

global witness

Inside Malaysia's Shadow State: Backroom deals driving the destruction of Sarawak

Executive summary

The Malaysian state of Sarawak on the island of Borneo has experienced some of the most intense rates of logging seen anywhere in the world. This destruction and the associated human rights abuses against Sarawak's indigenous communities have been overseen by the state's notoriously corrupt leader, Abdul Taib Mahmud. Over the past three decades Chief Minister Taib, his family and key business associates are believed to have profited enormously from abuse of Taib's control over the allocation of licences to log and plant oil palm in the state. Now, for the first time, Global Witness has obtained video evidence of the mechanisms used by a small elite surrounding Taib to enrich themselves at the expense of ordinary citizens.

Global Witness sent an undercover investigator into Sarawak during 2012 posing as a foreign investor looking to buy land for oil palm plantations. The investigator approached the Regional Corridor Development Authority (RECODA), the government body charged with receiving foreign investment, but an official there directed him to certain members of Taib's family looking to sell a company licensed to log and clear land for plantations in the state. Our investigator was offered four land leases in total. Members of the Chief Minister's family were direct shareholders in or beneficial owners of three of these land leases, while the fourth deal was, according to an intermediary, proposed on the understanding that Taib would receive a multimillion dollar kickback from the selling party. Global Witness covertly filmed these meetings and has produced a 15 minute film documenting some of the evidence obtained; details of the deals are set out below. The film and other materials (available in English and Bahasa Malaysia) are available at www.malaysiashadowstate.org.

The current scale of governance failure in Sarawak demands a far-reaching independent investigation and the implementation of fundamental reforms at the state and federal level. As a first step, the federal government should establish a Royal Commission of Inquiry into corruption in Sarawak's executive and state institutions. Close cooperation with foreign jurisdictions, including Singapore and Hong Kong, is also essential to trace and repatriate potentially billions of dollars worth of assets that rightly belong to the people of Sarawak.

Global Witness put the allegations in this briefing to the individuals concerned. We received responses from Chief Minister Abdul Taib Mahmud, Alvin Chong and Huang Lung Ong. Summaries of these responses have been incorporated as appropriate below. The law firm in London representing Chief Minister Taib, Mishcon de Reya, told Global Witness that our allegations "are entirely untrue", and they "call into question our client's personal and professional integrity and seek to say that he is unfit for the role he holds within Sarawak."

Summary findings:

- Kickbacks to Taib A representative of one of Sarawak's biggest timber tycoons indicated that Taib would be likely to receive a multimillion dollar kickback for the issuance of a plantation licence. A senior government official and a timber industry executive in Sarawak interviewed by Global Witness made similar claims. Both stated that companies seeking logging or plantation licences make "unofficial payments" to the Chief Minister for these to be issued;
- Corrupt and speculative land deals Some members of Taib's family are allocated land through directives from the Ministry of Resource Planning and Environment, headed by Taib, for a tiny fraction of its real commercial value, enabling these individuals to 'flip' these assets for multimillion dollar profits;
- Evasion of Malaysian tax One company, jointly owned by Taib's first cousins – including a Malaysian Member of Parliament for Taib's own party and a sister-in-law of the Malaysian Prime Minister – was offered for sale through a proposed illegal transaction in Singapore designed to evade Malaysian tax;
- The service economy of corruption A well established service economy of local lawyers and banks facilitate illegal transactions in violation of Malaysian and Sarawak law, often using Singapore and Hong Kong to carry out secret deals.

Introduction

Today, less than five per cent of Sarawak's rainforest remains in a pristine state, unaffected by logging or plantations¹. Sarawak continues to export more tropical logs than Latin America and Africa combined². Much of this destruction has occurred on the ancestral land of Sarawak's indigenous population, who depend upon access to farmland and healthy forests for their livelihood and whose rights are protected under Malaysian law³. These rights have been systematically ignored by the Sarawak Government⁴, resulting in widespread environmental degradation, social disenfranchisement and economic deprivation.

Abuse of public office

Sarawak's Chief Minister Abdul Taib Mahmud has governed Sarawak for 31 years. One of his many ministerial roles is heading up the Ministry of Resource Planning and Environment which controls all land classification, timber and plantation licensing in the state. During Taib's time as Chief Minister, there have been numerous allegations regarding his abuse of power to enrich himself, his family and key business associates⁵. Leaked Sarawak land registry documents suggest Taib and members of his family have interests in companies holding land leases for oil palm totalling nearly 200,000 hectares⁶, conservatively valued at over half a billion US dollars⁷.

Sarawak's logging has exhausted much of the state's commercially valuable timber. According to some press reports, the government has plans to clear a further one million hectares of forest in order to double the area of land given to oil palm plantations by 20208. This expansion equates to covering Hong Kong's landmass ten times over9, and will inevitably require the annexing of land belonging to indigenous communities with native customary rights.

Taib is seeking international investment to accelerate these plans under the Sarawak Corridor of Renewable Energy (SCORE) economic programme¹⁰. The government claims SCORE will greatly benefit the people of Sarawak through economic diversification and job creation. Taib's family however, have large shareholdings and directorial positions in



Chief Minister Abdul Taib Mahmud and his wife, Puan Sri Raghad Kurdi Taib

companies who are major beneficiaries of state-subsidised ventures through SCORE¹¹. This raises serious risks of conflicts of interest. An investor's prospectus by Oxford Business Group commissioned by the Sarawak Government noted that "key stocks on the exchange include a number of companies, mostly in plantations and construction, that are linked to Chief Minister Abdul Taib and his key business associates... Investor confidence has been strongest in these stocks given their political support"¹².

Taib's solicitors told Global Witness that it is untrue that SCORE "unfairly favours relatives of one Chief Minister who will not be in power for most of the life of the project" and further stated that "SCORE is neither corrupt, nepotistic nor filled with conflicts of interest".

Corruption is a broader challenge in Malaysia

There are indications that the scale of corruption we uncovered in Sarawak may be prevalent across Malaysia. Out of 30 countries included in Transparency International's 2012 Bribe Payer's Survey, Malaysia ranked the most expensive to do business in terms of paying bribes¹³. This is consistent with a 2012 report by Global Financial Integrity which gauged capital flight out of Malaysia to be the world's third largest source of illicit financial flows. It is estimated that Malaysia lost US\$285 billion in capital flight in the period 2001 to 2010¹⁴. This sum is the equivalent of US\$44,000 for every single household in Malaysia¹⁵. Losing this scale of revenue from government budgets robs citizens of improved state services and better standards of living.

Serious corruption allegations surrounding Taib and other prominent political figures in Malaysia have been known for many years. Malaysia's federal Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) opened a probe into Taib in 2011 but has not since provided any update on the progress of this probe, despite frequent requests. The Malaysian Bar Council has previously raised concerns about the fact that the MACC does not have sufficient independence from the Attorney General's Chambers¹⁶. Currently, the MACC must refer political corruption investigations to the Attorney General, which sits within the Prime Minister's Department, before prosecutions can be brought. Global Witness believes this raises risks of political interference, particularly where the subject of a MACC investigation is an ally of the Prime Minister's coalition. This risk is particularly pronounced in the case of Taib, whose Sarawak coalition currently provides more than one-fifth of the federal ruling coalition's parliamentary seats.

Responding to Global Witness, Taib's London lawyer stated "your statement suggests that our client improperly forces the Prime Minister in turn to force the Attorney General then to improperly force MACC not to prosecute the Chief Minister. This is absurd and completely false."

Kickbacks to Taib: a 'Billion Venture' with the Hii family

The largest area of land offered to Global Witness was a 60 year licence for oil palm and industrial tree plantations issued to a company named Billion Venture Sdn Bhd¹⁷. The land comprises 32,000 hectares of forest in Limbang district, bordering the UNESCO listed Gunung Mulu National Park. Billion Venture has also been issued with two prized licences to log the rare and extremely valuable Belian tree species in the area¹⁸. Belian is listed on the IUCN Redlist as vulnerable, facing a high risk of extinction in the wild in the medium-term¹⁹.

A representative of Billion Venture – Huang Lung Ong of Huang & Company Advocates, Sibu – stated that the owner of the company is his uncle and businessman Hii Yii Peng, and that Hii is very close to the Chief Minister. Huang divulged that whilst the Chief Minister did not have any formal interest in the company, he was 'behind' the issue of the licence. When asked what part the Chief Minister would play in the proposed sale of Billion Venture, Huang stated "It's like 'I [Taib] award you this licence. In return you grateful to me'. Maybe he say I give you a percentage".

Global Witness understood Huang to be suggesting that the existing owner, Hii Yii Peng, would pay Taib a percentage of the licence value as a kickback for the issue of the licence. Huang estimated that the amount would be approximately 10 per cent of the licence's value. Since Huang informed Global Witness that Hii is looking to sell Billion Venture for US\$76 million (RM230 million), this would indicate that Chief Minister Taib's kickback could be more than US\$7 million.

A senior government official and a timber industry executive in Sarawak interviewed by Global Witness made similar claims. Both stated that companies seeking logging or plantation licences make "unofficial payments" to the Chief Minister for these to be issued.

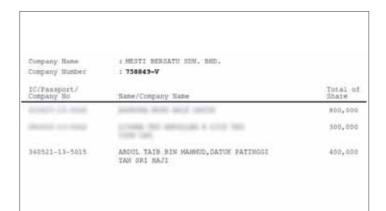
In response to our allegations, Huang told Global Witness that "I have no knowledge how Hii Yii Peng obtained the asset or that there is a kickback, as alleged... your allegations are untrue and not within my knowledge to answer... I am only aware of this asset through brokers middle of last year and these brokers asked me to act as solicitor to safeguard their commission... I have never been appointed by Hii Yii Peng as his solicitors".

Taib's London solicitors told Global Witness that Taib "never demands or accepts bribes for the grant of licences and leases – whether for 10% of the value of those licences or leases or through structures designed to conceal his identity."

Company records confirm that Billion Venture is owned by the Hii family, who have extensive and enduring commercial interests with Chief Minister Taib Mahmud and his immediate family in sectors including joint ventures and common shareholdings in palm oil²⁰, timber²¹ and hospitality²².

One local community – Long Napir – whose ancestral land is encroached by the Billion Venture licence told Global Witness that they were never consulted by the government or company regarding plans to clear their land for plantations²³. Maps

produced by Sarawak Land and Surveys show that the Long Napir community were living and farming the area before 1956²⁴ which, under native customary rights law, would mean they have robust claims to the land²⁵.



Taib Mahmud and other family members are shareholders in Mesti Bersatu Sdn Bhd, a company involved in several businesses with the Hii family



From left to right: Abu Bekir (Taib's son), Billion Venture shareholder Hii King Chiong, Chief Minister Taib, and Robert Geneid (Taib's brother-in-law), at the Islamic Fashion Show, Monaco



Global Witness investigator being shown an area of land offered by members of Taib's family

Corrupt and speculative land deals

'Flipping' land for private profit

"Sarawak has learned from past mistakes with the government making sure the price of land is not controlled by speculators. In Sarawak, we managed to control our costs and the land cost isn't speculative at all. The state is controlling it until serious buyers come in."

Abu Bekir Taib, son of Taib26

Three other land leases offered to a Global Witness investigator were held by proxies or shell companies on behalf of family members of Chief Minister Taib Mahmud. These land leases were issued by directives of the Ministry of Resource Planning and Environment, headed by Taib. Together, these three land titles totalled 23,438 hectares²⁷. Using a per hectare sale price as discussed in these meetings²⁸, the total sale value of the three leases would be US\$77 million (RM232 million). This represents an investment return of 3,600 per cent for Taib's family, considering the total recorded premium paid to the state government for all three leases was just US\$2.1 million (RM6.4 million)²⁹.

These three land leases represent just a fraction of the total land bank accumulated by members of Taib's family under his tenure. Analysis by the Bruno Manser Fonds of a leaked state government Land and Surveys database indicates that the area held by companies linked to members of Taib's family totals nearly 200,000 hectares³⁰, representing more than half a billion US dollars' worth of assets³¹.

In response to the allegations Global Witness put to Chief Minister Taib, we were told that Taib's "wider family consists of hundreds of individuals. Our client has no responsibility for or contact with the vast majority of these people... The Government of Sarawak issues licences for land in very controlled circumstances, as part of a general policy for limited agricultural and industrial development. This is an administrative exercise, not political patronage. Individuals can apply for land under certain circumstances. Your statement suggests that the system is directed towards relatives of the Chief Minister. This is not the case."

Evasion of Malaysian tax

One branch of Taib's family proposed the sale of their land lease through a shell company called Ample Agro Sdn Bhd, whose six shareholders are Taib Mahmud's first cousins, and all daughters of Sarawak's former Chief Minister Abdul Rahman Ya'akub³². The deal was proposed to Global Witness by Norlia Abdul Rahman (director and shareholder of Ample Agro) and Fatimah Abdul Rahman (shareholder). Two other Abdul Rahman sisters who would have pocketed millions of dollars from any such sale are the Member of Parliament for Taib's party for Tanjung Manis, Norah Abdul Rahman (shareholder), and the sister-in-law of Malaysia's Prime Minister Najib Razak, Khadijah Abdul Rahman (director and shareholder).

During meetings with a Global Witness investigator, Norlia and Fatimah suggested that the proposed US\$16.6 million sale of their lease could be conducted in a manner that Global Witness understands to be illegal, to evade Malaysian tax. They suggested that two sets of agreements could be drawn up, with one setting out a nominal sum that would be registered with authorities in Malaysia, while the principal amount would be paid through an undisclosed agreement in Singapore. Norlia stated that paying the principal amount through a secret deal in Singapore would enable them to evade paying any Real Property Gains Tax to Malaysian authorities on the principal sum. Evading Malaysian tax in this way is illegal under the 'Real Property Gains Tax Act 1976', punishable by a prison sentence³³. None of the shareholders that we contacted from Ample Agro responded to our allegations.

Global Witness visited the Ample Agro licence area and was informed that there are 12 longhouses whose native customary rights will be encroached by the licence. One community told Global Witness that they had lived on the land for over a century, whilst aerial photos of the area taken from 1947 clearly show that the area was being used for shifting cultivation at this time³⁴. The extensive aerial mapping carried out at that time is routinely used by Malaysian courts in deciding land rights claims.

C/Passport/ Ompany No	Name/Company Hame	Total of Share
20215-13-5066	ERADIJAH BIHTI ARDUL RAHMAN	111,111
30807-13-5444	ZAITOM BINTE ABDUL RABMAN	111,111
570526-13-5490	NORLIA BINTI ABDUL RAMMAN	222,223
881130-13-5166	ALEMAN - KINTAN BINTE ABOUL RAMMAN	333,333
01004-13-5584	MORAH BINTI ABD RAHMAM	111,111
64072E-10-6824	FATIMAN BINTI ABOUL RANMUN	111,111



transaction to evade Malaysian tax

The service economy of corruption: facilitating secret deals offshore

During our investigation, we were referred to local lawyers by the selling parties in order to progress the proposed sales. In a series of meetings between March and May 2012 these lawyers divulged details about the corrupt systems used to expatriate wealth from the state, to evade Malaysia's Real Property Gains Tax (RPGT).

One of these lawyers was Alvin Chong Chee Vun of Alvin Chong & Partners Kuching, who has represented the Sarawak State Government³⁵, government-linked companies and prominent publicly listed companies with close links to Taib's family.

We were put in touch with Alvin Chong by Norlia Abdul Rahman regarding the proposed sale of the land by Ample Agro Sdn Bhd to Global Witness' undercover investigator. According to Alvin, he had discussed this proposed deal with her and said he had acted for her before. Alvin explained to Global Witness how to purchase Ample Agro (and the land lease it holds) through illegal, undisclosed payments in Singapore in order to evade the RPGT. Global Witness understands that aiding and abetting the evasion of Malaysian tax in this way is illegal under the 'Real Property Gains Tax Act 1976', punishable by a prison sentence.

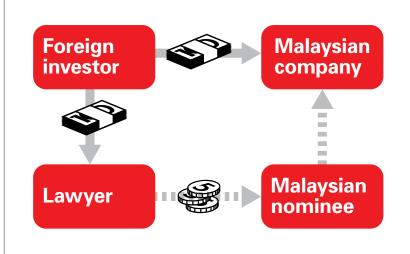
Alvin also advised how to establish a mechanism to allow foreign investors to circumvent Sarawak Law, which requires at least 51 per cent of company shares to be held by a Malaysian citizen. This mechanism, which Alvin said he had used before, involves finding a local person willing to act as a nominee shareholder. The foreign investor advances a loan to buy the 51 per cent of shares under the nominee's name, through an offshore agreement. This agreement transfers control of those shares to the foreign investor as collateral against the loan, thereby ensuring the investor retains de facto control of the company. Alvin assured Global Witness that the agreement underpinning the mechanism would be "locked up offshore",

meaning that the agreement would not be disclosed to the Malaysian authorities. The proposed offshore jurisdiction for Alvin's proposed mechanism was Singapore, which Alvin said would not comply with requests from Malaysian authorities for information about such agreements.

When probed as to where potential nominees could be found, Alvin Chong said he normally finds villagers from remote communities who will "not be distracted by clever advisers" and who "wouldn't know how to find a lawyer". Alvin assured Global Witness that the chosen nominee "won't surface... won't hold a shred of paper", and that he'd used this mechanism "many a times".

In response to our allegations, Alvin Chong's firm told us that "We categorically deny our Mr Chong acted as legal spokesperson for the alleged party", and that "we categorically deny each and every unfounded allegation made... We deny any discussions to allegedly evade tax and if there were any purported discussions these were strictly hypothetical."





Step 1: Foreign investor legitimately purchases 49% of company shares

Step 2: Lawyer identifies an unreachable Malaysian citizen to use as a nominee

Step 3: Foreign investor loans money to purchase remaining 51% of shares under the name of the nominee, through a secret offshore agreement set up by lawyer

Step 4: Nominee's shares are held as collateral against the loan through the secret offshore agreement

Step 5: Small one-off payment made to nominee

Step 6: Company is effectively 100% foreign owned and controlled

Illegal mechanism proposed to give foreign investors total control of Malaysian companies

Conclusions

During the course of our investigations, Taib's inner circle expressed contempt for Sarawak's indigenous population who they appeared to consider as exploitable or as impediments to their commercial interests. Two of Taib's first cousins (Norlia and Fatima Abdul Rahman) repeatedly referred to indigenous communities as "naughty" people who "try to make money" through "squatting" on land. This illustrates a disturbing sense of entitlement to the land and resources on which indigenous communities have lived and depended upon for centuries.

All indications suggest corruption in Sarawak is systemic and goes to the heart of the state executive who use the civil

service merely to 'rubber-stamp' commercial schemes for self-enrichment. Such endemic corruption is destroying the fabric of Sarawak's society, not to mention its once rich environment. Political corruption, impunity, and complex systems of political patronage have utterly failed the ordinary citizens of Sarawak, while an elite surrounding Chief Minister Taib has systematically sold off Sarawak's resources for immense personal gain. Foreign investors should consider Sarawak, and Malaysia more broadly, an extremely high risk environment for doing business.

Recommendations

For Malaysian institutions:

- 1 A Royal Commission of Inquiry must be established to:
 - a. investigate the extent of corruption in Sarawak's executive and government institutions;
 - **b.** propose institutional reforms to improve systems of transparency and accountability;
 - **c.** ensure prosecutions swiftly follow against those found to have been engaged in corruption.
- 2 Malaysia's Parliament must grant the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission full powers to initiate prosecutions, independent of the Attorney General's Chambers or other political influence.
- 3 The Sarawak State Government must suspend all directives from the Ministry of Resource Planning and Environment for land allocation, timber and forest licences where Taib Mahmud's family have or are suspected of having shareholdings or beneficial ownership, until the circumstances and any associated payments have been fully investigated.
- 4 The Chief Judge of Sarawak should immediately suspend Alvin Chong and Huang Lung Ong from practicing law pending investigations into their conduct.
- 5 The Malaysian Government's Foreign Investor Committee should investigate the shareholding structure of all those foreign parties who have invested in Sarawak that were represented by Alvin Chong of Alvin Chong & Partners, Kuching.
- 6 Malaysia's National Bank Bank Negara should publish official figures on capital flight from Malaysia.

For foreign institutions:

7 Singapore's Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau (CPIB), Monetary Authority and other law enforcement agencies

- should provide full cooperation to Malaysian authorities regarding all cases of suspected money-laundering, including cases involving individuals highlighted by this investigation.
- 8 Financial institutions worldwide should freeze any accounts held by Abdul Taib Mahmud or the members of his family named in this report, pending the outcome of investigations by Malaysian authorities.
- 9 Potential investors (including financial institutions facilitating state government and private company lines of credit) should not engage in the SCORE programme until:
 - heightened due diligence is performed by investors into corruption and conflicts of interest, and budget and contract transparency;
 - b. the state government recognises and implements the full native customary rights of Sarawak's indigenous people;
 - c. the Malaysian authorities carry out robust, participatory, and transparent social, environmental and cultural impact assessments, which are made publicly available.



Endnotes

- Based on measurements of Intact Forest Landscapes in Sarawak from 2010, mapped by Greenpeace/WRI (www. intactforests.org), with additional subtractions for the Danum-Linau area to account for logging and clearance during 2011-12, as observed from Landsat TM satellite images.
- Sarawak Timber Industry Development Corporation (STIDC) 2010 export figures for Sarawak, sourced from Perkasa newsletters (figures for 2011 in Perkasa newsletter Jan-Mar 2012, for 2009 and 2010 in Perkasa newsletter, Jan-Mar 2011; figures for 2007 and 2008 in Perkasa newsletter Nov-Dec 2008; all available at http://www.sarawaktimber. org.my/ content.php?do=perkasa&_y=2011) compared against figures for all countries in 2010 provided in Appendix 2 of the ITTO Annual Review, 2011 (http://www.itto.int/ annual review/).
- Malaysian Human Rights Commission (SUHAKAM), 'Legal Perspectives on Native Customary Rights in Sarawak', http:// www.suhakam.org.my/c/document_library/get_file?p_l_id =30217&folderId=26470&name=DLFE-711.pdf.
- The Sarawak Attorney General has failed to provide official legal advice, in light of the relevant high court judgements upholding native customary rights (NCR), to departments of the Sarawak Civil Service such as Sarawak Land & Surveys. and the Ministry of Resource Planning & Environment. engaged in land use decisions and their implementation. Eleven years having passed since the first relevant high court judgement in 2001. Whilst this could be interpreted as a failure to communicate effectively between departments of the state government, the ongoing 'New NCR Land Initiative' demonstrates that it is indicative of unwillingness on the part of the state government to recognise the rights of indigenous communities as upheld by the high court. The initiative does $% \left\{ \left(1\right) \right\} =\left\{ \left(1$ not recognise land encroached upon by existing licences issued by the state government and only proposes to gazette land under Section 8 of the Sarawak Land Code, as a Native Communal Reserve rather than Native Customary Rights under Section 16 of the Land Code. Despite conveniently sharing a common acronym, the legal status of the two titles are fundamentally different, in that the former essentially remains state land and its communal reserve status can be extinguished by the government at its discretion.
- On 3rd June 2011, the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) announced an official probe into Chief Minister Taib, which is ongoing. See statement by MACC Chief Abu Kassim Mohamad, http://www.youtube. com/watch?v=oLaFEPDZ-d0; Al Jazeera (14/09/2013) 101 East, 'The Last Frontier', highlights key concerns over conflict of interest and lack of transparency in the SCORE programme http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/1 01east/2012/09/2012913111958210349.html; Al Jazeera (19/03/2009) 101 East, 'Fight for Power' explores key concerns over conflict of interest in the SCORE programme; Cable sent from U.S Embassy in Kuala Lumpur to the U.S. State Department (02/11/2009) stated that "Chief Minister Taib...doles out timber-cutting permits while patrolling the under-developed state using 14 helicopters, and his family's companies control much of the economy", http:// cable gatesearch.net/cable.php?id = 09KUALALUMPUR886&a=sarawak.
- Bruno Manser Fonds, 'Oil palm plantation land leased to Taib linked companies', http://lstop-timber-corruption. org/resources/Mapping_Taib_s_Land_Grabs___NEW_ Blatt1_1.pdf, Taib's lawyers claimed that this report is "misleading, one-sided and inaccurate"; data from leaked

- Sarawak Land and Surveys data published by Sarawak Report, http://map.sarawakreport.org/data.html.
- 7. This valuation assumes a mean value of RM3,000 (approximately US\$1,000) per acre. Values cited during our investigation were consistently higher, although we have lowered the value to take into account land areas that may have higher costs of planting, such as inland or hill terrain, and therefore would be of lower commercial value.
- New Straits Times, 28/07/12, 'Sarawak on track to reap palm oil reward', http://www.nst.com.my/nation/general/ sarawak-on-track-to-reap-palm-oil-reward-1.113836; The Star Malaysia, 30/11/10, 'Sarawak to double oil plantation area', http://biz.thestar.com.my/news/story. asp?file=/2010/11/30/business/7432538
- Hong Kong land mass is 1,104 square kilometres, equal to 110,400 hectares.
- Oxford Business Group, 'The Report: Sarawak 2011', pages 79-80; Inside Investor, 'Inside Sarawak 2011', page 60, 'Sarawak has the land, you provide the investment, says MLDS chief'.
- 11. Taib Mahmud's family have at least a 42% stake in Sarawak's largest conglomerate Cahya Mata Sarawak Bhd (CMSB). CMSB has a 20% stake in a joint venture with 0M Minerals to develop a manganese and ferro alloy smelter powered by state-subsidised hydroelectricity, and a 51% stake in the company developing real estate at the new Samalaju Industrial Park. Taib Mahmud's son Abu Bekir Mahmud is chairman and 31% shareholder of Sarawak Cable Bhd which has won major electrical transmission contracts under the SCORE programme. These are examples and by no means exhaustive.
- Oxford Business Group, 'The Report: Sarawak 2011', page 106; See Taib Mahmud's endorsement of the report in local media The Borneo Post (19/04/2011) 'OBG to launch second economic report on Sarawak', http://www.theborneopost. com/2011/04/19/obg-to-launch-second-economic-reporton-sarawak/.
- Wall Street Journal, 11/12/2012, 'Malaysia Tops Bribery Table', http://blogs.wsj.com/searealtime/2012/12/11/malaysiatops-bribery-table/; data from Transparency International, 2012, 'Bribe Payer's Survey'.
- Global Financial Integrity Report 2012, 'Illicit Financial Flows from Developing Countries: 2001-2010', http://iff.gfintegrity. org/iff2012/2012report.html.
- 15. Figure arrived at by dividing US\$285 billion by estimated number of households in Malaysia (6.5 million). Population of 28 million people with average household comprising 4.3 people, data from World Bank and Malaysia's 2010 census.
- 16. Malaysian Bar Council, 'Submission to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Death of Teoh Beng Hock', http://www. malaysianbar.org.my/bar_news/berita_badan_peguam/ malaysian_bars_submission_to_the_royal_commission_ of_inquiry_into_the_death_of_teoh_beng_hock.html.
- Sarawak Government. Licence to Plant Forest. Licence No: LPF/0027; Billion Venture Sdn Bhd, 'The Proposed Medamit Forest Plantation under Licence for Planted Forest No. LPF/0027'.
- Sarawak Forest Department, 'Locality Map of Forest Timber Licensed Area', May 2010, Licences BT/9098 and BT/9144.
- IUCN Redlist, Eusideroxylon zwageri, http://www.iucnredlist.org/details/31316/0.
- Delta Padi Sdn Bhd is a joint venture between Hii family companies Zion Resources Bhd (923998-H) and Hii Yu Peng

- Enterprise Sdn Bhd (28033-K), and Mesti Bersatu Sdn Bhd (758849-V), a company whose directors and shareholders include Taib Mahmud, his son, daughter, sister-in-law and nieces. The fourth shareholder is Pelita Holdings Sdn Bhd (182028-W), a government body involved in palm oil development that is chaired by Taib Mahmud.
- 21. Bormill Wood (Trengganu) Sdn Bhd (32269-T) is a timber sector company ran by the Hii family, whose director and shareholder is the daughter of Chief Minister Taib Mahmud, Jamilah Hamidah Taib. The Sarawak Company (1959) Sdn Bhd (158103-W) is a manufacturer of timber products, whose shareholders include the Hii family and Mohammad Tufail bin Mahmud, the brother of Chief Minister Taib.
- 22. Kingwood Inn Sdn Bhd (194046-T) is a hospitality company whose shareholders are the Hii family (through Hii Yu Peng Enterprise Sdn Bhd) and Mesti Bersatu Sdn Bhd (758849-V), a company whose directors and shareholders include Taib Mahmud, his son, daughter, sister-in-law and nieces.
- 23. Global Witness interview with community, February 2013.
- Land & Surveys Department Sarawak, 'Land Use Map of Sarawak & Brunei', Sarawak Series No.10, Sheet Number 6, June 1956, Photography by R.A.F.
- Malaysian Human Rights Commission (SUHAKAM), 'Legal Perspectives on Native Customary Rights in Sarawak', page 48-51, http://www.suhakam.org.my/c/document_library/ get_file?p_l_id=30217&folderId=26470&name=DLFE-711. pdf.
- Investvine, 'Inside Sarawak 2011', an investor's prospectus commissioned by the Sarawak State Government.
- Land titles issued for Block 18, Lot 00002, Tekoyang Land
 District issued to Ample Agro Sdn Bhd; Lot 1, Block 43, Lot
 1, Block 30 Anap Land District issued to Ikrar Bumi Sdn Bhd;
 and Lot 001/20, 001/007, 002/024, 001/024 Menyan Land
 District issued to Polar Towers Sdn Bhd.
- Here we use RM4,000 per acre. This is the per acre price proposed by the vendors of Ample Agro.
- Recorded Premiums paid by Ample Agro Sdn Bhd, Ikrar Bumi Sdn Bhd and Polar Towers Sdn Bhd. Data from the leaked Sarawak Land & Surveys database.
- Bruno Manser Fonds 'Oil palm plantation land leased to Taib linked companies in Sarawak', http://www.stop-timbercorruption.org/resources/Mapping_Taib_s_Land_ Grabs___NEW_Blatt1_1.pdf.
- This valuation assumes a mean value of RM3,000 (approximately US\$1,000) per acre.
- Suruhanjaya Syarikat Malaysia (SSM), Official Portal of Companies Commission of Malaysia, "Corporate Information Documents," for Ample Agro Sdn. Bhd. (company number 821926-T), and Sateras Holdings Sdn. Bhd. (company number 67886-D).
- Malaysian Investment Development Authority (MIDA). 'Taxation: Real Property Gains Tax'. http://www.mida.gov.my/env3/index.php?page=real-property-gains-tax.
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