



Dying for independence: proactive investigations into the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, Timor Leste

Soren Blau & Luis Fondebrider

To cite this article: Soren Blau & Luis Fondebrider (2011) Dying for independence: proactive investigations into the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, Timor Leste, The International Journal of Human Rights, 15:8, 1249-1274, DOI: [10.1080/13642987.2010.511999](https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2010.511999)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2010.511999>



Published online: 19 Oct 2010.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 488



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 6 View citing articles [↗](#)

Dying for independence: proactive investigations into the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, Timor Leste

Soren Blau^{a*} and Luis Fondebrider^b

^a*Victorian Institute of Forensic Medicine/Department of Forensic Medicine, Monash University;*

^b*The Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense, EAAF)*

While there have been numerous violent events in Timor Leste the one act that holds significant political and social meaning for the local population is a massacre that occurred in Dili on the 12 November 1991 at the Santa Cruz cemetery. Following a brief summary of the mechanisms in place to investigate human rights abuses in Timor Leste, this paper focuses on efforts to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre. While the number of people killed in or directly following the massacre is unconfirmed, there were numerous rumours about burial sites which, until recently, had not been substantiated. In 2008 a proactive investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre was undertaken by the International Forensic Team (IFT). Details about the consultation process with government authorities and families of victims are provided, followed by information about the archaeological investigations undertaken at Tibar and Hera. The laboratory analyses including results of the anthropological, property, DNA, ballistic and hair analyses are summarised. The work of the IFT provides for the first time physical evidence, including 11 positively identified individuals, which confirms a link between individuals recovered from the cemetery at Hera and the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. The paper concludes with a discussion about the meaning of this evidence in terms of future questions of truth and justice.

Keywords: forensic investigation; Timor Leste; Santa Cruz massacre; missing

The Commission noted in its hearings and other activities that the Santa Cruz Massacre remains an unresolved matter of great significance to many individuals and families, and to the nation as a whole, and believes that a more comprehensive investigation than its own is required.¹

Introduction

There are many countries worldwide that have experienced periods of political, ethnic and/or religious violence resulting in the disappearance and death of numerous people. For the last 30 years, the decision to initiate prosecutions and create truth commissions following acts of violence has, in many countries particularly in Latin America, been internal choices often following the creation of a new democracy (e.g., in Argentina, Chile, Peru, South Africa and Morocco to name a few). However, it cannot be denied that geopolitics plays a fundamental role in decisions made by the international community about prioritising which atrocities to investigate.² Regardless of the context and geographical location, it is the families of

*Corresponding author. Email: sorenb@vifm.org

victims who, without information about the whereabouts of their missing relative, suffer. The political, humanitarian, psychological and legal consequences of failing to provide information to families have been widely discussed.³ Consequently it has been argued that a proactive rather than reactive approach to investigating atrocities should be taken.⁴

The aim of this paper is to explain the background and present the preliminary findings of a proactive investigation of a case of past human rights violations in Timor Leste. The reasons for focusing on one specific case are detailed and the associated questions of justice that have arisen as a result of the work are considered.

Investigations of human rights abuse in Timor Leste

Between 1975 and late 1999 it is estimated that between 160,000 and 200,000 East Timorese were killed following the invasion and subsequent colonisation by Indonesia.⁵

Despite local and international organisations reporting different kinds of human rights violations committed during the Indonesian occupation, it was only after the new Constitutional Government took office in 2000 that it was possible to begin to have a full picture of the dimension and scale of human rights abuses.

Three main mechanisms were created to investigate these violent events:

- (1) **The Commission for Reception Truth and Reconciliation, referred to by its Portuguese acronym, CAVR** was formed and legally established in mid-2001. The CAVR had three main functions: to establish the facts of events between 1975–1999, to help achieve community reconciliation and reintegration of people who committed lesser crimes, and to provide recommendations to the Government of Timor Leste. Originally established for two years, the mandate of the CAVR was extended and a final report *Chega!*⁶ was delivered to the president on the 31 October 2005. The report details that 102,800 (+/– 11,000) Timorese died during the Indonesian occupation and approximately 18,600 (+/– 1000) Timorese were killed or disappeared during the occupation.⁷
- (2) **The Serious Crimes Unit (SCU)** was established in 2000 following the United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1272. The SCU was funded and staffed by the UN and acting under the direction and supervision of the Office of the Deputy General, was mandated to investigate both serious crimes (mass killings and forced deportation as well as individual offences of murder, rape and torture and other crimes against humanity) and ordinary crimes (which included acts such as burglary, murder, or sexual offences) committed between 1 January and 25 October 1999. The SCU was followed up in 2008 by the Serious Crimes Investigation Team (SCIT) created following Security Council Resolution 1704 (2006).⁸ Since its instigation, the SCU (now the SCIT) have undertaken over 250 exhumations⁹ (*cf* description of exhumations of 284 bodies).¹⁰
- (3) **The Indonesia–Timor Leste Commission of Truth and Friendship (CTF)** was a truth commission established by Indonesia and Timor Leste in August 2005. Its mandate was to investigate human rights violations committed by Indonesian armed forces during the occupation of Timor Leste, particularly the events and atrocities leading up to and surrounding the 1999 referendum which resulted in Timor Leste's independence.

All three of these mechanisms, but particularly the first two, dedicated special attention to the issue of disappeared persons, massacres and locations of possible mass graves.

Descriptions of some of the violent acts, predominantly those occurring in 1999 (i.e., in the post-ballot period)¹¹ can be found in the literature¹² and unlawful killings and disappearances are detailed in the report provided by the Commission of Reception Truth and Reconciliation.¹³ However, the decision to focus investigations on the purported 1300 killings of 1999 rather than the far larger number that occurred earlier has been questioned.¹⁴

The 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre

While there were many violent events prior to 1999,¹⁵ the one act which holds significant political and social meaning for the people of Timor Leste is the Santa Cruz massacre. On the morning of the 12 November 1991 an early morning memorial mass for political activist Sebastião (Gomes) Rangel was held at the Motael Church. Rangel was killed at the church by Indonesian security forces two weeks earlier on 28 October 1991. Following the mass an estimated 3000 people joined what eyewitness reports described as a peaceful procession to the Santa Cruz cemetery.¹⁶

A few months earlier the Indonesian government had objected to the inclusion of an Australian journalist in a proposed Portuguese delegation visit to Timor Leste. In protest, the delegation was cancelled in October 1991. Tensions in Dili were heightened as the East Timorese independence activists had hoped to use the Portuguese visit to raise the international profile of their cause. Subsequently, in the procession to the Santa Cruz cemetery it has been suggested that there was an uncharacteristically open defiance of Indonesian authority as exhibited by some members of the process who were reported to have shouted pro-independence slogans and carried flags for the nationalist movement Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (in Portuguese Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente – FRETILIN).¹⁷ The procession/demonstration has been described as being peaceful and controlled until, without warning or provocation, Indonesian security forces fired on the crowd.¹⁸

Alleged numbers of missing

To date there is no confirmed number of individuals killed in or directly following the massacre.¹⁹ Confirming figures is complicated by the allegation that in addition to killings on 12 November, reports exist of executions of witnesses to the massacres on 15, 17 and 18 November and thereafter into December.²⁰ In this sense the ‘Santa Cruz massacre’ cannot be considered a single event but a continuum for a period of time that is hard to specify. This ambiguity makes defining a single list of victims difficult. Estimates vary depending on the reporting source (Table 1). There were also allegations about casualties being taken to the army hospital and poisoned.²¹

Significance of the Santa Cruz massacre

As in any case of political violence resulting in the disappearance of individuals, the lack of information and clarity on the fate of missing persons presumed deceased has significant, political, psychological, and legal ramifications for relatives and the community.²² In addition, however, the Santa Cruz massacre described as ‘perhaps the most notorious single act of violence by Indonesian authorities’,²³ is significant for Timorese because of the number of young people who lost their lives, with the tragedy being seen as a turning point in the ‘struggle for international recognition’²⁴ and ultimately independence.

Since independence in 2002, the 12 November has been declared a public holiday in Timor Leste²⁵ with the notion that ‘[t]oday the Santa Cruz massacre stands for the rest

Table 1. Summary of information pertaining to numbers of individuals killed, hospitalised, and/or disappeared following the Santa Cruz massacre.^f

| Killed | Wounded | Hospitalised | Disappeared | Source |
|-----------|---------|-----------------|-------------|--------|
| 84 | — | — | — | a |
| 110 | — | — | — | b |
| 271 | 278 | 103 | 270 | c |
| 273 | 376 | — | 255 | d |
| >100 | — | — | — | e |
| Dozens | — | — | — | f |
| 50–80 | — | — | — | g |
| <100 | — | — | — | h |
| 19 | 91 | — | — | i |
| c. 50 | — | — | — | j |
| | | 91 ^k | 90 | l |
| | 89 | 14 | Scores | m |
| 50– > 200 | — | — | — | n |
| 75–200 | — | — | — | o |
| 189 | — | — | — | p |
| 18 | — | — | 115 | q |

Sources: ^a 12th November Committee (Gregorio Saldanha personal communication, 2009); ^b Record of collation of autopsy reports, exhibits list in an unpublished UN document (manuscript in possession of authors); ^c United Nations; ^d Anon., 'The Second Wako Mission', *TAPOL Bulletin*, June 1993; ^e J. Collins, 'Interview with Ramos–Horta Urges 1991 Massacre Inquiry', 2000, <http://www.etan.org/et2000a/january/1-7/3ramos.htm> (accessed April 23, 2003); ^f Eyewitness, Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 3; ^g Other sources, Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 3; ^h Military official, Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 3; ⁱ Indonesian Government Report, Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 3; ^j Amnesty International, *Findings from the Indonesian Commission, Santa Cruz: The Government Response*, 6 February 1992, ASA 21/03/92, p.4; ^k Anon., *Security Assistance: Shooting Incident in East Timor, Indonesia*. Fact Sheet for Congressional Requesters, <http://www.fas.org/asmp/resources/govern/gao92132FS.pdf> (accessed February 19, 2010). NB: Further details are provided: 42 suffered gunshot wounds; 14 from stabbing and 36 wounds from blunt instruments (p.14) but these numbers add up to 92 not 91! The source also says 50 were released to their families on 14 December 1991, p.14; ^l Anon., *Security Assistance: Shooting Incident in East Timor, Indonesia*; ^m Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*; ⁿ Unofficial count: Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 3; ^o Asia Watch, *East Timor: The November 12 Massacre and its Aftermath* (Washington, DC: Asia Watch, 1991); ^p Anon., 'More Details on the Situation in East Timor after 12 November Massacre' (USA: National Council of Maubere Resistance, 1992), <http://www.etan.org/etanpdf/timordocs/timmas10%2092-02-28.pdf> (accessed January 14, 2010); ^q Asia Watch, *East Timor: The November 12 Massacre and its Aftermath*, 2; ^r Revised from Blau and Skinner, 'The Use of Forensic Archaeology in the Investigation of Human Rights Abuse', 454.

of the massacres'.²⁶ Despite a passage of 18 years, the commemoration of the massacre in 2009 was no less significant with literally thousands of people including the president and prime minister of Timor Leste and president of the parliament participating in the re-enactment of the procession from Motael Church to the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Another distinguishing feature that perhaps separates the Santa Cruz massacre from other massacres is the fact that international media were present,²⁷ and that it was filmed by the British journalist Max Stahl. Despite an argument that the massacre was set up and filmed merely as anti-Indonesian propaganda to reignite tension between Indonesia and Timor Leste,²⁸ such footage was seen internationally as critical evidence supporting the Indonesian repression of Timorese.²⁹

Investigations undertaken after the massacre

In a report commissioned by the United Nations in 2001 about the events behind the crimes against humanity committed in Timor Leste in 1999, it was stated: 'the most serious crimes,

such as the Krasas and Santa Cruz massacres, are crimes of such magnitude that they must be considered of concern to the international community as a whole'.³⁰ Despite images being sent around the world following the act of violence, there were still those who 'tried to convince the international community that the Santa Cruz Massacre was "an aberration, not an act of state policy"'.³¹

Immediately after the massacre, on the 19 November the Indonesian Government 'announced the formation of a seven-member National Investigation Commission to enquire into the killings'.³² The Indonesian enquiry (Komisi Penyelidikan Nasional, KPN) spent three weeks in Timor Leste meeting with government and military officials and interviewing 132 eyewitnesses.³³ The preliminary report released by the enquiry on the 26 December 1991 was heavily criticised by human rights groups³⁴ being viewed as a way of appeasing international and domestic criticism of the event.³⁵ Indonesia argued that attempts had been taken to identify the bodies of the 19 acknowledged victims. While the only foreigner was identified because he was carrying identification documents, the remaining 18 bodies were buried the day after the killings as the mortuary could only accommodate three to four bodies. Fingerprints, but not photographs of the victims were apparently taken.³⁶

While human rights groups recommended that an international team with experienced forensic specialists investigate the massacre³⁷ it was not until 2001 that the UN commenced investigations. It is possible that the work was delayed because of the fact that the UN mandate was to focus on investigating atrocities committed in 1999. Unpublished documents obtained by the authors with permission from a confidential credible source indicate there was an Operation Plan 'to investigate and prepare a brief of evidence against those persons responsible for the deaths at Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991'.³⁸ Consisting of eight phases, a series of approaches were suggested by the National Investigations Unit (NIU) and authorised by the Dili District Court Investigation Judge Unit in April 2001. Such investigations included:

- Closing off an alleged crime scene area in Ladac, sub village of Tibar (document dated 16 April 2001);
- Undertaking an exhumation with a radius of 25 × 25 m, 1.75 deep 'to prove whether corpses from Santa Cruz incident in that area' (document dated 16 April 2001). An exhumation at Tibar was proposed for 21 May–18 June 2001 (document dated 2 April 2001);
- Organising a mechanical excavator 'for an exploratory dig at Tibar' (document dated 24 April 2001);
- Request for approval for aerial photography which would 'serve as an aide memoir for the witnesses and as an exhibit in later court proceedings' (document dated 9 February 2001);
- Interviewing a number of witness in Dili; and
- 'Costing for radar examination of the gravesite' (document dated 4 April 2001).

A UN document summarises work at an alleged gravesite at Tibar: 'one dig commenced at rear of mound, second dig commenced approximately 25 metres to the rear of the mound. No human remains located' (document dated 17 April 2001).³⁹ Apart from this one comment there are no thorough records in the form of plans, notes or photographs which detail the methodology and findings of the work at Tibar. Further, it is not clear from the documentation whether aerial imagery or radar investigations were ever undertaken.

The UN were apparently hampered by a lack of staff with two officers being given the sole responsibility for investigating the 'Santa Cruz massacre, another massacre near

Viqueque, and the inquiry into the 1975 Balibo killings'.⁴⁰ With the exception of the commitment by the 12th November Committee⁴¹ who worked for many years collecting information from families, there were little dedicated additional investigations.⁴² Until recently, the uncertainty and anguish about the fate of their loved ones remained unchanged for the families of those killed during or after the 12 November.

A proactive humanitarian approach

Establishing the appropriate government authority

Between 2003 and 2006 staff from the Victorian Institute of Forensic Medicine (VIFM) and the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF) were involved in discussions with government ministers in Timor Leste regarding the level of support required to undertake a humanitarian investigation into the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. In 2005 the VIFM and the EAAF signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to form the International Forensic Team (IFT)⁴³ in order to facilitate this work.

In 2007, a MoU was signed between the VIFM and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste (RDTL). The objective of this MoU was to facilitate an investigation into the events of the 12 November 1991; specifically to attempt to identify those killed during or following the massacre.

Funding

It would be naive to believe investigations of human rights abuse (whether reactive or proactive) could be undertaken without a budget. In 2008 the VIFM was successful in obtaining funding from AusAID under the Public Sector Linkages Program (PSLP)⁴⁴ to provide technical assistance and training to representatives from the Timor-Leste National Police (PNTL) and the Forensic Department of the Hospital Nacional Guido Valladares (HNGV) in the field of human identification. Additional funding was also provided by the Argentine Government and an anonymous donor through EAAF. The training included a practical component based around a humanitarian investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre.

Working with families

The training/investigation project was undertaken for humanitarian purposes with the aim of locating and identifying human remains. While the Timorese authorities expressed no intention to pursue criminal charges based on the findings, the exhumation process included the complete recovery and preservation of all evidence, following international forensic standards, in addition to taking into account the needs of the families as expressed to the IFT during several meetings. An important aspect of the IFT's work was the strong relationship developed with families with missing relatives to ensure that their wishes and expectations formed part of the process of the work.⁴⁵

Training and investigation

The IFT recognise the importance of working with local specialists in specific case investigations not only as a way of augmenting the local capacity but also as a means of empowering the local actors in the process. In the case of the investigation of the Santa Cruz massacre in Timor Leste it was essential to incorporate the forensic section of the National Police (PNTL)

and mortuary staff from the national hospital. Timor Leste emerged from independence in 2002 without any formal forensic system, which posed many challenges to the work and consequently the IFT ran a training programme in aspects of human identification.

Classroom training

In July 2008, the IFT provided training which included a series of lectures (theory and cases studies) and practical desktop exercises focusing on identification of deceased individuals following a natural or human induced disaster (disaster victim identification – DVI) and human rights abuses.

Fieldwork training

The practical fieldwork component of the training involved an assessment of areas allegedly used to bury bodies following the Santa Cruz massacre. Unconfirmed reports of bodies buried in large, but newly dug, unmarked graves outside Dili⁴⁶ make reference to two areas: Tibar and Hera.

Investigations at Tibar

The area of Tibar (8° 35'45.06 S, 125° 29' 56.74 E) is located 8–12 km west of Dili and includes villages as well as a large rubbish dump which has been in use since prior to 1991 until the present. Information obtained from Mario Carrascalao, the Jakarta-appointed governor of Timor Leste in 1991, suggested there was evidence that soldiers executed a truckload of Timorese and buried them at a site on the Bemos River south of Dili, near a rubbish tip.⁴⁷

Witness accounts describe various events following the 12 November that occurred in the area of Tibar.⁴⁸ Based on the presence of a memorial cross that had been erected by local people in one area and the allegation of a military camp in another, the IFT targeted three sites of interest for investigation in the area of Tibar. Having obtained the appropriate authority from the General Prosecutor and the local village chief to commence work at Tibar, the areas were cleared of thick vegetation. A helicopter flight over the cleared sites allowed an aerial assessment of the areas (Figure 1) but no clear evidence of disturbances was revealed.

Training in search, location and recording techniques was provided to the PNTL and hospital staff. Using a mechanical excavator (typically used in evaluating large scale areas),⁴⁹ with a one metre-wide bucket, a total of 27 explorative trenches were opened at Tibar Site 1 and 2 (Figure 2) and 31 trenches at Tibar Site 3 (Figure 3). The trenches provided visible sections across the area so that the stratigraphy could be assessed for evidence of disturbance.⁵⁰

As outlined above, an important aspect of the IFT's work is the trusting relationship established with the families of victims, which includes understanding and respecting cultural-religious needs associated with death, dying and the dead. Although the majority of the Timor Leste population (which is almost one million) is Catholic, there continues to be a strong animist tradition in which there is a 'fundamental belief in the power of nature; that the land, the forest, the sea, the stars have great magic and can either harm or protect people'.⁵¹ A prominent aspect of animism is the need to lay the spirits of the dead to rest.⁵² Consequently, the IFT invited families to be present during the exhumations, observe the daily work, and perform rituals on the sites for the spirits of the dead. In one case, some of the families attributed the absence of evidence of a grave (see below) to the fact that the appropriate rituals were not performed at the correct time.⁵³ The IFT held regular meetings with the families to listen to their concerns they had, discuss options to deal with these matters and brief families on the progress of the daily work.



Figure 1. Ariel view of Tibar showing no evidence of human activity (source: IFT).

Results

Despite the numerous stories about the presence of a mass grave at Tibar, the IFT investigations found no evidence of graves and/or human remains at the areas identified as possible grave sites (Figure 4). Information provided by a witness identified an area at Tibar where the Indonesians allegedly had an outpost to watch the grave. The remnants of a concrete block (possibly a plinth) were located with the inscription:

Joanif 123/RW

MHD Mur Chan

<Pairus⁵⁴ Abadi >

While the concrete block and other recovered evidence such as packages for Indonesian food rations and bullet cartridges confirm an Indonesian military presence, no evidence for significant digging activity was recovered from Tibar.

Other sources of information at Tibar

A foreign journalist

An Australian journalist visited Tibar shortly after the massacre in 1991 and published an article with an accompanying photograph of an alleged grave site.⁵⁵ In a preliminary visit to the site of Tibar it was noted⁵⁶ that there was no obvious comparability between Schultz's 1991 photograph and the environment where a memorial cross had been erected by families of the missing.⁵⁷

Returning to Dili in 2008, Mr Schultz worked with the IFT to attempt to relocate the site he documented some 17 years previously. Despite being able to find the area (which was further west than the site of the memorial cross), the landscape had significantly changed since 1991 and the specific location where the photograph was taken could not be identified. An investigation of the broad area found no evidence of a mass grave. Interviews with local inhabitants indicated no evidence of unusual activity being undertaken by the Indonesians

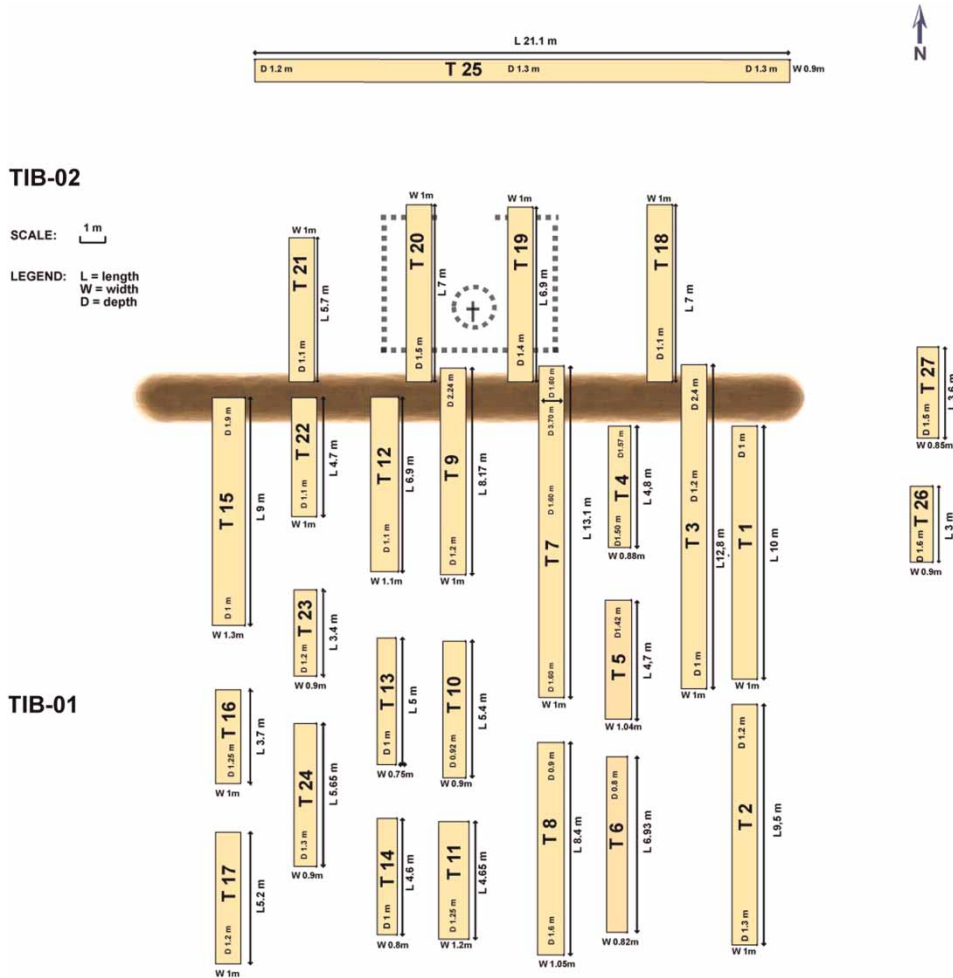


Figure 2. Plan of investigative trenches at Tibar Sites 1 and 2.

around November/December 1991. Further, a detailed examination of the photograph shows no evidence of disrupted soil which would be expected if a grave had been dug and refilled. It is also possible that the white substance depicted in the photograph and interpreted by Schultz to possibly be a lime-like substance, was in fact the remnants of a burnt palm tree.

Tibar rubbish dump: a map

A copy of a hand drawn sketch map was provided to the IFT. The map had allegedly been given anonymously to Marie Carrascalao (governor of Timor Leste during the Indonesian occupation). The map depicts the rubbish dump at Tibar and five metres either side of this, two graves. One grave was said to contain 79 bodies (dating to 12 November 1991) and the other grave (dating to December 1991). The number of bodies within the graves was not known.

The use of rubbish dumps as a place to dispose of bodies was a common practice in Central America in the 1980s for example, in Guatemala, El Salvador and Colombia, where paramilitary units dropped the mutilated bodies of their victims into dumps. While

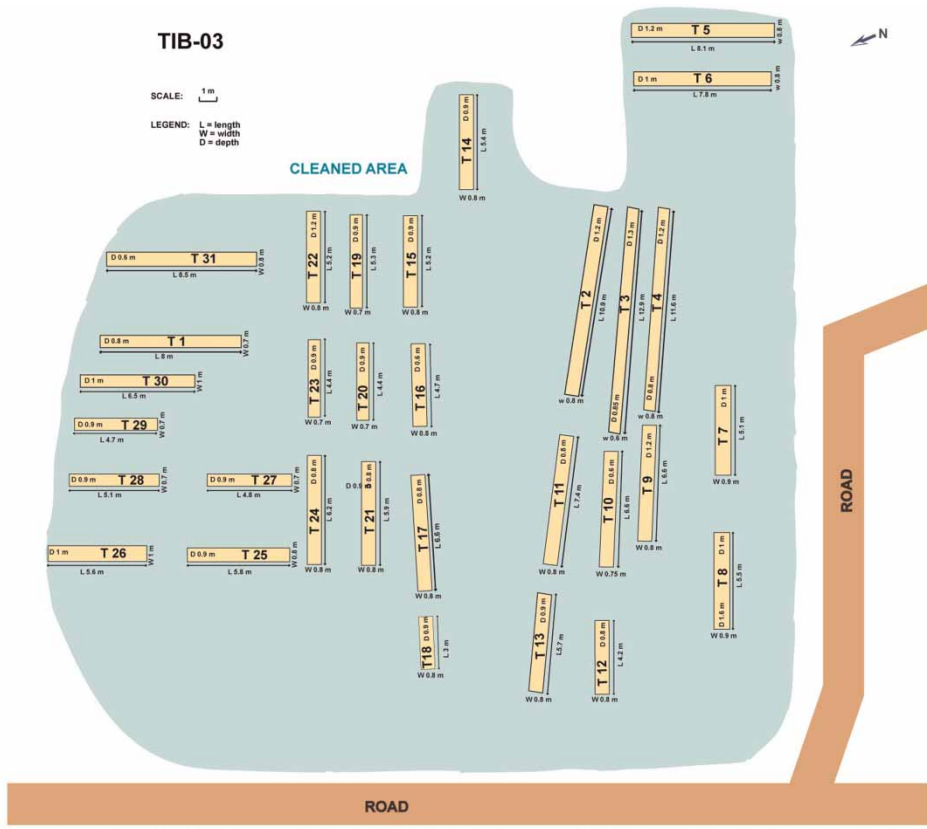


Figure 3. Plan of investigative trenches at Tiber Site 3.

The IFT undertook a preliminary assessment of the rubbish dump, the parameters of the site have significantly grown over the past 17 years and it was impossible at the time of the reconnaissance to define the original size of the rubbish dump in 1991. While it would be theoretically possible for a number of mechanical excavators to clear the site, this is a resource rich exercise which was not possible for the IFT to undertake at this time.

It was suggested that the map was actually a form or propaganda and may in fact have been given as a means of misleading any investigations. Further, interviews with people living in and around the dump since 1991 indicated no unusual activity. The inhabitants felt confident they would have noticed if the Indonesians had been active during this time.

Fieldwork at Hera

Background

The other area allegedly related event associated with the Santa Cruz massacre is the cemetery at Hera ($8^{\circ} 32' 18''$ South, $125^{\circ} 41' 4''$ East) approximately 40 minutes drive east of Dili. Unconfirmed reports mention different numbers of individuals being buried at Hera: as part of the National Investigative Commission (KPN) the Indonesian military said it had buried 19 individuals killed in the 12 November incident at Hera.⁵⁸ Information obtained from an eyewitness smuggled out of Timor Leste mentioned that 36 individuals were buried collectively.⁵⁹



Figure 4. Section illustrating the natural stratigraphy at Tibar indicating no evidence of human activity (source: IFT).

Archaeological investigations

After the lack of positive results from Tibar, the IFT met with the 12th November Committee and the relatives of the missing. It was agreed to investigate the cemetery at Hera where several graves were suspected to relate to events dating to the 12 November 1991.

Again, the opportunity was used to provide training which focused on aspects of locating, recording, recovering and analysing human remains. The same members of the Police National de Timor-Leste (PNTL) and hospital/mortuary staff who worked at Tiber attended the training.

At the request of the 12th November Committee (see note 41), a church service was held at the Catholic church at Hera (Figure 5) for the families of victims of the Santa Cruz massacre prior to the commencement of the fieldwork. This was in addition to a traditional Timorese ceremony.



Figure 5. Catholic church service held prior to the exhumations commencing at Hera cemetery (source: IFT).

Having obtained the appropriate authority from the General Prosecutor and the Chief of Hera to work in the cemetery and its surroundings, the IFT interviewed a witness who had assisted the Indonesian military with the burial of deceased persons at the cemetery of Hera after 12 November 1991. During the interview conducted at Hera the witness described his recollection of the location of the graves. Based on this information 20 possible graves were identified for investigation. Each grave ('GR') was given a number (1–20).

Using standard archaeological excavation techniques, the IFT together with representatives from the PNTL and the Forensic Department at the HNGV, opened a total of 20 graves.

Findings

Methodical excavation of the 20 graves revealed obvious evidence of the outline of coffins in 11 graves approximately 60–70 cm below the surface of the ground. Apart from some coffin nails, only fragments of the coffin wood survived (Figure 6). In the remains of nine graves, only five had evidence for coffins and the other four 'graves' had no evidence of a coffin outline or human remains.

Of the 20 graves that were opened, 16 contained single individuals. Each of the individuals exhumed was in a supine position (that is, lying on their backs) and orientated in an east-west direction. A total of four graves contained no human remains.

Preservation

Despite nearly 18 years in the ground and the cemetery being located relatively near the ocean, the skeletal remains were surprisingly well preserved and showed little post-mortem damage. The exception to this was GR16 B1 which had taphonomic alterations to the right lateral and superior aspects of the cranium (Figures 7a and 7b). Such changes may have been caused by tree roots as the grave was closely located near a tree.



Figure 6. Grave 14 at Hera showing evidence of the outline of a coffin (source: IFT).

Head hair was recovered from GR3, GR11 and GR12 and pubic hair from GR14. In addition, many of the individuals had associated well preserved clothing and property (Figure 8). In four cases, identification cards were recovered with the individuals. In three of these four cases, the details of the individual's name and other information were legible.

Laboratory analyses

The human remains and associated evidence were transported to the Forensic Department of the Hospital Nazionale Guido Valladares (HNGV) in Dili.⁶⁰ Although the Forensic Department lacks a formal area to clean and analyse skeletal remains, the IFT together with the staff and the PNTL arranged an area for cleaning, recording (photography), X-ray and anthropological analyses and storage of the remains.



Figure 7. Taphonomic changes to the right lateral and superior aspects of the cranium, GR16 B1 (source: IFT).

X-ray facilities were limited and in only five cases were radiographs produced in order to detect metal fragments compatible with gunshot wounds. Standard anthropological analyses were undertaken including the determination of the sex, age, stature of the individuals and an assessment of ante-, peri and post-mortem trauma. All associated clothing and property were recorded and documented. In addition, a total of 32 samples of teeth and 16 samples of bone were collected for DNA analysis.

Due to the absence of a forensic science and DNA laboratory in Timor Leste the hair and metallic evidence and DNA samples were transported to Australia (with the due authorisation from the Office of the General Prosecutor) and analysed at the VIFM and ballistics

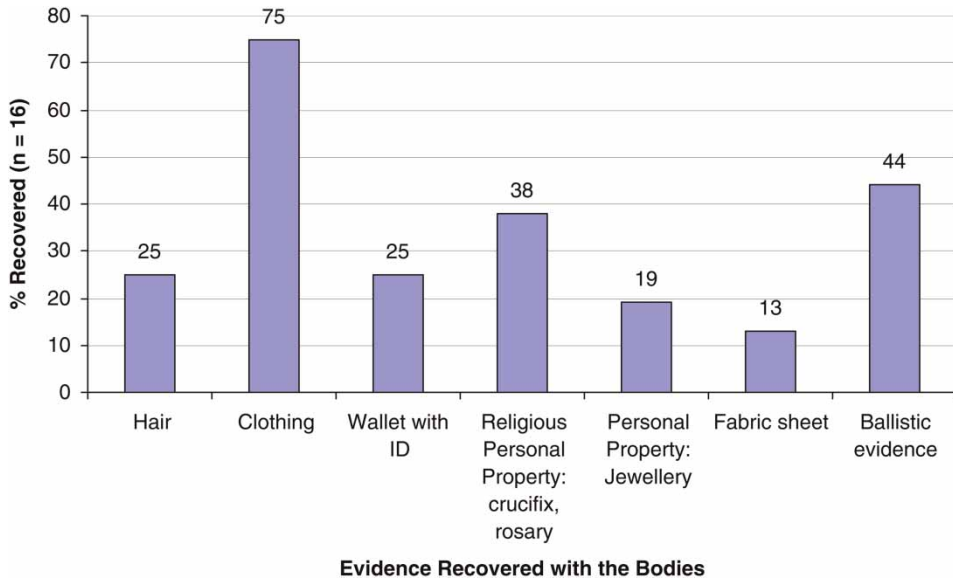


Figure 8. Percentages of clothing, property and other evidence recovered with the deceased individuals (n = 16), Hera.

unit, Victoria Police Forensic Services Department respectively. The DNA analyses were collaboratively undertaken at DNA laboratories at the VIFM and the EAAF.

Ante-mortem data collection

The attempted identification of an individual is based on the ability to confidently match details about the missing person (ante-mortem information) with data related to the deceased person (post-mortem information). Therefore, effective ante-mortem collection is an essential part of the identification process. Consequently, the IFT dedicated a forensic anthropologist to work full time to interview relatives, collect information and blood samples. In this role the forensic anthropologist was also able to address any questions or doubts the families had about the identification process. Each meeting was conducted with the aid of an interpreter and lasted two–three hours. In many cases more than one family member attended the meetings.

Storage and curation of information

In order to systematise and analyse the information obtained from interviews with relatives, the field and laboratory, a specific database was created to record all the data. At the end of the project it is the intention of the IFT to provide copies of the database to the Ministry of Justice and 12 November Committee to form part of Timor Leste's historic record.

Results

Demographic profile of the human remains

Anthropological analyses of the remains showed that all of the 16 individuals were young men (Figure 9) with the youngest individual (positively identified – see below) aged 15 and the eldest (yet to be positively identified) aged $35 \pm$ five years (Table 2).

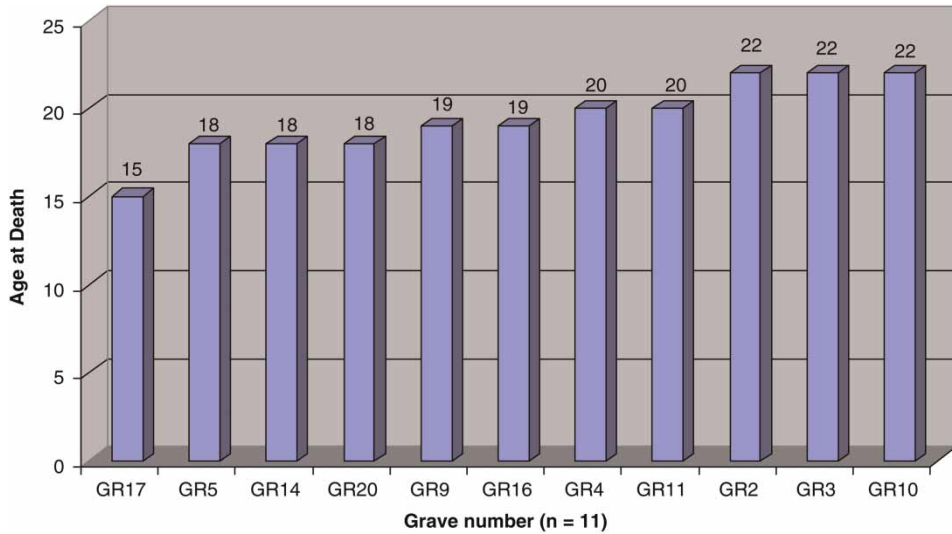


Figure 9. Ages of positively identified individuals recovered from Hera.

Table 2. Age ranges of unidentified individuals recovered from Hera.

| Grave | Age |
|-------|--------------------------|
| 18 | 23 ± 2 (21–25 years) |
| 15 | 25 ± 3 (22–28 years) |
| 13 | 25 ± 3 (22–28 years) |
| 8 | 27 ± 3 (24–30 years) |
| 12 | 35 ± 5 (30–40 years) |

Ante-mortem data collection

To date, 53 families of victims of the Santa Cruz massacre have been interviewed at the post-CAVR Technical Secretariat (STP-CAVR). During the interviews, 188 blood samples were collected from the families of the victims for DNA analysis.⁶¹

Personal identification

Based on the matching of post-mortem and ante-mortem DNA results, anthropological findings and associated clothing and property, 69 per cent of the individuals exhumed from Hera ($n = 16$) have, to date, been positively identified (Table 3).

Cause of death and trauma

As Timor Leste does not have a national forensic pathologist and the practising foreign forensic pathologist was not authorised to certify cause of death in these cases, no formal cause of death was provided. However, in each case any evidence of an injury that was consistent with a possible cause death was recorded. A total of 63 per cent ($n = 16$) of the individuals had evidence of peri-mortem trauma, while 31 per cent showed no traumatic defects to the bone (Table 4). In one case the aetiology of the skeletal alterations could not be determined. In all cases of peri-mortem trauma ($n = 16$), there was evidence of at least one gunshot injury. In the case of GR8 (yet to be positively identified) there was evidence of five separate shot events. The majority of gunshot wounds were located in the head and thoracic (chest) region (Figure 10).

Table 3. List of positively identified individuals recovered from Hera.

| Grave | Body | Date excavated | Identified |
|-------|------|----------------|---------------|
| GR1 | N/A | 24/03/2009 | N/A – no body |
| GR2 | B1 | 24/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR3 | B1 | 25/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR4 | B1 | 26/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR5 | B1 | 27/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR6 | N/A | 25/03/2009 | N/A – no body |
| GR7 | N/A | 25/03/2009 | N/A – no body |
| GR8 | B1 | 25/03/2009 | No |
| GR9 | B1 | 26/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR10 | B1 | 26/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR11 | B1 | 26/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR12 | B1 | 25/03/2009 | No |
| GR13 | B1 | 27/03/2009 | No |
| GR14 | B1 | 31/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR15 | B1 | 27/03/2009 | No |
| GR16 | B1 | 30/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR17 | B1 | 27/03/2009 | Yes |
| GR18 | B1 | 27/03/2009 | No |
| GR19 | N/A | 30/03/2009 | N/A – no body |
| GR20 | B1 | 27/03/2009 | Yes |

Table 4. List of individuals with evidence of peri-mortem trauma.

| Body | Peri-mortem trauma | Anatomical location | Comment |
|------|--------------------|--|---|
| GR2 | Possibly | Mandible | Eitology unknown |
| GR3 | Yes | Scapula, ribs | Gunshot |
| GR4 | Yes | Scapula, ribs | Gunshot |
| GR5 | No | N/A | |
| GR8 | Yes | Skull (cranium and mandible), C1 & C2, right scapula, left radius, right ribs 4-9, pelvis, left femur, right fibula | At least 5 GSW |
| GR9 | No | N/A | |
| GR10 | No | N/A | |
| GR11 | No | N/A | |
| GR12 | Yes | Cranium, sternum, left clavicle, C7, T2-T8, L1-L3, ribs 1, rib 3-4, ribs 7-8, 2nd middle right hand phalanx | GSW to left parietal, right frontal, left mastoid |
| GR13 | No | N/A | |
| GR14 | Yes | Cranium | GSW: posterior head |
| GR15 | Yes | Right 6-8th ribs | Gunshot |
| GR16 | Yes | Ribs, hand | Gunshot |
| GR17 | Yes | Vertebrae | Gunshot |
| GR18 | Yes | Cranium, left and right scapula, left clavicle, right humerus, left and right ulna, left radius, left femur, left and right ribs | Gunshot; 2 GSW to head |
| GR20 | Yes | Skull (cranium and mandible) | Gunshot |

Hair analysis

Allegations suggest that ‘soldiers... administered – with doctors present – poisonous disinfecting chemicals as medicines to “finish off” scores of wounded demonstrators in the

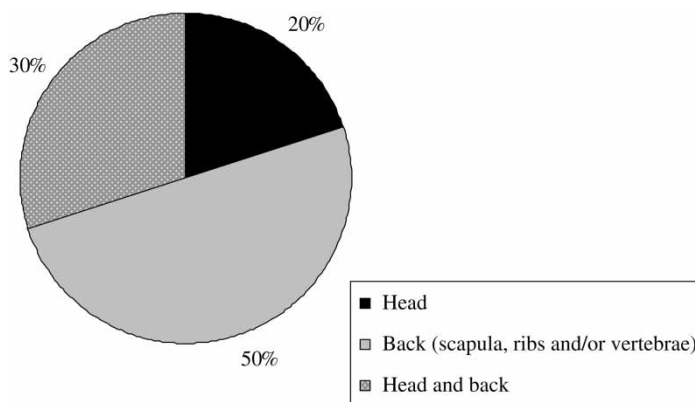


Figure 10. Anatomical region of gunshot injuries.

wake of the massacre',⁶² while other reports indicate cold water was injected into the wounded instead of medicine.⁶³

Quantitative high performance liquid chromatography coupled with tandem mass spectrometry (HPLC/MS/MS) was used to screen and quantify a range of drugs including: 6-monoacetylmorphine, morphine, codeine, amphetamine, methamphetamine, methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDA), methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA), cocaine, benzoylecgonine, ecgonine methyl ester, cocaethylene, 7-aminoclonazepam, 7-aminonitrazepam, 7-aminoflunitrazepam, alprazolam, clonazepam, diazepam, flunitrazepam, nitrazepam, nordiazepam, oxazepam, temazepam, zolpidem, methadone, EDDP (metabolite of methadone), oxycodone, pethidine, tramadol, ketamine, Δ^9 -tetrahydrocannabinol and Δ^9 -tetrahydrocannabinol-9-carboxylic acid.

No common drugs or poisons were detected in any of the samples. It should be noted however, that it is possible that other drugs/poisons not currently analysed for may have been used.

Ballistic analysis

A total of 50 fragments of metal were recovered from seven graves (Table 5). These included fragments of fired bullets, projectile type metal, badly damaged jacketed lead core projectiles and unjacketed fired bullets.

In the case of GR2 the ballistic evidence of two separate parts of a 5.56×45 mm calibre fired bullet indicates that at least two separate shots were fired at the individual. In the case of GR12, the ballistic evidence shows that four separate shots were fired at the individual: three with 5.56×45 mm calibre bullets and one with a 7.62×39 mm calibre bullet. Of the 11 cases where individuals had evidence of gunshot wounds, 64 per cent ($n = 7$) had associated ballistic evidence.

The Indonesian Army and National Police forces used semiautomatic weapons, including M-16 rifles, and shotguns of unknown source and manufacture.⁶⁴ The ballistic evidence is, therefore, consistent with weapons known to have been used by the Indonesian military.

Discussion

Despite being widely reported, outside Timor Leste the Santa Cruz massacre has remained an officially unrecognised human rights abuse. While the international community (not

Table 5. Amount of metallic evidence recovered from graves at Hera.

| Grave number | Number of metallic fragments recovered | Ballistic information | Relationship to skeletal trauma |
|--------------|--|--|---|
| GR2 | 4 | * Included fragments of a 5.56 mm x 45mm calibre fired bullet * Several corroded nose portion of a fired bullet | Possible gunshot to mandible |
| GR3 | 1 | * Fragment of a 5.56 mm x 45mm calibre fired bullet | Gunshot to scapula and ribs |
| GR8 | 5 | Included a severely corroded ogive (nose) portion and a separate base portion where both were consistent with having originally formed part of 5.56 x 45mm fired bullet or bullets | At least 5 GSW |
| GR12 | 1 | Severely corroded jacketed, lead core projectile. The size, shape and weight of the fragment are consistent with that of a 7.62 x 39mm Soviet calibre fired bullet. | GSW to left parietal, right frontal, left mastoid |
| GR14 | 3 | Projectile type metal; badly damaged fired bullet jacket. The size and shape of the base are consistent with that of a 5.56 x 45mm fired bullet | GSW: posterior head |
| GR16 | 1 | Badly damaged jacketed, lead core projectile. The size, shape and weight are consistent with that of a 5.56 x 45mm fired bullet | GSW to ribs and hand |
| GR18 | 35 | 7 fragments and a fired bullet are consistent with a .32 calibre unjacketed fired bullet; 3 separate 5.56 x 45mm fired bullets; 1 severely corroded ogive (nose) portion of a fired bullet. The size and shape of which are consistent with being a 7.62 x 39mm Soviet calibre fired bullet; 23 fragments of projectile jacketing type metal | Gunshot, 2 GSW to head |

including Indonesia) acknowledged that an atrocity had occurred there has never been any physical supporting evidence. With the exception of a UN investigation, the results of which were not fully documented, the work of the IFT provides, for the first time, physical evidence, including positively identified individuals, which confirms a link between individuals recovered from the cemetery at Hera and the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. This evidence is detailed below.

Although located in a formal cemetery, all of the graves excavated by the IFT were unmarked. The IFT also recovered remnants of the coffins used to bury single individuals which confirm the witness statement about the manner in which the deceased were buried. A preliminary report produced by the Indonesian Commission investigating the events of the 12 November noted that the one individual exhumed from Hera was 'buried in a coffin, completely dressed in accordance with Catholic tradition'.⁶⁵ The evidence recovered by the IFT indicates, however, that these were not 'normal' burials: some individuals were partially clothed including shoes. In four cases individuals were buried with identification

documents. Further, none of the 16 individuals showed evidence of having had an autopsy (such as standard cuts to the skull and rib area), despite nearly 70 per cent of individuals ($n = 16$) showing signs of significant trauma.

One unverified account by a local East Timorese indicated that 13 bodies including those of two women were buried at Hera on 13 November and five, including those of Kamal Bamadhaj (a New Zealand citizen), one woman and four men were buried the following day.⁶⁶ However, all deceased (both identified and unidentified) recovered from the graves at Hera were young men which is consistent with the reported demographic profile of those taking part in the procession. Statements provided by the families of the 11 positively identified victims all confirm their relatives took part in the 12 November 1991 procession from Motael Church to the Santa Cruz cemetery. Further, six of the 11 positively identified individuals are listed on a file provided by the East Timor and Indonesia Action Network (ETAN) detailing individuals killed, wounded and disappeared following the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre.⁶⁷ Of the 11 positively identified, 10 individuals are recorded on a list recorded by the 12th November Committee.

In an interview with Mario Viegas Carrascalao (Jakarta appointed Governor of Timor Leste 1982–1992) conducted by the authors in Dili on 4 October 2005, he stated that the footage shot by Max Stahl shows people taking off shirts to reveal blue t-shirts which identified them as Indonesian supporters. Carrascalao believed the individuals buried at Hera were Indonesian supporters, a belief also held by Clementino dos Reis Amaral (formerly acting leader of the pro-integration party, KOTA) as explained to the authors in an interview in Dili on 6 October 2005. There was, however, no evidence of blue t-shirts recovered from the graves at Hera and it is possible that the story that the cemetery at Hera held Timorese militia was created as further propaganda.

In addition to the ballistic evidence which is consistent with weaponry used by the Tentara Nasional Indonesia–Angkatan Darat (TNI – Indonesian army), the extensive peri-mortem trauma, much of which is gunshot wounds is conclusive evidence that many of the individuals were subjected to extreme acts of violence.

Conclusion: truth and justice

The term justice has been defined as ‘the administration of law or some other authority according to the principles of just behaviour and treatment’.⁶⁸ While different mechanisms for implementing justice exist (e.g., international and domestic tribunals, truth commissions, and community level, traditional systems),⁶⁹ in practice, the *meaning* of justice is complex. Depending on the person (victim and/or perpetrator), type of crime, community, and/or circumstances (i.e., political will and commitment, economic constraints, etc.), justice may have ‘substantive and symbolic, economic and social, legal and psychological meanings’.⁷⁰

As outlined above, Timor Leste has implemented a domestic version of the *ad hoc* international tribunals (referred to as ‘internationalized domestic tribunals’ in which international and local judges preside within a domestic court)⁷¹ and truth commissions,⁷² which are temporary, official, but non-judicial, bodies. Despite different attempts at achieving justice, there have been a number of failures identified.⁷³ There remains a legacy of impunity in Timor Leste resulting in questions being posed about how far there can be healing without justice⁷⁴ and a call for the establishment of an *ad hoc* international criminal tribunal.⁷⁵

The former governor of Timor Leste, Mario Carrascalao has stated ‘[t]here cannot be peace until people know what happened to their sons and daughters’.⁷⁶ Over a five-year

period the IFT has worked with families of victims and government organisations resulting in the location, recovery and identification of 11 victims of the Santa Cruz massacre. As a result of the ability to provide a dignified burial for these individuals, a process for peace, at least for some families, has commenced. In addition to decisions about the need for a public monument in Dili acknowledging the loss of life on and following the 12 November 1991,⁷⁷ there are numerous questions still to address: who are the five unidentified individuals from Hera? How many more victims of the massacre are there and where are they located? Is pursuing justice for their deaths a realistic possibility?

The answers to such questions require a continued effort mainly by the Timorese society with the support of the international community. At the local level, continued community education is required about the need for families with missing relatives to liaise with the 12th November Committee to provide information and blood samples to attempt to positively identify the remaining unidentified individuals recovered from Hera. In addition, the collection and verification of information pertaining to the burial location of victims is vital. However, comments such as 'I don't want to tell my story to any more commissions or human rights groups so that it can end up in some museum. I want justice',⁷⁸ illustrate the increasing frustrations families of victims feel about the lack of justice and legacy of impunity.

At the international level, there needs to be a decision made about the extent to which law and economics are superior to justice. If it can be argued that Timor Leste's leaders are running a country that is poor, internationally unimportant, and dependent on good relations with its former tormentor and therefore are unable to spare the diplomatic capital needed to ensure that justice materialises,⁷⁹ then the responsibility rests with the international community.⁸⁰

In a report issued by the United Nations after a mission to Indonesia and East Timor in 1994 the special rapporteur wrote that he was told by the chief of police 'that the forensic tests could not conclusively tie the remains to the Santa Cruz killings, and that the identity of the deceased could not be determined'.⁸¹ The results of collaboration between the IFT and Timor Leste organisations have altered these conclusions: the evidence now speaks for itself. The choice rests with the families, the East Timorese and Indonesian governments and the international community as to how to proceed.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank AusAID for providing the funding to undertake the capacity-building project. In addition, we are grateful to additional funding provided by the Argentine Government and an anonymous donor through EAAF.

The authors acknowledge (in alphabetical order) the following people for their assistance during their work in Timor Leste:

- Celstina Gomes Afonso (Forensic NID, PNTL)⁸²;
- Francisco Alves (Forensic, NID, PNTL);
- Jacinto Alves (12th November Committee);
- Marcus Boorman (AFP⁸³);
- Mouzinho T. Correia (Forensic, NID, PNTL);
- Alexo Jorge dor da Costa (NID, Investigator, PNTL);
- Romana de Jesus da Costa (Forensic, NID, PNTL);
- Grant Edwards (AFP);
- Elizabeth Exposto (senior executive advisor, Office of the Prime Minister, Palacio de Governo);

- Natalino Fernandes (Forensic, NID, PNTL);
- Filomena Gomes (HNGV)⁸⁴;
- Megan Hirst (ICTJ)⁸⁵;
- Jose Maneuel O.C. de Jesus (NID, Investigator, PNTL);
- Naomi Kinsella (ICTJ);
- Gerry van Klinken (Previously CAVR);
- Laura Oliveira Maia (HNGV);
- Lorraine Morgan (AFP);
- Eugenio Pereira (Commander of NCIU, PTNL);
- Dr Rosa Maria Lorenzo Penton (Forensic Pathologist, HNGV);
- Captain Pete Quick (Camp Phoenix);
- Brangelino do Ronasio (Forensic, NID, PNTL);
- Gregorio Saldanha (Director of the 12th November Committee);
- Dencio dos Santos (Forensic, NID, PNTL);
- Arlindo Figueirdo e Silva (Inspector to the Superior Council of the Prosecution);
- Joaquim da Silva (Forensic, NID, PNTL);
- Mark Skinner (Simon Fraser University);
- Max Stahl (CAMSTL)⁸⁶;
- Andrew Sully;
- Agustinho de Vasconcelos (Director of the STP-CAVR);
- Pedro Villagra (Argentine Ambassador, Australia);
- Odette de Silva Viegas (Director of the HNGV); and
- Pat Walsh (STP-CAVR).

We are grateful to Voula Staikos, senior toxicologist, VIFM, for undertaking the hair analysis and Mark R. Chandler (firearm and tool mark examiner, Ballistics Unit, Forensic Services Department, Victoria Police Forensic Services Centre) for undertaking the analysis of the metallic evidence.

Notes

1. Anon., *Chega!*, 2005, 117, <http://www.cavr-timorleste.org/en/cheгаReport.htm> (accessed December 20, 2009).
2. Soren Blau, 'The Powerful Evidence of the Bodies: Ethical Considerations for the Forensic Anthropologist Involved in the Investigation of Mass Graves', *Indian Journal of Physical Anthropology and Human Genetics* 25, no. 2 (2006): 247–58; D. Case, 'The Land That Knew Hell', *Yale Alumni Magazine* (2003), http://www.yalealumnimagazine.com/issues/03_11/easttimor.html (accessed June 2, 2004).
3. Eric Stover and R. Shigekane, 'The Missing in the Aftermath of War: When do the Needs of Victim's Families and International War Crimes Tribunals Clash?', *International Review of the Red Cross* 84, no. 848 (2002): 845–66.
4. Soren Blau and Mark Skinner, 'The Use of Forensic Archaeology in the Investigation of Human Rights Abuse: Unearthing the Past in East Timor', *The International Journal of Human Rights* 9, no. 4 (2005): 449–63; F. Chalk, 'Dialogue on the Will to Intervene to Prevent Mass Atrocities', 2009, http://migs.concordia.ca/W21/past_w2i_events.htm (accessed February 2, 2010).
5. B. Kiernan, 'War, Genocide and Resistance in East Timor, 1975–99: Comparative Reflections on Cambodia', in *War and State Terrorism: The United States, Japan, and the Asia-Pacific in the Long Twentieth Century*, ed. Mark Seldon and Alvin Y. So (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 200–33; A. Kleemeyer, 'The Case of East Timor: Twenty Years of Genocide and Denial', in *Genocide Perspective 1: Essays in Comparative Genocide*, ed. Collin Tatz (Sydney: Macquarie University, 1997), 4; Amnesty International, *East Timor:*

- After the Massacre* (London: Amnesty International, 1991), 19; Israel W. Charny, ed., *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, vol. 1 (Santa-Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1999), 1919.
6. Anon., *Chega!*
 7. R. Silva and P. Ball, *The Profile of Human Rights Violations in Timor-Leste, 1974–1999* (report by The Benetech Human Rights Data Analysis Group to the Commission on Reception, Truth and Reconciliation of Timor-Leste, 2006), <http://www.hrdag.org/resources/Benetech-Report-to-CAVR.pdf> (accessed April 21, 2010).
 8. Anon., *Serious Crimes Investigation Team (SCIT)*, nd, <http://unmit.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=184> (accessed February 20, 2010).
 9. UNMIT, 'Serious Crimes Investigation Team (SCIT)', *UNMIT Newsletter 2*, December 2008, <http://unmit.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=1972&ctl=Details&mid=2297&ItemID=3921> (accessed December 24, 2009).
 10. Anon., *Justice and Serious Crimes*, Fact Sheet 7 ed. (UNTAET Press Office, 2002), <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/etimor/fact/FS.htm> (accessed April 15, 2010).
 11. K.P.P. Ham, 'Full Report of the Investigation Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor', in *Masters of Terror: Indonesia's Military and Violence in East Timor*, ed. R. Tanter, G. van Klinken and D. Ball (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006).
 12. Blau and Skinner, 'The Use of Forensic Archaeology in the Investigation of Human Rights Abuse', 453; N. Belo and C. Ranheim, 'Prosecuting Serious Crimes in East Timor', *Justice and Accountability in East Timor. International Tribunals and Other Options* (report of a one-day seminar in Dili, 16 October 2001).
 13. Anon., *Chega!*, Chapter 7.2, 1: For details of massacres outside Dili see also Anon., *Timor-Leste Massacres* (Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste (CAVR), 2005); J. Dunn, *East Timor: A Rough Passage to Independence*, 3rd ed. (Double Bay: Longueville Books, 2003), 292.
 14. Blau and Skinner, 'The Use of Forensic Archaeology in the Investigation of Human Rights Abuse', 453.
 15. Anon., *Timor-Leste Massacres*.
 16. Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 1.
 17. M. Jardine, *East Timor: Genocide in Paradise* (Los Angeles, CA: Tucson, 1995).
 18. Anon., 'East Timor – "Blaming the Victims" of Timor Massacre: Jurists Criticize Indonesia's Response to Killings' (New York: International Commission of Jurists, 1992).
 19. Silva and Ball, *The Profile of Human Rights Violations in Timor-Leste, 1974–1999*; cf B. Haigh, 'Corruption and the General. . .What We Know', *The Age*, 29 January 2008, <http://www.theage.com.au/news/letters/corruption-and-the-general-8230-what-we-know/2008/01/28/1201369033919.html> (accessed 18 February, 2010).
 20. Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 4–5; Anon., *Chega!*, 116–17.
 21. Anon., *Chega!*, 1.
 22. M. Tidball-Binz, 'Forensic Investigations into the Missing', in *Forensic Anthropology and Medicine: Complementary Sciences from Recovery to Cause of Death*, ed. A. Schmitt, E. Cunha and J. Pinheiro (Totowa: Humana Press, 2006), 387–407.
 23. J. Rae, 'War Crimes Accountability: Justice and Reconciliation in Cambodia and East Timor?', *Global Change, Peace and Security* 5, no. 2 (2003): 171.
 24. Anon., *Chega!*, 115.
 25. M. de Wet, 'East Timor Remembers Santa Cruz Victims, Calls for Probe', *Associated Press*, 12 November 2003.
 26. Jose Ramos Horta, Interview with Jose Ramos Horta, interviewed by S. Blau, Dili, 2008.
 27. R. Tiffen, *Diplomatic Deceits: Government, Media and East Timor* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2001).
 28. J. Morris, 'The Debacle that is East Timor', 2006, <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=4543> (accessed February 14, 2008).
 29. Anon., *Chega!*, 116.
 30. Dunn, *East Timor: A Rough Passage to Independence*, 4.
 31. J. Pilger, 'Once Again, East Timor is Betrayed', 2004, <http://www.lewrockwell.com/pilger/pilger9.html> (accessed April 20, 2010).
 32. Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 5; see also R. Lewis, 'Report of the Observer Mission to the Trials of Francisco Branco and Gregorio Saldanha: March

- 1992 – Dili, East Timor’, in *East Timor Trials*, ed. P.M. Carlos, Jr. (Manila: LAWASIA Human Rights Committee, 1995), 1–47.
33. Amnesty International, *Findings from the Indonesian Commission, Santa Cruz: The Government Response*, 8.
 34. For example, Asia Watch, *Asia Watch Criticizes Commission Report on East Timor* (Washington, DC: Asia Watch, 1992); see also Amnesty International, *Indonesia and East Timor: Fact and Fiction: Implementing the Recommendations of the UN Commission on Human Rights* (New York: Amnesty International, 1994); United Nations, *Report by the Special Rapporteur on Extra Judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Mr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye on his Mission to Indonesia and East Timor from 3 to 13 July 1994*, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1995/61/Add.1 (1994).
 35. Amnesty International, *East Timor: In Accordance with the Law. Statement to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization* (New York: Amnesty International, 1992).
 36. United Nations, *Report by the Special Rapporteur on Extra Judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions*, 13–14.
 37. Asia Watch, *East Timor: The November 12 Massacre and its Aftermath*, 13.
 38. Unpublished document dated 26 December 2000. In possession of the authors.
 39. The summary in this UN document is contradicted by information obtained by the authors in an interview with Dr Longuinhos Monteiro (former Prosecutor General) on the 5 October 2005, Dili in which he stated UN staff identified a site of interest but did not undertake an exhumation.
 40. Jill Joliffe, ‘Ten Years Later, Santa Cruz Still Leaves a Scar’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 November 2001, <http://members.tip.net.au/~wildwood/01novscar.htm> (accessed 10 January 2010).
 41. The 12th November is a Timor-Leste non-government organisation (NGO) formed on 12 November 2008 by survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre. The committee is directed by Gregorio Saldanha one of the young men responsible for organising the peaceful demonstration who was subsequently arrested, tortured and sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1992. The main aims of the committee are to register and verify victims and survivors of the massacre. Working with families and the IFT, the committee also assists in locating, exhuming, identifying and re-burying victims of the 12 November massacre.
 42. Soren Blau, ‘Should the Past Remain Buried? Examining the Contributions Forensic Archaeology and Anthropology Can Make to Post-Conflict Justice in East Timor’, in *East Timor: Beyond Independence*, ed. Damien Kingsbury and Michael Leach (Melbourne: Deakin University, 2007), 145.
 43. Members of the IFT include: Dr Soren Blau (Project Coordinator, Forensic Anthropologist, VIFM); Mr Luis Fondebrider (Forensic Anthropologist and Director of the EAAF); Dr Anthony Hill (Senior Forensic Odontologist, VIFM); Mr Wayne Newman (Victoria Police, logistical assistance); Mr Daniel Peterson (Translator/interpreter); Dr Mercedes Salado Puerto (Forensic Anthropologist, EAAF); Ms Mariana Segura (Forensic Anthropologist, EAAF); Mr Jon Sterenberg (Forensic Archaeologist); Ms Henriette Stratmann (independent consultant).
 44. The views in this article do not reflect those of AusAID or the Australian Government.
 45. Soren Blau, Luis Fondebrider and Gregorio Saldanha, ‘Working with Families of the Missing: A Case Study from East Timor’, in *First of All We Want to Know the Truth – Enforced Disappearances in Asia*, ed. K. Lauritsch (Guatemala: GEZA, forthcoming).
 46. Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*, 4.
 47. Lindsey Murdoch, ‘As the Deadly Secret of Dili’s Wounded Is Revealed’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November 1998.
 48. Blau and Skinner, ‘The Use of Forensic Archaeology in the Investigation of Human Rights Abuse’, 455–6.
 49. Tim Anson and M. Trimble, ‘The Role of the Biological Anthropologists in Mass Grave Investigations’, in *Forensic Approaches to Death, Disaster and Abuse*, ed. Mark Oxenham (NSW: Australian Academic Press, 2008), 57.
 50. John Hunter and Margaret Cox, *Forensic Archaeology: Advances in Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2005), 100–1.
 51. M. Martins da Silva and S. Kendall, *Issues for Women in East Timor: The Aftermath of Indonesian Occupation*, 2002, http://www.austdvclearinghouse.unsw.edu.au/Conference%20papers/Exp-horiz/MartinsdaSilva_Kendall.pdf (accessed 2 June, 2009).

52. Claire Rawnsley, 'East Timor, A Theology of Death: Massacres, Memorials; Rites and Reconciliation', in *Proceedings of Peace Works: 3rd Triennial Conference of Women Scholars of Religion & Theology*, ed. Mary Medley (Melbourne: Australian Catholic University, 2004), <http://www.etwa.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Theology-of-Death.doc> (accessed 20 February 2005).
53. Blau, Fondebrider and Saldanha, 'Working with Families of the Missing'.
54. Parius is the name of the smaller area within the wider region of Tibar.
55. Dennis Schultz, 'Only Ghosts and Guards Walk in the Night', *The Bulletin*, 17 December, 1991, p. 28.
56. The site of the memorial cross at Tibar was visited by a member of the IFT in April 2003.
57. Blau and Skinner, 'The Use of Forensic Archaeology in the Investigation of Human Rights Abuse', 455–6.
58. Amnesty International, *East Timor: After the Massacre*; Anon., *Security Assistance: Shooting Incident in East Timor, Indonesia*, 17–18.
59. Anon., *Justice and Serious Crimes*.
60. Authorisation was provided by the general prosecutor to undertake the anthropological analyses at the Hospital Nationale Guido Valladeres, Dili.
61. Each person who gave a blood sample provided written permission for the sample to be used for identification purposes.
62. C. Pinto and M. Jardine, *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance* (Boston: South End Press, 1997), 271.
63. Anon., *November 12*, 2006, <http://axisofevelknievel.blogspot.com/search?q=Dili> (accessed 10 January 2010).
64. Anon., 'More Details on the Situation in East Timor after 12 November Massacre'.
65. Asia Watch, *Asia Watch Criticizes Commission Report on East Timor*, 3.
66. United Nations, Report by special rapporteur on extra judicial, (note 36), 7.
67. <http://www.etan.org/timor/KILLED.htm> (accessed 10 January 2010).
68. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
69. Blau, 'Should the Past Remain Buried?', 141–2; S. Zifcak, 'Restorative Justice in Timor-Leste: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission', in *Cooperating with Timor-Leste*, ed. P. Thomas (Canberra: Australian National University, 2005), 51–4.
70. W. Lambourne, 'Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Meeting Human Needs for Justice and Reconciliation', *Peace, Conflict and Development* 4 (2004): 7; see also M. Mamdani, 'The New Humanitarian Order', *The Nation*, 2008, <http://www.thenation.com/article/new-humanitarian-order> (accessed October 20, 2008); M. Aarons, 'Truth, Death and Diplomacy in East Timor', *The Monthly* (2006): 24–32; L. Kent, 'Community Views of Justice and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste', in *Cooperating with Timor-Leste*, ed. P. Thomas (Canberra: Australian National University, 2005), 62–5.
71. Moham C. Othman, *Accountability for International Humanitarian Law Violations: The Case of Rwanda and East Timor* (Berlin: Springer, 2005).
72. Derrick Silove, Anthony B. Zwi and Dominique le Touze, 'Do Truth Commissions Heal? The East Timorese Experience', *The Lancet* 367 (2006): 1222–3; Lia Kent, 'The Pursuit of Justice and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste: Some Insights from Recent Violence', in *Exploring the Tensions of Nation Building in Timor-Leste*, ed. Lisa Palmer, Sara Niner and Lia Kent (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 2007), 59–67.
73. Anon., *Unfulfilled Promises: Achieving Justice for Crimes Against Humanity in East Timor* (New York: Coalition for International Justice, 2004); D. Cohen, '"Justice on the Cheap" Revisited: The Failure of the Serious Crimes Trials in East Timor', *Analysis from the East-West Center* 80 (2006): 1–11; Megan Hirst and Howard Varney, *Justice Abandoned? An Assessment of the Serious Crimes Process in East Timor* (New York: International Center for Transitional Justice, 2005).
74. Dominique Le Touze, Derrick Silove and Anthony Zwi, 'Can There be Healing without Justice? Lessons from the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor', *Intervention* 3 (2005): 192–202.
75. Amnesty International, *We Cry for Justice: Impunity Persists 10 years on in Timor-Leste* (Amnesty International, 2009); John Magro, 'Is there Justification for an International Criminal Tribunal for East Timor?', *Murdoch University Electronic Journal of Law* 7, no. 3 (2000), <http://www.murdoch.edu.au/elaw/issues/v7n3/magro73.html> (accessed 20 April 2010).

76. Murdoch, 'As the Deadly Secret of Dili's Wounded Is Revealed'.
77. M. Leach, 'Difficult Memories: The Independence Struggle as Cultural Heritage in East Timor', in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'*, ed. W. and K. Reeves Logan (London: Routledge, 2009).
78. E. Gusmao, Witness to the 6 September 1999 Suai Church Massacre, quoted in K. Vaswani, *Mixed Emotions as East Timor Marks Vote*, BBC, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/asia-pacific/8228493.stm> (accessed 20 December 2009); see also M. Smithurst, 'East Timorese Families Lament Lack of Justice', Australian Broadcasting News, 2009, http://easttimorlegal.blogspot.com/2009_04_01_archive.html (accessed 10 May 2009).
79. Case, 'The Land That Knew Hell'.
80. Clinton Fernandes, 'The Empiricist Metaphysic and Justice for Timor Leste', *Lusophone Countries Bulletin* (2010): 14.
81. United Nations, *Report by the Special Rapporteur on Extra Judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions*, 16.
82. NID PNTL: National Investigation Division, Policia Nacional de Timor-Leste.
83. AFP: Australian Federal Police.
84. HNGV: Hospital Nacional Guido Valadares.
85. ICTJ: International Center for Transitional Justice.
86. CAMSTL: Centro Audiovisual Max Stahl Timor Leste.

Notes on contributors

Soren Blau has worked at the Victorian Institute of Forensic Medicine (VIFM) as a forensic anthropologist since 2005. She is an adjunct senior lecturer in the Department of Forensic Medicine at Monash University and was chair of the Anthropology Scientific Working Group (SWG) in the Medical Sciences Specialist Advisory Group (MSSAG) (2006–2010). In addition to numerous journal publications, Soren co-edited a book entitled *Handbook of Forensic Anthropology and Archaeology* (Left Coast Press, 2009). Soren undertakes domestic and international forensic anthropology casework as well as contributing to international Disaster Victim Identification (DVI) training courses. Soren is currently coordinating a project in East Timor which involves training local police in locating and excavating mass graves allegedly related to specific human rights abuses, and aspects of identification of deceased individuals.

Luis Fondebrider is co-founder and current president of the the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF), and organisation that aims to shed light on cases of human rights' violations, thus contributing to the search for truth, justice, reparation, and prevention of further violations (www.eaaf.org). Fondebrider is specialised in the historical investigation of cases of political violence, archaeological exhumation of individual and mass graves, and analysis of human remains (bones) in order to identify them and to help to establish the cause of death, and has worked as expert witness in 900 cases in Argentine courts and abroad. He has participated in forensic missions to Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, El Salvador, Haiti, Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Romania, Iraq, the Philippines, Indonesia, East Timor, Cyprus, Georgia, Abkhazia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Morocco, Lebanon, Sri Lanka Sudan, Kenya, and Namibia. Fondebrider worked as consultant for Truth Commissions of Argentina, El Salvador, Haiti, Peru and South Africa; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Committee of Missing Persons of Cyprus; UN Secretary General Investigation Team for Democratic Republic of Congo; UN Commission of Inquiry on Darfur; Special Commission Searching for the Remains of Che Guevara; residential Panel of Experts for Chile; Special Prosecutor Office of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia; International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for the project 'The Missing'; Medico Legal Institute of Colombia, among others. Fondebrider teaches forensic anthropology at the annual course of legal medicine of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Buenos Aires.