflicts become a threat to sovereignty?

## **POLICING**



Policing the Pacific reveals the diverse work undertaken by police and its importance in maintaining a safe, stable and sustainable community.

Broadly speaking, the role of a police force includes:

- o protecting life and property;
- enforcing the criminal law;
- o responding to emergencies as the main combat agency;
- o investigating crimes;
- o taking proactive measures to prevent crime; and
- o building relationships to prevent crime.

In Australia, each state and territory has its own criminal law and police service. There is also a national police agency, the Australian Federal Police (AFP), which generally investigates crimes under federal law such as drug smuggling and terrorism.

Australian police have been involved in international peacekeeping since 1965 and it is now a core aspect of the AFP's work. In February 2004, the Australian Government set up the International Deployment Group (IDG) within the AFP. The IDG manages the deployment of Australian police overseas, as well as training foreign police for deployment.

As of October 2006, there were around 453 AFP members serving overseas, of which 140 were on secondment from the state and territory police services. The IDG currently has members deployed to Cyprus, Jordan, Nauru, the Solomon Islands, Sudan, East Timor and Vanuatu. Past missions have included work in Namibia, Cambodia, Somalia, Mozambique, Haiti, Bougainville and Papua New Guinea.

- Identify some of the police roles mentioned above that the officers in the documentary are involved in.
- Patrick Veitch in Episode 3 trains RSIP officers and mentors them on policing. What are some points of advice he passes on to them?
- How would a police presence have a different impact to a military presence in peacekeeping situations?
- How might the efforts of police officers in the Solomon Islands help achieve the other aims of RAMSI?
- What types of police are there in Australia?
- Corruption among the police has been a significant issue in both countries. What qualities do you think are necessary to be a police officer?

## Activities

- 1. **On the case**. Students can work in groups to identify the steps they expect a criminal matter needs to go through from the moment the crime is identified to prosecution. The steps are presented as a poster or slideshow.
- 2. Mapping. On a world map, students identify those countries Australian police officers have been deployed to.
- 3. **Police talk.** Invite a local police officer to the class to discuss their work and experiences. Perhaps the officer could watch one episode and give feedback based on their experience in local policing.

## LANGUAGE AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION



The Policing the Pacific series highlights the difficulties language and cultural differences can pose and identifies some methods for overcoming these barriers.

There are some 70 languages spoken across the Solomon Islands, mostly Melanesian and Polynesian. While the official language of the Solomon Islands is English, only a small group speak it. In East Timor, the official languages are Portuguese and Tetum. However, although the country has only about 1 million inhabitants, another 15 indigenous languages are spoken.

As a number of the officers comment, the language barrier is a challenge in finding out information necessary for investigating crimes, encouraging people to resolve conflict peacefully and mentoring. Yet, communication is key to building the kind of trust necessary to achieve these things.

One effective communication 'bridge' seen in the program is the use of Solomon Islands Pidgin (a type of pidgin English). A pidgin language is any language created out of a mixture of other languages as a means of communication between speakers of different tongues. Unlike native languages, they are more functional and learned as second languages. For example, Solomon Islands Pidgin would not be used among members of the same cultural group, where the primary language is used, but when communicating with 'outsiders'. In some cases, pidgin languages can become the main language used in a group, replacing the native tongue over time. These are referred to as creole languages.

Other cross-cultural communication methods used in the film include reading, using body language and working with translators. Translators can be effective, as people are more likely to open up to someone who is of their own cultural background than someone who is not (and is in uniform to boot).

Aside from language itself, there are other challenges in cross-cultural communication, such as religion, customs and community structures. There are strategies for working through these barriers as well. In Australia, for example, police can involve elders in Indigenous communities in the decision making process on how best to police an area. This type of initiative is evident in Policing the Pacific as well.

The past experiences of particular groups may also pose challenges, particularly for police. Ethnic groups that have experienced corrupt policing or fear possible reprisals and exclusion from their communities may be reluctant to give information.

All of this highlights the need for understanding and training when it comes to working with people from different cultural backgrounds.

- Share your thoughts on the Solomon Islands Pidgin you heard in the program.
- How might religion, customs and past experiences impede communication between the officers and civilians in the program? Can you think of any other issues to take into account?
- What are some of the challenges with using an interpreter? Identify moments in the documentary.

## Activity

**Pidgins.** Ask students to identify another pidgin or creole language. They are to present a report on how the language came about, whether it is still used.

### **WORKING OVERSEAS**

Each of the officers in Policing the Pacific works away from Australia for substantial blocks of time. Some of the officers talk about their families in Australia and their experience working in countries quite unlike their own.

According to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, at any one time there are approximately 900,000 Australians living and working overseas<sup>1</sup>. Working overseas can offer many opportunities to experience different cultures and new challenges, develop communication skills and broaden one's knowledge about the world. It can be a challenging and enriching experience, in ways that may not be open to tourist travellers.

Each country has different requirements for foreigners to work overseas, and those requirements can differ depending on the type of work involved. One key requirement is a working visa, which is basically an official permission to undertake work in the country. Visas are generally also required for travellers and are available from the country's embassy by application.

The police officers in *Policing the Pacific* are working in countries where there is civil unrest. Other professions aid workers, journalists and medical workers—work in places of unrest and can face varying degrees of danger. In places of political unrest, the climate can be unstable and change dramatically at any time.

• Describe the conditions for the Australian officers in

East Timor and the Solomon Islands. What efforts were made to soften the culture shock?

- Why might the police officers have signed up for the work? How do they feel about the work they do in these countries?
- What do the officers say about being away from their families? How might it pose challenges on this front?
- What are some other professions that work overseas on aid, peacekeeping or community development missions?
- In what other circumstances might aid workers be placed in a country?
- When planning to travel overseas, what kind of things might you need to know about the countries you intend to visit? What about when you intend to work overseas?

#### Activities

- The Balibó Five. Students research and write a report on the 'Balibó Five', the five Australian journalists who were killed in pre-independence East Timor in 1975.
- **Tavel quest.** Students choose a country they might like to visit and find out what they need to do and organise in order to travel and work there.
- **Letter writing.** Students choose one of the officers featured in the program and write a letter home telling of their experiences and how they feel being away.



## REFERENCES & FURTHER READING

### **BACKGROUND**

Tom Zubrycki (director), *The Diplomat* [videorecording], Film Australia, Sydney, 2000

Luigi Acquisto, Andrew Sully (directors), East Timor - Birth of a Nation [videorecording], Film Australia, Sydney, 2002

Solomon Islands Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet http://pmpresssecretariat.com/

Government of Timor-Leste www.timor-leste.gov.tl

RAMSI - Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (includes a photo gallery on the mission): http://www.ramsi.org/

Operation Astute - Department of Defence http://www.navy.gov.au/history/feature-histories/operation-astute-ran-east-timor

Late Night Live in the Solomon Islands with Phillip Adams - ABC Radio National http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/latenightlive/the-solomons/3471734

Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor

www.easttimor-reconciliation.org

Through the Eyes of Children - teaching activities on East Timor based on drawings by East Timorese students www.web-and-flow.com/members/lhayman/east\_timor/sampler.htm

# REVENGE AND JUSTICE

Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (a South African organisation with some good resources looking at the transition from a violent to peaceful society) www.csvr.org.za

## POLICING AND PEACEKEEPING

Australian Federal Police

# www.afp.gov.au

The AFP website has a section dedicated to the International Deployment Group papers on police and peacekeeping.

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace\_conflict/

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations www.un.org.au/Depts/dpko/dpko

UN E-Learning Unit https://www.unitar.org/free-courses

Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations (the Brahimi Report)

http://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/brahimi\_report.shtml

FilmAustralia Policing the Pacific Teachers Notes

Danis Tanovi and Randall Wallace (directors), *No Man's Land* [videorecording], F/B/I/UK/Slovenija, United Artists, 2001. This film looks at some of the challenges faced by UN peacekeepers in the conflict between Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

### **LANGUAGE**

Language Varieties - University of New England www.une.edu.au/languet

### **WORKING OVERSEAS**

Smart Traveller - Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade www.smarttraveller.gov.au

### AID ORGANISATIONS

Médecins Sans Frontières www.msf.org

Reporters sans Frontières www.rsf.org

CARE Australia www.careaustralia.org.au

Australian Red Cross www.redcross.org.au

UNICEF Australia www.unicef.com.au

Oxfam Australia www.oxfam.org.au

## **Endnote**

 ${}^{1}\!www.smartraveller.gov.au/tips/working\_os.html$ 

# **Policing the Pacific**

A Film Australia National Interest Program in association with Essential Viewing. Produced in association with SBS Independent.

Narrator: David Wenham

Executive Producer: Penny Robins Series Producer: Chris Hilton

Producer: Nial Fulton

Directors: Alan Erson, Andrew Merrifield, Stephen Oliver

Writers: Alan Erson, Stephen Oliver

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