

## Through the Eyes of Australians: The Timor Area in the Early Postwar Period\*

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The end of World War II in Timor was like much of the war itself, a potentially confusing affair. Prior to the arrival of the Allies in Timor, increasingly mistaken information was being reproduced in Allied intelligence estimates of the Japanese presence on Timor, and by August 1945 these reports were very inaccurate. Military planners' expectations were thus also inaccurate. The return of the Dutch and Portuguese, different military and political jurisdictions, as well as the Australian military role in the surrender and immediate postwar tasks meant that there were numerous ceremonies, more than one administration was present, and a variety of units were assigned to undertake a range of tasks. Luckily for us, the veil of censorship had been lifted, and besides troops engaged in security tasks, reporters came and went to cover surrender ceremonies, while military history units came to photograph and sketch, leaving visual evidence which contrasts strikingly to the previous three or four years of Japanese presence.

This article focuses on the Timor area in late 1945 and early 1946, drawing largely on Australian photographic evidence as a means of better understanding how the war "ended" for the many individuals involved. What happened to the Japanese troops present on Timor during much of the war, who surrendered to whom, what were the material conditions on the island, what were Australians doing on the island, and how were the Dutch and Portuguese colonial authorities reinstated in their respective areas? How many Indonesians from other areas were on Timor at the end of the war and how did local residents react to the arrival of the allies? A good understanding of the immediate postwar era helps us to understand the war in Timor, long limited to the story of guerilla warfare in 1942, and the vague assumption of terror-driven Japanese military dominance during the remainder of the war. It also provides one piece of the puzzle of postwar resolution of the wartime dislocations suffered in different ways throughout the archipelago and Asia in general. In presenting visual images, this article also helps to balance the often sinister images produced by stereotypes and archival documents.

### **The End of the War in Portuguese Timor**

In May 1945, Prime Minister Hideki Tōjō instructed Minister Morito Morishima in

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\* This article is a first attempt to sort out events in 1945-46 in the Lesser Sundas and Timor, and thus despite the author's best intentions, there may be many inaccuracies. As it has been written in Japan, this draft has not benefitted from substantial Australian and Dutch archival sources, while incorporation of Japanese and Portuguese sources is incomplete. Thanks are due to Ken'ichi Goto, Takahashi Shigehito, and Mayumi Yamamoto for the helpful information and comments which they have provided.

Lisbon that negotiations on Japanese withdrawal from Timor could be undertaken.<sup>1</sup> Both sides understood that the arrival of Portuguese reinforcements would be a necessary step in this process. Progress was slow, and given Japanese requirements for continued neutrality and the practical need for Allied consent, negotiations were extremely unlikely to bear fruit. As Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945, Morishima was informed that Japan was indeed proceeding to return East Timor to Portuguese control. Tokyo then announced to the world that as its role in Portuguese Timor had been “self-defense” it was going to immediately return control to the Portuguese in accordance with that government’s wishes, and that they had already given instructions to the Japanese authorities in Timor.<sup>2</sup>

On September 1, the senior Japanese commander in Dili, Col. Yoshioka and vice-consul Yoshitarō Suzuki<sup>3</sup> reportedly met the Portuguese governor, Manuel Ferreira de Abreu de Carvalho, and informed him of the end of the war.<sup>4</sup> On September 5, the Japanese government informed the Portuguese government that East Timor was once again under Portuguese control, and the Portuguese government informed the Allies that all Japanese would be at UN disposal. On the afternoon of the 6<sup>th</sup>, Consul Suzuki also informed the governor of the plans for rapid evacuation of the Japanese troops from East Timor, expected to be largely completed by the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> of September, while 150–160 indispensable troops would remain for up to 30 days (Carvalho 1947: 637).

### **Arrival of the Allies**

Upon the end of hostilities in August 1945, the Allies began to readjust military and territorial responsibilities. Australia was somewhat naturally assigned the areas closest to its coast, and a series of new territorial commands were established, including that of the Timforce or TimorForce. The assignment of the Timforce was to take the surrender of the Japanese (Operation Tofo), and generally to settle affairs in the Lesser Sunda archipelago. Brig. Lewis G. H. Dyke, the commander of a brigade in Australian I Corps in Morotai, was assigned the Timforce command and was sent to Darwin on August 29 to prepare for the deployment of Timforce.<sup>5</sup> The rest of his I Corps brigade was expected to follow in late September, but those troops were ultimately sent to Ambon (Long 1966: 570). The Tasmanian 12/40<sup>th</sup> Australian Infantry Battalion (NIOD photograph 56396) and a range of smaller Australian units with which he arrived in Timor, along with some Netherlands Indies Army troops, were deemed sufficient.

On its departure from Darwin on September 7, the fleet of Operation Tofo included the old Australian survey ship the *HMAS Moresby*, the corvettes (Australian minesweeper) *Parkes*, *Horsham*, *Benalla*, *Echua*, and *Katoomba*; the *Kangaroo* (a boom defense vessel), the *Bombo* (a converted stores carrier), and the landing crafts HDML (Harbour Defence Motor Launch) 1322, 1324 and 1329; as well as the Dutch *Abraham Crijnsen* and a KPM-owned troop transport ship.<sup>7</sup> The landing craft were towed by warships. On the 9<sup>th</sup>, the corvettes *HMAS Warrnambool* and *HMAS Gladstone* joined the flotilla. On board the *Moresby* were Brig. Dyke and the senior naval officer for Operation Tofo, Commander G. L. Cant.<sup>7</sup>

The surrender of the Japanese in Timor was only possible following the slightly delayed surrender by Lt. Gen. Fusatarō Teshima of the Japanese Second Area Army to Gen. Blamey on Morotai on September 9 in accordance with instructions from Field



AWM OG3478: Col. Kaida preparing to board the HMAS Moresby from a Japanese barge. Photo by John T. Harrison.

Marshall Terauchi's headquarters in Saigon (Long 1966: 553–4). The Timor expedition thus finally arrived at the prearranged rendezvous off Timor at 8:00 am on September 11, and was met by two Japanese naval officers who were queried about minefields and other critical information through RAAF translator Pilot-Officer Weatherstone. At action stations, the Allied flotilla then entered the harbor in single file behind the Abraham Crijnsen and anchored at 10:30 am.

At 11:50, a small boat carrying Col. Tatsuichi Kaida (戒田達一) of the 4<sup>th</sup> Tank Regiment, his Chief-of-Staff Major Minoru Shōji, and a small number of other Japanese to the Moresby. While unarmed soldiers looked down from above (AWM OG3484), others gathered around as closely as they could to observe events, a few holding .303 rifles and bayonets (AWM PO2325.008). The surrender ceremony on the quarterdeck of the *HMAS Moresby*, witnessed by the officers of the escorting ships and a number of allied troops, involved a reading of English and Japanese versions of the instrument of surrender, the surrender of swords, and the signing of the instrument of surrender on a table draped in an Australian Flag. Acting in their roles as commander and chief-of-staff of the Japanese forces on Timor, Col. Kaida and Maj. Shōji signed on behalf of the Japanese military, and the commander of Timforce, Brigadier Dyke, accepted the surrender. Dutch officials, while present, were not allowed to sign the document, which helped fuel bad feelings on the part of the Dutch (Jong 1986: 583; Gunn 1999: 233–234). Portuguese representatives were not even present on the *Moresby*.

The Allies were careful to ensure that the ceremony was immediately known to the world. Besides members of the Military History Section (see below), reporters had also been included in the expedition, and RAAF Flight-Lieutenant John T. Harrison personally carried his own pictures to Melbourne, arriving within 28 hours of the ceremony (OG 3476). A number of similar pictures eventually reached the Netherlands as well.

Following the surrender ceremony, an Australian naval beach party landed, followed in turn by an Army reconnaissance party under Brig. Dyke and the “RAN Port Directorate.” A Dutch party landed as well. The following day the main body of troops and supplies were landed, and on September 13 Timforce HQ was established. By the 14<sup>th</sup>, some of the ships had returned to Darwin, and the Moresby followed on the 16<sup>th</sup>



AWM 019251: Surrender ceremony on the HMAS Moresby.



AWM 115666: Dutch Naval Lt. Com. Boddinga of the Abraham Crijnsen riding a pony through Kupang, September 11, 1945.

(Gill 1968: 693-4).

As was the case in many other places, the Allies arrived nearly a month after the cessation of hostilities. The situation on Timor had gradually begun to change, as the Japanese prepared for the return of the Allies and the Portuguese were released from internment in Liquicia, but the relatively subdued nationalist movement even in West Timor was particularly significant. The absence of large numbers of allied POWs in Timor was also important in keeping tensions and the pace of change low.<sup>9</sup> The arrival of Europeans seems to have been initially welcome for some Timorese, worrying for others, but certainly the local population came out to greet the allied troops and NICA officers, both as individuals and in organized festivities. In this, the geographical and political distance from Java comes through very clearly in the photographs of the first days in West Timor. One picture in the AWM (115124) shows two allied officers greeting a large number of enthusiastic Timorese on a Kupang street with two unarmed Japanese soldiers apparently standing guard. Another picture shows alert, happy faces



AWM 115677: A Dance performed in honor of the arrival of Timforce in Kupang on September 13.



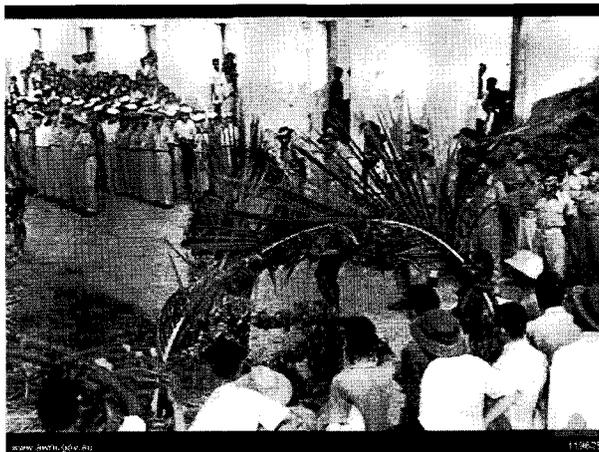
AWM 116000: Soë, September 17.

of some of the people who greeted Dutch Col. C. C. de Rooy in Kupang on September 11 (NIOD 52415). On September 16, Raja Hans Nisoni of Camplong<sup>9</sup> greeted the arriving Allies with a festival presided over by the Raja, his wife and others (AWM 116006, 019340, 019337). The Rajah himself played a banjo during the festivities.

During mid-September, the area controlled by the Allies rapidly expanded. When Brig. Dyke visited Soë to interrogate and arrange the surrender of Japanese troops on September 17, the Allied troops were greeted by locals with “welcome” signs, cheering, and the singing of the Dutch national anthem.<sup>10</sup>

### **Ceremony in Dili<sup>11</sup>**

Portuguese Timor presented something of a problem, and there was an ongoing diplomatic squabble between Portugal and Australia, with Australian officials striving both to prevent Portuguese reinforcements from arriving and to ensure that the Australian military accepted the Japanese surrender. Nonetheless, the Australian government did not immediately take actions offensive to Portuguese authorities. The fact that Brig. Dyke had accepted the surrender of all Japanese on Timor, along with the Portuguese refusal to allow more than a token landing in Portuguese Timor, stimulated



AWM 119625: RAN and AIF troops at the ceremony of September 24 in Dili. Photo by Keith B. Davis.

the Australian cabinet to send a party to Dili to ensure that things were in order, to arrange the transport of Allied POWs and civilian internees, to remove Japanese personnel and war materials, and to make necessary arrangements for a War Graves Commission mission and war crimes investigations. It was also to be symbolic. After arranging for “as many ships as possible” to be sent to Dili, W. D. Forsyth, a senior diplomat assigned to assist Brig. Dyke, flew from Darwin with Mr. Manderson and Mr. Brandao as a translator to meet with Brig. Dyke, and then on to Dili with Maj. John M. Bailleu.<sup>12</sup> On September 22, they met with the Portuguese governor (who had been warned about their imminent arrival in a phone call by Col. Kaida), and on September 23, 1945, five corvettes carried a party of Australian soldiers under Brig. L. G. H. Dyke to Dili.<sup>13</sup>

A small party of Australian troops was greeted by the Portuguese Governor, Manuel Ferreira de Carvalho at his residence on September 23, including Capt. McCabe and Brig. Dyke, and on this occasion Brig. Dyke congratulated the Governor on the return of Portuguese sovereignty (AWM 119611, 119614–5).<sup>14</sup> On September 24, one officer and 10 ratings from each of the ships (the *Parke*, *Gympie*, *Katoomba*, *Gladstone*, *Warmambool*, and the newly arrived *Moresby*) were invited to come ashore, and a brief formal ceremony was held in a clearing near the bombed-out Dili Cathedral. With rows of Australian soldiers and a large mass of Timorese, Arabs, Portuguese, and especially Chinese watching, Governor Ferreira de Carvalho in his formal white uniform and Brig. Dyke laid wreaths in memory of Australian soldiers and others who had died under Japanese oppression at the base of a flagpole in a palm/bougainvillea shrine constructed on Portuguese orders the previous night. An Australian navy bugler played “The Last Post” to close the ceremony.<sup>15</sup> The same day, the governor and Brig. Dyke signed a seven-point memorandum regulating Allied activities in Portuguese Timor, and mandated the removal of the Japanese as soon as possible (Carvalho 1947: 677–8). In the days following the ceremony, some of the 150–200 Japanese left in East Timor along with Timorese laborers were put to work disposing of ammunition in the ocean off Dili.<sup>16</sup> Other Australian officers began to travel with translators and guides to locate



AWM 119642: Timorese and Japanese laborers loading Japanese ammunition on a barge at Dili on September 25. Photograph by Keith B. Davis.



AWM 119659: The sloops *Bartolomeu Dias* and *Gonçaves Zarco* in Dili Harbor September 29, 1945. Photo by Keith B. Davis.

war graves and conduct critical business.

According to Wallis' account of events in Dili, the day after the ceremony, Timorese began to assemble in Dili and in the harbor, and a full day of festivities began, with an estimated 6,000 participants (Wallis 1946). The Australians interpreted this as a celebration of the liberation of Timor (by Australian troops), but it was also likely to be related to the imminent arrival Portuguese troops.

The Portuguese warships *Bartolomeu Dias* and *Gonçaves Zarco* arrived in Dili on September 27, 1945. Australian Brig. Dyke and RNA Commander Gale paid a formal visit to the Portuguese warships. A troopship, the *Angola*, arrived two days later carrying a military expedition with 2,223 troops, engineering companies, and substantial supplies (Carvalho 1947: 685; Gill 1968: 694; Gunn 1999: 235). While the Portuguese administration had already begun to reestablish control over East Timor, this provided

the material support necessary for effective administration. Symbolically, it was also an important event, as the renewed connection with the metropolitan military might encouraged Timorese to cooperate with the Portuguese administration, and to reestablish the prewar colonial *status quo*.

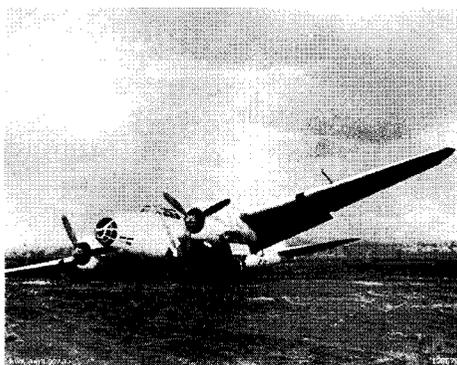
The various Australian ships left in stages, with Dykes HQ ship, the *Moresby*, departing October 1. Allied forces in general had little to do with Portuguese Timor after October 1, 1945.

### Surrender of General Yamada

On September 25 or 26, Lt. Gen. Kunitarō Yamada,<sup>17</sup> commander of the 48<sup>th</sup> Division, arrived in Kupang from Sumbawa (via Flores) with two derelict, door-less bombers and eight staff officers, including Capt. Yoshioka.<sup>18</sup> The planes had been painted with green crosses on a white background, the prearranged sign of surrender. In addition to discussions about important military affairs, like the destruction of Japanese arms, to his great surprise, Yamada was interviewed, photographed, and sketched by Australian journalists and history section members.<sup>19</sup>

At 3:00 pm on October 3, a fifteen-minute formal ceremonial signing of the instrument of surrender for the Japanese in the Lesser Sunda islands (east of Lombok) was held on a large parade-ground with Brig. Dyke who had just returned from Dili at 7:00 am. General Yamada arrived at the ceremony with Staff Capt. Yoshioka and one other Japanese and was searched for hidden weapons by one of his Australian escorts. They were then escorted by Captains Castles and Wincer throughout the proceedings. Held on a parade ground and witnessed by local Timorese, the ceremony was attended by Commander Gale and approximately 90 men from the RAN, as well as members of the AIF 12/40<sup>th</sup> Battalion and NICA personnel, including a platoon of NICA police boys. The 12/40<sup>th</sup> Battalion band also was there (AWM 120093), completing the ceremonial ambiance. Besides the signing of the instrument of surrender, a Japanese translation had been prepared and after the RAAF translator Edward Weatherstone read through the document, it was presented to the Japanese troops (AWM 120122).

After October 3, Gen. Yamada was "left responsible for civil administration and preservation of law and order in Sumbawa, Flores and Sumba" (Long 1966: 571),



AWM photograph 120079: One of the bombers in which Gen. Yamada's party arrived in Timor. Photograph taken October 3 by Keith B. Davis.



AWM 120099: General Yamada and other senior staff under allied escort during the surrender ceremony for the Lesser Sundas on October 3, 1945. Photo by Keith B. Davis.

although it is unclear whether any communication facilities were provided. The surrender prefaced the Australian-led Sunforce (commander, Major John M. Ballieu) which traveled around the Lesser Sundas from around 14 October to around 30 October, extending the area under actual allied control.<sup>20</sup> A new concentration point for the Japanese in the Lesser Sundas was created at Lopok, Sumbawa,<sup>21</sup> and people were shuffled around by ship and Catalina flights. Catalinas carried war crimes suspects and sick Indonesians in need of hospitalization to Kupang.<sup>22</sup> In one, a man named Ali Mustamin, previously an employee of the RAN station in Singapore who had spent 10 months as a laborer on Sumba, was sent to Kupang (AWM 118737). General Yamada presumably accompanied the Sunforce expedition, but if so, then he was already of marginal significance as he is rarely if ever mentioned in publications or archival documents.<sup>23</sup>

Shortly after the departure of Sunforce, General Sir Thomas Blamey, commander of the Australian Armed Forces, arrived in Kupang by Catalina Flying Boat (October 19). He was greeted at the wharf by six people, including Brig. Dyke, Flight Lt. Featherstone, Capt. Reg Saunders, and two rajas (AWM 132552-3). After addressing a parade of Timforce personnel, Blamey visited the Japanese camp at Taurus (132563).

### **Japanese postwar experiences**

As the Burma front worsened in early 1945, soldiers had been pulled off of Timor and sent to Java on various ships, the first leg of a long trip to reinforce the Burma front. The units on Timor were thus vastly under-strength at the end of the war.<sup>24</sup>

After the Japanese surrender on August 15, the troops in East Timor were gradually moved to West Timor. This was also desired by the Portuguese authorities who had begun to take control in East Timor. Thus by the time the Allies arrived, there were very few Japanese left in East Timor, probably only 150–200 Japanese who were being used for guard duty at munitions depots and other critical institutions (Gunn 1999: 234). According to an Australian intelligence report (probably based on Japanese reports), by



AWM 120162: Lt. Commander Yonekura showing a visiting Australian the vegetable garden (October 10). Photograph by Keith B. Davis.

October 12, 1945, only 3235 Japanese remained on Timor, including 578 civilians, 792 Navy personnel, 1208 Army personnel, and 657 “other auxiliaries.” There were, however, 19,577 Japanese in the Lesser Sunda archipelago, mostly Japanese army troops.<sup>26</sup>

Upon the arrival of the Allies, a self-supporting camp for Japanese POWs was established under the command of Col. Kaida at Tarus, about 7 miles [11 km] east of Kupang. This location was selected to keep the malaria-infected Japanese troops outside of mosquito-range from the allied soldiers. The Japanese camp was largely self-sufficient. Besides maintaining their own camp, building and repairing necessary facilities, the Japanese kept busy growing vegetables. Lieutenant Commander Yonekura, commander of Japanese naval forces in Timor, also resident in the camp, showed the Australian Military History Section the vegetable garden during their visit on October 10, 1945 (120162). Despite the loss of the war, the Japanese troops largely held to their own conventions, for example saluting the victorious soldiers and bowing to Allied flags every day in their own camp.

The major towns of Dili and Kupang were devastated by Allied bombing, and smaller towns had been damaged as well. Lacking any other reliable source of labor, especially for hard labor and semi-skilled work that needed to be completed immediately, the Allies put Japanese to work on reconstruction. One of the first tasks was to repair the roads and wharves at the port in Kupang (see below) so that Australian transport could be landed (019388). They also worked on other infrastructure projects, like making an auxiliary power generator for Kupang (120134), and building the Provost barracks. They also burned trash at the 12/40<sup>th</sup> Battalion camp (AWM 120120), and did laundry at the 55 Camp Hospital (AWM 120119).

Such labor duties were probably expected by the Japanese troops, and perhaps welcome as it kept them busy, allowed them to leave the camp, and brought them into contact with allied soldiers. They were still able to construct a small Shinto shrine in the camp, and individuals showed their special skills, for example by making a wood camera case for the MHS photographer or repairing sports equipment.



AWM 120132: Japanese POWs repairing a bridge under the supervision of Australian troops (October 8). Photograph by Keith B. Davis.



AWM 120155: The Shinto shrine constructed in the Japanese camp. Photo by Keith B. Davis.

A decision was soon made to further concentrate Japanese in Sumbawa. The first shipment of Japanese prisoners to Sumbawa (Lopok) on the Dutch ship *Stagen* with 30 Australian guards and 130 NEI Army personnel departed from Kupang on 4 November. The Japanese POWs boarded barges (carrying their own gear) and were taken to the ship.<sup>26</sup> Before they boarded, Lt. Gen. Yamada, commander of the 48<sup>th</sup> Division, inspected some of the troops (120262). The transfer of Japanese troops continued later in the month, using the *Haruoka Maru* (formerly the Straits Settlement Company Ship *Kinta*) to Sumbawa Besar on 19 November 1945. The use of this ship was part of a decision to use Japanese ships to “save allied shipping.”<sup>28</sup> With the exception of war crimes suspects, this ended Japanese involvement in Timor. Most were eventually repatriated to Japan from Sumbawa.

#### **NICA (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration) and local society**

Along with the Australian military, 10 Dutch officers, 17 NICA officials of various ranks, and a number of NEFIS (Netherlands Forces Intelligence Section) personnel landed in Kupang on September 11, 1945 (Farram 2004: 218). Whereas the Australian



AWM 120176: NICA related staff at Tarus, October 10. At left, Adjutant de Bree of NICA, and second from right, NICA Police 2<sup>nd</sup> Sgt. Bire. Photo by Keith B. Davis.

military was assigned war related tasks such as confiscating weapons and interning the Japanese, NICA officials came to Timor with the ultimate goal of taking over administration of the entire Indonesian archipelago. One of their first actions on Timor was to identify, dismiss, and if possible arrest Indonesians who had collaborated with the Japanese during the occupation period. I. H. Doko<sup>29</sup> and F. Runtuwene of Minsibu, and D. Adoe of the police were among the first to be dismissed from their administrative positions. Repeated searches of their residences followed. I. H. Doko, a prominent nationalist from the prewar period, argues that some of the charges of collaboration were made by Timorese who had been guilty of wrongdoing during the Japanese occupation and thus lost their positions (Doko 1981: 111–112).

Under the leadership of Col. C. C. de Rooy,<sup>30</sup> NICA officers like Lt. Snelleman quickly reestablished relationships with local leaders and began to play an important role in local affairs, as is clear from their mediating role in arranging a soccer game between Timorese and Australian troops on November 15 (AWM 121510).<sup>31</sup> By early 1946, Col. De Rooy had been promoted to CONICA head in Makasar. At that time (Feb. 1946), Lt. Col. Van Oyen was the senior Netherlands Indies Army Forces officer in Kupang (125757).

NICA personnel also spread throughout the region. NICA units were installed at Bima on January 13, with a company of RNIA troops, giving NICA control of Sumbawa, except in the areas where the Japanese were concentrated (Long 1966: 573).

### Local Timorese Society

With the announcement of Japanese surrender in August 1945, the Japanese quickly moved to reduce their responsibilities. Responsibility for Kupang city was turned over to Dr. A Gabeler (mayor), Tom Pello and I. H. Doko by the Regional Administration (*Ken Kanrikan*) in August 1945. Doko was informed of this decision on August 23 by a Japanese official who wished to apologize for his behavior the previous day, but the nascent Timorese city administration was cut short by the arrival of NICA and the Allies on September 11.<sup>31</sup> In Portuguese Timor, the formerly interned Por-

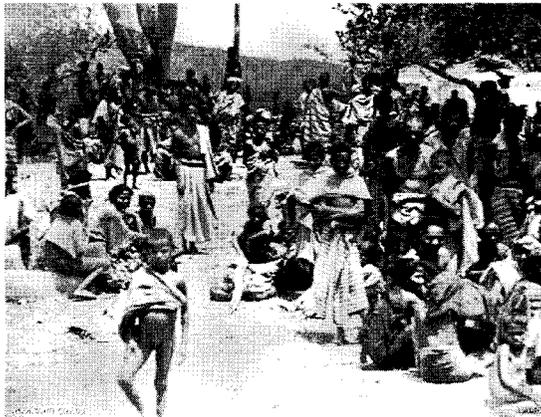
tuguese were so few in number that direct control of local affairs would have been in the hands of local elites until late September.

Upon arrival in Timor, one of the tasks of the Australian military was the liquidation of Japanese goods. Arms were guarded by Japanese, until they were inspected by and destroyed under the supervision of Australian troops, which in East Timor was between September 23–October 1. Tanks, motor vehicles, artillery and other large items were collected by the Japanese military in a few locations like Tibessi outside of Dili, where Japanese soldiers tried to destroy them in August 1945.<sup>32</sup> Before Australian soldiers arrived under orders to make the tanks inoperable, Timorese had already salvaged (or looted) a large amount of equipment for themselves (AWM 119657). The arms disposal process was more relaxed in West Timor where Timforce was based.

While arms were destroyed, food stocks were sometimes divided up in the villages in which they had been stored by the Japanese army (AWM 115669). This probably helped to alleviate the shortages of food which were common throughout Asia by late 1945. There were however few signs of starvation in the photographs of Timor, despite



AWM 119642: Japanese POWs and Timorese laborers preparing to dump ammunition into the ocean near Dili (September 25, 1945). Photo by Keith B. Davis.



AWM 121462: Timorese at the bazaar in Hatu Udo (East Timor) on December 14. Photograph by Keith B. Davis.

an inclination of the photographers to present dramatic, anti-Japanese images. Nonetheless, the devastation in Timor was not limited to the destruction of Kupang and Dili, and the coffee, rubber, and cocoa plantations of East Timor

During the first months after the war, there were few conflicts between Indonesian nationalists, NICA, Timforce, and the Japanese in the lesser Sundas. Beginning in December 1945, however, there were several conflicts between Indonesian nationalists and the Japanese over arms in Sumbawa. On January 3, four Japanese were wounded and two nationalists killed at Gempe. The same day, several other attacks against Japanese posts took place. The Australian Army ordered the Japanese to shoot, and arrests were made, calming things down (Long 1966: 572–273).

In general, however, life quickly “returned to normal” under the leadership of the traditional elites and the NICA or Portuguese colonial overlords. In East Timor, the local population would have been responsible for providing the labor needed to rebuild the infrastructure destroyed in the war. As Dili and other towns were in ruins, reconstruction was a major challenge. In West Timor, the Japanese assisted in the reconstruction for the first months, until they were relocated outside of Timor, resulting in fewer demands upon local Timorese.

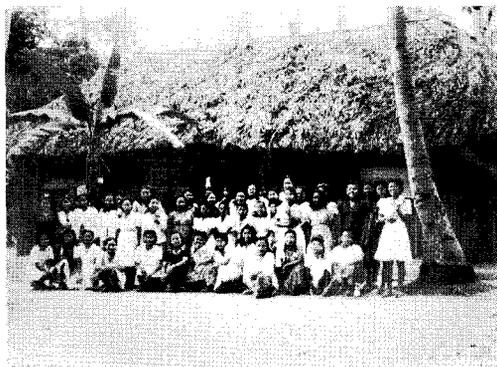
### Javanese on Timor

At the end of the war, large numbers of Javanese (and smaller numbers of other Indonesians) were scattered throughout the archipelago and beyond, many serving as laborers in very poor conditions.<sup>34</sup> It was critical for both humanitarian and practical administrative reasons to return these individuals to their home areas as soon as possible. This was one of the tasks undertaken by NICA and the Australian authorities in Timor.

On October 2, the *HMAS Gympie* arrived in Kupang bringing a number of “Javanese and Timorese slave laborers who were released from Japanese internment” (AWM 120068–71). It is unclear where they were arriving from, but it is possible that they were arriving from Portuguese Timor, where the *Gympie* had been from September 23. The last ship from the Dili mission, the *Moresby*, left Dili on October 1, and arrived at



AWM 120069: Javanese and Timorese laborers on the HMAS Gympie (October 2). Photograph by Keith B. Davis.



AWM 120082: The photograph caption indicates it was taken in Kupang on October 2, 1945. Note that there seem to be 41 women in the picture. Photo by Keith B. Davis.



AWM 120087: Kupang, Timor (October 3, 1945). Photograph by K. B. Davis.

Kupang early on October 3. It is thus possible that they had been laborers in the Fuiloro or Baucau areas. A picture from October 16 shows “liberated Javanese prisoners of war,” thus if the caption is correct, then this group was probably made up of former KNIL troops (NIOD 51918).

The group which received the most attention was probably Javanese women, whose presence tended to be noted by authorities and who were excellent subjects for photographers, although the information recorded about these photographs is rather less than reliable. For example, a group of 56 girls from Java were found in a camp in Atambua in September 1945. The caption for pictures in an Indonesian periodical on Java notes that there were 3,500 Japanese soldiers in Atambua, a figure which could be an estimate of the wartime garrison but also could be the number of Japanese there in September 1945 (after the evacuation of Portuguese Timor). The girls had been reportedly lured with promises of employment in hospitals.<sup>34</sup>

A second series of pictures now preserved in the Australian War Memorial depict Javanese women in Kupang with primarily the same caption: “TWENTY SIX JAVANESE GIRLS WHO WERE LIBERATED AT KOEPANG FROM JAPANESE BROTHELS. JUST PRIOR TO THEIR RELEASE THE JAPANESE ISSUED THEM WITH RED CROSS ARM BANDS IN AN ATTEMPT TO CAMOUFLAGE THE FOUL MANNER IN

WHICH THESE GIRLS HAD BEEN USED.” In some pictures they were being unloaded from a Japanese junk (October 3<sup>rd</sup>). Why they would be on a boat nearly three weeks after the allied arrival is not clear, nor is it clear why pictures dated October 3<sup>rd</sup> show 22 women (e.g. AWM 120087), but a picture dated one day earlier would show around 44 women (AWM 120082). The dates of the pictures may be mistaken, and other Javanese women may have been put together in one place,<sup>35</sup> but all that is known for sure is that there was at least one group of Javanese women who had been serving as prostitutes or comfort women, and were reportedly issued Red Cross markers before the Australians “arrived.”<sup>36</sup> In these pictures they seem to be well clothed, healthy, and in good spirits.

The women in question were placed in the care of NICA, which probably repatriated them to Java. Concentration in West Timor and repatriation to home areas was the fate of most other Javanese laborers and former KNIL troops. The fact that *heiho* are not mentioned is curious, and suggests that they were either grouped with former KNIL (thus POWs) or as “laborers” (usually called by the Japanese term *romusha* in Indonesia).

### Timorese Guerillas

When the Allies arrived in Kupang in September 1945, some Timorese came with



AWM 114880: “Indonesian Commandos” boarding the *Parkes*.



AWM 115663: Special Reconnaissance Section members from Portuguese Timor on board the *HMAS Parkes* in September 1945. Captain A. D. Stevenson with Francesca da Silva (left), Celestino dos Anjos (center left) and Alexandre da Silva (right).

them, soldiers variously identified as “Timorese guerillas” or “Indonesian commandos.” Three of Timorese, identified in one picture as Trooper Francesca da Silva, Trooper Celestino dos Anjos, and Alexandre da Silva, seem to have been civilians from Portuguese Timor who assisted the Australian military in 1942–3, then were brought to Australia, and were given further commando training by SRD (Services Reconnaissance Department). These men were probably brought to Timor in order to repatriate them to their homeland, as one man, Celestino dos Anjos, could not be contacted in November or December 1945 when Gen. Blamey awarded him the Loyal Service Medallion.<sup>37</sup> There were probably other (West) Timorese or Indonesians in Australian service accompanying the mission, in addition to the Dutch Indies Army troops.

### Indonesian nationalists arriving in Timor

A group of 1,416 Indonesian nationalist “mutineers” were deported from Australia in October 1945 on the transport ship *Esperance Bay* along with a small number of their Indonesian and Australian wives.<sup>38</sup> While they willingly departed Australia, having been assured by Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell that they would be delivered to Republican controlled areas,<sup>40</sup> Indonesians were removed at Kupang by Brig. Dyke on orders of his superiors because Louis Mountbatten would not grant safe passage to these individuals.<sup>39</sup> Nineteen of the forty had to be removed from the ship by force, and at least one, Jim Lumanauw, a spokesman for Indonesians in Australia, seems to have been jailed in Kupang. These Indonesians were kept far away from the local Timorese, being placed on Semaoc island until February 17, when the Australians were due to leave. They then were transported to other SEAC controlled areas (North Borneo and Singapore) to prevent NICA from imprisoning them while ensuring that they did not return to Java. Nearly all made it to Java by August 1946, while Lumanauw arrived some months later.<sup>40</sup>



AWM 125764: Five of the Indonesian nationalists on Timor prior to their departure around February 17. Photo by Keith B. Davis.

### The Australian Military History Section<sup>11</sup>

In September 1945, a field team of the Australian Military History Section was assigned to collect information related to the war in Timor for the historical record.<sup>42</sup> An important part of this was taking photographs and making sketches of people and places that had been significant for Australian army troops. The field team included three key members: a war artist, Charles Bush,<sup>43</sup> a photographer armed with a Mentor reflex camera, Sgt. Keith Benjamin Davis, and a guide, Sgt. George J. B. Milsom, a former member of the 2/40<sup>th</sup> Inf. Bat. which had been based in Kupang (December 1941-February 1942) and then the 2/2<sup>nd</sup> Independent Company which had been based in Portuguese Timor until December 1942.

The Military History Section Field Team arrived in Kupang in time for the surrender ceremony on September 11, travelling on the *HMAS Moresby* on which the surrender ceremony would take place. Once in Timor, they were assigned a house as an HQ in Kupang. From September to early February 1946, the team travelled around Timforce controlled areas, particularly Timor, but also to Sumbawa and Sumba with the Timforce mission. Their mission ended with the removal of the Australian force in February 1946, after which they continued work on the war crimes proceedings in Darwin in early March 1946.

The team covered the ceremonies with Col. Kaida on the *Moresby*, with Portuguese officials in Dili, and with Gen. Yamada in Kupang, as well as Lt. Gen. Berryman's visit,<sup>44</sup> then visited Sumbawa, Sumba and Flores, including the new concentration point for Japanese at Lopok on Sumbawa (AWM PO2325.005). While in Kupang, the team met a number of Japanese, at which time they photographed and sketched some of them. One of the Japanese even made a wood camera box for Davis' camera. After most of the Japanese had been sent to Lopok, the team headed to Portuguese Timor, traveling throughout Portuguese Timor with a jeep and trailer brought by ship to Dili, a truck from the Portuguese, and occasionally ponies. The Portuguese administration also provided a translator, at least during the arrival of Charles Eaton in Dili in January 1946, but Milsom and local Timorese like Manuberi, his former *creado*, also helped



AWM 122427: Section members in front of their Kupang HQ (November 14). Photo by Keith B. Davis.

provide information.

There was also at least one member of a Royal Australian Air Forces historical section team who visited Kupang in October 1945, Eric Thake,<sup>45</sup> and was photographed by Davis while sketching Gen. Yamada (AWM 120153).

### War Crimes Investigations<sup>46</sup>

One of the most important tasks of the Allied administration and a critical part of the process of wrapping up the war was investigating war crimes, and whenever possible prosecuting those responsible for misdeeds. For the Australians, that meant above all the execution of Australian soldiers in 1942, but also mistreatment of POWs before their transfer outside of Timor. Investigation of events in Portuguese Timor was delayed, in part due to the very reluctant cooperation of Portuguese authorities who were jealous of their sovereignty, irritated over their treatment at the end of the war, and possibly fearful that information which appeared in an investigation would be inconvenient for authorities who were attempting to establish their own version of the truth.

Captain R. Hilmer Smith was placed in charge of the investigation of atrocities in Timor. Beginning work soon after the Allied arrival in Timor, Capt. Smith was based at Bakunase, which was the center of NICA administration, and he seems to have been able to work effectively with the assistance of Dr. Gabler, Sgt.-Maj. G. Brandes of the Netherlands Indies Army and 2<sup>nd</sup> Sgt. Bire of the NICA police. In 1942, these three men "assist[ed] Australian troops and harassed the Japanese."<sup>47</sup>

Interviews were conducted in a businesslike atmosphere, with witnesses seated before a table at which Capt. Smith and others sat, taking notes. In order to allow native Timorese to overcome their fear of reprisal when identifying war crimes suspects, witnesses were put in a house and allowed to look through the wooden lattice of the window at the Japanese lined up outside, and speak to the Australian interrogator standing right outside the window. Japanese identified as suspects were ordered to



AWM 120173: Photograph taken at Bakunase [Bakoenasec] on October 11, 1945 by Keith B. Davis. Seated behind the table (from left to right) are Adjut. De Bree, Capt. Hilmar, Corporal D. D. Monro (AMF) and Corporal A. Lumangkun (NICA).



AWM 121524: Identifying suspects at Bakunase, November 21, 1945. Photograph by Keith B. Davis.

stand to one side, while others were allowed to return to the main group of Japanese.<sup>48</sup>

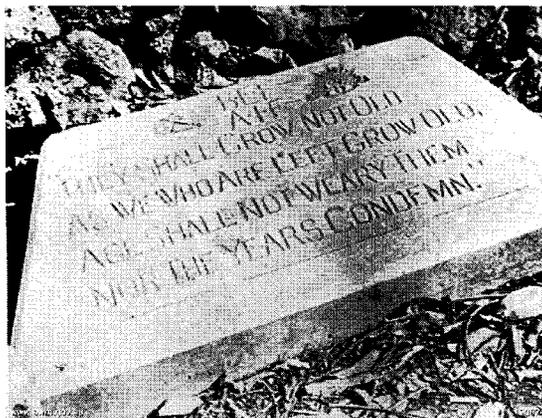
Among those detained for further investigation were Lt. Ohara and Capt. Sakamoto. Lt. Ohara Seidai, the commander of the Moa Island garrison in 1944, was detained because he was identified by two “eyewitnesses” in Kupang as being involved in the execution of 30 natives. Capt. Sakamoto named three men who executed two Indian POWs at Lautem, along with his deceased commander, Col. Jogo Kumakichi (d. November 1944).<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, individuals wanted elsewhere were sent to other jurisdictions, for example Maj. Gen. Tōru Tanaka, who was probably initially under suspicion of having ordered the execution of natives on Moa island in 1944, but was also wanted in China and by the Dutch.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, a number of suspects were expected to be taken to Darwin, where Capt. W. Smith of the 12/40<sup>th</sup> Battalion was constructing the Emery Point camp for suspected war criminals and a war crimes court was being prepared (AWM 125943).

The war crimes suspects in Kupang were not all from Timor. Kupang was an initial concentration point for Japanese war crimes suspects in the Lesser Sunda archipelago, and some Japanese suspects from Flores and Sumbawa were sent there for prosecution in October 1945. In one case, five war crimes suspects and an Indonesian murderer were sent on board the HMAS Gladstone, then taken to a Catalina Flying Boat for transport to Kupang on October 20, 1945 (AWM 120198).

For the Sunforce mission, Capt. A. D. Stevenson of the 2/4<sup>th</sup> Commando Squadron, who had parachuted into the Lalaia Valley of Portuguese Timor in June 1945 with the SRD civilian Celestino dos Anjos and Sgt. R. O. Dawson, was placed in charge of investigating war crimes.<sup>51</sup> Capt. Stevenson has also briefly traveled in Portuguese Timor in September, during the Dili mission. As the units travelled through Sumba and the Lesser Sundas, Stevenson collected information about war crimes, interviewing those with special knowledge of events anywhere in Asia.<sup>52</sup>

Australian investigators were first and foremost interested in atrocities committed against Australian troops or the special units sent during the war. As the units involved



AWM 120074: At the Australian cemetery between Kupang and Penfui. Photograph by Keith Davis.

in the initial invasion of Timor had been sent to Rabaul and other areas in the east, not much of the information gathered in 1945 could be used in Australian war crimes trials. Rather new information was compiled in Timor in 1946–7 and elsewhere was used in court.

On June 21, 1946, Major N. F. Quinton of the War Crimes Commission arrived in Dili and along with RNEI Capt. H. Pos attempted to investigate war crimes in Portuguese Timor. Major Quinton's primary task was to investigate war crimes against Australian soldiers, while Capt. Pos was investigating other matters. Portuguese officials at best were not supportive, and on occasion were even obstructive.<sup>53</sup>

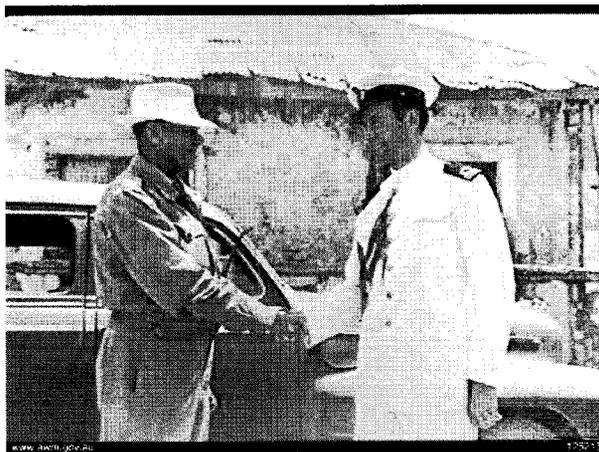
### **Australian War Graves Commission**

Of almost equal importance to Australians was finding the remains of Australian soldiers who had died. From 1945, units traveled around Timor, in both West Timor and Portuguese Timor, investigating possible Australian graves. Capt. R. J. Crilley was the commanding officer of the 16<sup>th</sup> war graves unit. Capt. Crilley first came to Portuguese Timor with the September 23<sup>rd</sup> Dilly expedition, at which time he was able to travel to Allieu, and probably elsewhere on brief trips (Wallis 1946: 31). He probably left with Brig. Dyke at the end of September, returning again in December 1945. Despite some disappointments, numerous remains were located. For example, on December 13, 1945 the war graves unit had the remains of an Australian soldier exhumed from the grave in the Beco area, and moved to the Australian cemetery near Kupang (AWM 121443).

The Australian cemetery in Kupang was also a project of the 16<sup>th</sup> war graves unit, and was constructed by Japanese POW laborers under the war graves unit direction (AWM 121522).

### **The End of Australian Involvement in Timor**

On January 24, 1946, the famous Northern Territory aviator Charles Eaton arrived in Dili to take up the consular position there. The Military History Section Field Team was still in Portuguese Timor and was able to photograph his arrival there. The posting



AWM 125213: RAAF Group Captain Charles Eaton (left), new Australian consul to Portuguese Timor, being greeted by the governor's Aide-de-Camp after arrival in Dili on the HMAS Camperdown. Photograph taken by Keith B. Davis on January 26, 1946.

of a well-known figure, famous for his missions over Timor during the war, probably helped relations with the Portuguese, whose feathers had had been ruffled by Australian insistence on Portuguese not being involved in accepting the surrender of the Japanese in Portuguese Timor. Practically it also made sense, as Eaton's predecessor, David Ross, had been a civil aviation official first placed in Dili as Qantas representative.<sup>54</sup> Eaton was soon frustrated with the lack of cooperation from the Portuguese in the war crimes investigations.

In West Timor, as the authorities prepared for Timforce withdrawal, they began to tie up loose ends, sending war crimes suspects to Darwin, sending Indonesian nationalists deported from Australia on to North Borneo, etc. They also has a final sports tournament and ceremonies on February 17, with Brig Dyke appearing for the last time as Timforce commander (AWM 125766). During the final month, Timforce was under the command of Col. T. W. Bartley of the 12/40<sup>th</sup> Battalion, and on March 19, 1946 ceased to exist.<sup>55</sup>

While the four year history of Japanese and Australian involvement in the Timor area ended with the departure of the Australians, the impart of the war and postwar "reconstruction" efforts effected the late colonial and postcolonial lives of Timorese on both sides of the Timorese border. Even 60 years after these events, echoes of this period sometimes reverberate in new ways, but are only truly meaningful with a detailed knowledge of events, and are best with a visual image of the places and individuals involved in these events.

### Note on Photographs

**AWM:** The Australian War Memorial houses the most complete collection of photographs of this period, most of which are accessible through the AWM website. This article makes extensive use of these images. The AWM website states that low-resolution photographs with AWM marks do not require special permission for non-commercial use, educational use, or use within an organization. Many photographs

have thus similarly been reproduced on public internet sites. Special thanks are due to the AWM for making such important resources available.

**NIOD:** The Netherlands Institute for War Documentation has a picture archive for the war which includes a number of images of the Kaida and Yamada surrender ceremonies, as well as of NICA activities in West Timor and the Lesser Sundas. While not reproduced in the article, the different focus in these pictures provides an important counterbalance to Australian archival sources.

**AA:** The Australian National Archives house a small number of photographs, in addition to those of the AWM. These are included in the Australian Archives collections.

**Victoria:** A limited number of photographs were donated to the Victoria State Library by *The Argus*. While largely duplicated in the AWM collection, they are also easily accessed through the internet, and illustrate the visual images available to the press in 1945.

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### Footnotes:

1. Morito Morishima (森島守人, 1896–1975) was a native of Ishikawa prefecture. A Foreign Ministry functionary, he served as the head of the East Asia Section from 1936, and then as Minister to Portugal until 1946. He was elected to the Diet in 1955 as a Socialist Party member. For more information on Morishima and Japan-Portugal relations during and after the war, see Gotō (1999), especially pages 186–191.
2. “Djepang menjerahkan Timor,” *Penjoeloeh* (August 20, 1945). The dateline for this story was New York, August 17, 1945.
3. The involvement of a Col. Yoshioka is surprising, as the commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Taiwanese Inf. Reg. was Col. Kobungo Tsuneoka (恒岡小文吾), a native of Okayama Prefecture. The commander of this regiment would normally have been the senior officer in Portuguese Timor. The Portuguese governor identified Col. Yoshioka as the commander of the Japanese army on Timor (Carvalho 1947: 620). Consul Suzuki was apparently appointed to replace Consul Tominaga on around 13 April 1945. Information about Consul Suzuki from Shigeto Takahashi (personal communication, October 28, 2008) and Carvalho (1947).
4. Gunn (1999: 231). Ferreira de Carvalho was appointed governor in 1940 and was replaced in December 1945 by Oscar Ruas (AWM 121400).
5. Lewis G. H. Dyke (VX89) was born in Adelaide on August 6, 1900.
6. There is contradictory information about the total of Australian and Dutch ships which arrived in Kupang on September 11. See for example, Gill (1968), NIOD 56402, and the Sea Power Centre Australia site (<http://www.navy.gov.au/spc/ships/parkes.html> cached July 30, 2008 by Google, accessed on August 28, 2008 and other similar pages). News reports in Indonesia noted that the *Abraham Crijnsen* had been assigned to protect the KPM ships *van den Bosch* and *Thedeus* which were to land Australian and NEI troops as well as NICA staff on Timor. It is unclear why the *Thedeus* was not included in Operation Tofo. See “‘Abraham Crijnsen’ bergerak ke-poelau Timor,” *Penjoeloeh* (September 10, 1945). L. De Jong (1986: 852–3) mentions the *Camphuys* as the transport ship.
7. Glen Loftus Cant (1902–?) of Gleneg, Victoria entered the RAN in 1915. He was appointed a Lt. Commander in 1932, and was regularly employed as an acting Commander from 1941. He was designated as the RAN representative on Operation Tofo by Gen. Blamey, and was frequently described as the commander of the *Adelaide*, his posting until February 25, 1945. His next command was minesweeping in the *Katoomba* from February 1946. From 1947–1962, he shuffled between the Emergency List and temporary service, formally retiring in 1962. (AA: A6769 Cant G L)
8. All POWs from Timor were sent to other parts of Southeast Asia, including Burma, early in the war, leaving only “protected” Portuguese in their concentration area.
9. This is presumably Don Nepa Wicliff Hans Maurits Nisoni, raja of Fatu Leu from 1945. Born in 1911, he was the son of one raja of Kupang (r. 1918–1945) and brother of another (r. 1945–). See <http://www.royalark.net/Indonesia/kupang4.htm> and related pages on the Nisoni family (accessed 15/10/2008).
10. AWM 115998, 115000; NIOD 56392. They were also greeted by the local Japanese commander, Army Lt. Sato (116003).
11. Sources vary widely in their descriptions of events, and even the number of ceremonies is unclear, perhaps numbering as many as three.
12. Major Ballieu was Brigade Major, second in command to Brig. Dyke (AWM 120268).
13. Forsyth (1975); Gill (1968: 694); Long (1966: 571–2); AA A1838/2,377/3/3/2, Evatt to Commonwealth Government (14 September 1945), [http://www.info.dfat.gov.au/info/historical/HistDocs.nsf/\(LookupVolNoNumber\)/8~245](http://www.info.dfat.gov.au/info/historical/HistDocs.nsf/(LookupVolNoNumber)/8~245) (accessed on 23/8/2008).
14. Gill states this was actually on September 24<sup>th</sup>.

15. "Tribute to Brave at Timor" *The Herald* (September 29, 1945).
16. See Gunn (1999: 234) and Long (1966), in particular the picture between pages 556–7.
17. Lt. Gen. Kunitarō Yamada (山田国太郎, 1894–1984) was a native of Aichi province. He was a graduate of the Imperial Japanese Army Academy (27<sup>th</sup> class, 1915) and the Army War College (40<sup>th</sup> class, 1928). He was promoted to Lt. General in October 1943 and assigned to the 48<sup>th</sup> Division in the Sunda archipelago in November 1944 after a posting as Chief of Staff in the Thailand Defense Army and Military Attaché in the Embassy in Thailand (1943–1944), but he had previously been the commanding officer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tank Brigade (1942–1943), as well as serving in teaching positions at the NCO School and War College (1934–1937). He did not arrive in Sumbawa until December 7, 1944, forcing his predecessor Tsuchihashi Yūitsu (土橋勇逸) to delay his departure to Indochina. For more detailed information, see the autobiographies of Yamada (1979) and Tsuchihashi (1985: 499–502), as well as <http://www.generals.dk/general/Yamada/Kunitaro/Japan.html> and <http://purunus.main.jp/dnum/2497> (accessed on 20 August 2008).
18. The undercarriage of one of these bombers collapsed upon landing (AWM 120079). For more on the arrival of Gen. Yamada and his planes, see Farram (2004: 217) and Yamada (1979: 270). Yamada claims to have left Sumbawa and arrived in Kupang on September 25.
19. Yamada (1979: 271–3). Yamada also claims to have met Brig. Dyke on the 25<sup>th</sup>, when he was in Dili. While it is technically possible for Brig. Dyke to have been shuttled back and forth following the ceremony on the 24<sup>th</sup>, more likely Gen. Yamada misunderstood with whom he was meeting.
20. One of the escorting ships was the HMAS Parkes.
21. According to Yamada, 25,000 Japanese were eventually concentrated here under his administration until around May 1946.
22. On such a flight on October 23, 1945, see AWM 120207.
23. In his autobiography, Yamada vaguely claims to have returned to Sumbawa immediately after the ceremony in Timor, but it seems more likely that the Allies would have insisted on his presence when visiting areas officially under 48<sup>th</sup> Division control. He would thus have "returned" with the Sunforce expedition.
24. The individual Japanese troops (including Taiwanese) interviewed by the Forum for Historical Documents on East Timor during the Japanese Occupation Period in 2005–2007 all had left Timor by the end of the war. Results of these interviews are due to be published in 2009.
25. Advanced Headquarters Australian Military Forces, "Weekly Operations and Intelligence Report No. 1," cited in Long (1966: 555).
26. See AWM photographs 120257, 120259, 120260, 120263, 120265, and 120266.
27. This is an odd assertion, however, as the RAN began to mothball ships in December 1945 (including several which took part in Operation Tofo), indicating a *surplus* of ships, either with respect to RAN personnel or tasks. More likely it was done for political convenience. On the transfer of the Japanese, see AWM photographs 121513–17, 121519, and 121522.
28. Leader of the prewar Perserikatan Kebangsaan Timor, from 1943 Izaak Hendrikus Doko had served as the head of the "Bunko Kakari" (apparently Health, Education, Religion and Information Affairs), the head of the youth organization, Seinendan, as well as the editor of the *Timor Syuho*. See Doko (1981: 100–3), Farram (2004: 195–7), and Gunn (1999: 227).
29. C. C. de Rooy was subsequently CONICA (Commanding Officer NICA) in Makassar in 1946. He was converted to an (acting) resident in the reorganization of Dutch-controlled territories before he and his wife returned to the Netherlands in mid-1946. See photograph taken in Kupang on 11 September 1945 (NIOD 52415).
30. On Lt. Snelleman's visit to Soë on September 17, see NIOD 56387.
31. On his immediate postwar experiences, see Doko (1981: 108–10).
32. See, for example, AWM pictures 119652–7 of Tibessi.
33. The actual conditions of laborers in the Timor area is hard to determine as the captions to AWM photographs emphasize that they probably hadn't eaten a "decent meal in years," but they look far healthier than the gaunt Portuguese shown in other pictures.
34. "Nasib Gadis Indonesia," *Penjoeloeh* (20 September 1945). Similarly its unclear whether all these girls had been in Atambua during the war, and when they arrived there.

35. Pictures like the one reproduced in *Materials on East Timor during World War II* (Forum 2008), in which two women posed with Gen. Tsuchihashi and the Japanese HQ staff in Kupang, suggests that not all Javanese women in Timor during the wartime years were comfort women or prostitutes. These women were probably administrative staff brought from Java.
36. See AWM pictures 120082–87. On this group of “fifty women” found in brothels in Kupang, as well as other information about prostitution in West Timor, including the involvement of Timorese women, see Farram (2004: 203–5). Unfortunately, the information Farram provides does not seem to resolve the contraction raised in these pictures and their captions.
37. This was granted on the basis of his assistance to the 2/2<sup>nd</sup> Independent Company and other Australian units in 1942–43, and his parachuting into the Lalaia Valley of East Timor in June 1945 at great risk for himself and his family. He finally received his medallion in 1971, at which time he was the “headman of the village of Bibileu.” See AA: B4717 Anjos/Celestino. The CAVR report, Chapter 7.2, “Unlawful Killings and Disappearances,” page 172 notes that Celestino dos Anjos, father of the former Ratih commander for Kraras, was killed near Kaijun Laran on September 22, 1983. Lambert (1997: 428) confirms his death.
38. The caption on the pictures states that they were “FIM (sic) sympathizers,” and states that rather than go to Batavia, they elected to stay in Timor under Australian control. That seems to be rather inaccurate. See Lockwood (1970: 54–55). Some of these Indonesians were internees from Boven Digul (eg. Senan, Soeparmin and Saedyat), but others were sailors, KNIL soldiers, or Indonesian civilians.
39. Soeparmin (1988), writing 33 years later, claims that the Indonesians refused to get off at Kupang and were then forced at bayonet-point to board an Australian navy ship at Jakarta, on which they were taken back to Kupang. There they met 60 ex-KNIL soldiers who refused to fight for the Dutch colonial state against their own people.
40. 125764, 125763. On these deportees, the context of their departure from Australia, and their arrival in Java, see Lockwood (1970), especially pp. 54–55, and Soeparmin (1988).
41. The Military History Section commander was also the longest-serving director of the AWM, Lt. Col. John Linton Treloar (10 December 1894–28 January 1952) of Melbourne. From his first assignment in the Australian War Records Section in 1917, he was the guiding force behind the development of the Australian War Memorial. During WWII, he became the head of the Department of Information, returning to the AWM after the war. <http://www.awm.gov.au/people/327.asp> accessed on 22/8/2008.
42. The discharge papers for one MHS member indicates service in Timor from October 13, 1945, a mistake of one month. They also show his return on March 8, 1946, a date which seems rather late.
43. Photograph in Hatu Udo, 15 December 1945 (121466).
44. F. H. Berryman, Chief of Staff of the Australian Military Forces, arrived at Penfui airfield (Kupang) on October 9 to discuss policy matters with Brig. Dyke and to inspect the troops (AWM 120143, 120146).
45. Eric Thake (1904–1982) was a Melbourne native who had briefly worked as a commercial artist in the 1920s, and had been active in studying and promoting art prior to the war. He was sent to northern Australia, Timor and Dutch New Guinea by the RAAF, and in general his work is far more colorful and sophisticated than the work of other military artists who drew very simple realistic pictures. [http://www.awm.gov.au/aboutus/artist\\_profiles/thake.asp](http://www.awm.gov.au/aboutus/artist_profiles/thake.asp) accessed 22/8/2008.
46. At present, this discussion only takes into account Australian war crimes investigations and trials, as Dutch materials are not available.
47. AWM 120173–4, 120176.
48. AWM photographs 121524–121525 (21 November 1945).
49. AA (Victoria): MP 742/1 336/1/399. He was a lieutenant at the time of the incidents in question.
50. Tōru Tanaka (田中透), commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Taiwanese Inf. Reg. from October 15, 1941, was a graduate of the 26<sup>th</sup> class of the Imperial Japanese Army Academy (1914). Prior to posting in Timor, he was the No. 2 District commander, No. 4 Border garrison, Manchuria (April 1939-January 1941). Events after the end of the war are unclear, but various sources present contradictory reports. One states that Tanaka was quickly identified as a war crimes suspect, and sent to Darwin for trial in March 1946 (AWM 125977). Although he was reportedly wanted in China, he seems to have been ultimately convicted in Ambon in January 1948, and executed on April 7, 1948. MP 742/1 336/1/1213 suggests that he was tried by the Dutch, then sent to China, perhaps in 1947.

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51. Arthur David Stevenson was born in Hampton, Victoria in 1920. After serving in the 2/4<sup>th</sup> Commando Squadron from January 1942 until September 1943 (including around four months in Timor), he joined the SRD, and was awarded Mention in Dispatches for his service in Timor in June 1945 (Operation Sunlag). He was discharged in April 1946. <http://www.specialforcesroh.com/>, AA: B4717 Anjos/Celestino, and AA: B883 VX54688.
52. See AWM 118730, 118737, 118740, and 120220.
53. See Gunn 199: 235–6, as well as the letter from Major Quinton to Consul Eaton in MP742/1 336/1/1724. The latter file also contains a small number of interrogation reports from Dili.
54. Eaton (1895–1979) served as consul until 1947, when he was sent to Indonesia as Australian consul-general to the Netherlands East Indies.
55. See Long (1966: 573).