ZIARAH

THE GULL FORCE ASSOCIATION

PILGRIMAGES TO AMBON

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We scarcely know what is happening to us, and we cannot be sure of the next five minutes of our lives, but in our hearts we fervently hope that some day in the future we will meet those two good people again, and when we look back, as we hope we will be able to, show our gratitude without any reservation. Surely we will never forget these friends of ours.

THESIS DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts by research, is the result of my own investigations, and all references to ideas and work of other researchers have been specifically acknowledged.

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree.

Paul A Rosenzweig
Darwin
31 July 2000
ABSTRACT

The Australian 2/21st Battalion Group AIF ('Gull Force') deployed to Ambon in 1941 and, after capitulating, the men were held captive until 1945. Just 347 of 1,161 men survived, and the remains of 694 Gull Force members were interred within Ambon War Cemetery. Bill Jinkins' escape from Ambon and its facilitation by the Gaspersz family are central to an understanding of the Gull Force Association Pilgrimage, initiated by Jinkins in 1967.

This thesis reveals that the Pilgrimage did not commence for two decades after the war due to attitudes in Australia and security issues in Indonesia. Primarily, permission to conduct any form of commemoration on Ambon was denied through a coincidence of dates - April 25th, Anzac Day to Australians, being the anniversary of the proclamation of the South Moluccan Republic in 1950.

The Pilgrimage format is detailed, the 'Doolan Memorial' controversy is analysed, and the Pilgrimage's success is identified in a Medical Aid Programme and scholarship scheme. It is proposed that the particular success of this Pilgrimage has its basis in pela, a uniquely Moluccan tradition of co-operative alliance similar to the Australian 'mateship' concept.

The Pilgrimage is seen to have served key psychological processes by giving survivors an opportunity to grieve which was denied during wartime, by allowing both initiation and finalisation of the grieving process, by developing unity within Gull Force Association, and by directing veterans' energies into a form defined as 'Sustainable Remembrance'.

Finally, concern is expressed that increased official involvement may alter the nature of the Pilgrimage. It is also considered that a combined Pilgrimage might effect some form of reconciliation between Australian and Japanese veterans or their families. It is recommended that a broader membership base for Gull Force Association will be vital to the perpetuation of this Ambonese-Australian pela relationship and the Pilgrimage itself.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project originally commenced with the support of a Northern Territory History Award (1996), and I am appreciative of this assistance provided by the Northern Territory Government through the Honourable Barry Coulter MLA, Minister for Transport and Works. This History Award supported travel to Ambon in 1996 to conduct preliminary research and to conduct interviews. The Honourable Austin Asche AC QC, Administrator of the Northern Territory, and the Honourable Daryl Manzie MLA, Minister for Asian Relations and Trade, were enthusiastic supporters at this critical early stage. My travel to Ambon for Anzac Day in 1997 and 1998 was kindly made possible by Brigadier Chris Roberts AM CSC ADC, Commander Northern Command. The return journey in 1997 was assisted by Garuda Indonesia (NT), and the return journey in 1998 was supported by an NTU postgraduate grant. Thanks also to John Pattiselanno for assistance in translation of Ambonese on Ambon in August 1997, and to Yukiko Osawa for providing Japanese translations in Darwin.

I am indebted to the many Gull Force veterans and relatives who have provided information, much of it never before published. Of particular note are the Pilgrimage Co-ordinator, the late Lieutenant Colonel Rod Gabriel MBE ED, Mr Bill Page, and Mr Walter Hicks who made available several original documents including the significant 'Post-Activity Report' on the first return
visit to Ambon in 1967. I would like to thank Ailsa Rolley (author of *Survival on Ambon*) and the late Les Hohl for making available a recorded presentation on Ambon. Similarly, special thanks to Ed Weiss for making available a copy of his book *Under the Rising Sun* which was only released in the USA, and for allowing permission to quote various passages. I would also like to thank Father Paul Glynn and Ron Leech for allowing me to quote from their books (Glynn, 1995 and Leech, 1995) in support of this work.

I have received particular support from the staff of the Northern Territory University and members of the Historical Society of the Northern Territory. I would particularly like to thank my Supervisor, Emeritus Professor Alan Powell, for his comments, support and proof-reading during the preparation of this thesis. In particular, I would also like to acknowledge the personal contributions and assistance of the following people:

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Dr A Aafifudin DSM
Mrs Anne Ahearn
Mrs Dorothy Anderson
Miss Febby Bakarbessy
Mr Jim Baker
Mr Don Ball
Captain Graham Bates
Mr John Beel
Group Captain J H Benjamin
Mr Jim Boreham

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Gull Force relation
Poka, Ambon
33rd Infantry Brigade
33rd Infantry Brigade
Gull Force relation
Gull Force relation
HQ Northern Command, Darwin
Gull Force relation
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Mr Reg Brassey
Mr George Brown
Mrs Bronwyn Bunnett
Ms Robyn Burns
Chaplain Eric Burton RAN
Mrs Chris Carswell
Mrs Diana Clifford (de Lima)
Mr Bill Cook
Mr Fred Crane
Miss Rina de Fretes
Mrs Margarethe de Lima
Lieutenant Jeff Davis USN
Ms Wendy Doolan
Squadron Leader Gerry Dowling
Captain Harold Drane (retd)
Mrs Doreen Eva
Mr Marius Farneoeobun
Mr Rick Fiddian
Captain Alex Gabriel RFD
Mrs Barbara Gaspersz
Mr Bill Gaspersz
Mr John Gaspersz
Mr Max (Eddie) Gilbert
Mr Noel Grimes
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Lord Mayor of Darwin
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Gull Force relation
HMAS Coonawarra, Darwin
Gull Force relation
Ambon
Gull Force
Gull Force
Ambon
US Seventh Fleet
Gull Force relation
No.13 (City of Darwin) Squadron
Gull Force
Gull Force relation
Ambon
Gull Force relation
Ambon
Gull Force relation
Ambon
Ambon
Ambon
Ambon War Cemetery, Tantui
Gull Force
RAN Corveteers Association
Gull Force relation
Lieutenant Colonel Jack Haydon MBE ED (retd)  
Mr Clarrice Hein  
Mr Walter Hicks  
Rev Alec Hilliard  
Mr Les Hohl  
Mr Philip Hohl  
Mrs Melissa Howgate  
Mr Tom Hughes  
Mr Harold Hutton  
Mr Ted Jane AM  
Mr Paul Kastanja  
Mr Eric Kelly  
Captain John Killen  
Squadron Leader Andrew Knight  
Mr Ot Latupeirissa  
Mr John Laves  
Mr Ron Leech  
Mr Herry Lerebulan  
Captain Glyn Llanwarne  
Major Ian Macrae OBE  
Mr John Macrae  
Mr Rob McDougall  
Mr Doug McIntosh  
Mrs Lynn McCloy  
Mrs Jean McLeavy  
Darwin  
Gull Force  
Gull Force  
RAN Corveteers Association  
Gull Force  
Gull Force relation  
Gull Force relation  
No.13 Squadron RAAF  
No.13 Squadron RAAF  
RAN Corveteers Association  
Latuhalat, Ambon  
Gull Force  
HQ Northern Command, Darwin  
RAAF Chaplain, Darwin  
Dep’t of Information, Ambon  
No.13 Squadron RAAF  
Gull Force  
Office of the Mayor of Ambon  
HQ Northern Command, Darwin  
Gull Force  
Gull Force relation  
Gull Force relation  
Gull Force  
Gull Force relation  
Gull Force relation
Drs Wim Manuhutu
Mr Rod Meyers
Miss Margery Moore
Mr J P Nelson
Mr Bill O'Connor
Mr Bill Page
Mr Frank Papilaya
Mr Peter Papilaya
Mr Wally Parker
Mrs Norma Petterson
Drs John Pattikayhatu
Mr John Pattiselanno
Mrs Sue Pattiselanno
Mr Jan Pattiselanno & family
Mr Nes Pattiselanno
Mr Lionel Penny
Mr John Phillips
Mr Tom Pledger
Mr Gadolphus Ramon
Mr Frits Rehatta
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Mr Ian Roach
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Sergeant Dave Roath

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RAAF
Gull Force
Ambon War Cemetery, Tantui
Batugadjah, Ambon
Gull Force relation
Gull Force relation
Pattimura University, Ambon
Darwin
Darwin
Amahusu & Paperu, Ambon
Batugadjah, Ambon
Gull Force
Gull Force relation
Gull Force
Tantui, Ambon
Soya Atas, Ambon
No.13 (City of Darwin) Squadron
Gull Force relation
Gull Force relation
No.13 (City of Darwin) Squadron
Brigadier Chris Roberts  
   AM CSC ADC  
Mr Ron Robinson  
WOD Fred Romeyn  
Mr John Rowland  
Miss Debby Sahetapy  
Mr Yos Sahetapy  
_Letnan Kolonel Laut_  
   Barends Sapasuru  
Ms Maggie Scott  
Mrs Glad Shead  
Ny Henny Siahaienia  
Miss Smarce Simona Sienaya  
Mr Frans & Mrs Annie Sienaya  
Miss Susan Silooy  
Miss Golda Simauw  
Mrs Sientje Simauw  
Commodore Geoff Smith  
   AM RAN ADC  
Mrs Tilly Soukotta  
_Kolonel_ Johannes Sudyono  
Mr Julius & Mrs Jean Tahija  
Captain Matthew Thompson  
Miss Janeke Titiheru  
_Kolonel (Purn) Dicky_ Wattimena  
Mr Ed Weiss  
Mr Ken Whatson  
Squadron Leader John Willett  

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Gull Force relation  
No.13 (City of Darwin) Squadron  
Gull Force relation  
Ambon  
Office of the Governor of Maluku  
Halong, Ambon  
Gull Force relation  
No.13 Squadron Association  
Office of the Mayor of Ambon  
Wayame, Ambon  
Wayame, Ambon  
Amahusu, Ambon  
Tantui, Ambon  
Tantui, Ambon  
Commander, Northern Command  
Maluku Province Tourism Office  
Mayor of Ambon  
Jakarta  
HQ Northern Command, Darwin  
Wayame, Ambon  
Former Mayor of Ambon  
US Army veteran  
RAN Corvetteers Association  
No.13 (City of Darwin) Squadron
Mr Harry Williams  Gull Force
Ms Keryn Williams  Gull Force relation
Mr George Williamson  Gull Force
Mr Frank Wilson  33rd Infantry Brigade
Lieutenant Colonel Chris Wrangle  Australian Army, Darwin
CONTENTS

THESIS DECLARATION iii
ABSTRACT iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS v
CONTENTS xii
PREFACE xiv
ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS xvii

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. GULL FORCE 18

3. A DEBT OF GRATITUDE 38
   3.1 Rescue plan & special operations
   3.2 Post-war attitudes in Australia
   3.3 Post-war Indonesian history
   3.4 Operation ‘Good Will’

4. PILGRIMAGE - ZIARAH 91
   4.1 The Gull Force Association Pilgrimages
   4.2 The ‘Doolan Memorial’
   4.3 Links

5. CLOSURE 135
   5.1 Grieving
   5.2 The Processes served by the Pilgrimage

6. OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE 169
   6.1 Official involvement
   6.2 Prospects for reconciliation

7. CONCLUSION 197

GLOSSARY 211
REFERENCES 226
APPENDICES

Appendix 1  Gull Force statistics
Appendix 2  RMS Declaration of Independence
Appendix 3  Songs of Doolan
This thesis is not an official history of Gull Force (the 2/21st Battalion Group AIF). This role has largely been fulfilled by two key publications by Joan Beaumont (1988) and Gull Force veteran Courtney Harrison (1988), together with two other books relating the service of veterans Ron Leech (Leech, 1995) and Les Hohl (Rolley, 1994). The basic aim of this project was to document the history and conduct of the annual Gull Force Association Pilgrimage to Ambon, and to assess its significance within a range of different contexts.

The few published accounts of relevance were examined in both Australia and Ambon, several of these references having been published in Indonesian. It has been the personal reflection and introspection by Pilgrimage participants both during and after their visits to Ambon which have revealed the multilateral and multidisciplinary processes served by the Pilgrimage. Much of the history associated with the Pilgrimage has therefore necessarily been oral in nature. Many of the stories are verbal or written recollections by veterans, their families and the various Ambonese who assisted the Australians during and after the war. There may be minor errors in their recollections, but in the contextual framework of this thesis it is the spirit of the message conveyed which is most important. Interviews were conducted in Australia and Ambon in both English and Bahasa Indonesia, and
some interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and Ambonese with the assistance of an interpreter. Quotations are given literally without correction of grammatical or spelling errors. Measurements, when given in oral history text, have generally been left in contemporary units.

The title 'Indonesia' is a complex term, used widely by the Javanese to refer to their vision of a unitary republic free from Dutch colonial domination. The term was also used by the Japanese within the wartime context of offering liberation to their Asian brothers. Within this thesis, other than the wartime Japanese usage, the terms 'Indonesia' and 'Indonesian' are used only in reference to the post-war Republic. Within the context of World War 2, the archipelago is consistently referred to by its contemporary title - the Netherlands East Indies.

Equally, Bahasa Indonesia has existed as a concept since the turn of the century, but was formally imposed by the Central Government upon the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia as one of several mechanisms to unify the ethnically and linguistically diverse peoples of the archipelago. Within this thesis, there are references to 'Indonesian' as the national language, however it must be remembered that this was largely a Javanese imposition after independence and in the provincial regions the concurrent use of local dialects has persisted to the present time. The Indonesian language underwent a significant modernisation on 17 August 1972, in which several forms were simplified, such as:
In all cases:

'...ch...' was replaced by '...kh...' eg achir became akhir
'...dj...' was replaced by '...j...' eg Djakarta became Jakarta
'...oe...' was replaced by '...u...' eg Nakoe became Naku
'...tj...' was replaced by '...c...' eg ketjil became kecil

In certain cases:

'...j...' was replaced by '...y...' eg Rijadi became Riyadi
'...p...' was replaced by '...f...' eg Pebruari became Februari
'...ss...' was replaced by '...s...' eg Passo became Paso

For ease of reading in this thesis, modern spelling has been used for place names, even though the old form was in use during World War 2 and during the first Pilgrimages of 1967 and 1968. Personal names have generally been left in original form unless they have been altered, in which case the modern convention is used. Technical terms, specifications for key vessels, military formation titles and other terms of significance used or named in the text are explained in further detail in the Glossary following the main body of the thesis.
ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

AASC  Australian Army Service Corps
AEME  Australian Electrical & Mechanical Engineers
ABDA  American, British, Dutch and Australian Command
ABRI  *Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*
      (Indonesian Armed Forces), see Glossary
ADF   Australian Defence Force
AIF   Australian Imperial Force
AM    Member of the Order of Australia
AMD   *ABRI Masuk Desa* ("ABRI Enters the Village")
      (Indonesia)
Amforce Ambon Force - the 33rd Infantry Brigade AIF
         (Australia)
APRMS *Angkatan Perang Republik Maluku Selatan*
       (Army of the Republic of the South Moluccas)
AWGC  Australian War Graves Commission
BEM   British Empire Medal
BS    *Berdiri Sendiri* (Independent, Infantry Battalion)
      (Indonesia)
CMF   Citizens' Military Forces (Australia)
CMG   Companion of the Order of St Michael & St George
Co    Commanding Officer
CSC   Conspicuous Service Cross
DCP   Defence Co-operation Programme (Australia)
Demob Demobilisation
DSO   Distinguished Service Order
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ED</td>
<td>Efficiency Decoration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENT</td>
<td>Ear, Nose &amp; Throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHQ</td>
<td>General Headquarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMAS</td>
<td>His (or Her) Majesty's Australian Ship</td>
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<tr>
<td>HMS</td>
<td>His (or Her) Majesty's Ship (United Kingdom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDM</td>
<td>Komando Daerah Militer (Military Area Command) (Indonesia), see Glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNIL</td>
<td>Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indische Leger (Royal Netherlands Indies Army), see Glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KODAM</td>
<td>Komando Daerah Militer (Military Area Command) (Indonesia), see Glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOREM</td>
<td>Komando Resort Militer (Military Resort Command) (Indonesia), see Glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRI</td>
<td>Kapal Republik Indonesia (Ship of the Indonesian Republic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linud</td>
<td>Lintas Udara (Airborne Infantry Battalion) (Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBE</td>
<td>Member of the Order of the British Empire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Military Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>Member of the Legislative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>Medical Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MWO</td>
<td>Military Order of William (De Militaire Willems-Orde) (Netherlands), see Glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEFIS</td>
<td>Netherlands East Indies Forces Intelligence Service, see Glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEI</td>
<td>Netherlands East Indies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIT</td>
<td>Negara Indonesia Timur (The State of East Indonesia)</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td>NORCOM</td>
<td>Northern Command (Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Northern Territory (Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBE</td>
<td>Officer of the Order of the British Empire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>Officer Commanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERMESTA</td>
<td><em>Piagam Perjuangan Semesta Alam</em> (Charter for Overall Struggle) (Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK</td>
<td><em>Pendidikan Ketrampilan Keluarga</em> (Family Education Skills) (Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POW (or PW)</td>
<td>Prisoner of War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAA</td>
<td>Royal Regiment of Australian Artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAE</td>
<td>Royal Australian Engineers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAAF</td>
<td>Royal Australian Air Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAAMC</td>
<td>Royal Australian Army Medical Corps</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAN</td>
<td>Royal Australian Navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RANR</td>
<td>Royal Australian Navy Reserve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCU</td>
<td>Regional Cadet Unit (Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retd</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RI</td>
<td><em>Resimen Infanteri</em> (Infantry Regiment) (Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RI</td>
<td><em>Republik Indonesia</em> (Republic of Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIS</td>
<td><em>Republik Indonesia Serikat</em> (Republic of the United States of Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMS</td>
<td><em>Republik Maluku Selatan</em> (Republic of the South Moluccas) (Indonesia), see Glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNN</td>
<td>Royal Netherlands Navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSL</td>
<td>Returned Services League (Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSU</td>
<td><em>Rumah Sakit Umum</em> (General Hospital) (Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RVR</td>
<td>Royal Victorian Regiment (Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7MD</td>
<td>The 7th Military District (Australia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SMP: Sekolah Menengah Pertama (Junior High School) (Indonesia)
SRD: Services Reconnaissance Department
TNI: Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Army), see Glossary
USS: United States Ship
VC: Victoria Cross
WO2: Warrant Officer Class 2
WW2: World War 2
YONIF: Batalyon Infanteri (Infantry Battalion) (Indonesia)
‘Z’: Z-Special Unit, of the Services Reconnaissance Department (Australia)
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The fabled island of Ambon (or Amboina) has been the site of military actions of various sorts fought over the centuries by those jealous of either her spices or strategic location. Particularly significant in recent times has been the part played during World War 2 by a relatively little known component of the second Australian Imperial Force (AIF), known proudly as 'Gull Force'. The 2/21st Battalion came to the Northern Territory during the 'phony war' period, and played a key role in the Darwin Defence Plan of 1941. Later, reinforced and with the operational title of 'Gull Force', it was destined to become one of a number of forces deployed to the islands north of Australia to confront and stall the Japanese. On Ambon it adopted a defensive posture beside the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL) but it had been sent with limited resources and no naval assets, and an RAAF squadron based on Ambon was withdrawn by the Australian Government just as the Japanese strike was about to commence. The protests of the Gull Force Commanding Officer, and his requests for additional weaponry, reinforcements, and air and naval support drew no response from Australia other than to have him summarily replaced.

The 2/21st Battalion
The first drafts of men for the 2/21st Battalion were sent to a Staging Camp at Shepparton, and the battalion trained at Trawool in Central Victoria and Bonegilla before travelling overland to
Darwin, where they arrived on 17 April 1941. They built an encampment on an uncleared site beside the North-South Road, which became known either as ‘Winnellie Camp’ or the ‘7-Mile Camp’, and erected defensive installations in the triangular peninsula of land north of McMillan’s Road culminating at Lee Point. Under the Darwin Defence Plan, the battalion was directed to focus purely on the defence of the Lee Point peninsula itself. In June, the Commanding Officer Lieutenant Colonel Len Roach MC ED was directed to establish a line running east-west from the mouth of Rapid Creek to Leanyer Swamp. In the event of a Japanese landing on Casuarina Beach or at Lee Point, this would be a Stopline at which the 2/21st Battalion was to harass and delay the Japanese force. The service of the battalion in Darwin is detailed in official military directives1, and has been summarised in a separate paper2.

Later in the year, in preparation for deployment, the battalion was supplemented by auxiliary troops and was allocated under the direct command of Army Headquarters as the 2/21st Battalion Group AIF (‘Gull Force’). Gull Force’s wartime experience was subsequently recorded by three members: Courtney Harrison, a 2/21st Battalion medical orderly, Ron Leech, a medic with the 2/12th Field Ambulance, and Les Hohl, a sapper from the 2/11th Field Company3. The Dutch formally requested Australian military assistance on December 7th, and on the 13th Gull Force embarked on the Dutch inter-island transports Both, Velentijn and Patras. This convoy sailed from Darwin the following morning at 1 am, escorted by the cruiser HMAS
Adelaide and the corvette HMAS Ballarat. With anti-tank guns and machine-guns deployed on the decks, two Hudson bombers patrolling overhead by day, and a course which changed constantly to counter the threat of submarine attack, the convoy made its way northwards - to a destination still unknown to the men. To the members of Gull Force as they made their way northwards, that this same route and destination might, 35 years later, become the course of a famous yacht race, would have been inconceivable.

Ambon

The role of the Portuguese and the Dutch in Ambon is well documented, as well as the brief British occupation in 1810. Less widely recorded within Australia is local Ambonese history, particularly relating to the various local insurrections. The history of the KNIL is also little known, but is significant because most Ambonese today have a grandfather or earlier ancestor who served in the KNIL. This history, unknown to most Australians, serves to demonstrate the traditional and long-standing loyalty of the Ambonese to the Europeans, rather than some sort of 'Asian brotherhood' that the invading Japanese tried to promote. It is significant because it tends to suggest why the Ambonese were more likely to support the Australians, even in captivity, than the Japanese in occupation.

Japanese expansion

The islands of the South Moluccas to the north and northwest of Australia comprise a forward screen, a physical boundary to be
crossed by an aggressor if Australia itself was to be threatened. In addition to the major occupied islands such as Ambon and Timor, there were also three significant island groups in the Arafura Sea which also belonged to the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) - the Tanimbar Islands (with the main port of Saumlaki), the Aru Islands (Dobo) and the Kai Islands (Tual), which were close enough to be used as stepping stones for an invasion of Dutch New Guinea or even Australia. In February 1941, Australian, British and Dutch Service chiefs had sanctioned the idea of reinforcing the Ambon and Timor garrisons with RAAF advanced bases and AIF ground troops, and 13 Squadron had been despatched to Laha airfield on Ambon (although it was actually recalled before the Japanese invasion). After assuming his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of ABDA Command in January 1942, General Sir Archibald Wavell had made it clear that he was opposed to handing objectives to the enemy without making a fight for it. Similarly, the Australian Prime Minister said that he would not allow the islands to Australia’s north to be used by the Japanese as spring-boards to Australia - if Australian troops were based on islands in the NEI they would counter or at least slow the Japanese onslaught.

Japanese aircraft conducted a preliminary raid on Ambon on January 6th, although a Japanese presence had already been established on Ambon, with Japanese operating fishing boats and ‘variety’ shops, and the concurrent distribution of anti-Dutch propaganda in villages throughout the island. In the villages, offices and schools, the Ambonese were taught that ‘Japan is the
elder brother of Indonesia’. Wavell, meanwhile, had reduced the extent of the island defence chain, drawing his ‘defence perimeter’ back to Java, Timor and Darwin. Gull Force on Ambon was suddenly well north of that perimeter, and it was now no longer feasible to have them extracted. The fleet aircraft carriers Soryu and Hiryu of the Japanese 2nd Carrier Division moved into position on 24 January, and the Japanese invasion fleet appeared on the horizon on January 30th.

Defence and Captivity
Soon after the Japanese landing, Gull Force capitulated in the face of overwhelming numerical superiority. The men were taken back into their barracks and held for the remainder of the war, suffering regular bashings and inhumane treatment (some were also taken to a POW camp on Hainan Island near China). At war’s end, of over 1,100 original members of Gull Force, just 301 were repatriated to Australia (see a reassessment of Gull Force statistics in Appendix 1). And because of the significant number of Australians buried within the camp, the site was converted into a War Cemetery containing the bodies of 694 Gull Force members. A considerable number of these were the unidentifiable remains of over 200 men who had been executed at the Laha airfield in early 1942, the mass graves there not exhumed until the end of 1945.

While the period of Gull Force’s captivity on Ambon forms the underlying basis of the Pilgrimages, it is well documented and will not be the focus of this project. Neither will detailed
consideration be given to the Japanese occupation of Maluku and Ambon\textsuperscript{10}. There is now much recorded on the Japanese as captors and the experiences of Australians as captives\textsuperscript{11}, and the community of Tan Toey Camp has provided the basis for a study of leadership in captivity\textsuperscript{12}. Similarly, the circumstances of the escapes from Ambon will not be examined in detail, although the role of Lieutenant Bill Jinkins in leading a successful escape from Tan Toey Camp, and the role of the Gaspersz family in facilitating this escape, are central to an understanding of the Pilgrimage\textsuperscript{13}.

Post-war Indonesia

This thesis gives a detailed account of why the Gull Force Association Pilgrimage did not commence for two decades after World War 2. One of the prime considerations was the range of post-war attitudes in Australia, including frustration and guilt, disappointment and a need to forget in the survivors, a lack of recognition, and the various post-war adjustments required by the survivors and families\textsuperscript{14}. Secondly, the Pilgrimage could not be initiated because of the circumstances of Indonesian post-war history which are largely unknown within Australia, although they have been documented in various texts\textsuperscript{15} and military publications\textsuperscript{16}. Notable obstacles confronting Gull Force Association were the RMS and Permesta revolts\textsuperscript{17}, two Confrontations, and a brief flirtation with the Soviet Union which has already been documented\textsuperscript{18}. 
It was as a direct result of the commitment of Bill Jinkins to fulfill an obligation to thank the Gaspersz family that a series of return visits to Ambon was instituted by Gull Force Association. These annual visits are a means of recognising service and sacrifice by Australians and Ambonese alike, and allow the veterans to thank the Ambonese in a tangible way - through a Medical Aid Programme and through a scholarship trust fund. What makes the Ambon War Cemetery unique is that well over half of a single Australian battalion group lies here in eternal rest on a site which was the site of their barracks before the Japanese invaded, which then became the site of their incarceration for the duration of the war. It is almost beyond contemplation that so many men could train together and then stand together against an aggressor, only to go into captivity and watch each other waste away through malnutrition or die as a result of beatings. Furthermore, that only one in three of them would ever return to Australia. For those who escaped, and for the survivors of captivity, the Ambon War Cemetery is truly a holy place. Their return here is not so much a visit, and is certainly not a simple reunion. Their visits have truly taken on the nature of a Pilgrimage, with what the Indonesians might recognise as a spiritual atmosphere. There are official records which relate to the Ambon War Cemetery and its consecration in 1968, but the conduct of Operation 'Good Will' and the inception of the first Gull Force Pilgrimages will be detailed based upon significant unpublished Gull Force reports. Again, the roles of key figures such as Bill Jinkins MBE, Rod Gabriel MBE ED, Oscar Tjio, Bill Gaspersz and Julius Tahija are investigated.
Pilgrimage
There is little published material relating to the Pilgrimages to Ambon other than brief general accounts in the media or various newsletters, and this is collated and supplemented by a number of oral history accounts. Some mention of other 'pilgrimages' will be made.

There is today a strong link between the cities of Ambon and Darwin, forged when Darwin was a staging point for the Australian defenders of Ambon in 1941, and reinforced in 1988 when a Sister-Cities agreement was ratified between the Municipality of Ambon and the City of Darwin. A Darwin-to-Ambon yacht race had already been running for several years, and the Sister City link gave this a boost, as well as prompting a series of educational associations between universities in Darwin and Ambon. Meanwhile, as the Northern Territory Government fostered links with the provinces of eastern Indonesia, new opportunities for trade and tourism were created. The annual Anzac Day commemorative services in Ambon and the community assistance provided by Gull Force Association have continued to strengthen the already strong links between Ambon and Darwin, and have further created a framework for mutual cooperation and development which the rest of Australia would be well advised to emulate. The various links between Ambon, Australia and Darwin are investigated, including the 1988 Sister-Cities agreement and the two 13 Squadrons, as well as the other links which have been established in the fields of education, defence, tourism and trade.
Introduction

In considering why the Gull Force Pilgrimage has been successful, the modern format of the annual Pilgrimage is detailed and the controversy surrounding the 'Doolan Memorial' is explained in terms of Indonesian remembrance. Some of the more significant factors which have contributed to the success of the Pilgrimage are considered, including the acceptance of Gull Force as the defenders of Ambon, the development of a broad-based array of co-operative links including Defence Force support within a broader concept of 'regional engagement', and the practical gratitude demonstrated by Gull Force Association rather than simply the repeated conduct of commemorative services. More than this however, the particular success of the Gull Force Pilgrimage to Ambon is considered generally in terms of pela, a uniquely Moluccan tradition of co-operative alliance.

That the Gull Force Association Pilgrimage has become successful cannot be denied, but why have the survivors insisted on returning each year to revisit the scene of such horrendous atrocities? To attempt to identify a single significance for the Pilgrimage would be far too simplistic an analysis. This thesis acknowledges that there are a number of different contexts within which the Pilgrimage holds a unique significance. It is in the fact that the Pilgrimage encompasses a number of multilateral and multidisciplinary processes - by which many participants personally benefit from the Pilgrimage but in different ways and for different reasons - that the Pilgrimage's true success lies.

While honouring the service and sacrifice of their
Australian mates and their Ambonese friends, the veterans overcame their grief, anger and bitterness and looked to the future. In coming to terms with the oppression of the Japanese, the Gull Force men seized an opportunity to thank the Ambonese community for their friendship and support. It is this key aspect that this thesis also addresses, by exploring the psychological and emotional processes the Gull Force Pilgrimage has served, seeking a spiritualistic dimension to the Pilgrimage (along the lines of the Indonesian concept of Ziarah, a special visit to a grave or monument to seek ancestral/divine assistance or inspiration). It is proposed that the history of the Pilgrimage reflects the traditional stages of grieving, and that aspects of the Pilgrimage display parallels with funeral practices in the initiation of recovery from grief. It is suggested that the Pilgrimage has played a significant role for individual veterans and families by allowing ‘closure’ to the grieving process. In offering the veterans an opportunity to grieve, it has developed unity amongst them, and has redirected their energies into a form which is here defined as ‘Sustainable Remembrance’ - honouring the past, but working positively with a practical view towards the future.

Finally, based on the Villers-Bretonneaux experience, consideration is given to the future outlook for the Pilgrimage based on increasing levels of Defence Force involvement. It is also suggested that, given the psychological processes the Gull Force Pilgrimage has served Australian veterans and their families over the last three decades, a combined Pilgrimage to Ambon might effect some form of reconciliation between Gull
Force and Japanese veterans, or at least between their families.

The undoubted basis of the various links and co-operative agreements which today exist, and still the strongest such bond, is the spiritual bond between the Ambonese and their Australian defenders. Recently, Gull Force Association has broadened the criteria for membership, creating the opportunity for widows, daughters and other relatives and friends to join the Association as full members, which will be vital to the perpetuation of this bond and the Pilgrimage itself.

In summary, it is the intention of this thesis to address the following key aspects relating to the Pilgrimages:

- the role of Bill Jinkins in establishing the Pilgrimage, and the early sources of support.
- the reasons for the twenty year delay before the Gull Force Pilgrimages commenced.
- the basis of the controversy regarding the 'Doolan Memorial', and the insight this gives into Indonesian remembrance.
- the basis of the success of the Gull Force Pilgrimage.
- the psychological/emotional processes the Pilgrimage has served for the veterans and their families.
- the future outlook for the Pilgrimage.
- the prospect for 'reconciliation' between Gull Force and Japanese veterans or their families.
With the onset of ethnic and religious violence on Ambon in January 1999 and the death of stalwart Pilgrimage Co-ordinator Rod Gabriel in February, the future prospects for the Pilgrimage now appear to be in doubt. As the Gull Force Pilgrimage faces the possibility of an enforced recess, or even cessation, it becomes vital that the efforts of Jinkins and Gabriel, the sacrifice of Daniel Gaspersz and his family, and the achievements associated with the Gull Force Medical Aid Programme are recorded. The story of the Gull Force Pilgrimages encompasses human endurance and compassion, draws together Australian and Indonesian history, and epitomises the promise to remember.
Notes


5. The 2/21st's sister battalion in the 23rd Brigade had already been supplemented with additional troops and, known as the 2/22nd Battalion Group, had been deployed to Rabaul, operationally designated Lark Force. The 2/40th Battalion Group became known as Sparrow Force when it later deployed to Timor, and the 2/3rd Independent Company became Robin Force on New Caledonia.


7. Some of these pamphlets carried such slogans as: "Japan will liberate the people of Asia from the white-skinned devil people." and "Japan will come to expel the devils." Pictures were used to show that the Japanese were not coming to make war with Asian people but simply to, "makan pisang bersama-sama dengan orang Asia" (literally, 'to eat bananas together with the people of Asia') (*Sejarah Kebangkitan Nasional Daerah Maluku*, 1977/78, p.143).
Introduction


Introduction

20 Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Ambon War Cemetery, Ambon, Indonesia. CWGC, 1968; Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Order of Ceremony at the Dedication of the Ambon War Cemetery and Memorial, Ambon, Indonesia, Tuesday 2nd April 1968".


Gull Force on Ambon

Pete Papilaya from the village of Hitawaka on Saparua Island clearly recalls that the Ambonese were very pleased to see the arrival of the Australians on December 17th 1941: “The Ambonese were pro-Dutch, so they were pro-Australian” ¹. It seems that almost every Ambonese met today has a father or antecedent who served in the KNIL; Margarethe de Lima, for example, matriarch of an Ambonese family today involved in the travel and tourism industry, is the grand-daughter of Johannes Matahelumual. As a young man, Matahelumual had fought with the KNIL in the Acehnese Wars in northwestern Sumatra at the turn of the century and was decorated by the Dutch Government with the Kruis voor Belangrijke Krijgsverrigtingen (‘Cross for Important War Actions’) with clasp Atjeh (Aceh)². The headdress of the KNIL included a kepi with oval cockade, a peaked cap with round cockade, and the Dutch steel helmet with a bronze oval badge featuring the Lion of Nassau. Interestingly, there was also a wide-brimmed hat which could be worn, with one side of the brim folded up (usually the right side) and affixed to the hat itself by the round cockade badge. This hat looks remarkably similar to the Australian Army’s “Hat, Khaki-Fur-Felt”, known to all simply as the ‘slouch hat’. It is uncanny to see photographs of native Ambonese KNIL soldiers wearing what appear to be ‘slouch hats’ some four decades before Australian soldiers were
known to them. This history of a traditional and long-standing Ambonese loyalty to the Europeans, and a coincidence of dress, is largely unknown to most Australians and was a significant factor in Gull Force’s early acceptance by the Ambonese.

There was considerable liaison between the Australian command element and Daniel Gaspersz, the Deputy Mayor of Ambon, hereditary Raja of Naku and owner of the ‘Wiesbaden’ plantation at Hative Kecil near Galala. The Australians found that the Dutch compound (on land owned by the Chinese merchant Tan Toey) was too open from the air and would be subject to bombing, so they moved into the cover provided by neighbouring Wiesbaden. Daniel’s eldest son Bill was working as a Liaison Officer between the Dutch government and the Ambonese, so was appointed Liaison Officer with the Australians. He was largely accompanied in his travels by Private Bill Doolan who was allocated as his driver. Bill Gaspersz later recalled:

*Because we are very close to the compound, the Australians built their tents in our plantation, under the trees. So we know them very well, and our house is there at the coast, and every evening all who were free, the Australians, they came to our house, listen to the wireless, to the news . . . So we eat together with the managers of the Australians, and so we are very friendly with them.*

The main strategic value of Ambon was the wide bay, which would divide the island into two but for a narrow isthmus. The strategic Laha airfield faces the Bay of Ambon on the northern
'half' of the island (Hitu Peninsula), while Halong, Ambon town, Galala, Amahusu and Eri are on the bay side of the southern portion (Laitimor Peninsula). Colonel Roach's directive from Army Headquarters was to put up the best defence possible with the resources at his disposal, bearing in mind that the defence of Laha airfield was the major objective of the Allied forces. This airfield was briefly used by Number 13 Squadron RAAF, which was withdrawn prior to the Japanese invasion. The Dutch commander, Lieutenant Colonel Kapitz, assumed overall command of Allied forces on Ambon, and the Australians were dispersed evenly to reinforce the existing Dutch garrisons. It was a political necessity that the defence of Ambon was seen to be led by the Dutch.5

On January 10th however, Roach decided to take over completely the Bay of Ambon sector, which comprised Laha Airfield, and the entire northern coast of Laitimor Peninsula, facing the Bay. This coast was divided into two 'defence lines' - at Eri on the western end of the Peninsula, and Amahusu nearer Ambon town. Headquarters Company and B Echelon were at Kudamati to the west of Ambon, with an Observation Post on the crest of Gunung Nona. The Eri Defence Line was to serve as early warning of a landing at Latuhalat to the west or on the promontory itself, and provided forward protection for the main Defence Line at Amahusu (which was also oriented to deal with an assault from the west). The rear of the Australian position, was covered by Dutch defence lines at Halong and Benteng, and
the complex Paso Defence Line on the isthmus. Gull Force had no naval or air support, and Roach continued to submit demands for additional men, mobile field artillery, anti-tank artillery and anti-aircraft guns, or at least firm guidance on his role (an operational order detailing Roach's tasks did not arrive in Ambon until 13 January). His appeals went unheeded, and at one time Roach was ordered to cease sending messages. One officer later suggested that the Brigade as a whole should have received the operational name of 'the Shags' for the way it was put out beyond the secure perimeter without support:

*Short of trained troops, with our 6th, 7th and 9th Divisions heavily committed - this was the best Australia could do to try and defend the 'stepping stones' from Asia, and thereby our northern coasts. But, of course, islands, defended only by small numbers of troops in fixed defences, with virtually no air support, and the loss of the sealanes - are doomed when invested by a determined and powerful enemy.*

Lieutenant Colonel Scott DSO of 'G' Branch (Special Operations) at Army Headquarters, who had been responsible for co-ordinating the despatch of these special forces, recommended Roach's immediate recall from Ambon and volunteered to lead Gull Force himself. Roach was relieved of his command, and Scott replaced him on Ambon on 16 January 1942.

Bill and Barbara Gaspersz had been married just one year when the invasion of Ambon took place - on Barbara's 20th birthday, January 31st. The first assault on Laha was repulsed,
but a concentrated assault with air and artillery support began at
dawn on February 2nd and the airfield was taken by 10 am. Some
Australians who surrendered were executed on February
4th in retaliation for the sinking of the mine-sweeper W-9 after it
struck a Dutch mine. On February 5th, some 50 men were
executed during a 2 hour session near the village of Soewakoda
because the Japanese found them 'difficult' to control. Other
Australians (including the Laha garrison commander, Major
Newbury) refused to fill in the graves so were executed at Tauli
on February 6th. The remaining prisoners were considered a
liability - several were unruly, the guard was not numerous, and
an Allied counter-attack was anticipated - so they too were
executed, in a three hour session on February 20th, and buried in
another mass grave at Tauli.

Meanwhile, the Japanese armada swung around to Tulehu
on the east coast and landed infantry at Paso and Leahari - Paso
fell on 31 January, and Kapitz surrendered the following day.
The Japanese advanced southwest along Laitimor Peninsula,
easily took possession of Ambon town, and then occupied the
Benteng artillery barracks, confronting Gull Force Headquarters at
the rear of the Amahusu Defence Line. D Company was switched
from the main trench system back into the supply trenches to
give them the opportunity of facing the enemy. Kudamati was
taken despite a fierce defence by men of the Transport Platoon.
The battalion's B-Echelon was by-passed on the night of the 31st
and the Japanese moved onto and over the grassy Nona Plateau.
The Amahusu Line was abandoned during the night and the troops were ferried by vehicle back to the Eri Defence Line. By February 3rd it was clear that the Australian position was untenable, so they marched themselves to Amahusu and presented themselves to a Japanese Army battalion. The following morning they were escorted back to their original camp at Tan Toey.

The capture of Ambon gave the Japanese control of the air and sea approaches to northern Australia, and in Darwin on 10 February the first reconnaissance plane from Ambon was seen flying overhead. The Japanese High Command feared a counter-offensive and deployed submarines (including the I-124) to watch the port of Darwin for signs of a reinforcement force being despatched to Ambon. Further, they deployed their 48th Division (to Timor) and 5th Division (to Ambon and Western New Guinea), which effectively prevented them from threatening the Australian mainland itself. The more the Gull Force story is examined, the more inescapable becomes the conclusion that they were never expected to hold Ambon against the Japanese. They were without doubt sent to Ambon as a dispensable delaying force - forcing a large-scale deployment by Japanese forces which otherwise would have been free to continue their progress directly southwards. Major John Turner MBE later wrote: “We can take some comfort from the fact that by holding up a large enemy force for two weeks at a critical stage of the Japanese advance on Australia, ‘Gull Force’ fulfilled its mission.”

10.
At the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, a significant Pilgrimage is conducted each year by former members of the 2/21st Battalion Group, families and friends. In the early afternoon, the participants assemble by the 2/21st Battalion tree (just northwest of the northernmost steps of the Shrine), the Gull Force Association members march in, and then a memorial Service is conducted, followed by an afternoon tea nearby. This Shrine Pilgrimage is always conducted on the first Sunday in February - nearest to the day of Gull Force's surrender in 1942. And since the 1998 Pilgrimage, Association members and their families are able to honour the fallen in the presence of the historic King's and Regimental Colours of the 21st Battalion. Despite having been taken into captivity, Gull Force was appropriately honoured for its wartime service in the traditional military manner through having Battle Honours conferred, the King's Colours being emblazoned with the honours “Southwest Pacific 1942”, “Ambon” and “Laha”.

Captivity on Ambon
The Tan Toey prison compound was simply the old barracks with the addition of a barbed-wire fence and guard posts, guarded by a platoon of the 20th Garrison Unit (Marines). On 25 October 1942, 267 Australians were taken to the Japanese-occupied Chinese island of Hainan, including Lieutenant Colonel Scott (leaving Major Westley as Commanding Officer of the Australian POWs at Tan Toey). Those prisoners who remained in Tan Toey Camp were increasingly put to work in intolerable conditions while suffering debilitating illnesses. Pete Papilaya recalls that
the attempts of the Ambonese to help the Gull Force prisoners were not well-received by the Japanese: "Many Ambonese feed the Australian, but when the Japanese noticed it happened, some of them were killed." 12. Under threat of discovery and punishment, Pete and his teenage friends continued to provide bananas and cassavas to the Australians: "Gave them food, but it was a pity, Japan too brutal." 13.

Lieutenant Bill Jinkins and his former batman Alec Chew, of Chinese extraction from Bendigo, left the camp on several occasions to make contact with the locals, among them members of the Gaspersz family. One of their key aims on such a mission was to collect cached weapons and ammunition from Mount Nona and hide them in the Gaspersz' house in Naku. Barbara and her sister-in-law Sara regularly met Australians who were looking for food, while Daniel's youngest son, Ferdinand, worked at night with Bill and Barbara, digging holes in shifts to hide their radio. Bill Gaspersz recalled that they would secretly listen to the radio: "If we got news, important news... We must pass the camp with something in our hands. Then they knew there was something, important news." 14. Ian Macrae later recalled: "Getting under the wire was easy... I doubt if we realised the real deterrent the Japanese depended on. If any of us had been caught he would have been publicly beheaded and the Gaspersz family massacred." 15. Bill Page of D Company recalled the support and protection he and his mates received from the local villagers following such excursions:
I spent time outside the camp during the night on many occasions . . . Will never forget the parade of all troops in the camp lined up and the Japanese guards belting and forcing several Ambonese to slowly walk and stand in front of individual men and identify any Australians who had been in their village. One poor wretch stood in front of me with part of his right ear off, blood coming from nose and what appeared to me a broken jaw and cheekbone. He looked right at me. I gave him a big wink, he shook his head when the guard bellowed at him and moved on down the line 16.

Bill Ripper, a butcher in Headquarters Company, had been a regular visitor to Bill and Barbara Gaspersz before the occupation, and went back to their home one last time late in 1942, Barbara Gaspersz recalled:

He sneaked out of camp only to warn us not to receive any Australians for it is too dangerous. So when we were in the house, we heard like someone throwing small stones, and when we came out there was Bill. And he said, 'I ask you not to receive any Australians any more, for the Japanese already know that. So it's too dangerous for you and it's no use at all 17.

When he returned to the camp he was caught and executed, giving his life to preserve theirs. Another Australian involved, Bill and Barbara Gaspersz recalled, was their friend Percy Elsum, Gull Force's paymaster. He too was captured trying to return to the camp, so to protect the Gaspersz' he claimed that he had been looking for the money he had buried when the Japanese had invaded. He led the Japanese on an elaborate search to one of the
old Australian slit trenches and claimed that the money had obviously been recovered by an Ambonese. He was taken back to camp and, together with the various others involved, was beaten severely and threatened with execution. Finally, some 23 men were tortured by the Japanese to identify those who had been regularly breaking out of camp. Their hands were tied with wire and they were strung from tree branches so they could be beaten with rifle butts, iron bars and lengths of timber until they ‘confessed’. They also received burns from cigarette butts over their bodies and in their ears and noses over a number of days. Finally, on 22 November, the 11 men ‘identified’ by the Japanese as the escapees were taken into the jungle and beheaded, buried in a mass grave. Sergeant Elsum was among those who survived this brutal episode, and was their host when Bill and Barbara Gaspersz visited Australia some twenty-five years later.

Escape from Ambon
A total of 46 Australians escaped from Ambon either before surrender or afterwards from the POW camp (see Appendix 1). Bill Jinkins had led 5 Platoon on the plateau of Mount Nona and, at the time of the surrender, had sought permission to take the remainder of his platoon away as a fighting patrol. Within minutes of entering the compound, he announced that it was his duty and intention to escape, so Jinkins’ was the first officially sanctioned escape plan. On the night of 17 March 1942, Jinkins left Tan Toey with six others: Lieutenants Gordon Jack and Rod Rudder, Corporal Arthur Young, and Privates Alec Chew, Harry
Coe and Cliff Warne. Jinkins had commanded the work party which had erected the perimeter fence, so he knew the location of the strategic weak point, and they had kept a watch on the weather for a night when there was a heavy drizzle - when the guards might be less inclined to leave their sentry boxes. The Gaspersz' had earlier received word that the Australians were formulating an escape plan; Bill Gaspersz later recalled:

One day, we got the news from the camp, if you can help Australians to escape from Ambon. Okay, but we had no experiences with dangerous or not dangerous, we have no experience, we said, 'Yes we can help'. We have somebody from Naku, from our village, and he got the task as a guide. My father arranged here [in Ambon], and I arranged in Naku. Bill Gaspersz arranged for Peter Telussa, an 18 year old Ambonese from Naku, to rendezvous with the party outside the camp and lead them to Bill's home, as Barbara later recalled:

Bill and me, we were already there in our hut, not in the village where there's so many people. We were already in the bush. Then they arrived at night, collect their weapons, with Peter guiding them. Then we had a meal together, then they left our hut, about 10 o'clock at night. Peter and eight other men lined up as escorts, all from the Telussa and Waas families within the same village. In that way, as Bill Gaspersz later recalled, "the secret would be kept within the family." Similarly, Barbara Gaspersz observed: "The
rower - two families, fathers, sons, nephews from each other, so they will not betray each other." 23. Young related the apprehension they all felt, being led over the spine of the island to Naku, trusting implicitly their young Ambonese guides, and recorded the debt of gratitude owed to Bill and Barbara Gaspersz:

We scarcely know what is happening to us, and we cannot be sure of the next five minutes of our lives, but in our hearts we fervently hope that some day in the future we will meet those two good people again, and when we look back, as we hope we will be able to, show our gratitude without any reservation. Surely we will never forget these friends of ours. 24.

In the darkness, they clambered down to the village of Kayu-Putih near the beach and were greeted by villagers: "Someone has handed me two bananas - a friend from the darkness... This spontaneous friendship gives us a feeling of safety." 25. From Naku at about 2.40 am, they set off eastwards in four perahu boats. Meanwhile, Barbara and Sara continued to meet with other Australians looking for food. On one occasion, Sara gave some soldiers sago bread and cigarettes, but the Japanese had observed them sneaking out of camp and had posted guards to catch them on their return. The Australians were beaten until they confessed, and members of the Gaspersz' family were arrested and interrogated, Bill Gaspersz noted wryly: "They caught my father, my sister Sara, my brother Ferdinand; I was in Naku. But after a week they sent the policeman to pick me up." 26. The Gaspersz were uncertain how to respond to the questioning
because they did not yet know if Jinkins’ escape had been discovered - if they were being held just for giving food it would be a simple matter of punishment, but if the escape had been discovered they would all surely be executed. Barbara recalled the manner of the interrogation:

So as soon as we were interrogated by the Japanese, they were rough with Bill. They were rough with me too . . . I pretended to know nothing. And he was beating me with his stick on my thighs, every time [gesturing to cut across the throat] . . . But Bill was beaten. Because when we were caught, Bill said to me, ‘Don’t say anything. Deny everything they ask’. So I denied also, and Bill too, but he was beaten severe, and they just brought me, where they beat Bill, so I can hear 27.

But surprisingly, the Japanese did not ask about the escape. Barbara rightly assumed that the escape had not yet been discovered, so she and Sara made the courageous decision to confess about passing the food, and the Japanese stopped beating Bill and released them all.

The Australian escapees continued to Haruku Island and then to Saparua Island, and then Amahai on Seram where they were met by the Dutch Controller (District Commander) and four KNIL soldiers. On Saturday 21 March, Rudder, Warne and Coe met a Chinese family and took possession of their launch (which the family had intended sinking to prevent it falling into the hands of the Japanese). Jinkins took the KNIL soldiers and two other Australians (Johnson and McIntosh) who had escaped from
Laha, and they reached Geser, where they stayed from March 24th to 29th, to repair the launch and stock up on provisions and fuel; Jinkins recorded, "The Controller was as helpful as his colleagues generally were." Despite the efforts of Warne and Coe, the launch would not start, so Jinkins abandoned it and bought two perahu boats. The KNIL soldiers and the two Australians set off independently in one boat, and Jinkins' party sailed in the other southeast to Tual in the Kai islands where they again received friendly hospitality from the Controller. At midday on Easter Sunday, April 4th, they set off for Saumlaki on the island of Jamdena in the Tanimbar group, by-passing Dobo in the Aru group where they had heard there was a rebellion in progress. They had an eventful arrival at Saumlaki on the morning of April 14th: they lost their rudder, were buzzed by a Japanese flying boat and two Zeros, and then their boat was blown from her moorings by an overnight storm.

The Controller was reluctant to surrender his Government schooner Aleida so Jinkins commandeered it for the continuation of his journey (promising the Controller that he would despatch a warship from Darwin to collect them). A departure from Saumlaki was attempted on April 22nd, but the Aleida became caught on one of the treacherous reefs at the harbour's entrance. Local opinion the following morning was that she could not be refloated until the next full moon high tide which was a fortnight away. Jack and Young were unable to contact Darwin on the radio but they did manage to contact Sheldon and Monsted at Dobo,
supposedly partners in a pearl fishery there (they were, in reality, members of the secret Australian M-Special Unit - Sheldon was an AIF Captain and Monsted was a Danish civilian - participating in a covert operation known as 'Project 210' 29). Jack and Young learned that the Dutch Controller at Dobo had been executed by the Japanese, and Jinkins' decision not to call in at Dobo was deemed to have been a wise one.

The NEI schooner Griffioen arrived at Saumlaki from Tual on the 26th, carrying the Controller and a number of refugees, and was commandeered by Jinkins. Peter Telussa could not bear to abandon such a valuable item as a boat, so he took the old perahu and set off alone for Ambon. Bill Gaspersz recalled that Peter was betrayed upon his return and was arrested:

*the Australians got a better boat to make their journey over to Darwin, and they abandoned their old boat, and Peter wanted to have that boat, and he came back with that boat . . . Peter was sent with them, but Peter came back and was caught by the Japs* 30.

Bill Gaspersz was already in jail with his father and, by coincidence, Peter was thrown into the same cell as Daniel and Bill. They created the story that Peter had been forced at gunpoint by the Australians to sail them to freedom, and that they had only released him when they were clear of the Japanese-occupied islands. Peter knew that if the Japanese discovered the truth, not only he but his entire family, the Gaspersz family and quite possibly the whole population of Naku would most certainly
be executed:

I said to Peter, ‘I have instructed you, you must go with the Australians and stay in Australia until the war is over, then you come back and you will be a hero’. But now . . . if you open your mouth you kill us: you kill your whole family and you kill us.

Telussa: ‘I will take the blame. You tell me what I have to say to the Japanese. Tell me, what must I say at this time . . . if I am interrogated, what must I confess?’

Gaspersz: ‘You confess, that you were at the coast, at the beach in Naku, was between light and dark in the evening. Everybody was gone already home, but you stayed for repairing your nets or something. But you were alone at the beach. And suddenly the Australians came out and forced you to bring [them] away. You must confess to this’.

Pete was a good, good fellow. And he confessed like that, so we were freed 31.

And so Peter Telussa was executed, steadfastly refusing to reveal the truth of his support for the Australians. Similarly, Barbara Gaspersz recalled, they were supported by everyone else in the village:

And the whole village also never talked to them, but they were tortured, they hanged our aids in the village, my father-in-law’s aids, they hanged them upside-down. But they didn’t open their mouths 32.

On Saumlaki, with all preparations made, the ship’s crew refused to sail the Griffioen to Darwin. Jinkins held a meeting with selected crew members to encourage them to assist, with Young,
Chew and Coe posted at the entrances to the building - ostensibly as sentries but each carried a weapon concealed under a ground-sheet. When no result had been achieved after two hours, the sentries dropped their ground-sheets and under armed guard the crew were marched aboard. They left Saumlaki harbour at 6.00 pm on May 1st, with only a small map on the back of a school exercise book as an aid to navigation; four days later, HMAS Warrnambool came to evacuate the remaining Dutch civilians at Saumlaki. Melville Island was sighted by Jinkins' party on May 3rd, and at 5.30 pm on May 4th HMAS Chinampa (commanded by commissioned Warrant Officer 'Chick' Henderson RANR) came alongside to lead them through the boom into Darwin Harbour. After a journey lasting 48 days, the party of eleven Australians and four Dutchmen spent a further fortnight at the Adelaide River hospital before being sent to Melbourne for reassignment. Jinkins himself flew directly to Melbourne to report to the Director of Military Intelligence for debriefing. The significance of this escape is reflected in the general paucity of successful escapes from Japanese-held camps; of the 15,000 held at Changi not a single person escaped, and one authority quotes a figure of just 25 Australians successfully escaping from the Japanese. Jinkins' escape warranted just one brief paragraph in the Australian official war history, but this exploit has a far greater significance for the fellowship and continuing aid programmes it has prompted.
Notes


2 Mrs M de Lima, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1996, 21 August 1997; Miss Febby Bakarbessy, pers comm (Ambon), 1 & 2 May 1996; Mrs D Clifford (de Lima), pers comm (Ambon), 21 August 1997. The Cross for Important War Actions was also known colloquially as the Expedition Cross (Expeditie-Kruis).

3 See for example, Soegih Arto (1994), p.23.

4 Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

5 Australia had initially planned to deploy a brigade group to Ambon, but the Brigadier in command would have outranked the KNIL commander Lieutenant Colonel Kapitz, and this was unacceptable (War Cabinet Minute dated 28 April 1941, Australian Archives Series A5954/1, Box 561 ‘Australia and the NEI’; cited by Ford, 1996, pp.30-31).

6 Major J M Turner MBE (retd), Mufti, 30 April 1968, p. 6.

7 Born at Bingara, NSW, 21 June 1888, Scott was commissioned on 31 December 1914. He served at Gallipoli (Lieutenant, 19th Battalion), the Sinai and then France (Captain & Major, 19th Battalion, wounded in action), and was awarded the Distinguished Service Order for gallantry at Flers on 14 November 1916, “For conspicuous gallantry in action. He organised the troops in the vicinity and formed a strong point, and by the judicious use of machine-guns, kept off several threatened enemy attacks, thereby saving a critical situation.” He worked as an insurance broker in Sydney, concurrently serving as a militia officer until he was called up for Full Time Duty in 1939 as an Intelligence Officer at Victoria Barracks. He had raised, and was the first commander of, the secret Australian commando training facility, No.7 Infantry Training Centre, on Wilson’s Promontory southeast of Melbourne, from which appeared the first four independent companies. In May 1941, he transferred to ‘G’ Branch (Special Operations) at Army Headquarters, and personally co-ordinated the despatch of Lark, Sparrow, Robin and Gull Forces.

8 The Japanese mine-sweeper W-9 sank on January 31st after it struck a Dutch mine in the Bay, and the survivors were brought in and allowed the ‘privilege’ of beheading the Australians. W-9 was the only Japanese shipping casualty in the Ambon area of operations during the NEI campaign. In addition, W-11 and W-12 were damaged (Ford, 1996, pp. 31, 446).
Tan Toey Compound was handed over to Rear-Admiral Hatakayama, and for
the remainder of the war Kalimantan and eastern Indonesia were
administered by the Japanese Navy (Kaigun), with their Naval Command
Headquarters established within Fort Nieuw Victoria in Ambon town, and
with Vice-Admiral Shineicki Ichese as commander of all Japanese forces on
Ambon. Java and Madura were administered by the Japanese 16th Army, and
Sumatra by the 25th Army.

Major J M Turner MBE (retd), Mufti, 30 April 1968, p. 6.

In 1950, the Colours of the linked 23rd/21st Battalion (City of Geelong
Regiment) had been relocated from Battalion Headquarters in Myer Street,
Geelong to St Matthew's Anglican Church in East Geelong. In 1986, the
King's and Regimental Colours of the 21st Battalion were laid up in the
crypt of the Shrine of Remembrance (and the 23rd Battalion's Colours went
to the Australian War Memorial). After conservation work, the Shrine
Trustees invited Gull Force Association to arrange a Handing-Over ceremony,
and this was timed to coincide with the annual Gull Force Shrine Pilgrimage
on 1 February 1998. The only surviving member of the original
21st Battalion, Corporal Roy Longmore (aged 103), was to have handed over
the Colours but was too ill so Rod Gabriel carried out the duty instead (Herald
Sun [Melbourne], 2 February 1998, 29 April 1998; Ex-POW Association
& Relatives Newsletter, April 1998, pp.21-22; Mr W J Page, pers comm,
11 May 1998).

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997.

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997.

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Macrae OBE, Major I F, 'A description of Major Bill Jinkins activities up to
the time he joined Z Force', unpublished notes, undated.

Mr W J Page, pers comm, 12 December 1995.

Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Australia, November 1995, pp.10-13; Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm
(Ambon), 1 May 1998; Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

The circumstances of the escape are largely drawn from Macrae
(unpublished notes, undated); Young, A, “Ambon to Darwin, 17th March '42
- 4th May '42". Unpublished transcript, with attached notes, dated
28 November 1968; Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998;
Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998; Mr W D Hicks, pers
comm, 22 October 1996, 1 November 1996; Major I F Macrae OBE, pers
comm, 13 November, 4 December 1996, 27 August 1999. See also

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.


Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.
Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Macrae (unpublished notes, undated).


Mr Bill Gaspersz, pers comm (Tantui), 25 April 1997.

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

The seven original escapees plus Private A D McIntosh (escaped from Latuhalat with Lieutenant Chapman), Lance-Corporal B Amor and Private R W McPherson (escaped from Laitimor Peninsula), and Private D Johnson. The refugees from Saumlaki were taken ashore on HMAS Warrnambool the following day.


A DEBT OF GRATITUDE
3.1 Rescue Plan & Special Operations

Whilst being questioned by the Chief of the General Staff, Jinkins seized the opportunity to put forward his plan to rescue the remaining Gull Force prisoners. General Sturdee and the First Naval Member, Rear-Admiral Royle, enthusiastically supported Jinkins' proposal so he drew up a plan involving the destroyer, HMAS Arunta, and the Netherlands' light cruiser Tromp. They were to carry commandos into Ambon harbour and heave-to off the POW compound, while the RAAF was to strafe Laha aerodrome and provide fighter coverage. A covert insertion into the camp to prepare the POWs would have preceded the operation, and then they would have to swim about 200 metres to nets slung over the sides of the rescue vessels.

Jinkins knew the positions of the sentries and the locations of the remainder of the Galala garrison on Ambon, as well as the distance from shore to deep water off the reef. There were two Japanese destroyers known to be anchored in the harbour off the compound, but the crews were of a poor standard and not prepared to meet any assault. He knew that there was no artillery for defence from a sea attack, nor were there mines in the harbour. An RAAF report from a raid conducted in May however, noted heavy anti-aircraft fire from a heavy destroyer
and two merchant vessels, and light anti-aircraft fire from the wharf, barracks town and coast. The final plan, with handwritten comments and annotations, was dated 2 June 1942. Captain Nichols, Chief of Naval Staff, noted, "Propose a ruling should be obtained from GHQ as to whether the operation should be attempted ". Admiral Royle, significantly, wrote, "Concur, I personally think plan well worth trying with Tromp and Arunta " 1. The rescue attempt was frustrated however, when the plan was deemed ‘entirely impractical’ by the Naval Forces Commander South West Pacific Area, Admiral Leary, who therefore vetoed it. Leary feared the loss of two valuable warships and a loss of prestige, as well as the consequent damage to morale. Major Ian Macrae later observed,

*Morale at that stage was generally pretty low and would have been lifted by the attempt win or lose and those few who survived years in the Ambon prison can evaluate dying in an attempted rescue or after years of misery* 2.

Frustrated in his attempt to rescue Gull Force from Ambon, and unable to thank the Gaspersz in any way due to the ongoing Japanese presence on Ambon, Jinkins then set about on a second plan - to honour the loyalty and assistance of the indigenous inhabitants of the eastern islands of the Netherlands East Indies. Most of the abandoned NEI islands had been easily seized by the Japanese but many in the Arafura Sea still remained unoccupied, providing ‘stepping stones’ to New Guinea or even Australia. A joint Australian/Dutch operation entitled ‘Plover’ was established,
to comprise a series of landings by small units to restore the islands' sovereignty, prevent them being used as Japanese airbases or, at the very least, to evacuate remaining KNIL members, Dutch officials and their families. The Australian component of Plover was a party from Z-Special Unit of the Australian Services Reconnaissance Department (SRD) led by Bill Jinkins. Jinkins made certain conditions regarding his decision-making powers: he wanted to choose his own party, he did not want anyone of senior rank within the project with power to interfere with his command, but moreover, he wanted to choose the island. In making his escape from Ambon, Jinkins had commandeered the schooner Griffioen at Saumlaki on Jamdena Island (in the Tanimbars, some 480 km north of Darwin) to make the final leg of his journey into Darwin, and it was the people of this island that he wished to thank.

Jinkins was allocated HMAS Southern Cross (commanded by Lieutenant Summerfield RANR) and Chinampa (Warrant Officer 'Chick' Henderson RANR), and among the thirty men Jinkins selected were eight ex-Gull Force soldiers who had also escaped from Ambon, including Chew and Coe who had escaped with him from Tan Toey. Their mission was to make contact with the Dutch Controller, disembark troops and stores, and then return to Darwin with refugees. En route to Saumlaki, the starboard engine of Southern Cross broke down on the 29th, so Jinkins directed Chinampa to continue to Saumlaki and await his arrival. Major Ian Macrae transcribed Jinkins' summary of events for July 30th:
Chinampa entered Saumlaki harbour after sundown and anchored near the jetty, which was about 150 yards long. Henderson was anxious to make preparations for fast unloading in the morning; he had 19 troops and 6 tons of stores for Saumlaki . . . Accompanied by a sailor, AB Stone, he motored his dinghy to the jetty and they both walked to the government building. While he was trying to make himself understood to a sentry Stone saw, as the door opened to Henderson's knock, nine or ten men in green coloured uniform sprawled around a table. After a pregnant pause, revolver shots were fired at Henderson, who shot back and turned and ran.

Stone's man, obviously the sentry, called out before Stone clubbed him with his rifle butt and joined Henderson as he ran to the dinghy. After they got back on board, Chinampa moved to anchorage well away from the jetty. Henderson, obviously influenced by the All Clear reports, thought his opponents might be NEI troops, possibly Javanese, who fired on him mistakenly, so he said he would find out for sure in the morning.

At 0635 Chinampa weighed and proceeded towards the jetty which was clear except for a small tin shed at the end. Meanwhile Southern Cross had arrived and anchored where she was concealed by the land. As Chinampa approached, a couple of men appeared on the jetty and a rating signalled by gestures for one of them to take the end of the line to assist the tie up. For some reason the Jap panicked and fired his rifle thus saving Chinampa and all aboard from being captured 4.

After visiting aircraft had noticed Jinkins' escape party at Saumlaki in April, interest in the island had intensified. After Jinkins' departure, a party of KNIL soldiers commanded by Sergeant Tahija had landed there on May 5th, establishing a
defensive position at the landward end of the jetty. On the morning of July 30th, two Japanese warships had entered the harbour and discharged troops, who were heavily engaged by Tahija’s troops. By the following morning though, Saumlaki was in Japanese hands, and it was these Japanese that Henderson met later that night. Macrae continued Jinkins’ recollection of events of the morning of July 31st:

Henderson called out ‘Stand to your guns boys, they’re Japs’. A man on the wharf was hit and a heavy fire broke out from several points on shore and the shed and the jetty. The forward twin .50 Brownings on Chinampa opened fire and the ship went full astern under fire from a lot of tracer and probably .50 ammunition. The ship received a lot of damage above water. Meanwhile Southern Cross moved to join her and came under fire as she did so.

Southern Cross ran alongside Chinampa, and Jinkins leapt over to her bridge, there finding Henderson bleeding profusely after he had been hit by machine-gun fire. After a few minutes, Henderson died in his arms. Chinampa was taken out of range by another man who was severely wounded in the upper body - he was lying on the deck and steering with his feet. After both vessels arrived in Darwin on August 2nd, Sergeant Ron Brockie was arrested and threatened with imprisonment for losing his code books; he was only released after the leader of the defence force on Saumlaki, Sergeant Tahija, was debriefed.

Bill Jinkins went on to serve in further covert operations
with SRD as part of a clandestine war waged in South-East Asia by the Allied Intelligence Bureau. In early 1944, he led a small team inserted by submarine into British North Borneo which assisted in precipitating an uprising of the Kinabalu Guerrillas, and then led a submarine extraction to Darwin. Jinkins returned to British North Borneo two months later to extract the balance of the force, and during the course of this operation three Japanese destroyers were destroyed. Jinkins then accompanied a submarine patrol in the South China and Flores Seas, boarding native vessels to gain information on Japanese shipping movements. From December 1944, Jinkins conducted submarine reconnaissance operations in the South China Sea, and then commanded a number of operatives in a series of coastal patrols by Catalina flying boat. Finally, he led a 5-man party in an American submarine, boarding native vessels and conducting reconnaissance of islands between Borneo and Malaya.

Defence of Saumlaki
Sergeant Julius Tahija had arrived on Saumlaki after Jinkins' escape party had already left, and had defended the town bravely until forced to withdraw. It was Tahija's party that Henderson and Stone had expected to meet in the government building, but found Japanese instead. And it was Tahija's party that Jinkins had hoped to support in their defence of Saumlaki, or evacuate. Tahija and Jinkins later had the opportunity to work together in covert operations, and then decades later Tahija was of marked assistance to Gull Force Association in the early years.
of the Pilgrimages to Ambon.

Born in Surabaya in 1916 of Ambonese parents, Tahija joined the KNIL in 1937 and participated in operations against Acehnese rebels in northern Sumatra. In early 1941, Tahija had belonged to a Militia company bringing Japanese internees to Australia\textsuperscript{16}, but the Dutch capitulation prevented their return to Java and they instead went into camp at Royal Park in Melbourne. Here, they became the basis of the Netherlands East Indies Forces Intelligence Service (NEFIS)\textsuperscript{17} and were sent to Darwin for training. As part of Operation Plover, these NEFIS parties were primarily responsible for assisting any remaining Dutch officials to maintain order and protect pro-Dutch elements. Some were certainly given a role in opposing Japanese landings - at Saumlaki, Dobo and Tual - but they were never intended to prevent such landings. They were simply to delay any Japanese occupation of such islands, to stop them being used as stepping stones for an invasion of Australia. The similarity with Gull Force is striking - the NEFIS teams were sent on secret suicide missions, with no planned support, resupply or withdrawal, and many never returned from these covert operations.

In July 1942, Tahija took a ‘brigade’ of twelve KNIL soldiers and a Dutch Navy radio operator (Corporal Bosson) on the schooner \textit{Griffioen} to Saumlaki - less than three months after Jinkins had commandeered that same vessel to make his escape from Saumlaki. On July 13th, a wary Sergeant Tahija went ashore at Saumlaki with a Dutch flag: he met with the Dutch Controller
Lieutenant Leenaerts and Police Superintendent Altorf, his men prepared defensive positions, and they jailed a number of locals identified as having been spying for the Japanese. Japanese forces from Ambon occupied Dobo on 30 July, despite opposition by five NEFIS brigades commanded by Captain van Muyen, and defeated two brigades (Lieutenant Hieronymus) to capture Tual on the 31st. Meanwhile, on the morning of July 30th, some 200 Japanese Marines faced the full fury of an effective defence organised by Julius Tahija.

Tahija at first ordered his men to hold their fire, suspecting these to be the Australian warships from Darwin promised by Jinkins. The Japanese marched along the jetty towards the shore, and when they were 50 metres away Tahija's party opened fire. The Japanese suffered heavy casualties and withdrew in confusion. Fighting continued for two hours until dawn, and when another Japanese party landed south of the jetty Tahija, wounded by shrapnel, withdrew his men across to the other side of the island and escaped in a schooner. By 6 am, Saumlaki was in Japanese hands and a reward of 1,000 guilders had been posted for Tahija. After a long sea journey, surviving on coconut and sweet potato boiled in salt water, Tahija's party struck land on Bathurst Island and arrived in Darwin on August 16th. For his bravery in action at Saumlaki, Tahija was appointed a Knight (4th Class) of the Military Order of William (De Militaire Willems-Orde), the Netherlands' highest honour conferred for outstanding courage, leadership and loyalty towards Monarch and Country.
After debriefing in Melbourne, Tahija was promoted to Lieutenant and was attached to a secret establishment known as 'Z' Experimental Station, the nucleus of what subsequently became Z-Special Unit, a holding unit for the SRD. Tahija was appointed deputy intelligence instructor, responsible for jungle survival training, and he then participated in covert missions to conduct reconnaissance, train local guerrillas and lay caches for future use by operatives or escapees. Julius Tahija recalls that he first met Bill Jinkins at 'Z' and discussed the coincidence of both having been at Saumlaki within a short space of time, but they never discussed any missions. In 1946, Tahija was elected to the Parliament of Negara Indonesia Timur (NIT, The State of East Indonesia), a Cabinet Minister and representative for South Maluku. With independence and the integration of NIT into Soekarno's unitary Republic, Tahija then worked with Caltex Pacific for the next four decades, ultimately as Managing Director for seventeen years. In this capacity, with an extensive network of contacts, Tahija was able to provide invaluable assistance to Gull Force Association by facilitating the delivery of desperately needed medical supplies. If anyone understood Gull Force's wartime circumstances it was Tahija, for he too had been sent on a similar 'impossible' mission, yet he had been fortunate enough to escape, using a similar route as Bill Jinkins.

Tahija supported the Gull Force Association proposal for a medical aid programme by arranging meetings with the Minister for Health and Health Department officials, and he personally arranged the donation of a new generator and X-Ray plant to the
Ambon General Hospital, the servicing of hospital vehicles and the training of diesel mechanics, as well as providing supplies of dental equipment and local anaesthetic. Julius Tahija's extensive public service has been well-recognised. In addition to the Military Order of William, Tahija was awarded the decoration Srikabadijo I by the Sultan of Yogyakarta Pakubuwono XII in 1975, was appointed Commander of the Order of Leopold by the King of Belgium in 1988, and in 1994 was awarded the prestigious Bintang Mahaputera Nararya by President Suharto.

3.2 Post-war attitudes in Australia

The Gull Force Pilgrimage to Ambon has been an undoubted success in many ways during the last three decades, but if this is so, why was there a delay of over twenty years after the war before the first Pilgrimage was conducted? The first main reason lies with the veterans themselves and the families, both of those who returned and of those who did not.

Frustration and Guilt
After Lieutenant General Teshima, Commander of the 2nd Army, surrendered for all Imperial forces in the eastern NEI on 9 September, Tan Toey Camp was liberated the following day and the men embarked in four Australian corvettes, HMA Ships Glenelg, Cootamundra, Latrobe and Junee. Ken Whatson, from HMAS Cootamundra, recalled: "Most of them were supporting each other, and their weights would have been, in the old terms,
about 5 stone weight” 23. Noel Grimes, from HMAS Glenelg, also recalled: “They were very weak, no meat, no flesh on 'em, and all ulcerated, and I don’t think there was one of 'em that didn't have some sores of some sort on him” 24. From Morotai, they embarked on the hospital ship Wanganella which went to Tarakan, Brisbane and then Sydney, and from here the Victorians then went by hospital train to Junee and then on to Melbourne and Heidelberg. The Hainan prisoners, meanwhile, made the return passage to Australia on HMS Striker and HMS Vindex. In March and April 1946 most of them were discharged from the Army.

Many of the survivors retained an inner guilt that they had not fought longer or harder. There was no fight to the bitter end, few fell in battle (see Appendix 1), and relatively few were captured by the Japanese - the majority marched as a formed body to Amahusu to surrender25. In captivity, they harboured the guilt that their early surrender may have directly contributed to the fall of Darwin and an invasion of Australia itself. Doug McIntosh recalls that, during the Court of Inquiry regarding the escape by a party led by Lieutenant Chapman, the men felt more like the accused in a Court Martial, with terms such as ‘deserters' being bandied about26. Those in captivity had taken some comfort from the fact that their action had delayed the Japanese somewhat, when it might otherwise have moved directly to Darwin but, as John Turner subsequently noted: “Nagging at every heart was the fearsome thought that the Japanese had
pushed on to Australia - that perhaps already they had a foothold” 27. Soon after their capture, the Minister for the Army had praised Gull Force for their stand against overwhelming Japanese forces: “Although they knew from the start that they had small chance of defeating the powerful enemy forces, our lads stuck grimly to their task, which was to fight a delaying action” 28. This statement was never heard by the men of Gull Force themselves, who carried into captivity and beyond their personal feelings of failure and frustration29.

Disappointment
Lieutenant Colonel Len Roach MC ED30 was a 5th Battalion veteran of Gallipoli; he had been hit on the chest by a bullet but fortunately a silver cigarette case in his tunic saved him from being killed. He was awarded the Military Cross (MC) for gallantry as a Lieutenant in France in 1916, and he served in Afghanistan and Persia as an officer in the British Army. In post-war Melbourne, he commanded a Militia battalion (the 14th Infantry) before being selected to raise and command the 2/21st Battalion. Roach was bitterly disappointed at his recall, knowing that a new commander, no matter how competent, would have difficulty leading men in battle when he had not yet earnt from them any degree of respect. He had no regrets concerning his own personal career, which he made clear to his fellow officers when the news of his recall came through. His son recalls hearing from one of the officers that Colonel Roach had put his hand on his metal rank insignia on his shoulder and said, “The
metal doesn’t count, but a thousand men do ” 31.

Within a week of his repatriation, Roach resigned from the Army and resumed his position as Chief Executive of the Overseas Shipping Representative Association. His son Neil only came to fully understand the events of 1942 during his own participation in an Ambon Pilgrimage following Roach’s death in 1978. Twenty years later he recalled: “He was very, very distressed when he came back to Australia from Ambon, having left one thousand men in his battalion at the mercy of the enemy, the Japanese, and he was most upset. It was very difficult to talk to him for over twelve months ” 32. Scott, on the other hand, was widely resented for having Roach replaced, and the majority of men only saw him for the first time when he addressed them in Tan Toey Camp. Such was the attitude of Gull Force veterans that Scott never once attended a battalion reunion.

Wanting to forget
Walter Hicks served in the Intelligence Cell and as a Temporary Sergeant in 9 Platoon, A Company, was wounded-in-action and was Mentioned-in-Despatches for his conduct. On evacuation from Ambon, Hicks showed his hurriedly written ‘memoirs’ to a former journalist with the Argus, who judged them to be too explicit and horrific for post-war Australian readers and and threw them overboard into the Coral Sea33. This was one reason why the Gull Force saga was overlooked - many considered that the families did not need to know of the atrocities and
deprivations the men had suffered. In some cases, the detail was suppressed because the veterans faced what has been described as "a conspiracy of unbelief" about their extraordinary experiences. James McDougall rarely talked about Hainan and he spoke with his ex-Army mates about Ambon with great passion, but he never spoke directly to the children. His son recalls overhearing McDougall speak about the Ambonese people and how good they were to the Australians; in his later life however, the periods of captivity came back to haunt him: "in the last seven or eight years he had a lot of nightmares, quite a lot of emotional trouble about their captivity." 35.

In the years which followed their repatriation, several of the survivors strongly resisted any efforts to commemorate or document their wartime service. Les Hohl related: "I didn't want to know any more about Ambon. When we left Ambon we said we don't want anything that's ever going to remind us of this place again." 36. Beaumont noted that, "forgetting has been an integral part of their adjustment" to post-war life, and it was a long time before books by or about Australian prisoners during World War 2 were published. Many actively resisted any attempt to document the saga of Gull Force, and Courtney Harrison experienced much opposition in his endeavours to produce his book, Ambon. Island of Mist. Walter Hicks recalled:

Courtney did a worthwhile job in the production of the book, totally without the assistance of the committee-men of Gull Force, who were antagonistic, for the main
part, to his ideas of producing the history 39.

Lack of recognition
Almost contrary to the attitude of ‘wanting to forget’, one of the aspects of their post-war treatment that for many years niggled at the survivors was that whenever POW camps were reported, prominence was always given to those in Malaya, Singapore and Thailand. While not denying the very real tragedy of these circumstances and the sheer scale of the losses, the Gull Force survivors felt a very real anger that there were just 347 survivors from over a thousand men, a total loss rate of around 70% - double the death rate in these other camps40. Excluding the absolute slaughter at Sandakan, the mortality of Gull Force prisoners was the greatest experienced by Australians, a rate greater than on the Burma-Siam Railway from Kanchanaburi to Thanbyuzayat41. Even by excluding those who were killed in battle, those escapees killed by Chinese bandits and those who died after liberation, the death rate was still a staggering 62% of the battalion’s original strength. This has been described as the greatest loss of life from a single battalion in the whole AIF of World War 2. Further, in Tan Toey Camp itself after the removal of a number of men to Hainan, during the period 26 October 1942 to 10 September 1945 (see Appendix 1), of the 523 men remaining in camp a total of 399 men were executed or died - a 76% death rate! Rod Gabriel was always adamant that, in deference to their fellows who are dead, their service warrants recognition.
Settling in

Upon their repatriation, the Gull Force survivors displayed some fairly obvious physical signs of their ordeal - the effects of beatings and overwork, chronic malnutrition and a variety of disabilities\(^{42}\). Bill Page, for example, had been hospitalised in the 2/5th Australian General Hospital AIF at Morotai, where he had received immediate treatment for beri-beri, malnutrition, amoebiasis, anaemia, hookworm and tropical ulcers. In the bombing on 15 February 1943 he had suffered shrapnel injuries to his right eye, forehead, legs and left shoulder, and soon after had been forced to join another work party. In June 1945, he was buried alive in a tunnel at the Halong Naval Base when part of the roof caved in, and he suffered a back injury (his mate, Corporal Noar suffered a broken leg which developed gangrene, from which he subsequently died on 17 July 1945)\(^{43}\). After his return to Australia, Page lost his right eye, and received a tonsillectomy. He was subsequently granted a veteran's pension for war-related incapacity including cervical spondylosis, fibrositis in the left shoulder, lumbar spondylosis, and post-traumatic stress disorder.

Eric Kelly noted that the process of demobilisation ('demobbing') was quick, but there-in lay the source of future difficulties. He noted that 'the system' wanted to get the survivors out of the Army as quickly as possible, but equally, all they themselves wanted to do was clear the demob process quickly and go home:
I think that they got rid of us too quickly in the Army. All we wanted to do was get out of the Army, that was the main objective, and they gave us about three months leave... on full pay, and then you could go, and we went out to Watsonia. Well, the demobbing, George [Williamson] and I we used to get out in the morning as early as we could and get in the line to a particular part of the demobbing, and you'd go through that section.

Now, all you wanted to do was get through it. You didn't want to tell 'em anything. They'd ask you, 'How are you?'. 'Good, Great'. And that was written down, that you were great. 'Any complaints?'. 'No, no complaints'. 'Righto', and away you went.

Until 1974 when Whitlam did the right thing by us and gave us the 'Gold Card' for any medical. Prior to that, I've been [to the doctor] with something, and they'd look up [the records]. 'Didn't say you had anything wrong with you. There's nothing wrong with, you're alright', and you'd have to pay for it.

They also carried with them the severe emotional scars of their period of captivity, all necessarily very personal and individual responses to the stresses of captivity. Initially, they suffered anxiety about their relationships, their own physical recovery and their ability to father children, and their ability to resume careers. For many years after the war, they experienced depression, restlessness, nervousness, phobias and nightmares. Many later reported that they suffered restlessness, were unable to accept promotions, were not competitive and found working indoors claustrophobic. Private Barney McLeavy returned to Australia to find that his wife Jean had carried on her life as
normal in the expectation that he would come home. She recalls:

> When he came home he was very shy and very quiet, and right back in his shell; and he used to whisper a lot. But it took him a long, long time to settle in. And he wandered a lot, with his mates and so forth, and we just had to put up with it . . . He liked to be out with the boys. He couldn’t settle. He worked, but he still wanted to be with the boys.\(^{46}\)

Similarly, their first daughter felt that they missed out on close emotional contact because their father spent more time with other people instead of them: “He was there but he wasn’t.”\(^{47}\) Their second daughter observed that, after nearly four years of disciplined life and regulated timings, it was as if he just wanted to experience freedom: “I felt that he seemed trapped. He couldn’t stay in one place. It was as if, if he did it’d be like he’d be locked away, so he’d be on the move all the time.”\(^{48}\)

Rob McDougall, the sixth of seven children of Private James McDougall, had similar memories of his father, both from his own experiences in the 1960s and 1970s, and passed on from his mother. He observed:

> He felt very lost, as though he didn’t belong in Australia any more, having been away for so long, he felt like a real foreigner in his own country. And it took him a long time to feel accepted again. And Mum quite often says that he never ever got over the war, and missed being with all his mates.\(^{49}\)
The families

The attitudes of families of survivors has been investigated by Beaumont who noted that, in the extreme situation, one survivor returned home to find that his wife had borne a child by another man, but most pre-existing relationships had actually survived and continued to endure for many years\textsuperscript{50}. George Williamson, a butcher and driver in 6 Platoon, HQ Company, had been married before the war but came home to find that his wife had left him, so he bought a woodyard and immersed himself in collecting and selling firewood\textsuperscript{51}. Staff-Sergeant Eric Kelly came back expecting home to be the same as when he had left: "I was engaged to a girl, who didn’t know that I was still alive, and when I got home she was married" \textsuperscript{52}. Tom Pledger recalls that he went a bit ‘scary’ for a few months, but then settled in alright. He got married two days after he was discharged, to his fiancee from before the war, and went back to work, had twins, and has generally had a happy life\textsuperscript{53}.

While the repatriates attempted to readjust, many wives and loved ones were shocked at the condition of the ex-prisoner upon his return, having suffered such a dramatic change through physical abuse and deprivations. The men themselves were unable to stomach rich food after years of blandness. They suffered continuing ill health, hospitalisation, and the appearance of new conditions attributable to their captivity. Often, a re-organisation of the household was necessary to allow for disabilities, and tolerance was required regarding the various
behavioural quirks which manifested themselves, such as an intolerance of ‘food-wasting’ and the anxious reaction to overhead aircraft (especially among those involved in the bombings of Tan Toey Camp). Without the opportunity to send or receive mail there had been no contact with families for nearly four years, so the sudden ‘intrusion’ of the veteran upon his return often produced awkward situations. Amongst the survivors, there was an anticipation or expectation that home had ‘stood still’, and consequently a degree of surprise or anger that a wife or loved one had grown, matured, developed independence or developed new interests - a phenomenon described by a British Army Psychiatrist in 194554.

Gull Force Association was formed by the survivors of Gull Force to care for the families of those who did not return, and also for the families of those whose injuries and illnesses prevented them enjoying a normal life. Rick Fiddian, the son of Staff-Sergeant James Fiddian who had been executed at Laha, recalled his family was assisted by Legacy and Gull Force Association: “Colonel Roach actually was a great friend and used to send me a book for Christmas each year ” 55. Major John Turner MBE was Welfare Officer for the Association, another well-respected committee member for many years until his activities were curtailed by illness.

In comparison, there is no doubt of the uncertainty faced by families who lost a member. In most cases, families could not be told the circumstances of death, and this has often been
discovered following an accidental contact with a survivor many years later. The sister of Sapper Douglas Phillips later observed that all they knew was that he had been a prisoner and had died: "For almost 50 years, all that we knew of Ambon was where our brother - Douglas Phillips - died as a prisoner of War on June 15th 1945." This was particularly so for those like Private Frederick Francis Beel of C Company, who were executed:

While deeply conscious of your prolonged anxiety and the profound distress which the receipt of this letter will cause you, it is deemed advisable to inform you of the known information, and as a result thereof it has been accepted that your brother, Private BEEL, F. F., VX26813, was one of those who formed the garrison at Laha and there is no likelihood of his having survived. It is also most improbable that it will ever be possible to determine how he met his death.

However, pending the finalization of investigations in an endeavour to determine the nature and date of the casualty, it is not proposed to immediately record a definite fatal casualty but to make the following entry on his records, viz:-

'Previously reported missing 2 Feb '42 now reported missing believed deceased whilst prisoner of war Laha, Amboina, cause and date unknown'.
3.3 Post-War Indonesian history

The second major reason why the Gull Force Pilgrimage could not be initiated immediately after the war lies in the circumstances of post-war Indonesian history: the War of Independence, followed by rebellions which continued into the early 1960s, and the increasing threat of military confrontations with the Dutch and Malaysia. Walter Hicks and Bill Page, successive Treasurers of Gull Force Association, noted that for several years the Association tried to arrange a Pilgrimage but each time was obliged to abandon the attempt\(^59\), as Hicks observed: "All attempts to gain permission from President Soekarno for a party to visit Ambon were rebuffed". And neither did the veterans know of secret developments on Ambon which were occurring as an aside to these various security issues.

The RMS Rebellion
Following the War of Independence, the RMS Rebellion was the second of two substantial insurrections inspired or spurred on by remnants of the Dutch colonial forces\(^60\). In Ambon in 1950, Dr Christopher Soumokil proclaimed the independent state, \textit{Republik Maluku Selatan} (RMS, Republic of the South Moluccas), seeking autonomy from both the autonomous State of Eastern Indonesia (NIT)\(^61\) and the Indonesian federal republic. The date he chose to make his proclamation was 25 April (see Appendix 2).
Expeditionary troops under the command of Colonel Alex Kawilarang went first to South Sulawesi to put down the Maluku Rebellion led by Captain Andi Abdul Azis, former Adjutant-Lieutenant of NIT. Meanwhile, in July 1950 Soekarno divided the archipelago into seven territorial Commands to establish control over the regional provinces. Eastern Indonesia was designated *Territorium VII/ Wirabuana*, under the command of Colonel Kawilarang. Particular responsibility for the Maluku region was allocated to the 25th Infantry Regiment (*Resimen Infanteri 25, RI-25*), based at Fort *Nieuw Victoria* on Ambon and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Herman Pieters. At this time, Soekarno also abolished the federal structure, and in August the entire archipelago was incorporated into *Republik Indonesia*.

From Sulawesi, Kawilarang's expedition to 'liberate' Ambon comprised six military operations. Firstly, *Operasi Malam* was a preliminary operation in which three infantry battalions occupied Buru Island on 14 July and secured Namlea (where No. 2 and 13 Squadrons of the RAAF had been based just nine years earlier) on the 16th. From Buru, *Operasi Fajar* was conducted to secure Seram (July 19th), including the villages of Wahai and Geser (July 21st) and Amahai (July 23rd). After a naval and air bombardment which commenced on August 5th, Kawilarang's troops launched *Operasi Senopati* to secure Ambon, with six infantry battalions committed. They landed on the southeastern coast of Laitimor Peninsula on 28 September, and Moslem guides led the Expeditionary Force directly to the RMS
rebels, who had occupied the old Dutch defence lines at Waitatiri and Paso. The government troops then pushed westwards along the northern coast of Laitimor Peninsula, retracing the assault of the Japanese 228th Infantry Regimental Group just eight years earlier, and entered the town of Ambon on November 3rd.

There was bitter fighting in Ambon town itself and, in a close-quarter battle to capture Fort *Nieuw Victoria*, the Commander of Group 2, Lieutenant Colonel Ignatius Slamet Rijadi, was shot. Rijadi was posthumously promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, was buried in the *Taman Makam Pahlawan* in Ambon, and was later honoured with a statue at the gateway of the Fort when it was occupied as a military barracks. With relative security returned to Ambon on November 6th, three concluding operations were conducted in the Tanimbar, Aru and Kai Islands - *Operasi Pulau Maluku, Bintang Siang* and *Pasukan Penutup* 68. The surviving RMS rebels escaped into the highland jungles of Ambon and continued to carry out a series of terrorist attacks, with some degree of covert support from Australia69.

The President of the RMS, Dr Soumokil, was eventually captured during *Operasi Masohi* in December 196370, and was executed by a firing-squad in secret on 12 April 1966. Meanwhile, one of the freedom-fighters in the RMS Army (*Angkatan Perang Republik Maluku Selatan*, APRMS), Docianus Ony Sahalessy, was appointed Major on 16 October 1963 and was authorised to carry out RMS government policy under all
circumstances, although he too was soon captured by government forces\(^7\). The last 'national flag' of the RMS was not taken down until 31 August 1970\(^72\).

The Permesta Revolt
The 'Permesta Revolt', which commenced on 15 February 1958, resulted from conflicts between the Central Government and several provincial regions, particularly Sumatra and eastern Indonesia, again over the question of regional autonomy\(^73\).

At a meeting of civil and military officials held on 1 March 1957 the military commander in Sulawesi, Lieutenant Colonel Ventje Sumual, established a Charter for Overall Struggle (*Plagam Perjuangan Semesta Alam*, PERMESTA), seeking changes in the management of regional affairs. The following day, Sumual declared martial law throughout eastern Indonesia in support of Permesta; Abdul Kadir was the rebel leader in Maluku and West Irian. A mission was sent by the Central Government to peacefully restore civil rule, but this was unsuccessful. In response, the large territorial Commands were divided into several strategic compartments or Military Area Commands (*Komando Daerah Militer*, KDM), with loyal commanders installed to restore security. *Territorium VII* was divided into four such Commands, with Lieutenant Colonel Herman Pieters appointed as the first commander of KDM-MIB which would assume responsibility for the Moluccas (Maluku) and Western New Guinea (Irian Barat). The KDM commanders were appointed as
military administrators on 5 July, with emergency war powers.

Early in 1958, the Permesta rebels established four regional commands and five autonomous formations; they also possessed a number of B-26 bombers and Mustang fighters. These aircraft made a number of raids on Ambon, and much damage to fuel and oil tanks resulted from a raid on May 15th by a B-26 piloted by Allan Lawrence Pope, an American citizen hired to help the Permesta revolt. A series of combined operations were initiated by the Central Government and, by mid-1961, the last remnants of Permesta had surrendered or been killed, and security was restored. To further ensure regional security, in 1962 KDM-MIB was divided to create two new Military Area Commands (KODAMs) - KODAM XV/Pattimura (with headquarters in Ambon) and KODAM XVII/Tjenderawasih (headquarters in Jayapura, Irian Jaya) - both structured functionally as divisions.

Soviets on Ambon
The Armed Forces Birthday parade in Jakarta on 5 October 1962 was reminiscent of a May Day parade in Moscow itself, the military hardware on parade clearly conveying President Soekarno's determination to unify the archipelago. This was a time when Soekarno's NASAKOM - a blend of Nationalism and Communism - was allowing Soviet force projection to impact directly on Australia, and its effects were first felt by a group of veterans of the Pacific war.
Soekarno visited the USSR, Soviet President Voroshilov visited Indonesia, and then in 1960 Prime Minister Kruschev led a significant delegation to Indonesia. This immediately followed Kruschev's address to the 4th Session of the Supreme Soviet on 14 January, in which he had outlined his new military philosophy: that Soviet offensive war would comprise a deep strike by nuclear rockets, instead of a land-based invasion. Medium- and intermediate-range missiles (SS-4 and SS-5) were being deployed in Europe, and perhaps Kruschev already had in his mind the concept of using Cuba as a means of striking into the USA. Was he also looking for such a base in Indonesia?

Agreements for economic co-operation were made, technical aid and long-term low-interest loans were given, arms were purchased, and General Achmad Yani, Minister and Commander of the Army, was a guest of the Kremlin in 1962. One contemporary analyst observed that, during this period, "the USSR consistently pursued its policy of wooing underdeveloped nations and aiding colonial revolution." Most notably, Indonesia became one of just five strategically located countries (together with Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt and India) on which the Soviets concentrated two-thirds of their total foreign economic aid. With a vision of seizing Western New Guinea by force if necessary, Soekarno allowed the Kremlin the opportunity to project Soviet naval power into the region.

For the same reasons that Soviet land-based campaigns had
faltered at the end of the 1950s, the USSR recognised that an expansion of naval power would become necessary if their campaign of aggression was to continue\textsuperscript{82}. Kruschev had sacrificed surface combatants for nuclear missile-carrying submarines and, by the time he visited Indonesia in 1960, Hotel-class missile submarines had already been cruising for over a year, making the Red Navy a true blue-water force. This new global reach took them in search of 'warm-water' bases which would not become icebound. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 clearly demonstrated, however, that the US maintained supremacy at sea so a massive 'oceanography programme' was instituted - aiming to use topography and water layers to provide Soviet submarines with the advantage of 'invisibility' \textsuperscript{83}. From Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk, warships and submarines of the Soviet Pacific Fleet had access through the Sea of Japan to the East and South China Seas, or into the North Pacific Ocean east of the Philippines, but further southward deployment was restricted by 'choke-points'. Indonesia's strategic geographic location becomes vitally important here, as the archipelago sits astride the sea lanes between Asia and Australia, and between East Asia and the Middle East\textsuperscript{84}. The Red Navy, with its four physically separated fleets, deeply coveted an ability to move from one strategic region to another - from the South China Sea into the Indian Ocean, for example - so there was keen interest in gaining influence in the area long known as the 'Crossroads of Asia'.

As it had been so keenly sought by the Japanese two
decades earlier, the natural deep-water harbour provided by the Bay of Ambon would have been of inestimable value to the Soviet Navy. Accordingly, the Kremlin eagerly established an 'oceanography' programme on Ambon. Ambon's assets, ranging from cloves to oil, have perhaps always been secondary to its prime strategic position, a feature of geography recognised throughout history by the Portuguese, Dutch and English, and which remains one of the prime factors in modern Indonesian defence policy. Furthermore, SS-5 intermediate range missiles with nuclear warheads, launched from submarines within the Bay of Ambon, could reach throughout all of New Guinea and almost to Perth. Certainly, Darwin and Alice Springs were within their potential strike range.

When they were finally permitted to visit Ambon in 1967, members of Gull Force Association were considerably surprised when they saw an abandoned technical institute in the village of Rumah Tiga and discovered the secret and recently abandoned 'Russian project'. The Australians heard that work there had been proceeding since 1961, and that the last Russians had left just prior to the Gull Force visit. This was the Fakultas Teknologi Ambon, an 'institute of oceanography', with large diesel generators, a lecture theatre, classrooms and laboratories, metal-working machinery and equipment for metallurgical testing. Bill Jinkins later noted that his party was, "astonished at the size of the project and the machinery which has been put into this complex."
The attempted coup on 30 September 1965 was soon followed by a period of wariness as control was reclaimed with a fervent anti-communism. The implementation of a 'New Order' regime by the new President Suharto effectively ended Indonesia's flirtation with both the Soviet Union and communism, leading to the rushed departure of the Soviet 'oceanographers' from Ambon. The settling of the various internal security issues, the drastic change in national posture and the departure of the Soviets, brought a significant outcome for Bill Jinkins and Gull Force Association - their dream of an Anzac Day Pilgrimage was finally able to be realised. When the first Gull Force party came to Ambon in 1967, they found the airport still war-scarred from the RMS Rebellion and actions against local communists. Walter Hicks recalls that his first image of Ambon, twenty years after his repatriation, was of a crashed airliner lying on the side of the runway, with substantial banana palms growing through the fuselage.

After this visit, some sixty Gull Force Association members and relatives expressed a desire to participate in the first Gull Force Pilgrimage, which was scheduled for April 1968. Due to a load miscalculation by the airline company, the Association was advised that the DC4 (fully stripped, and with no catering facilities for the four hour flight) was only able to take 54 passengers with limited luggage and no cargo. Meanwhile, the Indonesian authorities had authorised the visit, but would not allow movement through Ambon town or outside the cemetery due to ongoing civil disturbances on the island. The Office of War
Graves advised that there was a tense situation on Ambon, and that only travel from the aircraft direct to the War Cemetery and back again would be permitted. With profound disappointment, Bill Jinkins and the Executive Committee of the Gull Force Association had no option but to cancel the trip for the members and relatives, and a smaller official party went instead.

While the Indonesian connection with the USSR was certainly strong in the early 1960s, relatively little reference is made to it in post-1965 publications. According to the biography written by his wife, General Achmad Yani supposedly did nothing during his 1962 visit to Moscow but discuss Indonesian ideology (Pancasila). He did slip away for unofficial discussions with Prime Minister Kruschev however, but it was "Bicara biasa saja" - 'just the usual chat' 90. From his various visits to Pattimura University, Rod Gabriel recalls seeing the remains of highly technical Soviet scientific equipment that he had some difficulty relating to the study of 'oceanography' (but was reticent to actually link to the production of 'heavy water')91. The Soviet interest in Ambon was undeniably directed towards securing a missile-submarine base at Halong, deep within the Bay of Ambon, and the force-projection capability this would have given them had sinister overtones for Australia.
3.4 Operation ‘Good Will’

Foiled in his wartime attempt to thank those on the eastern islands who had assisted in his escape, after the war Jinkins turned his attentions to the erection of a suitable memorial on Ambon. The Australian Memorial at Kudamati today stands as a tangible symbol of thanks to the Ambonese people for their assistance. Walter Hicks particularly recalled one family:

_The Gaspersz family suffered greatly during the war as a result of their friendship for the Australians, and you can understand the depth of affection and the lasting bond of friendship that exists between the Gaspersz family and us_ [Gull Force] 92.

Bill Gaspersz recalls not only his own interrogations and beatings at the hands of the Japanese, but also the execution of his brother Ferdinand:

_I was already caught by the Japs, I was in the jail for several months, for giving food to the Australians ... sometimes we met them in the night and gave them some food. Unfortunately, they came back here and the Japanese caught them. ‘Where’s the food, from where do you get this?’ And they were beaten until they must confess, ‘From the Gaspersz family’. That is why my father was caught, my brother, my younger sisters, my brother was beheaded_ 93.

Daniel and Bill Gaspersz were the main ones targeted by the Japanese, but all of the family spent some time in captivity.
Daniel's youngest son, Ferdinand Gaspersz, 'confessed' to the charge of smuggling food and supplies to the Australians to save the life of his brother Bill, who was newly married to Barbara and was the hereditary heir to the title 'Raja of Naku'. Barbara recalled one conversation she had with her brother-in-law at this time:

> When we were already knowing that the Japanese are going to Galala to capture people who gave food to the Australians. So I told him [Ferdinand], 'Perhaps next it's our turn'.
> And he said, 'Are you afraid?'
> I said, 'Of course'.
> Don't be afraid' he said, 'I will take the blame; your husband will stay with you'. That's what he said. 94.

In identifying the significance of Anzac Day to himself as an Ambonese, Bill Gaspersz remarked, "It means that we come here to remember the time that our Australian friends were here to defend Ambon against the Japanese" 95. So, as the Ambonese supported the Australian defenders during their incarceration, the Australians in later years wished to repay their debt of gratitude. Planning for a return visit to Ambon had commenced almost immediately after the change of Government in Jakarta following the coup attempt of 1965. In September 1967, Jinkins outlined Operation 'Good Will' 96, which was to be conducted in three phases:

> Phase 1: A pilgrimage of selected members of the Association to revisit Ambon.
Phase 2: Arranging for a suitable member or descendent of the Gaspersz family to visit Australia in April 1968.

Phase 3: Arrange an education scholarship for a member of the Ambonese community under the RSL National Jubilee Commemorative Fund.

Among the stated objectives of Phase 1 was, "Offering thanks to the loyal people of Ambon for their help to the POWs and those who escaped". News of the return visit by the veterans was broadcast in Indonesian on Radio Australia by Geoffrey Hutton, who explained the rationale for the venture:

On this twenty-fifth anniversary of the internment of Gull Force, a group from the Association is making a Pilgrimage to the scene of the prisoner-of-war camp and the war graves of their comrades. They also wish to thank the people of Ambon who gave their help - or the descendants of those people.

The first party arrived in Ambon late on October 24th, and the following morning called on the local military chief, Brigadier-General Djohari, Commander of KODAM XV/Pattimura, who approved their itinerary and expressed his desire for “friendly co-operative relations with Australia”. On the morning of the 27th, the party presented the Governor of Maluku Province, Colonel Latumahina, with a bronze replica of the RSL badge and a plaque to recognise the Australians and Ambonese who had served and died on Ambon. As President of Gull Force
A Debt of Gratitude

Association (a position he held for 30 years), Major Ian Macrae MBE led a service of remembrance at the cemetery maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, and at the Ambon Memorial an Australian Flag donated by Beaumaris RSL was draped over the shrine, which was later donated to the Caretaker Oscar Tjio.

A wreath was laid at Kudamati in honour of Driver Bill Doolan, and another was laid at the crest of Mount Nona in memory of Sergeant Bruce Kay. At Naku, Jinkins met with seven of the original team of paddlers who had assisted his escape, and also the family of Peter Telussa who had been executed. Then the party set off down the steep descent, where the body of Peter had been brought to be buried alongside the Gaspersz family vault, and Ted Winnell and Bill Jinkins sprinkled flowers on Peter's grave and the family vault. Members visited local facilities including hospitals and Halong Naval Base, and visited Pattimura University at Rumah Tiga to investigate the Indonesian education system. The party had brought a quantity of medical supplies (donated by Sigma, Roche Tompsitt & Co, Nicholas Pty Ltd and Drug Houses of Australia Ltd) and food and milk supplies (donated by the Grocery Department of Myer at Chadstone and H J Heinz Pty Ltd of Dandenong). Before departing Ambon, Macrae presented Governor Latumahina with further medical supplies, hospital linen and mosquito nets which had been flown in separately. The Director of Health, Dr Soebekti, responded by saying that he was, "as much moved by someone thinking of the needs of Ambon as by the gifts
themseles" 104.

The primary goal of this first return visit was to renew acquaintances with those who had been of assistance during the war. They met Milly Sijauta, their Tikus Kecil who had carried messages and brought news for the men at Tan Toey 105. Soon after the establishment of Tan Toey Camp, the Japanese Commandant Nishikawa had permitted Milly Sijauta to operate a 'market' within the camp to allow the prisoners to purchase food and fruit. For those with no money, goods were purchased on their behalf using money which the paymaster Sergeant Percy Elsum recovered during forays 'under the wire'. Some of these funds were, for example, given to the members of Corporal Redhead's party to assist them during their escape. The permission for the market was withdrawn after a few weeks however, when the Australians' supply of cash ran out 106. Harry Williams recalled: "We were just prisoners. You were not allowed to associate with any native people, you were under guard all the time" 107. Milly's visits to the Camp provided a valuable means of communication with the Ambonese in the villages, and Milly was responsible for passing messages and news to and from the prisoners. In recognition of her audacious assistance, the Australians bestowed upon her the nickname Tikoes Ketjil (now, Tikus Kecil), the 'Little Mouse'.

Similarly, Corporal Laurie Benvie met with his friend and benefactor Jermais Risamasu from the village of Hatu. Benvie and
Wegner had escaped into the hills from the Laha Advanced Dressing Station but eventually, through hunger and illness, were forced to seek assistance. Risamasu and his family hid and fed them for about five months, until Benvie and Wegner decided to surrender to protect the family from Japanese reprisals\textsuperscript{108}. In 1967, Benvie was welcomed by over 600 villagers when he stepped ashore at Hatu. A later report said, "\textit{no son returning to his family after years away could have been received with more tears and smiles }"\textsuperscript{109}.

\textbf{Ambon War Cemetery}

During the Japanese occupation, Tan Toey POW Camp become the site of numerous deaths from beatings, torture, medical experiments, deficiency diseases and starvation. Bill Page recalled: "\textit{We started with nice carved wooden crosses when we were fit and able to scrounge the timber. Then later it was just a stake in the ground as more died and we got weaker }"\textsuperscript{110}. Reg Brassey's main recollection was that they became so weak that they were no longer able to lower the dead into their graves in a dignified manner\textsuperscript{111}. Rod Gabriel is adamant that \textit{every} man buried in Tan Toey Camp was given the dignity of at least being buried wrapped in a blanket\textsuperscript{112}. At war's end, because its grounds contained so many dead Australians, approximately one-third of the original Tan Toey Camp site was handed over by Indonesia to become a Commonwealth War Cemetery. If visitors are today impressed by the condition of the grounds, they should note that in 1945 there were \textit{no} trees whatsoever within the
compound. Construction commenced in the 1950s, and involved extensive bull-dozing and excavation over several years to create the terraces. The first caretaker of the site was Bill Waaldyk\textsuperscript{113}, himself an occupant of Tan Toey Camp during the war, living in a hut at the lower end of the camp, separated by the road from the Australians\textsuperscript{114}. Sergeant-Major Waaldyk had been among the KNIL soldiers who had retreated from Kudamati, covered by the members of the Australian Transport Platoon (including Private Bill Doolan who was killed), and was one of just seven KNIL soldiers still alive at the time of the liberation of Tan Toey Camp.

Of great assistance to the Australians during both their first visit in 1967 and the second in 1968 was Oscar Tjio\textsuperscript{115}, the descendant of a family which had long ago migrated to Ambon from Taiwan. Tjio was born on Ambon in 1931 and seems to have worked on Tan Toey's plantation during his early teen years, and then as a house-boy during the Japanese occupation, at which time he was supportive to the Australians. During the vigorous purging of communism during the mid-1960s, residents of Chinese extraction were required to officially proclaim their Indonesian heritage to qualify for citizenship, although they would never truly be considered as indigenous Indonesians (Pribumi). So, Tjio took up his Ambonese heritage and assumed the family name of Simona. Oscar Simona held the position of caretaker until suffering a massive stroke in 1992, and it is largely due to the untiring efforts of Simona and his staff that the Ambon War Cemetery has attained the lush beauty that it today
displays. On several occasions, Rod Gabriel and others stayed with Oscar and his young family in the caretaker's house to the side of the grounds, and the veterans observed the growth and development of Oscar's children as if visiting their own nieces or nephews. Lionel Penny paid tribute to Oscar during the 1997 Pilgrimage to Ambon: "What he's done for Gull Force, is really unbelievable, over the years since we've been coming backwards and forwards. He's done everything for us" 116.

The Ambon War Cemetery was consecrated as such on 2 April 1968117, by which time there was already significant growth in the trees and shrubs which had been planted. A party of nine Gull Force veterans attended (led by Lieutenant Colonel Roach), a public holiday was declared in Ambon, and hundreds of local Ambonese participated in the commemoration beside representatives of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) and official representatives of Britain, Canada, New Zealand and Pakistan. The Director of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Pacific Region, Brigadier A E Brown CMG OBE, led the service, and the Australian Minister of State for the Interior, the Honourable P J Nixon MP, said in his address,

The record of their valour will ring proudly down the centuries ... The service of each man whose memory is honoured here in Ambon will be remembered for as long as this War Cemetery and Memorial shall stand. For as long as freedom flourishes on the earth, men and women who possess that freedom will thank them and will say of them that they did not die in vain 118.
The Cemetery has two components. Firstly, there is a memorial shelter honouring those who had died in the Moluccas (Maluku), Celebes (Sulawesi), Timor and Western New Guinea 'to whom was denied the known and honoured burial given to their comrades in death'; the light-coloured stone for this Ambon Memorial was brought from Gosford, NSW. Secondly, there is the War Cemetery itself, designed and built by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Each of the terraced banks up to the Cross of Sacrifice had stonework formed from the broken concrete bases of the old camp buildings, and are today edged with variegated crotons and shrubs. The steps between each level originally comprised lengths of concrete, again from the old camp buildings, sawn into slabs for the purpose. The Cross itself was manufactured from Queensland sandstone, and it has on each face a Crusader Sword in bronze. It is interesting to note that this Cross was built according to a philosophy common to all war cemeteries controlled and maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission: as an essentially Australian memorial, it was made of Australian materials shipped to Ambon in such a form that a minimum of local skill was required to erect the Cross. Today, each grave is marked by an individual bronze plaque in the form of a headstone, set in a semi-recumbent position. In his memoirs of his 'Pacific War Odyssey', Ron Leech carefully weighed the balance of lives lost compared to the strategic gain: "Four days had been stolen from the Japanese march to the south. Seven hundred grave stones were to be erected on this island, as mute testimony."
Over half of those buried here are Australians (1,109 in total), so the Office of Australian War Graves assists the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in the upkeep of this cemetery. As Lionel Penny would walk along the rows of headstones and read the names of his mates from No.1 Platoon, he would sit down and lay his hand on the headstone of his mate Jim Gambould who died in captivity and think, "What a waste, a waste of good young lives." Many of the bodies later relocated to the War Cemetery were unidentifiable, and there are over 300 bronze headstones simply recording, "An Australian soldier, known unto God". Bluey Drane echoed the feelings of many survivors, having known the others personally as men, only to see them denied a known grave: "It's a tear jerker when you walk up through all those graves there, you know who's the person that's under there but you don't know under which stone."

A significant person not in attendance in 1968 was the man who had formerly owned this land, a merchant and planter named Tan Toey, whose home sat on the main hill overlooking the harbour. Born in Taiwan in 1894, Tan Toey had come to Amboina as a small child; he later married Welmance Simauw, an Ambonese girl from Paso, and they had three children, all sons, born in Ambon. While Tan Toey came to manage his own extensive banana, clove and copra plantation, he was also a trader and businessman, fluent in the Chinese, Ambonese, Indonesian and Dutch languages, and supplied all manner of requirements,
from food to oil and medicines, to local hospitals and Dutch ships. For his distinguished service during the 1920s and 1930s, the Netherlands Government bestowed upon him the national decoration *Orde van Trouw en Verdienste* (Order of Loyalty and Merit). When a large part of Tan Toey's lands were compulsorily acquired by the Dutch, his name was given to the camp. It was retained for the prisoner-of-war compound and then, after the war, was also given to the coastal village which became established in the area, Tantui\textsuperscript{126}. Tan Toey's old house, built in the midst of a coconut plantation in 1906, housed a Japanese radio station and offices for the interpreter Ikeuchi Masakiyo and senior members of the camp garrison. The Japanese also availed themselves of Tan Toey's possessions during this period, and many a visiting Japanese Admiral or other official left Ambon with a gift of a Ming vase or old piece of jade jewellery.

Despite the Japanese attitude towards the Chinese, Tan Toey himself was left unharmed. On November 13th 1943, however, his three sons were beheaded and were buried in the Dutch cemetery in Ambon. After the war, all of the Dutch bodies in this cemetery were removed to Surabaya, but the graves of the three boys were allowed to remain. Tan Toey died in Malang, near Surabaya, on 11 November 1957 and was buried in his best suit, wearing his decoration *Orde van Trouw en Verdienste*. In late 1967, Tan Toey's descendants were granted permission to exhume his remains and have them re-interred on the land which he had once owned\textsuperscript{127}. In doing so, they recovered his Order of Loyalty and Merit which had suffered somewhat from ten years
of burial: some of the blue enamel was lost from the central disc and the red, white and blue suspension ribbon was no longer. It is an interesting coincidence that the body of Tan Toey returned to Ambon, to the village named in his honour, in the same year that the first Gull Force veterans returned. The bodies of Tan Toey's three executed sons were also relocated to join their father, the four of them today lying in peace not thirty metres from the graves of young Australian soldiers.

One Ambonese who did attend the 1968 dedication was Bill Gaspersz, who had recently returned from Tual to take up a post as 3rd Assistant to the Governor (Economy, Finance and Development), which he held until his retirement in 1970. On this occasion, he had the opportunity of meeting up with Bill Jinkins again for the first time since 1942. Under the auspices of Operation 'Good Will', later that year Bill and Barbara Gaspersz visited Melbourne for four weeks as guests of Gull Force Association. They stayed at the Caulfield home of Bill Jinkins, and with other Gull Force veterans, as Bill Gaspersz recalled: "so that our connection is closer than close, as we say, like families."

Ian Macrae led another Pilgrimage in October 1969, with the aim of re-establishing contact with the many Ambonese who had risked their lives assisting unit members, and the descendants of those who were executed by the Japanese for giving such assistance. Jinkins led his last Pilgrimage to Ambon in 1979, afterwards relinquishing his involvement to a new
committee due to his declining health. Bill Jinkins' health continued to deteriorate, and he again found himself too ill to attend the 1996 pilgrimage; he in fact died on the day the members of that year's Pilgrimage arrived back in Melbourne. Jinkins certainly had a unique wartime career. He served with the only submarine commander to sink three destroyers in a single patrol, and had held watch-keeping appointments on USS Harder, Redfin, Pargo and Hawkbill. He qualified for the US Submarine Combat Badge and, for his participation in six war patrols, was awarded the prestigious Submariner's Badge\textsuperscript{130}. Jinkins gave the Eulogy at Alec Chew's funeral in 1995; Walter Hicks knew Jinkins as well as most, and spoke of his secret war service at his funeral the following year. In summing up the achievements of Bill Jinkins, Hicks simply observed, "\textit{No-one ever questioned his courage} " \textsuperscript{131}.

Oscar Simona also visited Melbourne and Sydney, in December 1987, with a family party of seven including his daughter Annie and her husband Frans Sienaya. It is an interesting aside that Oscar has a granddaughter who celebrates her birthday each year on April 25th. This coincidence of dates had been experienced when Bill Jinkins had first attempted to initiate a return visit to Ambon - there was obstruction because the significance of Anzac Day was not known by the Indonesians, and similarly the Australians did not know of a rebellion which had occurred on Ambon, launched on April 25th.
Notes


3. Jinkins was irate when he found correspondence dealing with Plover which indicated the existence of a Dutch officer with seniority over him (Macrae, unpublished notes, undated). In fact, ‘Plover’ was a bigger operation than just Jinkins’ component. Rear-Admiral Coster, Commander-in-Chief Netherlands Forces in Australia, had allocated command of Plover to Captain L B N Edwards van Muyen, who himself commanded five NEFIS brigades which went to Dobo (Wama Island, Aru group; occupied by the Japanese on 30 July 1942). It is presumed that van Muyen would have taken command locally on successful conclusion of the occupation. As a result of Jinkins’ protests, all subsequent correspondence regarding the Australian participation in Plover was addressed directly to Jinkins. The KNIL components of Plover maintained direct contact with their headquarters in Melbourne (see Ford, 1996, pp.122-124).


6. Jinkins signalled the Naval Officer in Charge in Darwin, “Immediate. Landing opposed at Saumlaki” and reported that Warrant Officer Henderson had been killed, Lieutenant Anderson, Able Seaman Frinsdorf and one AIF commando (Macquire) were wounded. Lieutenant Keith Grant RANVR took command of Chinampa for the journey back to Darwin, and Warrant Officer Henderson was buried at sea south of the Tanimbar Islands.


9. In Operation ‘Python 2’, Jinkins led a six-man party (including Gull Force veterans and fellow escapees, W02 Chew and Sergeant Neil) in the submarine USS Tinosa to British North Borneo on 20 January 1944 and joined the main body of the ‘Python’ force, commanded by Major ‘Gort’ Chester OBE of the British Army, a former rubber planter on the west coast of Borneo. The force joined Albert Kwok, the leader of the Kinabalu Guerrillas, and assisted in precipitating an uprising.

10. Extracted to Darwin in USS Narwhal on March 5th 1944.

11. In May 1944, Jinkins was sent to extract of the balance of Python Force in USS Harder. Jinkins and Sergeant Stan Dodds rowed ashore at the rendezvous point on June 8th, located the Python party, and led them back out to the submarine. USS Harder had encountered a Japanese convoy with destroyer escort on the way to north Borneo and accounted for two of the destroyers. The submarine sank a third destroyer on its return passage to Fremantle. USS Harder was commanded by Lieutenant Commander Sam Dealey USN: Dealey was killed in action in August 1944 when Harder was sunk off the coast of Luzon, and was awarded a posthumous Medal of Honour.
During the course of this two-month patrol on board USS Redfin, they rescued eight men from the submarine USS Flier (which had sunk after striking a mine) and took them to Darwin.

The SRD submarine operations were code-named 'Politician', and included patrols in USS Flounder and USS Pargo. From USS Pargo, for example, they identified a party of Japanese Marines on Woody Island in the Paracels, and withdrew to allow the island to be shelled. Jinkins himself led the first coastal patrol, titled 'Semut 4' - a sortie from Labuan to Mukah on the coast of Sarawak on 1 August 1945 to rescue downed airmen.

Operation 'Crocodile' comprised a 5-man party deployed aboard the submarine USS Hawkbill (6 to 13 August 1945).

Some 2,000 Japanese men, women and children as well as 450 captured German merchant seamen were brought to Australia on the transports Cremer and Van Heemskerk, escorted by the American gunboat USS Asheville. The Germans were despatched to India by the British, and the Japanese went to camps at Cowra, Tatura and Loveday.

They were attached to the General Intelligence section, commanded by Major Simon Spoor of the KNIL, who was also Assistant Director of NEFIS.

Staff Officer (Intelligence), Darwin, report to NOIC Darwin, 20 August 1942 and Preliminary report by Colonel Sandberg GHQ SWPA, 30 August 1942, Australian Archives Series MP1587/1, Item 120A "Saumlaki, Japanese invasion of Tanimbar", quoted by Ford (1996) and Tahija (1995). Tahija's escape party comprised 21 KNIL soldiers, 5 Dutch officials, 5 policemen, one woman and two children, and 2 Australians - Sergeant Freeman and Private Lilija, who had escaped from Timor and had joined Tahija at Saumlaki.

The six KNIL soldiers who had escaped with Tahija were awarded the Bronze Cross (Bronzen Kruis) in a ceremony in Melbourne on 27 October 1942, and posthumous awards were made to those who had died in the action.

Dr J A Forbes, letter to The Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs dated 5 August 1971.

Dr K I Whatson, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1997.

Mr N I Grimes, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997.
Max Gilbert, for example, noted when they set off: “At this stage I had yet to see a Japanese soldier” (Gilbert, 1993, p.6).

Mr A D McIntosh, pers comm (Kudamati, Ambon), 25 April 1997.

Major J M Turner MBE (retd), Mufti, 30 April 1968, p. 6.

Army News, 19 February 1942.

Another veteran further stated that an enduring aspect of captivity was a sense of bitterness, leaving a poor memory of dates and places (Major I F Macrae OBE, pers comm, 27 August 1999).


Mr A N Roach, pers comm (Ambon), 24 April 1997.

Mr A N Roach, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997.

Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 16 October 1996.


Mr L E Hohl, Presentation on Ambon (recorded by Ailsa Rolley), 5 August 1992.


Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 March 1997.


On the Burma-Siam Railway, some 12,000 men died from a total force of 68,000 (a death-rate of 18%), of which 2,800 Australians died from a total number of 13,000 (22%); the highest rate suffered by any single force was 39.3% (Walker, A S, Australia in the War of 1939-45. Series 5, Volume II: Middle East and Far East. AWM Canberra, 1953, pp.558, 569).

See Beaumont (1989). In fact, finding employment was not a problem, nor was retention, but rather the adjustment to the limitations imposed by their physical and mental conditions.

Lieutenant Colonel R C Gabriel MBE ED (retd), Statement in support of veteran’s claim to the Repatriation Commission, 30 November 1986; Mr C A Crouch, Statement in support of veteran’s claim to the Repatriation Commission, 3 December 1986.

Mr E N Kelly, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
47 Mrs C Carswell, pers comm (Ambon), 28 April 1998.
48 Mrs L McCloy, pers comm (Ambon), 28 April 1998.
49 Mr R Dougall, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
50 Beaumont (1989). This comprised a questionnaire survey conducted amongst Gull Force survivors, wives and widows in 1988. There may, in fact, be a bias in this, whereby only those with stable relationships lived the further 40 years after the war and were available to be surveyed in 1988; further, being able to boast the success and strength of their relationship may have been the determinant in agreeing to participate in the survey. Those whose relationships had crumbled perhaps did not live until 1988, or refused to participate and dwell on their 'failure'.
51 Mr G Williamson, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998. George Williamson his new wife Joyce have been back to Ambon more times than he can remember, and now participates privately every year.
52 Mr E N Kelly, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
53 Mr A Pledger, pers comm (Ambon), 28 April 1998.
55 Mr R Fiddian, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1998.
56 Mrs D Anderson, pers comm, 7 August 1997; Mrs E R Patterson, pers comm, 17 July 1997; Mr J Phillips, pers comm, 27 June 1997, 20 August 1999. Phillips, a former member of the New Guinea Volunteer Rifles, was one of the key subjects in Les Hohl's reminiscences (Rolley, A, Survival on Ambon. Ailsa Rolley, 1994).
57 Mrs D Anderson, pers comm, 7 August 1997.
59 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 22 October 1996; Mr W J Page, pers comm, 29 March 1997.
60 Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, 40 Tahun Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, Volume 1: Masa Perang Kemerdekaan, Konsolodasi awal dan Masa Integrasi (1945-1965), 1985; "Gema Trikora ", Edisi Khusus, August 1997; Sahalessy, D, An Isolated War. Twofold suppression of the Moluccan right of Independence. A Memorandum. Moluccan Peoples Mission, The Netherlands. This event is termed 'The RMS Rebellion' by the Indonesian government; RMS patriots call the event 'The Republik Indonesia - RMS War'.
61 This was an autonomous state created by Lieutenant-Governor Dr H J van Mook, who led his government-in-exile in Australia (see Cheong, Yong Mun, H J van Mook and Indonesian Independence: A study of his role in Dutch/Indonesian relations, 1945-1948, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1982).
Born Jatinegara, West Java in 1920, the son of a KNIL Major; graduated from the KNIL Academy at Bandung and commanded Brigade I/Siliwangi during the Wars of Independence. Kawilarang was later Commander of Territorium III/ Siliwangi in West Java (1951-56), and then Military Attache at the Embassy in Washington (1956-58). He then joined the Peristema revolt, commanding rebel troops in North Minahasa, Sulawesi.


The infantry battalions (Bataylon Infantneri, YONIF) involved were: Bataylon Pattimura (commanded by Major Pelupessy), Bataylon 3 Mei (Major Mengko) and YONIF 352 (Major Suradjji), supported by the vessels Patti Unus, Hang Tuah and Benteng.

Wahai and Geser were secured by YONIF 711 (Major Abdullah), and Amahai was taken by Bataylon 3 Mei and YONIF 352.

Bataylon 3 Mei (Major Mengko), YONIF 352 (Major Suradjji), Bataylon Banteng Merah (Major Yusmin), Bataylon Tengkorak (Major Suryo Subandrio), Bataylon Claport (Captain Claport) and Bataylon Worang (Captain Worang).

Riyadi (Rijadi) had served through the War of Independence as a battalion commander in Division X / Surakarta of the People's Security Council (BKR), the earliest precursor of the Indonesian Army. He was then commander of Brigade V of the 3rd Division in the Surakarta region of Central Java in 1949, at a time when Lieutenant Colonels Ahmad Yani and Suharto were leading Brigades IX and X in Kedu and Yogyakarta respectively.

For their participation in the various actions in Makassar and Ambon, Kawilarang, Worang and their colleagues received the Military Deployment Medal III (Satya Lencana Gerakan Operasi Militer III).

In 1975, Rupert Lockwood published a story regarding a lugger Captain accused of gun-running from Darwin in 1952, who claimed in court that he had been acting under the direction of ASIO (it was actually ASIS, the Australian Secret Intelligence Service). Lockwood's revelation showed that Australia had established a significant, albeit covert, link with Ambon by supplying weapons to the RMS rebels (Hall, R, The Secret State. Australia's Spy Industry. Cassell Australia, 1978, p.139).

Soumokil was captured on 12 December 1963 by 2 Platoon, 2nd Company of the 320th Infantry Battalion - Badak Putih ('White Rhinoceros') of the 15th Infantry Brigade, Siliwangi Division from West Java. Interestingly, Brigadier-General Djohari who, as Commander of KODAM XV/Pattimura in 1967, had welcomed the first Gull Force mission to Ambon, had been a commanding officer of Bataylon Infantneri 320/Badak Putih (YONIF 320) in 1954 (Bachtiar, H W, Siapa Dia? Perwira Tinggi Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Darat (TNI-AD). Djambatan, Jakarta, 1988, p.104).

Interestingly, in the spate of violence which broke out on Ambon in January 1999, the RMS ‘government-in-exile’ in The Netherlands did not seek to politicise the unrest, but instead called on the Dutch Government to provide humanitarian aid and support (Manuhutu, Drs W Chr, Director, Moluks Historische Museum Sedjarah Maluku, “Demons from the Past: The RMS as Pet-Enemy”. Presentation to the 5th International Maluku Research Conference, Darwin, 14 July 1999).


Pope was shot down in the Bay of Ambon on 18 May 1958 and was held on board the Indonesian vessel KRI Sawega. He was taken to Jakarta where he was tried by an Air Force State of War Tribunal, held from 1 January 1960, and on 29 April 1960 Pope was condemned to death by the tribunal (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, 1985, pp.182-201).

In 1984, the number of KODAMs was reduced from 17 to 10. The two KODAMs in eastern Indonesia were amalgamated on 8 May 1985 to form the modern 8th Military Area Command, KODAM VIII/Trikora (Bachtiar, 1988, pp.29-30; Hartono, Major-General T, "National Defence in an Archipelagic Environment: Indonesia’s Concept". In, Horner, D (ed), The Army and the Future. Land Forces in Australia and South-East Asia. Department of Defence, Canberra, 1993, pp.155-163; “Gema Trikora ”, Edisi Khusus, August 1997, pp.8-9).

See Rosenzweig (1997).


A TU-16 bomber was delivered to Jakarta on 1 July 1961, and the cruiser KRI krian arrived at Tanjung Priok wharves on 3 October 1962. These were soon followed by submarines, MiG-17 and Ilyusin Il-28 fighters, K-61 tracked landing vehicles, BRDM scout cars, BTR 40/152 and BTR-50P amphibious armoured personnel carriers, PT-76 light amphibious tanks, and a considerable quantity of other communist-bloc weapons. And then, with the support of Soviet technical expertise, the Indonesian Army produced its first rocket in December 1963. In addition to the arms and technical support, from 1962 several Indonesian officers attended Staff College in Yugoslavia and the Frunze Academy in Moscow (Bachtiar (1988), pp.50-53; Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (1985), pp.226-235).


A Debt of Gratitude

86 Jinkins, Major W T, "Gull Force (2/21 Bn) Association, Pilgrimage to Ambon, October 1967". Unpublished, 1967. The laboratory buildings built by the Soviets today comprise the Technology Faculty of Pattimura University, and the staff housing still accommodates university lecturers and their families. One main building still carries old Russian fuse-boxes on its walls, while another laboratory contains a ship steering mechanism, with a power distribution panel dated 1963.
87 The 'loss' of Ambon as a port was actually of little consequence to the Red Navy for, following the fall of Saigon in 1975, they gained a new warm-water port at Cam Ranh Bay. From here, warships and missile submarines could deploy directly into the South China Sea and, if the Kremlin's intentions were ever doubted, the base was soon upgraded to include missile storage depots (Moynahan, 1989, p.367).
88 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 25 April 1996.
91 Lieutenant Colonel R C Gabriel MBE ED (retd), pers comm (Ambon), 29 April 1997.
92 Mr W J Hicks, pers comm, 25 May 1997.
93 Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1997.
94 Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1997.
95 Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1997.
96 Jinkins, Major W T, "Gull Force - 2/21 Battalion Association, Operation "Good Will", Three Phase Project, September 1967". Unpublished, 1967a. Operation 'Good Will' was approved by the Executive Committee of the Gull Force 2/21st Battalion Association. Jinkins had also sought and obtained the strong support of the Victorian Branch of the RSL through a sub-committee headed by Bruce Ruxton. Preparations and arrangements were channelled through the Department of External Affairs to the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, where approvals were sought and final arrangements made with the Indonesian Government.
98 This party comprised Major lan Macrae, Laurie Benvie, Walter Hicks and Bill Jinkins, in a chartered Cessna 310 (which was diverted to Kupang). The second party (Bob Mathews, Clem Righetti, Jim Rogers and Ted Winnell) went in a TAA Fokker Friendship which flew as planned via Bacau in Portuguese Timor, and arrived in Ambon soon after midday on the 25th.
An infantry officer, a veteran of the War of Independence and three times a battalion commander in the Siliwangi Division based in West Java (1949 to 1955). Brigadier-General Djohari was the third Panglima (Commander) of KODAM XV/Pattimura, from 15 February 1966 to 28 August 1968. (Bachtair, 1988, p.104).

Colonel G J Latumahina had previously served as an envoy and Military Attache in Peking. He was the fourth Governor of Maluku (Gubernor Kepala Daerah Tingkat I Maluku), 1965-68.

Four of the Pilgrimage group departed early, on October 31st, by charter aircraft via Bacau and Darwin. The remaining party left Ambon on November 1st and again travelled via Bacau to Darwin, and thence on a TAA flight via Mt Isa, Brisbane and Sydney to Melbourne.


Mr W J Hicks, pers comm, 29 May 1997. Milly Sijauta was a significant witness at the Ambon War Crimes Trials, particularly regarding the 'Garden Party' massacre. Through her association with the Australians and Americans in the camp, she saw that 1967 visit as her chance to relocate, and took every opportunity to seek out any of the veterans who might still be single!


Mr J H Williams, pers comm (Laha), 27 April 1996.

Wegner later died in captivity on Hainan on 23 June 1945.


Mr Reg Brassey, pers comm, 24-25 April 1993.

Lieutenant Colonel R C Gabriel MBE ED (retd), pers comm, 3 May 1996.

Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998; Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998; Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 5 August 1997. After his duty as Caretaker of the War Graves, Waaldyk settled in Holland with his Ambonese wife, of Dutch descendancy, and children; they subsequently came to Australia to live, and later keenly welcomed Bill and Barbara Gaspersz when they visited.

The KNIL soldiers' wives and children (some 250 in total) were made to live in a compound on the outskirts of Ambon town, and their old brick homes were occupied by horses and donkeys. The majority of the Dutch prisoners were removed to Hainan with the Australians in October 1942 and their wives and children were moved into the vacant huts, but in November 1942 the Japanese established a bomb dump just 75 feet from these huts. Many of the Dutch women and children were wounded and 27 were killed instantly when this dump was hit by Allied bombs on 15 February 1943. The surviving women and children were taken to Bethany Church in Ambon, and two weeks later were removed to Makassar (now Ujung Pandang) in Sulawesi.
A Debt of Gratitude

115 Mr L J Penny, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997; Miss Smarce Sienaya and family, pers comm (various) (Ambon and Wayame), 25-30 April 1996; pers comm (various) (Wayame, Ambon) 24 April-1 May 1997.

116 Mr L J Penny, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997.


119 In more recent years, these have been replaced by granite steps.


121 This is one of five such commitments by the Office of Australian War Graves, including the UN Memorial Cemetery in Korea, graves and memorials in Malaysia, the Japanese War Cemetery at Cowra, NSW and the German War Cemetery at Tatura, Victoria.

122 Mr L J Penny, pers comm, 2 July 1996. VX23661 Signaller Birdwood Douglas Gambould, died in captivity at Tan Toey on 24 July 1945.

123 Mr H F Drane, pers comm, 27 April 1996.

124 Mr L J Penny, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997; Mrs Sientje Simauw, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 30 April 1997 and family records; Miss Golda Simauw, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 30 April 1997.

125 Tan Sie Lay (born 2 October 1916), Tan Eng Sui (born 12 February 1918) and Tan Eng Siong (born 16 September 1920).

126 Tan Toey was converted into the modern Indonesian form, Tantui, following the standardisation of the language in 1972.

127 Tan Toey’s two grandchildren still living in Ambon (Tan Kian Seng and Tan Sie Nio), the son and daughter of his first-born son Tan Sie Lay and his wife Que An Neo (born 13 May 1916; died in Ambon 9 May 1983), were forced to change their name to qualify for Indonesian citizenship, so they assumed the family name of their Ambonese grandmother, Welmance Simauw, and thus became Sientje Simauw and Izak Willem Simauw, establishing new families in Ambon yet perpetuating the line of Tan Toey. Tan Toey’s burial site is today within the Taman Makam Bahagia (Indonesian Public Cemetery).

128 The Herald (Melbourne), 2 November 1968.

129 Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Tantui), 25 April 1997.


131 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 11 February 1997.
ZIARAH: THE GULL FORCE ASSOCIATION PILGRIMAGES TO AMBON
Paul A Rosenzweig

- 4 -

PILGRIMAGE - ZIARAH
PILGRIMAGE - ZIARAH

4.1 The Gull Force Association Pilgrimage

Today, a group of Australian veterans returns to Ambon each year, but this is not simply a reunion. It has come to have a greater emotional, even spiritual, significance and the organisers are adamant that it truly is a Pilgrimage - to both pay respect to the fallen and to thank those who provided assistance. The Indonesians have a term for such a journey, incorporating all of the spiritualistic undertones associated with such a visit to a holy place - ziarah.

Despite the significance of Remembrance (Armistice) Day throughout Commonwealth nations, Anzac Day has increasingly become the national day for reunion in Australia. Most ex-service organisations focus on a unit reunion each Anzac Day although other significant reunion activities have been conducted, most notably the pilgrimages to commemorate key anniversaries of the Dardanelles landing in 1965 and again in 1990. Similarly, there was a pilgrimage by veterans on the 50th Anniversary of the Greek campaign, and veterans of the D-Day assault returned to Normandy in 1994 and received a French commemorative medal. During the 'Australia Remembers' campaign, a pilgrimage was conducted by the Department of Veterans Affairs to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of the Pacific
war. More specific visits have occurred on occasion, and there are also broader-based battlefield tours available - one such tour is promoted as offering "the opportunity for personal exploration of sites of significance and Australian memories and meanings to provide individual enrichment and reflection." Each of these activities has been called a 'pilgrimage' to denote that it was a special journey, but it could be argued that each was only truly a 'pilgrimage' for certain participants. By definition, a Pilgrimage is conducted by people searching for something, or looking for a renewal of their faith, such as the haji who make the hajj and umroh to Mecca, and Chaucer's faithful on horseback heading to Canterbury. At the unveiling of a memorial on the former site of the Sandakan prisoner-of-war camp in March 1999, the attendance by Owen Campbell BEM could be described as a Pilgrimage. The last remaining survivor of the Borneo death marches, Campbell attended to make his final farewell to his mates - among them, men who had died of disease, exhaustion and beatings.

One aspect which emerges clearly from the various Australian 'pilgrimages' is that one commemorative service is largely the same as the next, in structure and procedure, with the recitations like incantations of cliches. This is particularly so when there is a number of them at series of sites, as was the case in the 'Australia Remembers' itinerary. What adds true sacredness to the visit however, and gives it the form of a Pilgrimage, is the creation of a personal link. In 1995, for
example, the Ode of Remembrance was recited on the deck of a cruise ship by an Australian Merchant Navy veteran - the same words which have been repeated countless times, and were mouthed silently by everyone present. But the moment gained a special sacredness when it was known that the man reciting the Ode was honouring his best mate who lay under the sea beneath him, entombed in the wreck of the hospital ship *Centaur*.

The Laha Memorial
The annual Gull Force Association Pilgrimage commences immediately on arrival on April 24th with a visit to the Laha Memorial in the village of Tawiri, near the site of the wartime Laha airfield. After the liberation of Tan Toey Camp, four mass graves had been identified at Laha and two monuments with heavy brass plaques were erected here by Ambon Force occupation troops on 1 January 1946 to commemorate those who were executed. During the 1967 visit, they were rediscovered in scrubland, both dirty and deeply stained. An aerial survey was permitted in 1979 by the Commander of KODAM XV/Pattimura, Brigadier Bagus Soemitro, and in 1980 a ground survey team renovated one of the memorials and installed a replacement plaque (the original plaque was presented to the Australian War Memorial Canberra). With the assistance of the Australian Embassy, Jakarta, this monument was rendered over and painted, given a red-brick paved area and fenced off from the village of Tawiri. These memorials are special because they symbolise the loss of life at the hands of Japanese executioners, and honour
men who were not accorded an honourable burial and individual marked grave - a fifth of the whole force. Pilgrimage leader Rod Gabriel did not mince his words when he spoke of the events that took place here after the Australians had surrendered: "There was NOT a survivor" 14.

'Bluey' Drane sees three purposes in his return visits to Ambon. The first is personal, to honour his mates who died, and the second is to thank the Ambonese who provided assistance. The third is perhaps his more public duty, as he is now the only living survivor from the battle and executions at Laha: "I'm the only one that was at Laha that's likely to come back on a pilgrimage, so I feel that I've got a duty on Anzac Day to stand up and be counted" 15. The brief commemoration service at Tawiri has created a genuine atmosphere of reverence among the villagers, and an element of 'sacredness' has been conferred upon the site. While their graves are at Tantui, for the Gull Force men executed at Laha this is where their essences were mouldered into the soil of Ambon. For the relatives and friends of men killed at Laha, the memorial and commemorative service provides a sense of relief in knowing of their fate, often after several decades of simply knowing that their brother, father or uncle had 'died overseas' and had no grave.

Ambon War Cemetery
During the 1996 Anzac Day Service, a light shower of rain began falling on the assembled veterans, dignitaries and the catafalque
party resting in the arms-reversed position of respect. The officiating padre simply called on his congregation to, "suffer a slight inconvenience in a place where men once suffered great inconvenience". This annual Anzac Day Service is conducted in both Indonesian and English, and Guards of Honour are provided by members of Northern Command (NORCOM) in Darwin and local members of the Indonesian Armed Forces.

The transition of the Tan Toey Camp site - from barracks to POW camp to war cemetery - is perhaps a unique history for a single plot of land. The entrance is through a pair of bronze gates, standing at the approximate site of the old road which ran through the camp. Inside, on the two columns built from Australian stone, are two plaques (one in English and the other in Indonesian) which acknowledge the land as a perpetual gift from the people of Indonesia. Inside, there is a War Memorial Shelter on the 1st Terrace which contains the Shrine and two large bronze plaques bearing the names of 460 Australian Service personnel (171 RAAF and 289 Army) with no known grave. Among them are listed those executed at Laha; from the bodies exhumed from the mass graves, a few bones were allocated to each soldier's burial place at Tan Toey, which today lie beneath bronze plaques bearing the inscription, 'An Australian Soldier, Known unto God'.

In particular, there are ten such headstones in a line within the Ambon War Cemetery, with a gap at either end. In November
1942, the Japanese had taken 23 men to a hill after Australians had been seen outside the camp searching for food, and eleven of them had never returned to the camp. For a long time their fate remained a mystery, but it is now known that they had been taken into the jungle and tied up with wire, beaten and beheaded on 22 November. Immediately after the war, a party of Australians was taken to Batu Merah and shown a grave with a headboard bearing the names of the men, with twelve bodies buried there in a mass grave (the eleven Australians and one Ambonese villager). Only one of the bodies could be positively identified so he was given his own grave at Tan Toey (Private Peter James O'Donoghue, Plot 18-D-6). The remains of the other ten men were buried together, with a gap at either end of the ten headstones signifying their burial in a single collective grave.

There are then two more terraces with graves before the main terrace where the Cross of Sacrifice stands. The cemetery, covering a total area of 4 hectares, contains the graves of 2,146 Service personnel from Australia, New Zealand, England, the Netherlands and India\(^\text{17}\). In particular, there are 694 members of Gull Force buried here, and a separate monument was later erected just outside the grounds to acknowledge this. Eric Kelly summarised one of the reasons for returning as often as they can:

*To me it is a moving ceremony, when I stand at the Cenotaph and look beyond at the rows of headstones, my thoughts are for the 700 that lie there, and that but for the Grace of God I could have been one of them* \(^\text{18}\).
Australian Memorial, Kudamati
Immediately following the Anzac Day Service each year, the Pilgrimage participants visit the Australian Memorial at Kudamati. This memorial has for some time been the subject of some controversy through being referred to as 'the Doolan Memorial' (see the following section). The memorial was unveiled by the Governor of Maluku on 2 April 1968, on a site where Australians had made a stand against the Japanese, to commemorate the first return visit by members of Gull Force Association in 1967. The villagers of Kudamati had donated the land, the memorial had been designed at the Bandung Technical Institute, and the erection of the monument and its surrounding fences and gates was carried out by local Ambonese. On the monument itself were installed the bronze plaque and RSL badge which the first Gull Force party had presented to the Governor in October the year before. Having been unable to effect such a gesture during the war, it was Bill Jinkins' intention that this memorial would honour the bravery of all members of Gull Force and recognise the friendship of the Ambonese, many of whom were executed.

During the 1997 Pilgrimage, the Australian Ambassador acknowledged the role of the Ambonese and the contribution they made to Australian history: "They also died, and they also died helping our men" 19. Of the Ambonese people, signaller Lionel Penny reflected: "It was their loyalty we most appreciated" 20. Ron Leech related one example of loyalty
which he witnessed three days after an air raid: "an Ambonese girl passing along the road which passed between the Dutch POWs and us, at great danger to herself, threw through the fence an identification disk and a note which told us some Ambonese had recovered an Australian body and buried it, without Japanese knowledge." 21. One of the tasks allocated to the Australian prisoners was the construction of large oil and water tanks22, and Pete Papilaya recalls that he and his friends would watch the Australians working at Batugadjah:

*When they [the Ambonese] were looking for yabbies, it is a common practice to, every day or once every two days, they give food to Australian soldiers. The Ambonese know where the place where the Australian work, because there were no food, Australians couldn't get the food, so they give the food* 23.

The Ambonese offered the Australians a variety of other foods including cassava, sago, banana, coconut and dried fish, using deception parties to distract the guards: "But of course if the Japanese knew all about it, they would be killed." 24. Papilaya recalled that his uncle, Frederick Mahulete, was a former KNIL soldier employed by the Japanese as a driver:

*He used to, took the messages from Australia, in his shoes. But Japanese finally knew all about it. Japanese had a feeling, 'Why Australian knew all their secrets?'. So they had a sweeping, screening; everybody took off their shoes. He [the guard] found the message near his ankle. Finally Japanese kill him, cut the neck* 25.
One of the Gull Force men wished to thank Papilaya but had nothing to offer him, so instead gave him the simple gift of a shoulder title and a button from his tunic. Papilaya kept these well hidden until after the arrival of Ambon Force, when they were proudly displayed as his most treasured possession. Today, the metal button and ‘Australia’ title are still highly cherished mementos, recalling both Gull Force and the sacrifice of the Ambonese.

Medical Aid Programme
The visible aspect of the Pilgrimage becomes apparent during the annual visit to Rumah Sakit Umum - Ambon (RSU-Ambon, the Ambon General Hospital). This is the Gull Force Medical Aid Programme, which has provided medical aid, reticulated water supply projects and playgrounds, text and reference books, reading glasses and sporting materials. During the 1967 visit, Ian Macrae had visited RSU-Ambon and noted that, although clean and well looked after, it was short of equipment and trained staff, and suffered from an unreliable electricity supply which made surgery “unpredictable.” He further noted that, “The operating lamp is out of order, so the reliance is on the electric torch. The X-Ray plant is out of order,” and there were discussions regarding the provision of medicines, particularly anti-malarial tablets (“most malaria goes untreated”). This was not a bad state of affairs however, considering that when Dr Soebekti had commenced as Director of Health twelve months earlier, the staff were on strike, efforts were being made to close
down the hospital, and there were no patients other than, "those brought by their relatives to die" 29. Today, thanks largely to the support of Gull Force Association, this hospital boasts 350 beds and a staff which includes 17 GPs, 32 specialists and 5 dentists. The Association has arranged electrical rewiring and water supply projects at the hospital, and have arranged to send medical specialists to work in Ambonese villages.

For the 1968 visit, Rod Gabriel assembled a variety of stores, including medicines, sheeting, pyjamas, a lawn mower and a distillation plant30. Further hospital stores were taken in 1969, and then in 1971 Jinkins arranged for the combined sponsorship by Gull Force Association and Fairfield Infectious Diseases Hospital in Melbourne. Dr John Forbes, Fairfield's Medical Superintendent, visited the Indonesian Minister for Health, Professor Siwabessy, and the Representative for Foreign Projects of the Indonesian Health Department, Dr Sumbung. This meeting was arranged by Julius Tahija of Caltex Indonesia, who also attended and supported the Gull Force Association proposal. Both officials were enthusiastic, and agreed to arrange a covering document for the Ambassador. Forbes was also confident of the support he would receive from the Governor of Maluku, Colonel Soemitro, whom he described in a letter to the Australian Foreign Affairs Department as, "a keen protagonist of this scheme " 31. The Indonesian Government earmarked some $10,000 of Australian aid for projects in Ambon, and Fairfield Hospital accepted technical responsibility for the programme. In 1972,
Gull Force Association sent dental and laboratory equipment, and quantities of medicines, as well as engineer and medical teams to install water and electrical supplies in the hospital. Between 1970 and 1973, the Association shipped over four consignments of drugs and medical equipment, valued at about $26,000.32.

In 1974, Dr Forbes led an expedition back to Ambon with a further consignment of medical stores and equipment for the new Governor, Brigadier-General Soemeroë.33 The support of a team of doctors was provided under a grant from the Australian Development Assistance Bureau, and Rod Gabriel recalled that much support to this growing project was also given by the Governor, Major-General Hasan Slamet, who for over a decade had a close association with Jinkins, Macrae and Gabriel as the various Gull Force activities in Ambon gained momentum. Similar support was given by Slamet’s successors, Major-General Sebastianus Soekoso (1987-92) and Drs M Akib Latuconsina (1992-97). By the time of the 1991 Pilgrimage, the aid provided by Gull Force was quoted as totalling $900,000, and it is now valued well over a million dollars. Among the items brought in 1996 were complete sets of instruments for microsurgery, orthopaedics, ENT and skin grafting donated by Australian doctors or their widows, a microscope, and text and reference books. Similarly in 1997, the Association donated an uninterruptable power system for the monitor in the Intensive Care Unit, anaesthesia equipment and technical medical magazines. Dr Usmany (an ENT specialist) and Dr Connie Joseph
(an anaesthetist) at RSU-Ambon were overwhelmed at the opportunities this equipment would create. Dr Afifudin, an eye specialist and Director of the hospital, remarked that the significance of the contributions towards both patient welfare and staff development far exceeded their mere monetary value.  

Another component of the aid programme is the provision of reading glasses for the elderly, distributed by the organisation PKK, \textit{Pendidikan Ketrampilan Keluarga} (Family Education Skills). Lionel Penny has taken a particular personal interest in this project in his more than twenty return visits. He has been responsible each year for the collection, cleaning and checking of the spectacles, as well as for obtaining new cases when required. The 1997 pilgrimage party brought with them some 320 pairs of spectacles, and Penny conservatively estimates that Gull Force Association has supplied over 1,500 pairs of reading glasses for use by Ambonese villagers.

There is also a Gull Force Trust Fund of some significance, set up by Jinkins in April 1979 on behalf of the Association with the aim of helping an Ambonese girl who had been orphaned as the result of a typhoon in 1974. She had been sailing with her parents, and was the sole surviving member of the family, as recounted by Rod Gabriel: "we took around the hat and started a trust fund, and we maintained that and added to it. We looked after that little lass until we put her right through tertiary education." Rina de Fretes still lives on Ambon today, and
takes the opportunity whenever possible to meet up with her Gull Force benefactors. A similar scholarship scheme continues today for an Ambonese boy and girl, paid from the interest received on the capital of the trust fund, supporting Dian Pesiwarissa (SMP Negeri 6) and Solivan Marthen (Pattimura University). Bill Gaspersz has maintained a tangible link with Gull Force by administering this scholarship and trust fund on their behalf.

Bill and his wife Barbara were again brought out to Australia in 1970 by Gull Force Association, in gratitude for the contribution and sacrifices of the Gaspersz' - described by Bill Jinkins as a "brave, loyal and generous Ambon family" 40. Jinkins, Percy Elsum and other veterans hosted the Gaspersz' on visits to Healesville Sanctuary and the Penguin Parade at Phillip Island. Barbara Gaspersz notes that the appointment of their son John as Caretaker of the Ambon War Cemetery has kept the family association alive:

*It's nice, so we are not strangers at all when we come there [to the War Cemetery]. We can come, look around, everytime. Sometimes I do like to walk around, reading all those names, remembering the ones we knew. Bill Ripper among them; and there's also one very young one, his mother and sister came to Ambon, twice I think, to visit her son's grave . . . But then I like to visit the grave too, just because I knew his sister and mother* 41.

Closely associated with the Medical Aid Programme are the veterans' efforts in supplying water to remote Ambonese villages
such as Benteng, Halong and Karang Panjang. In 1991, veterans installed Wilcox hydraulic ram pumps to lift water 700 metres to the hillside villages of Seilele and Soya Atas. The 2,000 litre reservoir tank at Soya Atas built by local resident Frits Rehatta\textsuperscript{42}, has an Australian ‘Rising Sun’ badge with a large ‘A’ superimposed, within a map of Australia in cement relief, the whole flanked by two kangaroos. This design was based on a small ‘Anzac Appeal’ lapel badge Rehatta had earlier been given by a Gull Force veteran. As he gave out some of these same lapel badges in Ambon during the 1997 Pilgrimage, Brigadier Chris Roberts took pleasure in explaining the significance of this insignia - “the ‘A’ represents Australia and Anzac, and now it also stands for Ambon”. In 1992, the installation of a similar water pumping system at Karang Panjang was co-ordinated by Ben Amor and Alec Chapman, who had both escaped independently from Ambon and owed their survival to the assistance they received from Ambonese families\textsuperscript{44}.

The desire of the Gull Force veterans to ‘repay a debt of gratitude’ is clearly the underlying motive in these projects, but the degree of their success is largely attributable to the acceptance of these projects by the people themselves. Based on a strong loyalty to the Dutch, the Australians had been keenly welcomed by the Ambonese in 1941-42. This acceptance was totally contrary to the concept of an ‘Asian brotherhood’ that the invading Japanese tried to promote. A ‘Nipponese Admonition’ (expressed in leaflets dropped on the Allied forces) explained
that, from the standpoint of Nippon Samurai spirit, it was divine will and humanity to give happiness to the millions of 'East-Orientals' mourning under the exploitation and persecution of the European colonial powers. As a prelude to its Dai Toa Senso ('Greater East Asian War'), the Japanese had already established a presence in Ambon before the war, largely operating as commercial traders. They operated fishing boats and ran 'variety' shops such as Toko Iwanaga and Toko Kitano, and were responsible for distributing anti-Dutch propaganda and leaflets in villages throughout the island. Some of these pamphlets carried such strong slogans as: "Japan will liberate the people of Asia from the white-skinned devil people" and "Japan will come to expel the devils". In the villages, offices and schools, the Ambonese were taught that "Japan is the elder brother of Indonesia". 45.

Opposition to the Japanese was especially strong in the eastern provinces however, notably Sulawesi, Maluku (including Ambon) and Timor. While the Japanese were able to establish in Jakarta and Western Java the Tiga A ('Three A') organisation - proclaiming "Nippon the Light of Asia, Nippon the Protector of Asia, Nippon the Leader of Asia" - this organisation was never able to be established in the eastern islands of the NEI. 46. This Eurocentric loyalty, and open opposition to the Japanese, is significant because it suggests why the Ambonese were more likely to support the Australians, even in captivity, than the Japanese in occupation. Staff of the 33rd Infantry Brigade
(Ambon Force) noted that Ambonese-Australian relations were "particularly amicable" because the Australian soldiers were seen as being solely responsible for the defeat of Japan\(^47\). And on Ambon in the years from 1967 onwards, despite a twenty year interregnum, the returning veterans were surprised to find that the Ambonese had not forgotten them.

But why has the Gull Force Pilgrimage been such a singular success, when any of these factors individually could have ensured the success of similar ventures by any other group of veterans? It is proposed that the answer could lie in the uniquely Moluccan tradition of pela, which has some similarities with the Australian concept of 'mateship'.

_Pela_ relationships involve a series of mutual obligations linking communities from different villages regardless of language or denominational differences, based on factors such as shared history and shared ancestors. Over the centuries, Christians and Moslems on Ambon have always acknowledged their religious differences, but have used _pela_ to bridge these differences\(^48\). It has been through the practical application of _pela_ that the Moluccans have been able to live in harmony, a phenomenon locally expressed as 'Ambon Manise' \(^49\). _Pela_ can be an intervillage alliance or pact of assistance for co-operation, or it can be established to develop co-operation to reduce tension between former enemies. Thirdly, _pela_ relationships can arise after community groups have helped each other in a time of
crisis, leaving a mutual and often unspoken obligation. In each of these cases, similarities can be identified with the less formally structured 'mateship' ethos which has come to be recognised in Australians, and particularly amongst Australian soldiers.

It is interesting to note that by the time of the first visits in 1967 and 1968, the wartime service of Gull Force and the assistance given by the Ambonese had been incorporated into Ambonese folklore and was being passed on to new generations. The Ambonese recalled the Australians' stand against the Japanese, and the Australians were still considered the 'defenders of Ambon'. Also incorporated into the folklore was the support given by the Ambonese to the Australians during escape attempts and in captivity, and the enshrinement of Doolan's grave. Upon their return to Ambon, the Gull Force veterans found themselves amongst the only people who had witnessed and understood their suffering from 1942 to 1945, so the Australian's desire to repay the debt was both understood and freely accepted. But through the annual Pilgrimages however, it becomes apparent that the mateship of the Australian Gull Force veterans was extended to their Ambonese benefactors, just as a form of pela relationship was extended to the veterans by the Ambonese. To the Australians, the Pilgrimage and the Medical Aid Programme were simply an extension of the Australian mateship ethos, a means of repaying their debt of gratitude to those who had previously given assistance, but it is suggested that these activities were viewed by the Ambonese in terms of a traditional Moluccan pela
relationship. As Bill Gaspersz later recalled, their relationship was, "closer than close." In this way, the veterans' efforts were readily accepted from the time of the first visits.

In considering the success of the Pilgrimage, some important aspects of pela can be clearly recognised. Pela alliances may exist between distantly separated villages, even villages on separate islands, often with significant linguistic separation, so the separation of Australia and Ambon was not relevant. Pela alliances are not formed between individuals but between community groups, so Gull Force Association has always been enthusiastically welcomed regardless of which individual veterans constituted the Pilgrimage party. Interaction is important in maintaining pela but few such pacts are based on everyday contact (many pela linkages never involve a communal gathering or ceremony), so the fact that Gull Force and the Ambonese only met once a year (and individuals often less frequently) is again irrelevant. And finally, pela is generally only activated in extraordinary circumstances. It is significant to observe here that, following the ethnic and religious violence which erupted on Ambon in January 1999, pela can be seen to have been invoked by the Gaspersz family when they drew upon the alliance with Gull Force and sought refuge in Melbourne.
4.2 The 'Doolan Memorial'

Ted Jones, a member of the Australian 33rd Infantry Brigade (Ambon Force, or 'Amforce'), revisited Ambon privately in 1995 and found that, after mentioning to the taxi driver that he was an Australian veteran who had served on Ambon at the end of the war, without hesitation the driver whisked him away to show him *Tugu Dolan* (the 'Doolan Memorial')! This Australian Memorial at Kudamati has become something of a contentious monument through its association with Private Bill Doolan who was killed nearby in 1942. After its establishment, it became widely known by the Ambonese as *Tugu Dolan* despite the fact that its purpose was to recognise the service of all Australians and Ambonese. The naming of *Tugu Dolan* by the Ambonese has caused some difficulty for the Gull Force veterans who stress, quite correctly, that, "*it is not, and never has been, a memorial to Dvr Doolan*" but also gives some insight into Indonesian remembrance.

During the first two days of fighting, Doolan had been used as a battalion runner but had complained about the lack of action. Doolan was attached to a reconnaissance patrol which, at 4 am on February 1st, was sent forward to gather information about enemy strengths and dispositions. The patrol returned at about 7 am, without Doolan; small arms and machine-gun fire had been heard but nothing was seen. Various accounts of
Doolan's actions have been published\textsuperscript{55}, most of them grossly exaggerated and embellished\textsuperscript{56}. In the simplest version of what transpired, following a patrol through enemy lines, Driver William Thomas Doolan held up a Japanese force while covering the withdrawal of his mates, until he was overwhelmed and killed. From the monument which today stands at Kudamati can be seen the knoll where Doolan made his stand, while his body was buried under a Gandaria tree near the monument site. The Ambonese have at least two ballads honouring the actions of Bill Doolan (see Appendix 3)\textsuperscript{57}.

Paul Kastanja had belonged to a KNIL battalion based near the villages of Wainitu and Hurnala in early 1942 while the Australians were integrated within the Dutch positions. Kastanja used an old Indonesian expression to describe his friendship with Doolan - "Makan sepiring, Minum segelas", meaning they were close friends - they 'ate from the same plate, drank from the same glass' \textsuperscript{58}. The village of Kudamati was at the top of a steep hill beside a ravine, and at the foot of this ravine the Australian patrol had encountered a Japanese force. Doolan is usually credited with killing 80 Japanese, although as Bill Gaspersz recounts, "But how many Japanese he has killed, nobody knows" \textsuperscript{59}. Pete Papilaya, who had been in the Kudamati area at about this time, later reflected: "Doolan was fighting eight Japanese truck. Start from that Church in the corner in Batugantung, right to the hill" \textsuperscript{60}. Bill Gaspersz noted that Sergeant-Major Waaldyk (later the first Caretaker of the Ambon
War Cemetery) had witnessed the action:

He made a statement that he knew, that he was was among them that was retreating from Kudamati, and Bill Doolan was covering with a machine-gun, that’s when he shot so many Japanese in their trucks 61.

Simply outnumbered, Doolan was encircled by the Japanese and was shot from behind. Bill Gaspersz repeated the story: “He killed many Japanese. He was above, and the Japanese came around, and they must climb around the hill, and they was on the hill then with a machine-gun” 62. Lionel Penny related the account that he has heard from his Ambonese friends:

When he was dead, the Japanese mutilated him, chopping at him, and left him there. When they were gone, the people got him and of course they had his name, and the things that were on him just told them who he was, and they buried him there at Kudamati 63.

Paul Kastanja is adamant that Doolan’s body and the Japanese bodies lay undisturbed until, two days later, the Japanese removed all of the Japanese corpses. The KNIL soldiers were withdrawn to Mount Nona, but Kastanja and a friend went back to check on Doolan and, when it was safe, took the body and buried it. Bill Gaspersz is adamant: “The Japanese bodies were gone, but Bill’s body was buried by the people of Kudamati” 64. Kastanja further clarified: “I and my friend Mr Elbezer Huwae to try going back to the battle place obvious Dollan was shot to death near mainroad . . . we are buried him under the gandaria tree at
Pilgrimage - Ziarah

Kudamati. Papilaya and his friends had fled Kudamati, but later returned: "After a week, we came back and was a grave there." At first, the villagers guarded the grave and kept it a secret: "Japan didn't know" Papilaya recalled, "Because if Japanese knew all about it they kill all those people."

When Ambon Force arrived as an occupation force, one of the first things the soldiers heard from the locals was of the brave stand by Doolan. Ted Jones recalls, "When we got there, that was all the talk - It was the first thing they talked about." Jones found the grave beside the road with white-painted stones around its edge. Doolan's grave had become something of a shrine for the Ambonese and, "until the end of the war the grave was never without flowers." One of the sailors from HMAS Quadrant visited Doolan's grave several times and placed flowers on it, later noting that, "The people of Ambon made it a sacred place. I have never heard anything like the way they spoke of him." Doolan's body was recovered by Australian War Graves Commission workers and re-interred at Tan Toey. The Australian prisoners had carved an elaborate wooden cross which they had been permitted to erect over his grave at Kudamati, and this cross is now in the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. Despite the conflicting versions and exaggerations, all of the basic elements in the story are true. Doolan was an ordinary Australian, but whether he was courageous or simply unlucky remains unknown. Barbara Gaspersz still recalls his attitude when he used to visit their home.
before the invasion: "He was very quiet, he doesn't talk too much. One thing I remembered he was saying that even if he has no weapons he will take a chain to beat the Japanese . . . " 71.

Captain Stockwell, Officer Commanding the Australian War Graves Unit at Ambon, reported that the locals still sang the song they had dedicated to the memory of Doolan, and made regular pilgrimages to Doolan's grave72. In the Brigade's local newspaper it was recorded that Miss Daisy Parker sang the 'Song of Doolan' in English during a round of Community Singing at the Opera73. In the early part of the war, the Ambonese had heard the Australian soldiers singing the music hall ballad, 'Rose in her Hair' 74, and they themselves started whistling the tune: at that time they had simply called it 'the Australian Song'. In 1945-46, the Amforce men heard them singing the song and soon recognised the word Doolan in the lyrics75. Pete Papilaya still sings an abbreviated version of the song (see Appendix 3). It is certain that the Doolan episode had a great impact on the local Ambonese, and from it they drew strength. Jim Baker of Amforce later penned the poem 'Morotai Moon' to summarise his experiences at the end of the war, and he included a verse on the Doolan episode:

They honoured Driver Doolan, brave he died in 'forty-two,
Lone-handed firing Bren gun, all on Ambon knew
This song of daring gallantry, inspired them in ordeal
Of fearful hungry war years, taking years of peace
to heal." 76
Not only did the Doolan episode give them strength during the difficult days of the Japanese occupation, but apparently also during the post-war revolutionary period. In 1955, the hills of Ambon were said to be 'echoing to the rattle of small-arms fire', and as the Christian RMS troops fought Soekarno's government troops, they were reputedly singing a song about the Australian soldier Doolan. His defiant stand against the Japanese inspired the Ambonese RMS guerrillas to sing a 'war chant' as they went into battle against the government forces, as the spearhead of the South Moluccan revolt.

In 1956, one Gull Force veteran was provided with a version of the Doolan song, entitled 'The Brave Soldier'. During a visit to Ambon in 1965, Brigadier Athol Brown CMG OBE, Secretary-General and Director of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Pacific Region, met an 8 year old Ambonese boy who sang the 'Doolan Song' in Ambonese:

Caught by the great guns, machine-guns and rifles of the Australians on Ambon, thousands of Japanese lay dead and wounded. 
From his tree, the Australian Doolan killed many men of Japan. 
He did not run away or move back, until at last he was killed by the men of Japan.

It is significant to note that all of these occurrences took place during the period from 1945 to 1967 - before any Gull Force veterans had returned to Ambon, and before the dedication of the Ambon War Cemetery. Awareness of the 'Song of Doolan'
Pilgrimage - Ziarah

115

certainly became more widespread after 1968. One journalist met the caretaker of the War Cemetery and reported how, “at the slightest excuse he will marshal the local children to sing the Doolan Song” 80; he also referred to a girl from a Christian school who sang a version of the song, which the school used for an English translation exercise, and the fact that the tune could also be heard in the Halong Inn nightclub. And it is not just in local folklore that Doolan's name has become irretrievably part of Ambon's rich culture: the official history of Maluku region contains an account of Doolan's actions81.

A report written by Major Bill Jinkins MBE on the conduct of the first Pilgrimage in 1967 makes it apparent that Gull Force Association itself may have been responsible for initiating the controversy over the 'Doolan Memorial'. There is no doubting that Doolan's grave had become a wartime shrine for the Ambonese. The other Australians fell on battlefields; Doolan, by contrast, was known to many of the Ambonese, and he fell in an inhabited area with his death attested to by Ambonese. After the Ambonese had been singing 'The Song of Doolan' for two decades, perhaps in 1967 the Gull Force veterans unwittingly offered them the opportunity to have a permanent memorial erected in his memory. During this visit, members of the Association had laid a wreath at Kudamati, as Jinkins later noted in his report to Gull Force Association:

In the afternoon all members of the party visited the place of the last stand of Bill Doolan and laid a wreath at
the place of his death in the Koedamardi village. . . . Many stories were remembered and retold by members and local people who recollected the stand put up by W Doolan.

On Friday October 27th, on being presented with the memorial plaque by the Gull Force party, the Governor had promised to install it in a prominent position, "adjacent to the Government offices in a manner befitting the plaque and the objects of the Pilgrimage." After the Australians then made such a ceremony of the wreath-laying at Kudamati the following day, it is not surprising that when Governor Latumahina arranged for the erection of a suitable memorial to carry the plaque, the land was willingly offered by the people of Kudamati. It might be wondered how they would have come to know of these plans, but the management of the project was delegated by Governor Latumahina to his Assistant Governor (Economy, Finance and Development), Bill Gaspersz. So, not only did Bill Gaspersz play a role in Jinkins' escape from Ambon, but twenty-five years later was able to maintain a close association with Gull Force Association and help Jinkins finally repay his obligation to the Ambonese people. And at the same time, he ensured that the legend of Bill Doolan's stand in Kudamati was perpetuated. As Lionel Penny points out,

*Ever since I've been coming here, for twenty years, the people of Ambon, they all refer to it, no matter where you go or what's told, they will talk about Tantui, but they will say, 'Then Kudamati, Doolan Memorial'. And knowing the Ambonese as I do, I would not deny them*
In 1981, when families were first given the opportunity to participate, Doolan's widow Kathleen O'Connell and her younger daughter Wendy joined the Gull Force Pilgrimage and were befriended by Paul Kastanja at Kudamati. In gradually gaining knowledge of her father's wartime service, Wendy Doolan notes that she has long believed in his selfless act of bravery. Various attempts to honour Doolan's actions have faltered in the past, and published accounts have often concluded with a call to have him awarded a posthumous Victoria Cross. Wendy Doolan now believes however, that an appropriate way to finalise the issue would be to place a commemorative plaque at or at least near the site of his death. In the end, the opportunity to officially present such a plaque to the Governor or Mayor did not arise during the 1998 Pilgrimage, and the plaque has not yet been placed.

Wendy Doolan is very conscious of the fact that the 'Doolan Memorial' has been the centre of controversy for some time, thereby denying any proper recognition of her father's death. On Anzac Day 1998, she commented that her personal Pilgrimage to Ambon had been to place a plaque acknowledging the site of her father's death - nothing more: "I know the story has become exaggerated over time, but the fact is he was there, he was killed by the Japanese, and all I want to do now is recognise that."

Ironically, placing such a plaque at a site near the Kudamati
Memorial or near the original Gandaria tree site would actually have clarified the situation. It would have clearly marked the site of Doolan’s death and the grave which had become a shrine to the Ambonese, and would have left the Australian Memorial as exactly that, a monument to the members of Gull Force and of the Australian Services as well as the people of Ambon.

In death, Bill Doolan may not have received anything more than the standard five campaign stars and medals, but his legacy persists on Ambon. Several children have been given the name ‘Doolan’ in his honour, such as in the Lekatompessy family originally from Latuhalat, and others, particularly in the Kudamati and Batugadjah districts where Doolan was particularly well known before the invasion90. In early 1958, Paul Kastanja named his new-born son ‘Doolan’ in memory of his Australian friend. Doolan Kastanja turned 40 in 1998 and now has five children: following the 1981 visit by Kathleen O’Connell and her daughter, his daughter who was born in 1990 was named Wendy Kastanja. And in a final touch of coincidence, Wendy noted that April 1998 had been a special time for her because her pregnant daughter, Susan Hall, had been due when she had left for Ambon91. Nothing could have been more fitting than for Bill Doolan’s great-grandson Benjamin to be born on Anzac Day 1998.
4.3 Links

On Ambon in 1998, the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia noted that, "Anzac Day marks our birth as a nation, [but] what our people did here on Ambon very much marks our sense of identity with this region" 92. From the first Anzac Day, Australians forged an international identity, but during World War 2 they developed a clear identification with the Southeast Asian region. The previous year, the Ambassador recognised that Ambon had gained a place in the annals of Australian history through the wartime activities of Gull Force: "On Ambon, they enacted history. Ambon became part of our history, and became part of our history in a land other than Australia, so drawing us in to the region of which we are so very much a part" 93. At the same dinner, the Australian Foreign Minister paid tribute to the role of the Ambonese in assisting the Australian prisoners of war:

> For me as a Foreign Minister, that’s a good illustration of the bonds of friendship between our countries . . . We do have a much longer history together than people sometimes seem to understand, and these types of incidents are an important component of that history 94.

The link between Darwin and Ambon did not begin with the 2/21st Battalion - it originated much earlier, when Dutch vessels came to northern Australia from Ambon. An expedition (comprising the pinnaces Pera and Arnhem) to explore south of the Spice Islands departed Ambon on 21 January 1623 under the command of Jan Castensz, and returned on June 8th. Nine men
and the captain of the *Arnhem* were murdered on the south coast of New Guinea, so Willem van Colster took command of the *Arnhem* and sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria. At the end of April, the *Arnhem* made landfall on the eastern coast of that vast area of the Top End today known as Arnhem Land, making van Colster the first European discoverer of the Northern Territory\(^95\).

Darwin was certainly the last sight of Australia for Gull Force and for some of those who escaped, including Bill Jinkins, it was also a welcome sight on their homecoming. Another Darwin-Ambon link exists in the service of the RAAF’s two 13 Squadrons. Number 13 (City of Darwin) Squadron was raised as an Active Reserve squadron on 1 July 1989, named to perpetuate the service of the wartime bomber squadron. No.13 Squadron had been recalled to Australia before the Japanese invasion of Ambon, but eleven of its members could not escape the island in time and were executed. After a national 13 Squadron Association was established in 1984, veterans first joined the pilgrimage to Ambon the following year\(^96\). The wartime 13 Squadron had earnt a US Presidential Unit Citation for its service in the NEI, but this honour had not been presented by the time the squadron was disbanded in 1946, so it was instead presented to the new No.13 (City of Darwin) Squadron on 31 May 1990. And then on April 22nd 1994, with a number of wartime veterans present, No.13 Squadron received the Freedom of Entry to the City of Darwin. While the annual Pilgrimage to Ambon has generally been a purely Gull Force affair, those 13 Squadron veterans able to
attend are keen participants, representing the pre-invasion service of the airmen who called themselves the 'Devil's Brothers' (Fratres Diaboles). And maintaining the connection, in Darwin today, members of No.13 (City of Darwin) Squadron proudly wear the gilt-framed blue ribbon of the Presidential Unit Citation on their uniforms.

In two separate actions before the surrender, Lieutenants Chapman and McBride had led escape parties to the north coast of Ambon. One who offered assistance to McBride's party was the Headmaster of the junior primary school, Johannes ('Jan') Lodewyk Pattiselanno, who lived in Hila with his wife Wilhelmina ('Min') and family, among them two sons, John and Jacoias ('Nes'). Jan and the boys provided food, while Min and her daughters washed their uniforms. As a means of thanking the Pattiselanno family, the Australians offered to take their youngest son, Nes, back to Australia where he would have better access to health care and education. Nes related his memory of these times:

According to the parents, I wanted to be taken out by the Australian soldier. But the parents won't let me, won't let that happen. But as far as my memory, I was put on his shoulders and taken to the ship, but then he went back to the shore again.

Jan and Min Pattiselanno carefully weighed the opportunities their son might gain from an Australian upbringing, but decided not to permit him to go. John later married an Australian, an
officer in the CMF who later became an Australian Cadet Corps officer with the 70th Regional Cadet Unit (70 RCU) in Darwin. The unit struck up an affiliation with the Gull Force veterans, and then in May 1989 Gull Force Hall in Larrakeyah Barracks was dedicated to honour the service of Gull Force in Darwin. Whenever possible, John Pattiselanno himself would always meet with the Gull Force veterans each year, either in Darwin or on Ambon. The role of the Pattiselanno family in helping the Australians cannot easily be forgotten, while John’s younger brother was very nearly raised as an Australian. And today, Jan and Min Pattiselanno’s granddaughter Maria has continued the association in a tangible way - in uniform, also as a member of 70 RCU, which parades at Gull Force Hall in Darwin.

There is today a significant connection between Darwin and Ambon. A teacher and student exchange programme has operated continuously since 1973, and since 1977 the Darwin-Ambon yacht race has been held annually. The link between Darwin and Ambon was formalised in 1988 when a Sister-Cities Agreement was ratified, and Darwin’s other Sister City in the region is Haikou (on the island of Hainan) - which is significant because Ambon and Hainan were the only two sites of internment of Gull Force during the war. Today, a Darwin-Ambon Sister City Committee maintains a commitment to “support the Gull Force veterans’ annual pilgrimage and Anzac Day ceremonies in Ambon”. Under the Sister-City agreement, exchanges and co-operative research projects have been conducted between
Pattimura University and the Northern Territory University. Notably, within the NTU's Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, a three year comparative study of social change in Maluku Province was conducted, aimed at developing co-operative research and training links in the anthropology of contemporary development issues. An Ambonese boxing team came to Darwin, and in 1991 the Northern Territory participated in the Third Arafura Youth Games which were conducted in Ambon.

Defence Links
Out of Gull Force's deployment in search of regional security in 1941-42, several co-operative programmes have been initiated, not least of which has been a growing relationship between the Australian Defence Force (ADF) and the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), today designated as the Indonesian National Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, TNI). The ADF's commitment to the Ambon Pilgrimage presents another opportunity to maintain a steadily developing military relationship across a diverse archipelago.

In 1997, the Commander Northern Command (NORCOM) Brigadier Chris Roberts AM CSC related that one benefit of Defence and diplomatic representation at such ceremonies is that these officials are deeply committed to the ideal of regional stability and security: "Australia's greatest security lies in a stable region to our north that is friendly to us, and we achieve that through friendship and trade." It is ironic that so
much good should result from the blackest moments of the Second World War, with energies which might otherwise have been expended on frustration, regret and anger being redirected into compassion and humanitarian projects. These activities in some ways mirror the civil-military co-operation programme conducted by ABRI to support and improve conditions in remote regions, known simply as ‘AMD’ - *ABRI Masuk Desa* (‘ABRI Enters the Village’). Despite their advancing years, the men of Gull Force were still seen by the Ambonese as soldiers, and the fact that the AMD programme was so well established simply made acceptance of the Gull Force projects that much easier. Even today, the Ambonese still regard the Gull Force veterans as the brave defenders of their island and wish to honour them at every occasion.

In explaining their rationale for their Pilgrimages, and their fervour in developing primary health care and other support projects, Rod Gabriel remarked that no-one hated wars more than old soldiers: “Building good relations between nations through person-to-person contacts was a much better way of doing things.” Similarly, Brigadier Roberts related: “Throughout the last fifty years we’ve seen a tremendous friendship grow between our two countries, Indonesia and Australia, and the Australian Defence Force I am very proud to say contributes to developing that friendship.” In the period up to mid-1999, the development of closer defence links and a strong bilateral relationship had been effected under the auspices of the Defence
Co-operation Programme (DCP). In 1987, Australia's defence philosophy was re-oriented towards self-reliance, but the 1994 Defence White Paper recognised that Australia's defence relationship with Indonesia "is our most important in the region and a key element in Australia's approach to regional defence engagement." Another strategic paper further reinforced that "Indonesia is our most important strategic relationship in Southeast Asia." Meanwhile, "The Australia-Indonesia Agreement on Maintaining Security" was signed in December 1995 to promote defence cooperation between Australia and Indonesia in the pursuit of peace and security. This bilateral relationship was based on a range of activities, including high-level official visits, military exercises, operational deployments, personnel attachments, exchanges, study visits and training programmes. These activities enhanced a concept in defence planning known as 'transparency', and promoted a mutual knowledge and understanding of each other's strategic perceptions and policies. These alliances and bilateral relationships were not so much concerned with containing a potential adversary as promoting peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. One of the key concerns was promoting Indonesia's ability to defend itself from an aggressor, thereby defending Australia by preventing the use of the Indonesian archipelago as a 'springboard' from which to launch assaults on Australia itself. By promoting "multilateral processes", ranging from politico-military ventures to training,
trade and other activities based on mutual benefit\textsuperscript{114}, Australia and Indonesia were believed to be contributing to regional security.

Brigadier Roberts, in common with his two immediate predecessors as Commander NORCOM, was responsible to the Chief of the Defence Force, through Commander Australia Theatre, for ‘regional engagement’ with Indonesia and, in particular, for maintaining close relations with the military commanders to the immediate north and northwest of Australia. This link had a particular emphasis on the eastern provinces which were the responsibility of three Indonesian Military Area Commands (KODAM VII, VIII and IX), the Eastern Fleet (Armada Timur, ARMATIM), and the 2nd Air Operations Command (Komando Operasi Angkatan Udara, KOOPSAU II) - which doubled as the 2nd Air Defence Sector Command (Komando Sektor, KOSEK II). Following Anzac Day 1997, Brigadier Roberts re-iterated:

\textit{Today I had the great honour to be at the opening ceremony of Exercise Cassowary '97, where our own Navy and the Navy of the Republic of Indonesia are holding an exercise between Ambon and Darwin, which goes to show . . . that our two forces work together to ensure that this region remains secure and at peace} \textsuperscript{115}. 
Notes


2. There were 300 participants in the 50th anniversary pilgrimage to Gallipoli, arranged and conducted by the RSL with government support, including a number of original Anzacs from Australia and New Zealand, as well as wives, widows and Army nurses (see Inglis, K, “Gallipoli pilgrimage 1965”. Journal of the Australian War Memorial, 18: 20-27). The 75th anniversary pilgrimage was documented by Defence Artist Jeff Isaacs in The Spirit of ANZAC, published by the Australian Defence Force Journal. Today, the Australian Embassy, in rotation with New Zealand, manages the annual commemoration and other projects stemming from the Anzac-Gallipoli connection, including proposals to create a Peace Park on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

3. Also documented by Defence Artist Jeff Isaacs, as Return to Greece, published by the Australian Defence Force Journal.


6. For example, the return to Isurava on the Kokoda Track by 49 veterans and their families led by the Minister of Defence in early 1998. It was at Isurava that the first Victoria Cross was awarded for service in the South West Pacific Area, the Australians involved in this battle playing a key role in defending Australian territory (Australian Military News, September 1998, p.4).


10. There are actually two monuments although only one has been maintained in a presentable form in a public area. The second Laha monument, on the site from which some 60-65 bodies were exhumed, is today to be found well within the modern village, at the back of a villager's yard. This memorial has not been maintained and carries no plaque.

11. Graves 1, 2 and 3 were found to contain 67, 46 and 67 bodies respectively. When exhumation of Mass Grave No.4 was completed on 8 December 1945, it was found to contain a total of 139 bodies, many displaying evidence of violence (fractured or shattered skulls, broken thigh bones and bound wrists) (Amforce to Landops dated 10 December 1945, AAV 336-1-1587).

12. Soemitro was an infantry officer, one of the first graduates of the Military Academy at Yogyakarta (1946-49) and the eighth Commander of KODAM XV, from 11 February 1978 to 28 April 1981 (Bachtiar, 1988, p.372).
In more recent times, the Laha memorial has been maintained through the assistance of the Mayor of Ambon, Colonel Johannes Sudyono (Mayor from 1991 to 1996). He and his wife Imelda were strong supporters of the Gull Force pilgrimages and commemorations, especially recognising their significance within the framework of the Darwin-Ambon Sister City relationship. Their successors, Colonel and Mrs Chris Tanasale, have similarly embraced the significance of the Pilgrimage, and for the 1997 Pilgrimage the Mayor ensured the memorial was tiled to avoid the continual deterioration of the paintwork.


Captain H F Drane (retd), pers comm (Ambon), 27 April 1996.

Captain M Thompson, Ambon, 25 April 1996.


Mr E N Kelly, pers comm, 21 May 1996.

His Excellency Mr John McCarthy, Ambassador to Indonesia, Address to the Gull Force Anzac Eve dinner, Ambon, 24 April 1997.

Mr L J Penny, pers comm (Ambon), 25 April 1993.


Some of these still stand today, although the iron sheeting which once lined them has been removed. The stones were collected from the river and joined with a crude mortar which has held the walls together remarkably well these last fifty years, and the impressions of the rivets and seams are still visible in the concrete.

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 23 August 1997.

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 23 August 1997.

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997.

Now renamed Rumah Sakit Umum Daerah Dr M Hauluss (Dr M Haulussy Regional Public Hospital).


Report by Major I F Macrae OBE, In Jinkins (1967b), Section 8, p.1.

Report by Major I F Macrae OBE, In Jinkins (1967b), Section 8, p.1.

Dr J A Forbes, letter to The Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs dated 5 August 1971. Colonel Soemitro was an infantry officer, and was the 5th Governor of Maluku Province from 1968 to September 1973.

Colonel Soemeroe was an infantry officer, and was the 6th Governor of Maluku Province, September 1973 to July 1976.

ADAB, subsequently AIDAB and now known as AusAid.

Slamet was an infantry officer who had commanded the 304th Infantry Battalion in Western Java (1958-59), and then from 1960 until 1973 held senior staff appointments in KODAM VI - the famous ‘Siliwangi Division’ from West Java. In 1973-75, he commanded KODAM XIV/Hasanuddin in south and southeast Sulawesi, and from 1975 had been Deputy Commander of the Regional Defence Command (Kowiihan IV) responsible for overseeing security issues in Irian Jaya and Maluku Provinces. He was the 7th Governor of Maluku, July 1976 to September 1987 (Bachtiar, 1988, p.306).

Soekoso was an infantry officer with a record of service within KODAM VI. In 1977-81, he commanded the Education and Training Centre for all Indonesian Special Forces and Airborne Forces. He was the 8th Governor of Maluku, September 1987 to 1992 (Bachtiar, 1988, pp.357-358).

Dr A Afifudin DSM, Dr A I Usmany and Dr C Joseph, pers comm (Ambon), 29 April 1996.

Soekoso was an infantry officer with a record of service within KODAM VI. In 1977-81, he commanded the Education and Training Centre for all Indonesian Special Forces and Airborne Forces. He was the 8th Governor of Maluku, September 1987 to 1992 (Bachtiar, 1988, pp.357-358).

Mr L J Penny, pers comm, 23 June 1997.

Lieutenant Colonel R C Gabriel MBE ED (retd), Address at the Gull Force Reunion Dinner, Ambon, 24 April 1996.

In Macrae (unpublished notes, undated).

Mr F Rehatta, pers comm (Soya Atas, Ambon), 21 August 1997.


Abdulgani (1973), p.16.


The atypical violence which broke out on Ambon in January 1999 involved residents of Batumerah and Mardika who did not have true pela associations, so quickly degenerated into what was seen as purely ethnic/religious violence (Soselisa, 1999).

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Tantui), 25 April 1997.

Mr E Jones (former 63rd Battalion), pers comm, 17 July 1997.

‘Doolan’ is actually pronounced ‘Dollan’ by the Ambonese (there is no ‘oo’ sound in their language other than that made by the letter ‘u’).
Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 16 October 1996.

Doolan had been allocated as a driver to the unit dentistry officer, Captain Gordon Marshall of the 23rd Special Dental Unit, attached to Gull Force (Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 31 August 1999). He was also allocated as a driver to Bill Gaspersz, the Australians' Ambonese Liaison Officer (Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm, Ambon, 1 May 1998).

Some reports claim that Doolan was on outpost duty when the Japanese approached, others say he was in a clandestine patrol which burst into a Japanese office in Ambon town and killed all of the occupants with grenades. Another grand report claims there were a series of raids against the Japanese headquarters itself, sparking a massive retaliation. In some reports the patrol is being chased aggressively, in others they bump into a Japanese force. Many reports claim he made a machine-gun nest in the branches of a Gandaria tree, other say he stood behind the trunk and fired from behind the Gandaria tree. Some reports say he destroyed a number of trucks carrying Japanese troops, and mowed-down assaulting Japanese as they advanced on him. Some have him shooting the troops still in the vehicles, others have him ambushing them as they attempt to dismount, while others have him picking them off as they advance upon him up the slope. Most of these accounts are re-tellings of previous accounts in a succession of newspaper articles, and errors have been perpetuated, just as some of the foreign names are misspelt - for example, 'Kudamati' becomes 'Kootamatie', and 'Tan Toey' becomes 'Tan Joey' and 'Tan joel'.

The Gandaria is a fruiting tree, and it is unlikely that he could have made a machine-gun nest in the branches. It is doubted that he destroyed a number of trucks carrying Japanese troops, because no vehicles could have been disembarked from the wharves at this early time, and all Australian and Dutch vehicles had been destroyed (apart from a few at Eri/Latuhalat).


Mr P Kastanja, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997. A KNIL veteran, he later served with the Indonesian Army, was awarded the 8-year Long Service ('Loyalty') Medal, Satya Lencana Kesetiaan VIII, and held the rank of Sergeant on his retirement in 1959.

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997.

Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Mr L J Penny, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997.

Mr W Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Mr P Kastanja, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 4 September 1997.

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997.

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997.

Mr E Jones, pers comm, 17 July 1997.

Sunday Mail (Brisbane), 17 November 1974.

Post, 21 May 1964. HMAS Quadrant was used for ferrying Japanese War Criminals to Morotai.
Mrs B Gaspersz, pers comm (Ambon), 1 May 1998.

Undated newspaper clipping, circa 1946, provided by Ms W Doolan.

_Ambon News_, 7 November 1945.

"Rose in Her Hair", lyrics by Al Dubin and music by Harry Warren, copyrighted in New York in 1935.

_Ambon News_, Undated clipping, circa 1946, provided by Ms W Doolan.

"Morotai Moon", Jim Baker (64th Battalion), 1990.


Letter (unattributed) to Mr C Righetti dated 29 October 1956, provided by Ms W Doolan.

From a newspaper clipping, "Ballad of Bill Doolan", in the possession of Mr P Kastanja, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997. Brown had served during the war as an artillery officer, and was Director of the Alf’s War Graves Service from 1942 until 1946, and then Secretary-General of the Imperial War Graves Commission until 1960.

_The Mirror_, _Daily Magazine_, 16 February 1977. This story relates to Oscar Tjo (Simona).


Jinkins (1967b), Section 6, p.3.

Jinkins (1967b), Section 7, p.1.

Mr L J Penny, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1997.

Ms W Doolan, pers comm (Ambon), 28 April 1998. Conditions had been fairly basic, even primitive, on the 1981 Pilgrimage and, while the veterans themselves saw the conditions as a vast improvement since the last time they had been at Tan Toey, most of the women said they would never return.

For example: _People_, 6 April 1955; _Australasian Post_, 6 December 1956; _Australasian Post_, 7 November 1963; _The Mirror_, _Daily Magazine_, 16 February 1977; _Canberra Times_, 29 December 1996; _Melbourne Herald Sun_, 23 April 1998. Soon after the war, one veteran mistakenly claimed that Doolan had actually been awarded the VC, and was therefore "one of the few, if not the only, Australians to be awarded the Victoria Cross posthumously upon the uncorroborated testimony of natives " (Letter, unattributed, dated 29 October 1956, provided by Ms W Doolan). He may have been misled by a post-war remark by Captain D E Stockwell, Officer Commanding, Australian War Graves Unit, Ambon, who reported that the Netherlands Government had awarded Doolan a posthumous decoration, the Dutch equivalent of the Victoria Cross. This was not so however, and the family never received any official notification of this (Undated newspaper clippings, circa 1946, provided by Ms W Doolan; Ms W Doolan, pers comm, Ambon, 28 April 1998).
It was agreed that the plaque could not go inside the walls of the Australian Memorial at Kudamati because that memorial honoured all Australians and Ambonese involved in the conflict. Initially it was hoped to affix the plaque on the external wall, but then some local Ambonese claimed that it properly belonged further up the hill where the Gandaria tree used to be. The plaque has been retained by John Gaspersz, Caretaker of the Ambon War Cemetery, for future placement.

Ms W Doolan, pers comm (Ambon), 28 April 1998. During this visit, Wendy Doolan renewed her friendship with Paul Kastanja and his family, and interviewed Kastanja at length using a reliable local interpreter. He proved to be consistent in his telling of the story, independently correlating with a version told by Bill Gaspersz.

Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997; Mr J Pattiselanno, pers comm (Paperu, Saparua), 13 August 1997; Mr J Pattiselanno, pers comm (Ambon), 21 August 1997.

Ms W Doolan, pers comm (Ambon), 28 April, 2 December 1998.

His Excellency Mr J McCarthy, Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Address to the Gull Force Anzac Eve dinner, Ambon, 24 April 1998.


RAAF News, October 1987; Daily Telegraph, 17 September 1988; 13 Squadron Newsletter (various); Mrs G Shead, pers comm, 23 October 1996.

Mr Jan Pattiselanno, pers comm, April 1996; Mr John Pattiselanno, pers comm (Paperu, Saparua), 13 August 1997; Mr John Pattiselanno, pers comm (Ambon), 21 August 1997; Mr J L (Nes) Pattiselanno, pers comm (Ambon), 21 August 1997. Jan Pattiselanno had been born in Paperu village (Saparua Island) in 1912, and died there in 1998.

Mr J L Pattiselanno, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997.

Gull Force Hall, within Larrakeyah Barracks, was dedicated on 2 May 1989 in a ceremony organised by Brigadier Ian Bryant ADC, Commander Northern Command. In the presence of 18 fellow veterans Lieutenant Colonel Rod Gabriel MBE ED (retd) unveiled a commemorative plaque in recognition of the service of the 2/21st Battalion Group in Darwin and Ambon.

Letter of Intent signed in Ambon on 28 October 1988 by J Dicky Wattimena (Walikotamadya of the Municipality of Ambon, 1985-91) and Mr Alec Fong Lim AM (Lord Mayor of Darwin, 1984-90).
There was no camp or cemetery at Haikou however; the bodies in the
cemetery at Hashio, where the prison camp had been located, were
transferred to Yokohama in 1946-47.

"The impact of change in Maluku Province, eastern Indonesia",
collaborative project between Associate Professors David Mearns and Chris
Healey (NTU) and Ms Hermien Soselisa and Mr Tonny Pariela (Universitas
Pattimura). Northern Territory University 1995/96 Research Report,

Milne, J, "Australia's links with Ambon". Indonesian Studies, 10(1&2),
1993: p.38; Pattikayhatu, J A, "Kerjasama pasukan Australia-KNIL dan
Rakyat Ambon menghadapi penyerbuan Tentara Jepang di Pulau Ambon,
Indonesia pada Perang Dunia Kedua". Indonesian Studies, 10(1&2), 1993:
pp.18-31; Perkins Shipping Darwin to Ambon Yacht Race brochures,
1995, 1996, 1997; Mrs Diana Clifford (de Lima), pers comm (Ambon),
20 August 1997.

Brigadier Chris Roberts AM CSC, Commander Northern Command, Address to

On completion of an AMD project, a metre-tall cement monument is
positioned prominently, proudly displaying the initials AMD and the details
of the project. This monument is in the form of a pentagon with the quad-
Service ABRI badge inside - the insignia of the Department of Defence and
Security, HANKAM (Departemen Pertahanan dan Keamanan).


See Ball, D, "The political-Security dimension of Australia and the Asia-
Pacific region". Indonesian Quarterly, 12(3), p.243 (1994); Niessl,
Lieutenant R A, "The relevance of the Defence Cooperation Program between
Australia and Indonesia". Australian Defence Force Journal, 130, p49
(May/June 1998).

Department of Defence, "The Defence of Australia", Defence White Paper
1987, AGPS, Canberra, 1987; Department of Defence, "Defending

Department of Defence, Australia's Strategic Policy, AGPS, Canberra, 1997,
p.22.

DuPont, A, "The Australia-Indonesia security agreement". Australian

For example, the respective Defence Ministers meet annually, our respective
Navies conduct bilateral exercises, and officer exchanges are made on RAAF
P3C Orion and TNI-AU Searchmaster maritime surveillance patrols
(McLachlan, I, "Defence Policy and Regional Cooperation with Asia".
Address by the Honourable Ian McLachlan AO MP, Minister for Defence, to the
Government Defence, Trade and Foreign Affairs Committee, Canberra,
3 December 1996).

McLachlan, I, "Australia and the United States into the next Century".
Address by the Honourable Ian McLachlan AO MP, Minister for Defence, to the
Australian Institute of International Affairs 22nd National Conference,
Brisbane, 22 November 1996.
- 5 -

CLOSURE
CLOSURE

5.1 Grieving

The annual Anzac Day commemorative services on Ambon have primarily given the survivors and families the opportunity of honouring the service and sacrifice of Australians and Ambonese alike. It is suggested that the Pilgrimages have also served a wider purpose in assuaging grief and finalising emotions. In the circumstances of the Pilgrimage can be identified some of the psychological stages which are now well known to grief counsellors, and can be identified in people who suffer extreme trauma or shock (denial, anger, bargaining, grieving and acceptance). Through the Pilgrimages, families have gained insight and understanding of the tragic circumstances on Ambon, while the veterans themselves have overcome their post-war anger and bitterness and have looked to the future with a positive attitude. They have harnessed the latent energy of their darkest emotions and have converted it into what is here described as 'Sustainable Remembrance' - honouring the past, but working positively with a practical view to the future.

The immediate reaction in most cases of severe shock or trauma is a refusal to accept reality. The Gull Force survivors demonstrated this 'denial' stage immediately after their liberation - they felt that memories of their ordeal should be suppressed, or
even denied, and forgetting was part of their post-war adjustment. Barney McLeavy suppressed his memories and concurrently denied the reality of his post-war responsibilities, as his wife Jean recalled:

*He just sat down and said to me, 'Well, we're married', and he said 'the responsibility's going to be on your shoulders. If you have children they're going to be your responsibility, and I do not want to see a bill'. He said, 'I've had enough responsibility while I've been away.'*

The families who lost a husband or father were generally left uninformed of the circumstances of death, and the perpetuation of this uncertainty - with no funeral and no tangible grave to visit - meant that in many families there was no finalisation to the grieving process. Doreen Eva noted that her mother just shut this aspect out of her life: "But Mum doesn't want to hear anything about it; she says she doesn't want to hear any more about it at all." Lieutenant Lazarus, executed at Laha on 6 February 1942, was identified in 1946 from personal effects found on his exhumed body. Nearly fifty years later, a nephew found that he lived near a Gull Force survivor so many long conversations were held in an attempt to understand the uncle's fate. The nephew's father however, had nothing to say: "His father has never been able to come to terms with the fate of his brother." Anne Ahearn similarly noted that her mother was unable to cope. She moved to Brisbane to take on a new life, rarely ever referred to Anne's father, and never remarried: "She never really said 'Dad'."
She just shut the door.” 4. Bill Doolan’s widow Kathleen, on the other hand, was left with two young girls to raise so she remarried, as Wendy Doolan reflected: “Because I was young, and Mum remarried when I was three, my father was never mentioned. I just presumed my so-called step-father was my father.” 5.

It is widely accepted that there is a period of anger following trauma: a dying patient, for example, may blame medical staff for being unable to help. It has long been a sore point that POW camps in Malaya, Singapore and Thailand have been widely publicised, while Ambon and Hainan have rarely been mentioned. Among the veterans, there was also anger at the ‘insensitivity’ of the military in replacing their established and trusted Commanding Officer, and for abandoning them on Ambon unsupported. The survivors recognise that an inadequate force was sent to a remote outpost, with no provision to be reinforced or evacuated; Lionel Penny says, “We called ourselves ‘The Lost Battalion’. And they sure lost us, didn’t they?” 6. Others see the Gull Force story as one of political ineptitude and poor strategical planning. Ron Leech reviewed the “hopelessly flawed decisions” and “folly” of Wavell (Commander ABDA Command), Sturdee (Chief of the General Staff) and Rowell (Deputy Chief of the General Staff), and notes that Sturdee later recognised that the policy of trying to hold isolated islands with inadequate resources needed review7. Rod Gabriel’s son observed that Gabriel’s respect and admiration for the Ambonese is
renowned, but he did feel betrayed by the politicians of the time, noting that, "Ambon was a political decision, not a military one". The decorated Ambonese veteran Julius Tahija later spoke of the Australian government's strategy and the fact that its post-war efforts to keep it secret, "reflect largely a desire not to expose what was at best faulty decision making". In their more bitter moments however, some survivors recognise that there was no ineptitude: it was a deliberate and calculated strategy of sacrifice, to purchase a delay with human lives.

In some models of the grieving process, there is a stage called 'bargaining', in which a dying patient, for example, tries to plead for an extension of their time, to take care of unfinished business. This can be identified in the continued efforts of Bill Jinkins and Gull Force Association as they formulated a plan to honour the sacrifice and loyalty of the indigenous Ambonese. Despite the many, not insignificant, obstacles - a War of Independence, the RMS and Permesta Rebellions, military 'confrontations' with the Netherlands and Malaysia, and a Soviet presence on Ambon itself - Jinkins persisted with his intention of repaying a debt to the Ambonese.

The most significant of the psychological stages following death or trauma is a period of 'grieving'. All societies recognise the significance of death as a 'milestone' when reflecting on people's lives, and have particular methods of finalising emotions. The end of the grieving phase is typically marked by some form
of funeral custom which symbolises the 'separation' of the dead from the living community. Many societies use a practitioner to conduct the ceremony, who often assists relatives and friends in vocalising their memories of the departed. Significant in these ceremonies is a moment where relatives and friends gather around the body of the deceased, often enclosed within some form of coffin. Christians offer prayers at this time, some Aboriginal customs incorporate wailing or 'smoking', and there is often a firing of volleys over the coffin of a uniformed person killed on duty. Finally, the body is disposed of - cremated, buried or housed in a sarcophagus within a mausoleum, for example. In some societies, it is important to allow the corpse to decompose in a shallow grave, within a tree or upon a scaffold, thereby allowing the soul or spirit to escape from the body. Following such funerary procedures, almost all societies have a recognised period of mourning. Grieving relatives may wear black clothing or black armbands, and Aboriginals have taboos on speaking or even publishing the name of the deceased.

Funerals provide a means for grieving relatives and friends to openly display their grief, thereby channelling their intense emotions into non-destructive paths. The symbolism of such a procedure is striking in its simplicity - the ceremony itself provides a tangible moment of grieving, while the coffin, grave or headstone provides a focus for the outpouring of grief and the finalisation of the emotions associated with loss. The whole procedure provides a necessary psychological mechanism to allow a chapter to close and to allow the living to go on with their lives.
Walter Hicks recognised that, for most of the wives, sisters or other relatives who participated in a Pilgrimage, it was their first visit to the gravesite, and invariably, it would be their only visit. In all cases, it brought to an end their grieving process which had been going on for decades and brought, “a sense of finiteness to their memories” of their lost relative.

In common with his colleagues, Bill Page was awarded the 1939-45 Star, Pacific Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45 and Australian Service Medal 1939-45, and received the Returned from Active Service Badge. In addition, in preparation for the 50th Anniversary Pilgrimage in 1992, he obtained three unofficial medals: the Infantry Frontline Service Medal, the Australian Prisoner-of-War Association Cross, and the International Prisoner-of-War Medal. These are not official awards but rather, medals instituted by particular ex-service organisations to recognise service not otherwise acknowledged. To many, the standard campaign medals covering a great time period or vast area of operations do not accurately reflect an individual’s particular service. Page notes that he obtained these medals as a means of acknowledging his service as a POW, mainly for the sake of his family who had, up to that time, heard very little of his wartime experiences. These unofficial medals, particularly the two relating to his service as a prisoner-of-war which carry the stark symbolism of barbed-wire, took the place of a black armband, and showed finally that there was no shame in what he had endured, but instead, that he had survived.
Wearing the medals allowed him to both recognise his own service and at the same time openly grieve for his mates who were not as fortunate as he.

Finally, a dying patient prepares to die with dignity, or a family accepts the reality of a loss. When Doreen Eva made her first Pilgrimage to Ambon in 1998, she gained some answers to her many unresolved questions, and observed that she can now reflect on her memories of her father without as much pain\(^{12}\). Max Gilbert entered this phase when he was able to name his son after his closest mate Eric Stagg\(^{13}\), and so too Les Hohl who named his sons Norman and Phillip after his two best mates who had died on Ambon\(^{14}\). Full acceptance was perhaps realised by Hohl only when he was able to bring his thoughts and fears into print\(^{15}\).

Bill Page first returned to Darwin and Ambon in April 1981; he returned again to Ambon in 1992 accompanied by his son John, and had the privilege of laying the official wreath at the Cenotaph on behalf of the 2/21st Battalion AIF. This Pilgrimage proved to be Page's turning-point: in reflecting on his own war service and difficulty in re-adjusting to post-war life he gained some insight into his own father's return from the Great War and early death. He realised the need for his own children to understand his experiences, so he took the opportunity to focus on the period of captivity and reveal carefully selected portions of his life to his family. By wearing the POW medals, he accepted
the reality of his period of confinement and attempted to put behind himself any feelings of anger or bitterness. His unofficial medals became an important tangible symbol of this emotional transition. Page had been born in Melbourne in 1921, the son of Walter George Page\textsuperscript{16} who had fought with D Company of the 7th Battalion AIF in World War 1. He survived Krithia, Lone Pine, Messines, Pozieres, Polygon Wood and Hazebrouck, was gassed, and was profoundly affected by his wartime experiences, leaving his son orphaned at the age of 7. Bill Page enlisted on 1 July 1940 and joined the 2/21st Battalion, and was ironically allocated to D Company. In 1993, the 7th Battalion AIF Association arranged for a bronze memorial plaque to be installed on one of the walls at the Darwin Cenotaph, and the site selected was coincidentally beside the plaque previously installed by veterans of the 2/21st Battalion. For Bill Page this was immensely significant, to have the plaques and colour patches of his and his father's units alongside each other to perpetuate the history of their service. This and the previous year's Pilgrimage allowed Page to finally enter a phase of acceptance. He does not wear the unofficial medals any more, because there is no longer the need to dwell on the particular service they represent. They served the purpose of bringing him to share his history with his family, which he had been denied from his own father, and now he would rather focus on the post-war achievements of Gull Force Association and the Pilgrimages and aid projects they have successfully initiated and carried out.
Unknown Soldiers

The Gull Force Pilgrimage holds some parallels to the practice of honouring an 'Unknown Soldier' as a symbol of a nation's collective loss, by allowing survivors and families the opportunity to grieve that they were denied during wartime. These poignant ceremonies meld unit and personal memories, and in this manner the Pilgrimage can be seen to have assisted the grieving process of the corporate entity - Gull Force Association.

Honouring an 'unknown warrior' is actually a long-established concept\(^{17}\), but it is not surprising that Britain entombed one in an elaborate ceremony because almost all of Britain's dead were buried in foreign countries which a family might never be able to visit\(^ {18}\). Therefore there were millions of Britons who never had the opportunity to participate in a funeral or visit a grave as compared to the situation in, say, America, where repatriation was promised\(^ {19}\). On Armistice Day 1920, the body of an anonymous British soldier from the battlefields of France was accorded a State funeral in Westminster Abbey, and the coffin was carried by Field-Marshal, Admirals and Generals through the streets of London, followed by King George V on foot. A tomb containing his remains was installed in the floor of Westminster Abbey to represent the unknown dead from throughout the Empire\(^ {20}\). The symbolism was deliberately striking. Described as "one of the war's most obscure victims" \(^ {21}\), the body was honoured by the war's greatest leaders and the head of one of the world's greatest Empires. This
'Unknown Warrior' was to be a symbol of the nation's collective loss, and his entombing was to provide a tangible moment of grieving, particularly for those who had lost a loved one without confirmation of the death or without a known burial site.

To represent the 23,000 Australian soldiers from the Great War who have no known grave, the body of an unidentified Australian soldier was similarly taken from a military cemetery in France and was reinterred in a tomb built in the centre of the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial on 11 November 1993. The Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition and State Premiers followed the coffin on foot along Anzac Parade, with the Governor-General walking solemnly behind them all.

The British ceremony in 1920 marked a significant change in public recognition - from the Kings and Commanders who have traditionally been honoured by victors, to recognising the basic yet dedicated service of the ordinary soldier. An ordinary person, not one honoured for bravery, but with a sense of duty. As the Australian Prime Minister said in his eulogy for the Unknown Australian Soldier - the ordinary people were the heroes of the war, "not the generals and the politicians but the soldiers and sailors and nurses." While this common person had received the accolades on 11 November 1920, Field-Marshals, Admirals and Generals left their carriages to act as pall-bearers, followed by the Head of the Empire himself. So too in Australia 73 years later. In a similar manner, Gull Force
Association was insistent in honouring, not a commander or politician, but common men and women, Australian and Ambonese alike.

The entombing of the Australian Unknown Warrior was discussed by many commentators, but their analysis was incomplete. The Australian War Memorial correctly observed that the tomb would "provide for the Australian people one grave which stands for the graves - mostly overseas - of all those 100,000 whose names appear on the Roll of Honour nearby " 24. The Project Manager for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier considered that its placement in the War Memorial combined 'commemoration' and 'history' 25. Another conferred upon the Hall of Memory the role that war historian Charles Bean had originally envisaged, of engendering "reverent recollection " 26. The Prime Minister reflected that the Unknown Soldier "honours the memory of all those men and women who laid down their lives for Australia " 27. These statements are all undeniably true, and reflect the unquestioned need for national mourning and national memory. Yet the Unknown Soldier allows something more. The various memorials at Laha, Kudamati and the Ambon War Cemetery have equally provided a focus for 'honouring the memory of the fallen' and 'reverent recollection'. But they too have offered something more. The Pilgrimage, as with the Unknown Warrior, has allowed individual veterans and family members the opportunity to bring their grieving and mourning to a close.
The Commonwealth's need to mourn after the Great War was satisfied by one tangible moment of collective grieving in 1920 - in what has been called a 'chronotope', a bringing together of national and personal memory. The Gull Force Pilgrimages have similarly done so, but at a relatively inaccessible site, over a period of years. This is one of the main reasons for the significance of the Gull Force Pilgrimage. Almost all of the battalion's dead are buried and commemorated in a single cemetery in a foreign country. The location or even existence of these graves was not known to the Australian families for over twenty years, so they were denied the opportunity to participate in a funeral or visit a grave. Even after the inauguration of the Ambon War Cemetery, most Australian families still did not have the ability to visit. Private Neil Bromley's name is listed on the Ambon War Memorial for those with no known grave; his sister recalls that there was no official advice to the family, but enquiries later in the war revealed Neil's death. To this day, the family has not had the opportunity to visit the Ambon War Cemetery.

Initially, only Gull Force members could join the Pilgrimage, but with reducing numbers able to return on an annual basis, the criteria was opened up to sons of Gull Force veterans and Corvetteers - crew of the navy vessels which had rescued the survivors in late 1945. Those selected each year to join the official Pilgrimage have their out-of-pocket expenses defrayed by Gull Force Association. Wives and daughters, as with members of
the post-war occupation force on Ambon, have not until recently been eligible for membership of Gull Force Association. It became a financial fact of life that those veterans who wished to take wives and other family members with them had to travel at their own expense, either travelling privately or, increasingly in more recent times, with an RSL Travel Group. Accompanying Harry Williams in 1996 for the first time was his daughter Keryn, who described the opportunity to travel to Ambon with him as a "privilege." Maggie Scott, the daughter of a Staff-Sergeant executed at Laha, joined the RSL tour group in 1997, and Walter Hicks also brought his wife and daughters to Ambon for the first time. They, Maggie Scott and Keryn Williams banded together and at first called themselves the ‘Daughters of Gull Force’, but were not impressed with the acronym (DOG) they had created, so instead referred to themselves as the ‘Daughters of Ambon’.

The affinity which has developed between the veterans and the Ambonese has made Ambon and Tantui into special places of almost mystical significance. There is no doubt that the traditional father-son bond no longer must be relied upon to maintain the significance of this special affinity, and the future participation in these pilgrimages by brothers, sisters, children and grandchildren of veterans will ensure their continuation.

Despite the value of the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, or Anzac Day parades before Crosses of Sacrifice anywhere in Australia itself, the Pilgrimage to Ambon has taken the form of a ‘chronotope’, allowing a combining of corporate and
personal memory. And increasingly with greater Government, Defence and diplomatic participation, the Pilgrimage has drawn Gull Force more into the national memory. It has permitted Gull Force Association to honour the Battalion Group whose name and memory it perpetuates, and has allowed the finalisation of the personal grieving process for individual veterans and family members.

5.2 The Processes served by the Pilgrimage

It was only following the initiation of the Gull Force Pilgrimage to Ambon and the establishment of the Ambon War Cemetery that families and veterans had the opportunity to properly pay their last respects and effect a degree of closure to their private grieving. Participation in a Pilgrimage provides a tangible moment of grieving, particularly for those who had lost a loved one without confirmation of the death, or without a known burial site. There are five key aspects to the psychological processes the Pilgrimage has served:

a. it has provided the survivors with the opportunity to properly grieve that they were denied during the war;
b. it has provided family members with an opportunity to grieve;
c. it has played a role in finalising the emotions associated with loss;
d. it has assisted in developing a sense of unity within Gull Force Association; and

e. it has allowed the veterans to institute a scheme of 'Sustainable Remembrance'.

A chance for the survivors to grieve

In suppressing their memories of captivity, many of the emotions associated with the deaths of their mates were equally suppressed. There was no counselling after repatriation, and most were unwilling (or unable) to share their burdens with their families, so they shouldered the emotional load alone. In so doing, they never fully finalised their own personal grieving, which has now been allowed through participation in Pilgrimage visits.

Tom Pledger knew little of the brutality and deaths within Tan Toey Camp because he was one of many who was sent to Hainan, while he did not learn of the execution of his mates at Laha until after the war. In escaping from Ambon, 'Bluey' Drane similarly did not know of the massacres at Laha. For those that did remain in Tan Toey, the circumstances of what they endured did not allow for any form of grieving. Walter Hicks observed: "We stood too close to so much death and destruction, for so long, that grief was driven from our psyches." George Williamson and Eric Kelly similarly observed that the Pilgrimage has offered them a chance to pay their respects to their dead mates, because they were unable to do it properly while they
were burying them. As the death rate in Tan Toey rose (42 men died during May, 72 during June, and then 94 during July 1945), burials became an everyday duty, a mechanical chore. Williamson recalled:

_I've got a few mates in the cemetery, in fact I've got a lot of 'em, and I was on nearly every burial party from the Camp. And when you're taking your mate up to put 'im in the ground, well, you get a sort of funny feeling, don't you? As fast as you'd run up and done one, there'd almost be another one ready to go up again when we'd come back._

Kelly pointedly observed that there was simply no time for reflection or grieving when their mates were dying at a rate of two men every day. Max Gilbert recalled the attitude which had developed by July 1945 when he lost the only other surviving member of his mortar detachment:

_Arriving back at camp from a work party late in the afternoon, and lined up at the guard-house to be checked in, we would ask the duty officer 'What's for tea?' followed by 'Who's dead?'_

As Kelly observed, it was a time for being thankful that you weren't one of them (yet) and for maintaining hope, perhaps hardening a little in order to do so: _“People would be coming in from a work party and they'd say 'who died today?' ‘Oh, Joe Blow’. ‘Oh, that bastard, let him walk up himself!’”_

A chance for families to grieve
The families of those who died were denied the opportunity of
finalising emotions as would normally have occurred at a funeral, and were denied the comfort of at least knowing that there was a grave bearing a headstone to acknowledge the sacrifice. Their grieving too, was largely suppressed. For the family members who participate, a Pilgrimage allows them to progress beyond grieving and attain what is described as 'emotional closure'.

The ADF Chaplain officiating during the 1998 Pilgrimage related that, "Death is an unfocused thing", and further observed that, "The Pilgrimage allows a focus through knowledge and remembrance". The Services at Laha, Ambon War Cemetery and Kudamati have given participating family members the form of closure traditionally offered by a funeral, allowing them to openly express their grief while also attaining a degree of understanding. Walter Hicks notes that he has often been called upon to inform the widows and children of the circumstances of a death: "I could fill in some of the details... information which gave them a great deal of comfort, many years, of course, later than it should have been given".

During his first Pilgrimage in 1992, Wally Parker had identified the site of his father's death, giving his death a degree of finiteness. His second visit in 1997 was more based on the bond that had been established: "Always, as long as I live, part of me's still here on Ambon". One of the few American survivors, Ed Weiss similarly reflected: "I still feel a good part of me is still over there". Rick Fiddian, who participated in
Pilgrimages in 1995 and 1998, recalled: "I never really knew what happened to my father". In later life, he began to question more the circumstances of what had happened but this was difficult without a gravesite at which to focus his emotions. It was only through a personal visit to Laha that he gained some understanding: "Those gaps were filled in and I feel that I now know the truth, or as near to the truth as is possible to establish." Barney McLeavy's second daughter Lynn was just starting to become aware of the Ambon story when he died in 1986, and she reflected that trying to visualise the soldiers living and working on Ambon was like piecing together a jigsaw puzzle. In visiting Ambon during the 1998 Pilgrimage, places and events she vaguely knew of could be related to the actual geography of the island: "I can put it all together now, the picture's there." Finalising emotions

As the family members gained understanding about their father or husband and gave their memories finiteness, Walter Hicks noted that the Pilgrimage, "really achieved the effect of assuaging grief" and effected a process of finalising emotions. Anne Ahearn noted on Ambon in 1998 that her own personal anger has faded as she has gained knowledge of the Ambon story, and of her first visit to Ambon she said, "This has been an experience for me, most certainly, that I have actually been to my father's grave." In trying to summarise what this Pilgrimage meant to her personally, she perhaps defined the true value of the Pilgrimage: "I think it will probably close a door that probably
was *never quite closed before* ’ 46. Similarly, a visitor from Geelong wrote in the Ambon War Cemetery’s Visitors Book that her visit represented, “A *page closed* ” 47.

Following the funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier, after the final prayers there was spontaneous (and unprogrammed) applause from the audience. One journalist noted the sudden change of mood: “It *was as if we had all shed a burden* ” 48. So it is on Ambon, where visiting a grave or a memorial allows the relative to finalise their grieving. Their Pilgrimage to Ambon becomes the milestone, instead of the funeral, which allows them to begin the process of recovery from grief. As with the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and similar monuments, the Ambon memorials have provided a focus for what Margery Moore described as the ‘last farewell’. She later expressed her pleasure at having had the opportunity to visit both the sites of her brother’s death (Laha) and burial (Tantui): “*On returning to the airport, I happened to turn my head and saw the Cemetery. This was a very emotional moment when I made my last farewell to Alex* ” 49. Walter Hicks again identified:

Some were laying wreaths on behalf of their departed mothers who grieved all their life for the loss of a loved one and never had the opportunity of paying that last tribute. To them, this ceremony took the place of the funeral which almost always is essential to the initiation of recovery from grief 50.
Developing Unity

Given the horrendous death rates experienced in Tan Toey, an equally high death rate might have been expected in the immediate post-war period, but it actually seems to have been contrary to this, as Walter Hicks observed:

_Some fellows, whose survival of Tan Toey verged on the miraculous, lasted only a few years, and some from Hainan Island camp also passed on. By and large, the rest of us settled down to the ‘ten, even twenty years of good life ahead of us’ given that we observed the proviso laid down by the Medical General at AGH Heidelberg - that we were ‘not to booze, smoke heavily, whorize or knock ourselves about’._ 51.

American research later showed that there was a greater death rate among men who had been prisoners of the Japanese (and also of the North Koreans in the Korean War) compared to those who had been held in European prison camps52, so the prediction was probably valid. But, from a situation where the prisoners had a potential life-expectancy of just weeks or even days, suddenly the thought of living until 1965 was like a glimpse of Utopia. This view of his post-war prospects caused Hicks to reflect on what had helped them survive captivity:

_The fact that the post-war death rate was within almost normal bounds, for ex-service personnel, brought back to me with great poignancy something that Capt Peter Davidson, our senior Tan Toey Camp MO, said to me while I lay in hospital in the first few weeks of our imprisonment._ 53.
Hicks had been hospitalised with septicaemia from a large tropical ulcer on the leg, and he recalls that one evening Davidson had said, "I'll say this to you only once, and I want you to remember it well: Loss of hope will kill a man more surely than any bullet." As he pondered on the post-war period in comparison to their period of captivity, Hicks reflected:

Loss of hope killed as many fellows in Tan Toey as disease or starvation, although these factors compounded the situation. With hope regained, the men stopped dying; only two more died after the war was finished.

Their mateship and belief in their own survival were the biggest assets the prisoners had. Max Gilbert, who lost his three closest mates on Ambon, later recorded, "I have no doubt whatever that having a staunch mate in such circumstances contributed significantly to my ultimate survival." George Williamson reflected on why he survived captivity: "Because I put it in me mind I was going to get home. And I was determined to get home." In 1998, the officiating Chaplain on Ambon noted that, "The symbol for many that were in captivity was, 'what life will be like after captivity'. The commitment was, when they are freed, not if." These remarks can be compared with the experiences of four Gulf War prisoners who survived captivity at the hands of the Iraqis: "The most compelling lesson which can be drawn from the experiences of these Coalition PWs is that survival is almost always possible."
As they had supported each other in captivity, those who survived soon established an association which would serve the purpose of supporting each other and their mates' families. The earliest days of Gull Force Association were very unsettled however. There remained a gap between the officers and men (not just rank-based, but based on behaviours and attitudes in the camps\textsuperscript{60}) and this was carried over into the Association. The class distinction was reinforced as they settled into their post-war jobs, although there was some confusion as some former soldiers achieved managerial status. The division was emphasised as initially the executive committee comprised mainly former officers. There was a strong need seen to have Lieutenant Colonel Roach involved in the Association, yet the two most prominent figures to many of the survivors were Lieutenant Colonel Scott and Major Westley, the two respective camp commanders on Hainan and Ambon.

On the night of February 2nd, Major Ian Macrae had led a fighting patrol from Eri to Latuhalat and, on hearing that the battalion was going to surrender, gave his approval for Lieutenant Chapman to lead an escape party. Chapman's party, totalling 21, went successively to Nusalaut, Saparua, Seram, Tual and Dobo. From Dobo, ten men went in a sailboat (nicknamed 'Old Gloria'), while the others climbed aboard a timber merchant's motor boat which carried the rations - the intention being that this boat could tow Old Gloria if it fell calm. Doug MacIntosh recalls hearing the diesel motor boat pass them by in the night, and then it was never seen again\textsuperscript{61}. The men on Old Gloria went,
without food, to Merauke in Dutch New Guinea and thence to Normanton, while the others went independently to Merauke and Thursday Island. The members of Chapman's escape party never came to resolve the dissent which arose because of this split between the two boats, and a reunion of the original escape party of 21 was never held.

There was also clear rift between the survivors of Tan Toey and those who had been at Hashio on Hainan, each claiming to have suffered greater distress and tragedy than the other. Just as Lionel Penny calls Gull Force 'The Lost Battalion', he further notes: "Still further lost into oblivion - the Hainan Boys - you hear very little of us. The full story of Gull Force will not be complete until the full Hainan story is told". The tensions between Ambon and Hainan survivors often broke and there was occasional violence at reunions while, because of the strong ill-feeling, some survivors simply refused to attend.

It was at this stage that Bill Jinkins redirected the committee's focus to the possibility of conducting a return visit to Ambon. The conduct of the first visit in 1967 held a particular significance for Gull Force Association itself, as one veteran noted: "That Pilgrimage brought our Association together, perhaps more than anything else before or since. The difference between Hainan Island and Tan Toey survivors went into limbo". The gaining of permission for the 1967 Pilgrimage was achieved almost solely through the dedication of Bill Jinkins, who then
fought to continue the visits and was successful in securing government and Service support. Gull Force veterans are unanimous in their praise of Jinkins; Hicks, for example, noted: "Bill Jinkins was an indefatigable worker in this cause and he handed over to Rod Gabriel a complete working 'set-up'".  

The annual Pilgrimages really began in earnest in the seventies, and after the death of Jinkins, Gabriel took over the organisational side and was Chairman of the Ambon Pilgrimage Committee from its inception. Further, Gabriel was the Association President from 1996 to 1999 - "the body and soul of Gull Force (2/21 Bn) Association". Walter Hicks, a senior manager in the State Bank of Victoria and for 25 years Treasurer of Gull Force Association (made an Honorary Life Member in recognition of his efforts), noted:

I freely concede that Rod Gabriel’s continued organisation of the Pilgrimages has been the cohesive factor that kept the Association going.

It was this determination to continue, as there had been determination in 1942-45 to not give up hope, that has ensured success for Gull Force Association. Walter Hicks observed of the survivors’ collective determination: "this perhaps more than any other factor brought the factions together and gave new purpose to the existence of the Association". This attitude of not giving up hope, of honouring their mates, and of repaying a debt of gratitude, has given the corporate entity of Gull Force a collective will to survive. The veterans have not allowed
themselves to wallow in regrets, self-pity and frustration but
have striven to re-affirm their commitment each year with
renewing vigour. As Walter Hicks reflected:

I never cease to marvel that we have lasted so long.
Ian Macrae is in his nineties, Gabriel and half-a-dozen
others (some not ex-officers) are in their eighties, and
all others in their late seventies, beyond the allotted
span of life of 'three score years and ten' of Biblical quote 71.

Perhaps surprisingly, of the 301 men evacuated from Tan Toey
and Hainan and the 46 who escaped (see Appendix 1), one author
estimated that about 150 remained alive in 198972, and some 33
defied the odds and were still alive fifty years after their
repatriation. Hicks reflected on the positive attitude which
helped their survival in captivity, and its consequent
manifestations after the war:

The POW experience effected in the long-term a great
improvement in the life-attitudes of those who
survived, a greater willingness to work for the common
good of the whole community, and even for the people
of Ambon 73.

Sustainable Remembrance
It is a very Western attitude to erect monuments and memorials
with descriptive plaques to remember the fallen. Time is viewed
by Westerners as linear, a progression moving from past to
present and into the future. Such memorials serve to remind us
of the past, while the concept of graves and the Cross of Sacrifice
is our insurance for the future, reflecting Christendom's belief in resurrection. After the Great War, such memorials flourished, and every city and country town in Australia, as throughout the British Empire and other nations involved, had a cenotaph, memorial gate or other monument erected to honour its participants who fell in battle. With a high sense of patriotism, churches and schools erected honour boards and Soldier's Chapels. In some cases, these monuments were established as a tangible reminder - so that future generations would look back and recall what had transpired. At the unveiling of the State National War Memorial on 25 April 1931, the Governor of South Australia Brigadier General Sir Alexander Hore-Ruthven VC had observed,

*It is not only for ourselves that we have erected this visible remembrance of great deeds, but rather that those who come after us... may be inspired to devise some better means to settle international disputes other than by international slaughter* 74.

These memorials all serve to commemorate and honour the losses experienced, and are largely retrospective monuments. Associated with them all are the classic lines which sum up our attitude: "Lest we forget; We will remember them". Thus, Lionel Penny noted that the increasing recognition of the Pilgrimages and goodwill projects made him feel proud, "that the sacrifice, and all those buried there, are not forgotten" 75.

Similarly, the entombing of an Unknown Warrior was conducted to provide one grave to represent all of the graves of
those who died overseas and those without known graves. Each of the ceremonies was a precise and tasteful combination of commemoration and history, honouring the memory of those who lost their lives. In documenting the 1995 Pilgrimage to mark the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Villers-Bretonneux, it was noted that the aims of the military contingent were to remember, to pay homage and to honour the Ode's promise, 'Lest we Forget' 76. This 'obligation to past sacrifices' serves a dual acknowledgement: it honours those killed in battle, and it reminds us today that they bought for us a security that they themselves were denied. In the Ambon War Cemetery's Visitors Book, one visitor paid homage to, "some so young plucked from their future" 77, perhaps inadvertently recalling the words of Rupert Brooke, who said they, "gave up the years to be". But one witness at the funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier took a cynical but revealing approach when he observed of that day's ceremony: "We repeated our annual oaths to remember him - and forgot him again in the morning, and at the going down of the sun, as we had always forgotten" 78. In many ways, remembrance has become just that - a ritual to be solemnly observed on a particular date and overlooked thereafter.

A significant aspect of Gull Force Association's success over the past three decades has been its pragmatic approach to remembrance, making the act of remembrance 'sustainable' rather than simply 'repetitive'. Private James McDougall had returned to Ambon in 1976 and 1981; his son recalls that the
first visit was largely to honour his mates, while the second, "was focused on how the Ambonese had helped" 79, and it is in this that the true foundations of the Pilgrimage can be found. Gull Force members were three times left with a distinct sense of frustration: during their time in Darwin they sarcastically gave themselves the title IAF (‘In Australia Forever’, instead of AIF, ‘Australian Imperial Force’), they had to endure the frustration of captivity, and then they had to suffer the difficulties of repatriation in an atmosphere of denial. Through the Pilgrimage however, they have attained a clear sense of achievement and fulfillment. Conceived from a desire to thank the Ambonese, the Medical Aid Programme and sponsorship scheme have given the people of Ambon improved education, vision, primary health care and fresh water, which are of far greater prominence than any elaborate monument. Gull Force today still remembers, but it honours that memory with a practical gratitude and a foundation for the future.

In this sense, the Gull Force Pilgrimage has taken on more of an Indonesian (or Asian) aspect, in which 'remembrance' is more forward looking. Time in an Asian sense is generally cyclical, comprising both a fate or destiny (in Indonesian: nasib) and an inevitable return. In many regional cultures, mortal life is merely a passage to attaining release of the soul to the other world, allowing continuation of the cycle. Indigenous Moluccans, for example, have a belief that they have inherited from their ancestors a concept of Mena'Muria, their existence as a nation and preparedness for future events, like a ship fully equipped for a
Closure

sea journey. Within such a concept of time, Indonesians will often make a Pilgrimage (Ziarah) to a gravesite or other holy place in times of distress or uncertainty, seeking assistance from their ancestors or an opportunity to focus on the lessons of past events to gain strength for current or future difficulties.

The two large statues in the centre of Ambon provide such an opportunity to reflect on the bravery of predecessors, yet stand in stark ideological contrast. The dashing military figure of Slamet Riyadi at the gateway of the barracks within Fort Nieuw Victoria, shot by Ambonese RMS rebels in 1950, stands to inspire the modern TNI forces stationed on the island, and at the same time serves as a reminder to the indigenous Ambonese of their failed attempt to establish Republik Maluku Selatan. Riyadi's towering, advancing figure reminds the citizenry that any such future rebellion will be crushed with equal determination by government troops. By comparison, a large white statue of Thomas Matulessy, known by the name of Pattimura, stands almost defiantly nearby. His leadership of a party of local Alfur head-hunters in a resistance movement against Dutch rule, for which he was hanged on 16 December 1817, still inspires the dream of an independent Moluccan State. The revolutionary-style statue of Pattimura, a Pahlawan Perjuangan Kemerdekaan (patriot or hero in the struggle for independence), stands to maintain the flickering flame of hope in the hearts of the Ambonese. It is certainly clear that the Doolan episode had a great impact on the local Ambonese, and from both his grave and 'The Song of Doolan' they drew strength during difficult times.
The 1995 Pilgrimage to Villers-Bretonneux primarily paid homage to those who lost their lives, but it also, "established unprecedented goodwill and friendship and contributed a firm message for future generations to pursue a future filled with peace 81. This is one of the strongest values of a Pilgrimage, in building links for future generations. In Gull Force's case however, these links had been firmly established in 1942-45 and renewed in 1967 and subsequent years, and the modern Gull Force Pilgrimage has perpetuated these links for future generations. In the Gull Force Pilgrimage can be seen an Indonesian form of 'remembrance'. It returns people from their destiny to reflect on their origins, yet it is directed towards the future, drawing inspiration and strength from the bravery of our predecessors. Within this framework, their pragmatic remembrance is more of the form, 'We will not forget them, and we will emulate them'. So today, the veterans and families of Gull Force honour the memory of the brave Ambonese who helped them at great risk, emulating their assistance and sacrifice in the form of a Medical Aid Programme.
Notes

2. Mrs D Eva (daughter of Staff-Sergeant Harry Scott, executed at Laha on 20 February 1942), pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
3. Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 16 April 1997.
4. Mrs A Ahearn (daughter of Captain Peter Davidson, who died in the bombing of Tan Toey Camp on 15 February 1943), pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
10. Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 8 May 1997.
11. This medal was privately struck to distinguish those who had served in a frontline role, as compared to the many who became eligible for campaign medals and stars but had served in an administrative, logistic or 'base' role.
14. Norman was named after Sapper Charlie Norman (died on 27 April 1945) and Phillip was named after Sapper Douglas Phillips (15 June 1945), both of the 2/11th Field Company RAE.
17. The Athenians included all grieving relatives in a funeral ceremony by using empty coffins beside the filled coffins, to represent those soldiers whose bodies could not be recovered. Several monuments to the unknown dead (those whose burial was never recorded) were erected in America after the Civil War, and the remains of over 2,000 unidentified soldiers are contained in the Tomb of the Unknown Dead in Arlington, Virginia. More recently, an empty tomb was placed under the Arc de Triomphe in 1919 so the collective French war dead could be honoured during the victory march on July 14th.
18. It had been determined early in the war that corpses would not be repatriated.
19 The bodies of the American prisoners who died on Ambon were later recovered by a US Grave Registration Team and removed to Manila. Similarly, the remains of various American airmen killed or executed by the Japanese were identified and removed, although some were left among the unknown (Mr E W Weiss, pers comm, 18 September 1998; Weiss, 1995, p.243).

20 See Fitzsimmons, B (Ed), Heraldry & Regalia of War. Beekman House, New York, 1973; Inglis, K, "Entombing unknown soldiers". Journal of the Australian War Memorial, 23: 4-12 (October 1993). At the suggestion of Chaplain David Railton, a body had been chosen from six unidentified corpses by a blindfolded British Army officer, and then transported to Dover and then London.

21 Fitzsimmons (1973), p.78.

22 The remains were transferred to a coffin of Tasmanian blackwood, and successively lay in state at Villers-Bretonneux (France), at the Menin Gate at Ypres (Belgium) and then at Old Parliament House in Canberra.


27 Keating (1994).


29 Mrs J Hawken (sister of Private Neil Bromley, who was executed at Laha on 20 February 1942), pers comm, 25 October 1998.

30 Ms K Williams, pers comm, 2 August 1997.

31 Ms K Williams, pers comm, 2 August 1997.

32 Mr A Pledger, pers comm (Ambon), 28 April 1998.

33 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.

34 Mr G Williamson, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.


36 Mr E N Kelly, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.

37 Squadron Leader A Knight, Memorial Service (Laha, Ambon), 24 April 1998.

38 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.

39 Mr W C Parker (son of Private Arthur Leese Parker, executed at Laha on 20 February 1942), pers comm (Ambon), 27 April 1997.

40 Mr E W Weiss, pers comm, 14 August 1998.

41 Mr R Fiddian, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1998.

42 Mr R Fiddian, pers comm (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1998.

43 Mrs L McCloy, pers comm (Ambon), 28 April 1998.

44 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.
Closure

Mrs A Ahearn, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
Mrs A Ahearn, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
Miss M Moore, pers comm, 2 June 1996.
Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 8 May 1997.
Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.
Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.
Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998. Mrs Anne Ahearn, daughter of Captain Davidson, has also heard from other survivors that his favourite saying to the troops was: "You'll die by giving up hope quicker than by a bullet" (Mrs A Ahearn, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998).
Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.
Mr G Williamson, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
Squadron Leader A Knight, Anzac Day Address (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1998.
Wing, I, "Lessons from the experiences of Coalition Prisoners of War during the Gulf War". Australian Defence Force Journal, No.128 (January/February 1998), p.52. Of 33 Coalition Service personnel captured by Iraqi forces during the Gulf War (1990-91), by 1998 four of them had written books based on their experiences.
The officers were exempt from work parties, had their own Mess, and were allowed to develop vegetable plots to supplement their rations. They were allowed by the Japanese to establish the 'Boob', a barbed-wire cage without a roof, to punish any soldier caught 'bandicooting' vegetables from their garden (Beaumont 1988, Harrison 1988, Gilbert 1993 pp.26-28). Consider also one incident by way of example, relating to VX30880 Private L H G Roy in Hainan Camp: "Tues 31st Oct 44 George Roy was handed over to the Japs by the CO for punishment. He insulted an officer. The hiding he got was something terrible. He was tied up by his thumbs and belted with a pick handle" (Robinson, QX16243 Sapper H O, 2/11th Field Company RAE, Diary #1, 6 March 1941 to 11 February 1945, unpublished).
Mr A D McIntosh, pers comm (Kudamati, Ambon), 25 April 1997; Mr A D McIntosh, pers comm, 12 May 1997.
Mr A D McIntosh, pers comm (Kudamati, Ambon), 25 April 1997; Mr A D McIntosh, pers comm, 12 May 1997; Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.
Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.
Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.
Major I F Macrae OBE (retd), pers comm, 4 December 1996.

Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.

Mr L J Penny, pers comm, 23 September 1999; also Major I F Macrae OBE retd, pers comm, 27 August 1999.

Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.

Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.

Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.


Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 26 February 1998.

The Signal (RSL SA Branch Inc), 19 (December 1998).

Mr L J Penny, pers comm, 2 July 1996.


Mr R McDougall, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.

Sahalessy, D, An Isolated War. Twofold suppression of the Moluccan right of Independence. A Memorandum. Moluccan Peoples Mission, The Netherlands, p.7. This motto, Mena Moeria, was used on the RMS seal, in the anthem Maluku Tanah Airku, and was incorporated into many Moluccan names such as Wattimena, Wattimura, Hatumena and Hatumuri.

OUTLOOK FOR
THE FUTURE
OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

6.1 Official Participation

Having some parallels with the Gull Force Pilgrimage is the annual commemorative service held at Villers-Bretonneux in France. After three German divisions had overwhelmed the Royal Fusiliers, two Australian infantry brigades conducted a successful counter-attack to recapture Villers-Bretonneux on the morning of 25 April 1918. In recognition of the liberation of the town by the Anzacs on the third anniversary of Anzac Day, the people of Villers-Bretonneux named a number of streets and facilities after Australian cities. One recent visitor observed: "The school there is the Melbourne School, and they still fly the Australian flag in the village every day." ¹

Soon after the war, the Education Department and school children of Victoria funded the rebuilding of a school in Villers-Bretonneux. Nearby, overlooking Villers-Bretonneux and the Somme Valley, is the Australian National Memorial to those who died in the fighting in France and Belgium, which has been "the site of countless pilgrimages during the seventy-five years since 1918." ² And an alliance was officially established in 1931 between the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers and the Royal Victorian Regiment (RVR). But in the years up to the late 1970s, the connection was becoming tenuous as new generations
experienced France's fourth decade of peace. One town notary was so concerned that the will to recognise the Australian wartime contribution was being eroded that he wrote to the Australian High Commissioner asking for some Australian soldiers to rekindle the Anzac spirit. Thus began an annual pilgrimage to Villers-Bretonneux, incorporating a commemorative service held on April 24th. Villers-Bretonneux was adopted in 1980 as a Twin City by Robinvale, a post-war soldier settlement town in Victoria, and there were ceremonies in France (1984) and in Australia (1985). Robinvale's 'Villers-Bretonneux Walk' mirrors the Rue des Australiens in France, while in Villers-Bretonneux itself may be found Place de Robinvale. Members of the "Friends of the 15th Brigade" association (established in 1992) planted memorial trees at the Melbourne Shrine of Remembrance and held a 75th anniversary service, at which the French Consul-General in Melbourne, Madame Isabella Costa de Beauregard, donated a plaque honouring the 59th Battalion AIF. Participants in the 75th anniversary pilgrimage to Villers-Bretonneux in April 1993 found the words "Never Forget Australia. N'Oublions jamais L'Australie " inscribed throughout the school.

Whilst a student at the Royal Military College of Science in Shrivenham, England, Chris Wrangle met a friend who had attended the very first Pilgrimage, who commented that, "he had felt 'humbled' by the hospitality and gratitude expressed by the villagers " At that time, these students comprised the greatest concentration of Australians in Europe and were the co-ordinators
of the event, with one of the staff, a Lieutenant Colonel, the highest rank represented. Wrangle recalled the 1990 Pilgrimage:

The Pilgrimage I attended in 1990 was very, very much a village affair, and the services and ceremonies that were conducted were very solemn but informal. We were treated almost as 'house-guests': the lunches were prepared by the villagers in their houses, and the women were running the hot dishes into a hall where we all sat down, and we all sat next to the locals. Before we could eat, we had to sing ‘Waltzing Matilda’ for our supper, we had a good chat with all of the local villagers, and it was very much a personal, intimate occasion.  

Later returning to Shrivenham as an instructor, Wrangle observed that the pilgrimage had grown considerably in status: “There had certainly been Ambassadorial involvement on a number of occasions. A French military band had replaced the local village band and I felt that part of the occasion had been lost.” He felt that the personal relationship between the veterans and the townspeople had been lost:

The value of the occasion when I first visited, was very much the relationship between the soldiers serving today, the veterans who were there, and the village people. In 1997, it appeared to have grown to such an extent that it was almost a burden. The little hall we'd sat and ate in before was no longer big enough, there were people overflowing, the meals were now being catered for out of tinfoil hotboxes, we stood and paid for a meal ticket in a queue - and when we sat, it was difficult to talk to people because we were all squashed in like sardines and it was very noisy. I must make it clear that the people were still overwhelmingly
hospitable, but the intimacy I remembered from my first visit appeared to have diminished.

Attending the 1998 Gull Force Pilgrimage to Ambon, Wrangle recognised the same personal aspect he had experienced at Villers-Brettoneaux, and the informal reunion lunch at the Ambon War Cemetery was strongly reminiscent of the early Villers-Brettoneaux luncheons. Wrangle identified that both Pilgrimages very much have the focus on the Anzac spirit and the special relationship between the servicemen and the people. During the 1978 Pilgrimage, Bill Jinkins had secured a commitment from the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia for the future conduct of the Anzac Day service on Ambon, and he also obtained the approval-in-principal of the Minister for Defence for continued Service representation at future ceremonies. For several years now the ADF has assisted the Pilgrimage, with co-ordination and support being provided by Headquarters NORCOM in Darwin. This has included the uplift of humanitarian aid stores (books and medical supplies) and the transfer of participants to Darwin, and the transport of stores and participants to Ambon by sea (RAN Fremantle-Class Patrol Boats) and by air (RAAF CC-08 Caribou or C-130 Hercules). NORCOM staff have co-ordinated and supported the ceremonial and official activities in Ambon coinciding with Anzac Day, and have provided a Tri-Service catafalque party and Guard.

As the Villers-Brettoneaux ceremony had grown in status and Service participation grew, Wrangle observed that the
personal nature of the event was being eroded: "The publicity and the growth of it has had an upside . . . But the interaction opportunities between the people, the children, have disappeared" 10. And this is what makes such a visit a Pilgrimage - the personal, almost spiritual relationship between the veterans and their families and the families of the local townspeople. In 1997, for example, Walter Hicks and his party visited the local school in Leahari, a village on the route of the horrific 'Long Carry', where they were entertained by children who sang and played bamboo flutes. Hicks later recalled:

_I had tears in my eyes and a great lump in my throat, as I remembered the singing and bright faces of the children of 'Long Carry' days, and their little packets of food left beside the trail on the way back to Batugong . . . It almost seemed as if some part of me had stayed there, and I had found it again_ 11.

With the increasing significance of such return visits, and the increasing participation by families and dignitaries, there are many associated risks. By the time of the 1999 Pilgrimage to Gallipoli, it was acknowledged that considerable damage was being done to the graves and gardens at Anzac Cove by the 8,000 or more participants, so a new venue and format for the Anzac Dawn Service was proposed. Similarly, as the Villers-Brettoneaux Pilgrimage had grown in stature, there were less opportunities for personal interactions, as Wrangle compared the change he observed from one visit to another:
On the first march, the first time we went there, we marched from the village where we had an afternoon tea, then waited until sundown when all the soldiers formed up to march with some of the veterans. When we moved off, the village children marched beside us holding candles. We marched to the local memorial where there was a service just on dusk and, as you can imagine, it was very, very moving. In 1997, some of the intimacy was lost because so many more people were involved.

There is no doubt among veterans and families that the strength of the Gull Force Pilgrimage has been achieved in recent years through the unwavering determination and vision of one man, the Pilgrimage Co-ordinator Lieutenant Colonel Rod Gabriel MBE ED (retd). An annual event since 1978, the Pilgrimages were coordinated by Gabriel from 1980 onwards and in 1997, at the age of 82, he celebrated his silver jubilee - his 25th return visit to Ambon. The 1997 Pilgrimage was also his 20th consecutive Anzac Day on Ambon; the 1998 Pilgrimage was his last however - he passed away in his sleep on the eve of the 1999 Shrine Pilgrimage, Saturday 6 February.

As the Gull Force Pilgrimage has grown, so too in recent years it has increasingly attracted a host of official participants, including the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, the Northern Territory Administrator, the Lord Mayor of Darwin, NT Government Ministers or MLAs, members of No.13 (City of Darwin) Squadron and cadets of 70 Regional Cadet Unit. The Indonesian Armed Forces are generally represented by the local
commander of KOREM 174 (a component of KODAM VIII/Trikora), and a guard is generally provided by local sailors and police, or soldiers of the 733rd (Airborne) Infantry Battalion based within Fort Nieuw Victoria. While this official government, diplomatic and Service support and representation is greatly appreciated in facilitating the Pilgrimage, it should not come to dominate it as may be occurring in France. Gabriel was an ardent campaigner to maintain the personal nature of the Gull Force Pilgrimage, the direct person-to-person bonds of friendship and loyalty, and not allow it to become 'just another Anzac Day service'. This approach caused some angst among veterans who were not directly affiliated with Gull Force, including 13 Squadron and 33rd Brigade survivors, and wives and daughters, who were unable to participate in the 'official' Gull Force Pilgrimage.

While the ADF's commitment to the Ambon Pilgrimage presented it with another opportunity to maintain a steadily developing military relationship across a diverse archipelago, this should not become the sole aim of the Pilgrimage. Symbolic of the torch being passed to the next generation, in 1996 John Macrae took a break from working 9,000 drought-stricken acres in Queensland to make his first Pilgrimage as his father made his fourth. His plea was simple, perhaps recognising the potential for an escalation in official representation as has happened in Villers-Brettoneaux - that the Pilgrimages should continue in an appropriate manner:
As the Gull Force veterans fade away the Defence and Foreign Affairs Departments should encourage and facilitate Anzac Day pilgrimages by relatives of those with wartime links with Ambon. Clearly, the Gull Force Association has an empathy with these friendly people which I hope will not be swamped by the Australian government's desire to foster relationships with the central government in Jakarta 15.

6.2 Prospects for Reconciliation

In addition to the Gull Force Pilgrimages each year, a further significant group of visitors has made their way at various times to Ambon. In 1997, for example, that year's travel party very nearly came to Ambon at the same time as the Gull Force Association group but the tour leader wisely deferred the trip until the third week of June. The group was led by Yoshiro Ninomiya from Tokyo, a veteran of the Imperial Japanese Navy, who has for many years been General Secretary of the Ambon Society in Japan - Ambon Kai, comprising veterans who served on Ambon. A Sub-Lieutenant of the First Class who was sent to Ambon in August 1944, Ninomiya was one of many who had served on Ambon during the war - but not as a camp guard. He had been an Interpreter and Civil Affairs officer at the Japanese Headquarters in Fort Nieuw Victoria, being fluent in Japanese, English and Melayu-Ambon, and then after the liberation of the prisoners was held on Ambon until June 1946. He was one of many who had done his duty to his Emperor, and worked at the
Hombu (Headquarters) during the Japanese occupation of Ambon - with no actual association or involvement with the prisoners at Tan Toey.

Some similar activities by Japanese organisations had earlier taken place. Prominent among them was a ‘Journey of Reconciliation’ to Australia by Japanese war widows and former soldiers in 1980, escorted by Father Paul Glynn SM of the Marist Fathers. His brother, Father Tony Glynn SM, had been honoured with the Order of the British Empire, Order of Australia and Order of the Rising Sun for his services towards reconciliation in Nara, Japan from 1952 until his death in 1994. Most notably, he led pilgrimages of Buddhist priests, city officials and citizens from Nara to the graves of Australian and Japanese war dead in New Guinea, Darwin and Cowra. Both Paul and Tony Glynn belonged to the Marist Mission of Reconciliation in Nara which had been established by Father Lionel Marsden SM (1911-1971), a former Army padre in the 8th Division and himself a POW on the Burma-Siam Railway. But it was at the release of the movie Blood Oath in Tokyo that Ninomiya recognised that organisations such as Ambon Kai had a responsibility for fostering goodwill and peace through education. His message was simple:

*I wish to apologise for the mistake Japan has caused in the past, and we should not repeat the same mistake, and hope that the relationship between our two countries will become closer.*

In one sense, it is easy to understand why nearly five decades
passed by before a Japanese veterans group was able to come to Ambon. Japan had not only suffered defeat in their Pacific War, but also the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and during the post-war era Japan as a nation was uncertain how to refer to the war and redevelop a society without its traditional military heritage.

Although the Japanese campaign to establish a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere - and in so doing 'liberate' the various enslaved peoples of Southeast Asia - clearly ended in 1945, the status of the Netherlands East Indies remained in doubt. After the formal establishment of Indonesia, the State of War with Japan which had been inherited from the NEI was formally ended with a Peace Treaty signed by Foreign Ministers Dr Soebandrio and Aichiro Fujiyama in Jakarta on 20 January 1958, and ratified by Law No.13 of 1958. This treaty included provision for substantial loans and over $US 220 million in reparations to be paid over the course of twelve years. As the wartime brutality of the Japanese was being replaced by investment and industrial development, there was an influx of Japanese investment and the growth of fishery and building companies. Abraham 'Bram' de Lima, director of a cargo and shipping company, was one local businessman who supported and assisted such ventures. His assistance was formalised with an appointment as Honorary Consul for Japan, at which time he was an Assistant Governor, advising Governor Soemitro on economic matters. After his death in 1981, his widow Margarethe received on his behalf the
Japanese decoration *Bintang Jasa Matahari Terbit Kelas IV* (Order of the Rising Sun, 4th Class) in recognition of Bram de Lima's services as Honorary Consul during a significant period of Japanese investment and development.

Despite a prospering post-war economy, the Japanese have experienced difficulty in finding an appropriate way to remember or even recognise what we call World War II. Since the war, 'remembering' has more often than not involved external calls for apologies, reparations and compensation. Internally, there was no public opposition to the war and afterwards, no personal blame attributed to the Emperor, who was granted immunity from prosecution. Many of the modern generation simply do not believe there was a war, because it is not discussed in school - the Ministry of Education has sanitised Japanese history by censoring textbooks and deleting material relating to Japan's participation in the war. At the same time, senior businessmen have scoured Australia buying up swords and occupation banknotes to destroy them and remove them from the public arena. And because of the way the war ended in Japan itself, the belief among many has persisted that they were in fact the victims.

In Japan today, the only days of remembrance or commemoration are August 6th (Remembrance of Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Day) and August 9th (Remembrance of Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Day). On both days there are solemn ceremonies, and families, friends and officials come from all over the world to
participate: around the time of the bomb explosion people stand up and have one minute's silence, even in the middle of a baseball game or Sumo wrestling. These are followed by 'Remembrance of Ending War' Day on August 15th, and again there are official government ceremonies and some Shinto shrines have ceremonies. There is no memorial day specifically for the war dead in Japan; in fact, Japan is markedly devoid of any type of military holiday. There is however, a 'Festival of the Dead' called O-Bon in August where Japanese typically make a pilgrimage to their family burial site. Similarly, Japanese soldiers do not have monuments or graves in official War Cemeteries, although the Yasukuni Jinja stands as a shrine to the collective Japanese war dead. There are some local people who are buried in graves, but these are not soldiers; for example, there is a cemetery for young Japanese girls, mostly aged 12 to 16, who had been forced to join the war in Okinawa. Similarly, there are several individual monuments, such as the granite monument erected in what had been the playground of Yamazato Primary School in Nagasaki, where 900 of the school's 1,100 students died in the bomb blast.

After the war, there were no protocols for the removal of bodies back to Japan; most soldiers who died were buried where they fell or if possible, the remains were cremated in accordance with Shinto and Buddhist tradition. In some cases, the ashes of bodies were returned in a cinerary urn to the soldier's family in Japan. If time permitted, select pieces of the remains (certain
bones and sections of the cranium) were polished after cremation and placed in an urn, which was then placed in a family burial crypt with the remains of the rest of the family. For the remembrance of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there are peace monuments and public sepulchres in the form of stone tombs on which are engraved the names of those who died, but there is no equivalent to the Cross of Sacrifice used in Western forms of remembrance, which is largely a Christian symbol relating to the promised resurrection. The post-war Japanese Government took the stance that it could not officially condone any form of commemoration of bodies lying in war graves or the erection of any form of war memorial: such actions would be seen as the current government justifying the wartime military government and War itself.

After the end of the Cold War, coincidentally only perhaps, in 1993 the long-ruling Liberal-Democratic Party was removed from power, after 38 years of strenuously insisting that all war issues had been settled. Immediately after Hosokawa Morihiro was appointed Prime Minister, he expressed his feelings of deep regret over Japan’s aggression. This statement marked the beginning of some public acknowledgement of the war. This new openness allowed many to begin asking questions which had been suppressed, while many veterans found an environment which allowed them to openly recognise their wartime service. Just at the dawn of this new openness, one of Yoshiro Ninomiya’s interesting responsibilities as General Secretary of *Ambon Kai* was to arrange for the Society to co-sponsor the release of *Blood*
Oath under Japanese sub-title in April 1991. Having already participated in a Pilgrimage to Ambon in 1989, for the first time since the War Crimes Trials, retired judge John Williams was one of the invited guests at this release. Another of the special guests was retired Military Policeman Don Ball from Murwillumbah, NSW. At the launch of the movie, Ninomiya emphasised his support for the release of the film as a means of fostering goodwill between the two countries. This may seem a little incongruous but, seeing himself as one who had experienced the war, he saw a need for the new generation to understand what had occurred so that they might become "the bridge between Australia and Japan."  

To Ninomiya, the film was an opportunity for young Japanese people to understand the atmosphere of peace which they enjoyed in Japan today, and especially to appreciate how it had come about that Japan was now a peaceful nation. Furthermore, he acknowledged "how difficult it is to hand down fairly and truthfully" the experiences and lessons learnt from the war, and hoped it would prompt young Japanese people collectively and individually to ponder how this peace could be maintained into future generations. His observation on being fair and truthful was a struggle faced in the War Crimes Trials, when many Japanese were removed from Ambon to suffer the shame of a trial. Of about 110 officers and men from the 20th Garrison Unit (Marines) arrested and held in Benteng barracks, a total of 93 were brought to account for their crimes,
charged with various offences relating to the ill-treatment of Australian and Allied prisoners. More specific charges were laid against individuals as further evidence became available. Difficulties were experienced however, through the lack of witnesses because all of the Australians had expeditiously been repatriated (although three later returned with the occupation force), but exhaustive investigations saw much evidence presented and identifications made. There was also a significant 'conspiracy of silence' amongst the accused, until signed statements were given.  

The Australian Court imposed sentences from two to twenty years on a total of 39 Japanese, many bearing nicknames such as 'Frog Voice', 'Muttering Mick' and 'Horse Face' given them by the Australian prisoners, while some could not be brought to account for their deeds because they had died. Those who paid the ultimate price for their actions were Naval Captain Shirozu Wadami (commander of the 20th Garrison Unit from November 1943), Lieutenant Miyazaki Yoshio (Tan Toey camp commander) and Sub-Lieutenant Shimakawa Masaichi (commander of the camp guard at Tan Toey) who were executed by firing squad at Rabaul, New Britain on 25 September 1947. Uemura, a commissioned Warrant Officer entitled to the dress and privileges of a naval officer, had been the appointed commander of the Tan Toey garrison (Lieutenant Miyazaki was rarely actually seen by the Australians) - he was arrested in Japan as a civilian, and was tried on Morotai and executed. Ikeuchi Masakiyo ('Ee-Kay'), a
civilian interpreter on the staff of Rear-Admiral Hatakeyama and particularly hated by the Australians for his sadism and ill-treatment of the prisoners, was also sentenced to death by firing squad. He and Lieutenant Hideo Katayama were also executed at Rabaul on 25 September 1947.

Don Ball had been the Sergeant in charge of the 8th Military District Military Police Detachment and Permanent Court Orderly for the War Trials Tribunal on Rabaul. Having served at the end of the war with the New Guinea Force Provost Company and then the 2nd Australian Division Military Police, he described himself during this time as a "21 year old Christian who has never been in the front line". Once the criminals had been tried and sentenced on Ambon, they were held on Rabaul for execution, New Guinea being Australia’s 8th Military District. One of Ball’s less savoury tasks was the preparation and transport of the condemned, and there were some 60 Japanese war criminals executed on Rabaul. On 17 October 1947, Don Ball celebrated his 21st birthday and then eight days later took Lieutenant Hideo Katayama, the Signals Officer of the 20th Garrison Unit, to his execution. As Don Ball fitted the blindfold, for the last execution conducted by the Australians before the Military Police Detachment returned to Australia in November, Katayama began to recite the Lord’s Prayer in English. Ball stood with him and continued the prayer, then stood aside to allow the Australian firing squad to complete their duty. Katayama had not wanted the blindfold but Ball insisted:
We spoke little until I began to place the blindfold on him. He said in a calm voice that he wanted to die without being blindfolded. I felt deeply for those of the firing squad who would see his face so I insisted that I carry on 31.

While it might not be possible to condone any of their actions, it should also be recalled that the Japanese themselves were required to suffer some of the same hardships as the Australians, although certainly not on the same scale. An American prisoner at Tan Toey, Sergeant Ed Weiss, at one stage traded a gold friendship ring he had received from a former girlfriend before his departure for the Philippines. In exchange for the ring, he obtained food from Petty Officer (2nd Class) Tanaka Shoichi, who was aged about 21. Towards the end of the war, food became scarce even for the guards and many of them traded items of value with the local Ambonese. Tanaka Shoichi had done this to survive, only to face a trial and a sentence of two years imprisonment. In more recent years, Ed Weiss contacted an American friend living in Japan who was friendly with Yoshiro Ninomiya, and through him managed to locate Tanaka to seek a return of the ring. Tanaka did not have the ring - he himself had been forced to trade the ring with Milly Sijauta (Tikus Kecil), the operator of the Tan Toey market, in order to obtain food32.

It is important to acknowledge that the Ambon War Crimes Trials held on Ambon and on Morotai after the war were held as a properly constituted military court, with Mr Justice Mansfield as Principal of the Court and Captain John Williams as the Chief
Prosecuting Officer. There were certainly executions but there were also, where necessary, acquittals. At the conclusion of proceedings, Mr Justice Mansfield could proudly and rightly proclaim, 'Justice has been done'. Reflecting on these times, Australian veteran Walter Hicks considers it important to point out that the most horrific exploits did not reflect on all of the Japanese guards, or indeed, all of the Japanese on duty on Ambon during the war:

_The bad guards got all the publicity in post-war years, and the good and kind guards, and their actions, were conveniently forgotten . . . As Shakespeare put it so truly [in 'Julius Caesar'],_

_The evil that men do lives after them, The good is often interr'd with their bones _ 33

Ed Weiss noted that on Christmas Day 1942, for example, there were no work parties, the Australian padre was given permission to conduct a service and the Japanese issued packets of cigarettes to the prisoners34. On Ambon in 1998, Walter Hicks observed of the guards: "One of them I considered my friend. He was a gentle fellow, he didn't like the war. A lot of them didn't ". But he also quickly acknowledged, "Others I hated with a blind, unreasoning hate. But it's dishonest to say they were all bad ". 35. Gull Force survivors are still adamant that they can never forget the horrific brutality and inhumanity of the Japanese guards, although sometimes they acknowledge that forgiveness may be possible. Pilgrimage Co-ordinator Rod Gabriel did not soften in his attitude over the years: as he explained in a
radio interview a few years ago, he saw himself as a person of compassion and saw no place for retribution, but forgiveness could only follow some sincere expression of apology. If that was forthcoming, he reflected during one of his recent Pilgrimages, "it would be accepted, and we could consider forgiving, but we would never forget." In Darwin the previous year, before departing for Ambon, he said,

To forget is not possible, but to forgive is possible if the Japanese Government and Emperor are able to make a full unqualified apology for Japanese atrocities in World War II.

American survivor Ed Weiss notes that after the war he simply denied the existence of the Japanese; it was only many years later as he was revising the manuscript that the images of the Japanese guards came back into being: "My hatred has given way to anger and bitterness. That I still retain, nor am I ready to forgive." George Williamson, who has a permanently damaged ankle from a beating he received, recalls that after the war he certainly did harbour a resentment against the Japanese, but "not against Ambon, otherwise I wouldn't be back here see, and it's as simple as that." Lionel 'Popeye' Penny is equally adamant: "I cannot forget nor can I forgive the Japanese of that generation who committed those atrocities." In recalling the particular fate of the members of Gull Force, Penny states quite emphatically:
A mere 300 survived of this 796 [in POW Camps] - 496 died as POWs. Is it any wonder that my memory does not fade? Nor my heart soften towards those who were responsible for such huge needless losses, and especially the way it was done? 41.

Lionel Penny qualified his inability to forgive or forget by reference to the generation of Japanese which had inflicted such brutality throughout Southeast Asia, and was equally quick to concede that, "we cannot blame the sons for the sins of their fathers" 42. And it should not be thought that only the families of the Australians who died suffered trauma after the war. Ikeuchi Masakiyo paid the ultimate price for his cruelty, but he left a grieving widow Koto, and a young daughter Harumi 43, neither of whom can be apportioned any blame for his actions. It was attitudes such as Lionel Penny’s that Yoshiro Ninomiya hoped to capitalise on when he expressed his support for the release of Blood Oath, hoping to foster goodwill and understanding in a new generation of Japanese which had previously been sheltered from such shocking revelations. On the advice of friends, Ikeuchi’s daughter Harumi did not view the movie; she was then aged in her 50s and only had memories of her father as a 2 or 3 year old when in December 1941, at the age of 48, he had joined the Japanese Imperial Navy as a civilian. The embellished portrayal of Ikeuchi in the movie would simply have been too distressing for her. But now, through the friendship of Yoshiro Ninomiya and members of Ambon Kai, Harumi Ikeuchi has been able to learn something of Ambon and what transpired there.
Like Ninomiya, many members of *Ambon Kai* questioned why Ikeuchi was the only Japanese identified by their real name, and why it was Ikeuchi that was chosen to be the focus of the film. Ed Weiss feels that this was largely because it was Ikeuchi that the Australians had the most contact with, because he spoke English and the vast majority of the guards and hierarchy did not. Therefore, it was Ikeuchi Masakiyo who largely bore the brunt of the Australians' hatred. Yoshiro Ninomiya, on the other hand, considered that the brutality of Ikeuchi and some of the others originated amongst the Japanese officers, and Ikeuchi was merely their agent. After the release of *Blood Oath*, Harumi Ikeuchi had the opportunity to learn more about her father from many of the men that knew him on Ambon. Although many of his actions could not be denied, they related that he had also shown compassion in attempting to obtain additional food and medicine for the Australians, only to be accused of disloyalty by the Japanese officers. A letter from Harumi to Ed Weiss in 1994, reflecting on such activities by her father, awakened fifty years of dormant memory in Weiss, as he noted in his book, *Under the Rising Sun*. Weiss recalled that Ikeuchi had smuggled ether from the Japanese hospital to allow the Dutch doctor to amputate the leg of an Australian prisoner. A bad tropical ulcer had left the flesh on Sergeant 'Mallee' Jack O'Brien's leg putrefying, and the shin bone exposed, and his survival relied solely on the skill of Dr Ehlhart and the anaesthetic covertly provided by Ikeuchi.

Weiss did not change any details regarding Ikeuchi in the
1995 revision of his book, but is now considering a sequel to *Under the Rising Sun* to more accurately portray Ikeuchi's behaviour on Ambon. While much of it cannot be excused, there was also much that was unseen by the Australians, and his representations on behalf of the prisoners and secret efforts to assist them should not go unrecognised. Using the barrier of language to distance themselves from direct hostility and blame, the Japanese hierarchy on Ambon offered Ikeuchi Masakiyo to the Australians as a scapegoat, and this was seized upon by the makers of *Blood Oath*.

To publicly acknowledge their involvement in the region, Ninomiya led a group of fellow veterans back to Ambon in 1994, and each year since groups of veterans have returned to conduct ceremonies with their friends and relatives. In July 1995, Ninomiya and fellow *Ambon-Kai* veterans established the 'Beringin' Memorial among the villages near Laha, close to the modern airport. This tree and garden was established to commemorate the duty of the Japanese during their occupation of Ambon. Two small marble columns bear the names of the Pilgrimage participants - veterans and family members of those who died - together with traditional Japanese *haiku* verses. There is also one dedication to the fallen by Tadayoshi Sato: "Where are you reincarnated now?".

With an Australian Pilgrimage to Ambon now well established, and a Japanese veterans' group attempting to do the
same, it is tempting to think that some honour might be found in the service of both parties. While not condoning the brutality and horror experienced in Tan Toey, which may never be forgiven, the guards and non-combatants alike of ‘Victoria Barracks’ shared with the men of Gull Force the fate of being puppets of their respective governments. Many have since suffered for their actions, with punishments no court could impose. Matsuda Masao, known to the Australians as ‘the Gray Mare’, was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for his role in conducting executions on Ambon, including three American pilots. In 1991 the following recollection was published in the Chicago Tribune:

*As my sword passed through the neck of one pilot, photographs of the man’s mother, his wife and a baby fell out of his shirt pocket and lay on the ground staring up at me. I am still haunted by that scene today.* 48.

In Australia today, many RSL branches have made confiscated samurai swords available for inspection and identification by the families of Japanese veterans. One such sword was presented to Kayano Tsutsui (daughter of Takashi Nagai, a veteran of the War with China) as a sign of reconciliation on 8 August 1992 during a service at Cowra, which is now known in Japan as Australia’s City of Reconciliation49. Together with his Japanese wife, an Australian Army soldier recently located the family of Major Takao Kobayashi and presented his surrendered sword to two of his sons in Townsville on 4 February 199950. Like many, the widow of Ikeuchi Masakiyo found solace in Christianity51; so too, Commander Mitsuo Fuchida, who had led the air attack on Darwin
on 19 February 1942, became a Christian evangelist\textsuperscript{52}. At
Harumi's request, a service for Ikeuchi Masakiyo and his widow
Koto was conducted at St Mary's Cathedral and Villa Maria in
Hunters Hill, Sydney on August 1st 1998\textsuperscript{53}. It was conducted by
Father Paul Glynn of the Marist Fathers, who had been a
missionary in Japan for many years and has written several
books about the impact of Christianity on the post-war Japanese.
Walter Hicks, who travelled up to Sydney to meet with Harumi
and her husband Yisaku, later observed the value of this service:
"For her, much of the sadness of past years has been ameliorated,
and the 'demons' have been exorcised from her mind, so she can
let the matter rest at last " \textsuperscript{54}.

Former Military Policeman Don Ball has the hope that the
symbolism of a New Year followed by a combined Pilgrimage to
Ambon could "bring about a 'reconciliation' between Gull Force
veterans and their Japanese counterpart " \textsuperscript{55}. In saying this, he
draws upon a vision enounced in a statement made by Yoshiro
Ninomiya at a press conference given in Tokyo in April 1991,
"That Australian veterans of Ambon together with their Japanese
counterpart would one day meet together on a journey of
reconciliation at Ambon " \textsuperscript{56}. Given the psychological processes
the Gull Force Pilgrimage has served Australian veterans and
their families over the last three decades, it is interesting to
consider whether such a combined Pilgrimage to Ambon could
one day effect some form of reconciliation between Gull Force and
Japanese veterans, or between their families, although as with
any attempt at reconciliation, there is always the risk of failure\textsuperscript{57}. In common with fellow veterans however, Don Ball has noted that there are few remaining opportunities for such a reconciliation to occur - "\textit{time is catching up with us} " \textsuperscript{58}. 

\textit{Outlook for the Future}
Notes

1 Lieutenant Colonel C G Wrangle, pers comm (Ambon), 27 April 1998.
3 It is held on 24 April because the French hold their World War 2 commemorative service on the 25th.
4 See Blankfield & Corfield (1993). This party comprised two First World War veterans, members of the Royal Victorian Regiment and various family members.
6 Lieutenant Colonel C G Wrangle, pers comm (Ambon), 27 April 1998
10 Lieutenant Colonel C G Wrangle, pers comm (Ambon), 27 April 1998.
11 Mr W J Hicks, pers comm, 10 June 1997.
13 Born on 19 October 1914, Rodney Charles Gabriel was commissioned in the Melbourne University Regiment, served with the 6th Infantry Battalion (The Royal Melbourne Regiment) during the 1930s and as a Captain served in the 2/21st Battalion’s Intelligence Cell; Lieutenant Colonel R C Gabriel MBE ED (retd), pers comm (various), (Ambon) 4-26 April 1993, (Ambon) 24-30 April 1996; (Ambon) 24-28 April 1997; (Ambon) 24-28 April 1999; Mr W J Page, pers comm, 22 February 1999; Royal United Services Institute of Victoria Newsletter, November 1998, Herald Sun obituary notices (various).
14 His first return visit to Ambon was in 1976, and he participated in every pilgrimage from 1978, plus four visits with relatives and friends, and one with a medical aid planning project.
15 Mr J Macrae, pers comm, 1 June 1996.
17 Mr P Ninomiya, Letter to Mr D Ball dated 5 April 1991; Mr D Ball, pers comm, 13 July 1997.
18 Only three other countries made formal reparations agreements with Japan: Burma (in 1954), the Philippines (1956) and South Vietnam (1960).
19 Mrs M de Lima, pers comm, 1 May 1996; de Lima family personal papers.
25 Mr P Ninomiya, Letter to Mr D Ball dated 5 April 1991; Mr D Ball, pers comm, 13 July 1997.
26 Mr P Ninomiya, Letter to Mr D Ball dated 5 April 1991.
27 Statements were given by Commander Kunito Hatakeyama, Lieutenant Commander Kenichi Nakagawa, and Warrant Officers Hamanishi Shigeo and Takada Harue of the 1st Kure Special Naval Landing Force. Ikeuchi Masakiyo did not offer any recollections on the circumstances at Laha, to which he was a witness if not actually a participant, until ordered directly to do so by a Japanese Admiral.
28 Of particular interest is Lieutenant Commander Nakamura Ryosuke, the Senior Surgeon, who was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for conducting medical experiments on the prisoners.
29 Rear-Admiral Hatakeyama, commander of the 1st Kure Special Naval Landing Force, who had ordered the executions at Laha as reprisals for the sinking of a Japanese minesweeper, died in an aircraft accident in South China. Marines Captain Ando Noburo ('Handlebars'), commander of the garrison force until November 1943, committed suicide with a drink laced with potassium cyanide, in Surabaya Harbour on 15 September 1945.
33 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 22 October 1996.
35 Mr W D Hicks, quoted in Army Magazine, No.36 (September 1998), p.30.
36 Lieutenant Colonel R C Gabriel MBE ED (retd), pers comm (Ambon), 28 April 1996.
39 Mr G Williamson, pers comm (Latuhalat, Ambon), 26 April 1998.
45 Weiss (1995), pp.273-274. This story however, is not known amongst the Australian survivors, and is disputed by some.
Outlook for the Future

46 Mr E W Weiss, pers comm, 18 September 1998. *Under the Rising Sun* was first published in the USA in 1992, based on an unpublished manuscript prepared in 1946 by Ed Weiss and Clyde Rearick, “Life as a Prisoner of War under the Japanese”.

47 These *haiku* verses are poems of 17 syllables, with a 5-7-5 structure. The verses used on Ambon include, “A morning dew shines on the lotus flower at daybreak” and “Faint starlight of Southern Cross in the cloudy south sky”.


49 Glynn (1988).

50 *Army*, 18 February 1999, p.7.


54 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 11 January 1999.

55 Mr D A Ball, pers comm, 18 January 1998.

56 Mr D A Ball, letter dated 11 January 1998.

57 An example is the Jakarta-endorsed attempt to effect some form of reconciliation between Moslem and Christian Ambonese on Ambon on Pattimura Day, 15 May 1999, after several months of communal violence and unrest. The format of the traditional torch relay from Saparua was modified to emphasise traditional historical links in an effort to satisfy all parties. These efforts were not enough however, to overcome the simmering feud amongst the residents of Batumerah and Mardika (where the violence had first erupted on January 19th), and further violent clashes occurred leaving 7 people killed and some 15 wounded after ABRI forces opened fire (Chauvel, Dr R, “Ambon’s second tragedy: History, Ethnicity and Religion”. Presentation to the 5th International Maluku Research Conference, Darwin, 14 July 1999).

58 Mr D A Ball, pers comm, 18 January 1998.
ZIARAH: THE GULL FORCE ASSOCIATION PILGRIMAGES TO AMBON
Paul A Rosenzweig

- 7 -

CONCLUSION
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Standing before the Ambon Cross of Remembrance is nothing short of a moving, emotional experience. The same could certainly be said for a visit to any war cemetery in the world, by a person of any race, religion or nationality, in a cemetery dedicated to the dead from any conflict throughout the ages. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission alone is responsible for some half a million dead from World War 2, buried in nearly 30,000 cemeteries worldwide. But what makes this War Cemetery in fabled Ambon different is that over two-thirds of a single Australian battalion group lies here in eternal rest, many of them without the privilege of having their name recorded on their headstone.

If these War Cemeteries worldwide are indeed 'Silent Cities' as Kipling called them, then the Ambon War Cemetery is more of a village in the Asian concept, where every person is known to each other - a community, not as impersonal as a city. Yet it also represents the imperial tradition of reassembling the troops in the form of a 'hollow square' after a battle to call the roll and count the dead, who would be gathered within the square. The Ambon War Cemetery represents a merging of the closely-bonded Asian village concept with the western concept of the 'hallowed square', from which has evolved the tradition of the parade ground representing the unit's dead. The ground in which the Gull Force men lie is not only hallowed but unique, for it was
the site of their barracks before the Japanese invaded, and was then the site of their incarceration for the remainder of the war. And today, their essences are part of the grounds. It is the Gull Force parade ground but it is also a community.

Watching the veterans and family members scattered between row after row of bronze headstones after the official commemoration service, each paying their personal respects, brings the quick realisation that this is more than just a simple visit to a cemetery. These men at rest in the Ambon War Cemetery were their mates - not just one or two, or even a handful, but hundreds. Talking to veterans and their relatives following such a Pilgrimage each Anzac Day, it becomes quickly apparent that the commemorative service held in Ambon has something of a levelling effect. In honouring those who died in the Laha executions, the massacre of over 200 Australians, man's abhorrent capacity for inhumanity is again recalled. It is an opportunity to ponder the fragility of human life. But more than this, such a visit deflates any personal ego that might be possessed and makes any individual achievements pale compared with the enormous sacrifices made by so many. Sacrifices made equally by many local Ambonese, and the Australians are now close friends with those who survived the beatings and torture, finding in each other a spiritual connection. A considerable number of sacrifices were made unwittingly, with a fair degree of personal suffering. Many more sacrifices however, were made by Australians and Ambonese alike who knowingly faced death and accepted their fate with courage. No-one can visit their graves
and memorials and hear of this courage without being humbled.

While honouring the service and sacrifice of their Australian mates and Ambonese friends, the veterans have overcome their grief, anger and bitterness and have looked to the future. In coming to terms with the aggression and oppression of the Japanese, the Gull Force men have seized an opportunity to thank the Ambonese community for their friendship and loyalty. The annual Anzac Day commemorative services in Ambon, and the community assistance provided by Gull Force Association, have continued to strengthen the already strong links between Ambon and Darwin, and have further created a framework for mutual co-operation and development which the rest of Australia would be well advised to emulate.

Before the Cross of Sacrifice at Tantui on Anzac Day 1998, the NORCOM Chaplain commenced his service with a simple observation:

On many of the graves that are behind me lies the inscription, 'An Australian soldier, known unto God'. We are used in Australia to hearing the phrase, 'an unknown soldier'. But reading this inscription is a positive statement. That these crosses mark known men. That the graves of men who are unable to be identified are known. That the places and the occasions, and those involved in the great tragedies that occurred here, are known 1.

One of the prime outcomes of any Pilgrimage is an attainment of knowledge. Through their personal visits, families, friends and
indeed some veterans, have gained insight and understanding into the tragic circumstances on Ambon and during the post-war years, and the plaques on the graves are tangible reminders of a milestone reached, no matter how brutally. The graves to the unknown are in fact positive icons, because they represent the graves of men, although those men could not be identified at the time, but each man was accorded the honour of a grave nonetheless. Those still without their burial site recorded have the Ambon Memorial itself as their collective headstone, and the sacrifice of the Ambonese is honoured in Kudamati. For those who visit, the fellowship with the veterans and Ambonese brings knowledge and understanding: the icon represents finiteness to the memories, and the Anzac Day Service itself assumes the form of the funeral service which is a necessary psychological event in the transition towards overcoming grief. Participating in the Ambon Pilgrimage after having already participated in Pilgrimages to Villers-Bretonneaux, Lieutenant Colonel Chris Wrangle noted that,

\[\ldots \text{ whilst ANZAC Day Services will always hold a very special meaning for those who attend, the services held in conjunction with a pilgrimage appear to have an even stronger meaning.}\]

In this way, the Ambon War Cemetery and other memorials on Ambon together with the various reunions and celebratory activities, collectively constitute a spiritual experience which can be compared in nature with the entombing of the unknown soldiers. In the simplest form, they provide a focus for repaying
an 'obligation to past sacrifices' by Australians and Ambonese alike, and constitute a 'chronotope' by bringing together official and personal memory. But the Pilgrimage achieves more than just this - it has served a wider purpose in assuaging grief and finalising emotions for veterans and families. It has allowed them to make the transition into grieving, and finally realise closure of their emotions.

For the veterans themselves, the Pilgrimages have allowed them to overcome their post-war anger and bitterness, to face the future in a positive way and harness and redirect their latent energy. Gull Force Association has achieved an undoubted success over the past three decades with what is described as 'sustainable remembrance' - using the Pilgrimage to 'remember' their mates in the traditional Western sense, but also using a Medical Aid Programme and sponsorship scheme to honour that memory with a pragmatic and sustainable gratitude. The Gull Force Pilgrimage has incorporated several Indonesian aspects within this remembrance, in which the veterans' survival was their fate or destiny (nasib), permitting their ultimate return to Ambon. Similarly, the Pilgrimage represents an inevitable cyclical return to a person's origins, while they are concurrently proceeding on life's journey - what Julius Tahija has called his lakon 3. Through the Medical Aid Programme and sponsorship scheme, the Pilgrimage (Ziarah) is also forward-looking, providing an opportunity to reflect on the bravery of predecessors whilst preparing for the future. And now, through the increasing involvement of families and friends, the Pilgrimage has become
sustainable allowing a continuation of the cycle. The Pilgrimage has undeniably grown in stature since its humble beginnings - largely because of its unqualified acceptance by the people of Ambon, and because of the personal bonds which have existed between the veterans and the Ambonese, and which now exist between their families.

The circumstances of Tan Toey Camp, described as, "the worst POW camp in the entire Pacific" 4, drive home the horror of their captivity, and the Gull Force survivors could be excused for retaining racist, or anti-Asian, sentiments. They are perhaps among the least racist of Australians however, and have freely and regularly welcomed Ambonese families into their homes, although certainly they came home with strong feelings towards the Japanese. Forgiveness, it is freely conceded by the veterans, could be a possibility but, as Rod Gabriel has said, "To forget is not possible" 5. In 1997, Naval Chaplain Eric Burton from HMAS Coonawarra in Darwin came to recognise two levels of brutality in the circumstances of Laha and Tan Toey6. There was firstly the inhumanity at the individual level, where a single person could so readily find the ability to display wanton aggression towards another human. The death rates and numbers of Australians executed by the Japanese cannot be explained away simply through higher level directives - bashings, torture and executions were often carried out by individuals alone. And then at a higher level, he found it incomprehensible that there could be such a corporate attitude of supremacy - to the extent that human life at whatever scale was simply a matter of economies. Little wonder
that survivors like Rod Gabriel called for a public apology from the Japanese Emperor for their term in 'His Majesty's Hotel'.

Indonesia and Australia are fundamentally different in almost all areas, and that some form of relationship could be established between two such diverse peoples would not considered possible by most Australians. One of the few who could envisage it was Sir Zelman Cowen who, in the 1950s (when Dean of Law at the University of Melbourne) had foretold the importance of Australia’s links with Asia. Nevertheless, there is today a strong link between the cities of Ambon and Darwin, forged in 1941-42 and reinforced in 1988 when they became Sister Cities. At the time when this Sister-Cities Agreement was ratified, the two Lord Mayors had expressed their firm belief that through this co-operation, Darwin and Ambon could “contribute to the cause of world peace, good will and understanding.” Perhaps the most significant linkage to ensue was a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed on 22 January 1992 by the Governments of Indonesia and the Northern Territory. This MOU formalised each Government’s recognition of the strategic and commercial importance of regional co-operation between the Northern Territory and the nine provinces of eastern Indonesia. The significance of this MOU can be seen in the fact that Indonesia had never before signed such a memorandum with a State or Territory in preference to a national government. The MOU specifically has the intention of promoting mutually beneficial trade and development in the Northern Territory and eastern Indonesia, with particular benefits for Ambon being
identified as fishing, timber and shipping industries and tourism, as well as education and training.

This growth in trade closely paralleled, for example, the local growth of the Perkins Shipping Group in Darwin led by Bruce Perkins, who had taken a humble operation using old Army landing craft and turned it into a company with an annual turnover of more than $35 million, by maintaining, "a constant vision . . . that Australia's future was in the north". Within the framework of the 1992 MOU, since 1993 a delegation from Ambon, including the Maluku Region Tourist Office, has participated in the Northern Territory's Trade Expo held in Darwin. At the time of Expo '93, which was attended by the largest Indonesian delegation to ever leave its shores, the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory the Honourable Marshall Perron MLA said, "I am convinced that history will show that we will become much stronger trading partners and closer friends". Three years later, the Australian Minister for Defence observed that Australia is economically integrated with the Asia-Pacific region, and that during the early years of the 21st century, Asia's influence on global affairs will continue to grow. He reflected that,

Australia's future security - indeed our future social and economic prosperity - depends on our ability to be a strong, independent and valued partner with our neighbours in the Asia-Pacific.
With the onset of ethnic and religious violence on Ambon in January 1999, the issue of regional stability was again brought to the forefront of the Australian public's consciousness. The relaxation of the tight controls which characterised the Suharto era allowed a series of spontaneous outbursts throughout the archipelago. Widely perceived as purely a Christian versus Moslem struggle, the riots and violence on Ambon in particular were instead a manifestation of a simmering hostility between indigenous (predominantly Christian) Moluccans and relatively recent voluntary migrants and government-sponsored transmigrants (mostly Moslems). The increasing likelihood of autonomy being granted to East Timor perhaps also awakened the long-dormant hopes of those who still cherished a vision of an autonomous South Moluccan Republic, or at least prompted pro-Jakarta elements to forcibly deny the opportunity for any such vision to develop. The escalating tensions in the early part of the year had an immediate effect in Darwin with the early cancellation of the 1999 Darwin-Ambon yacht race, an annual event since 1977. The participation of the ADF in any Pilgrimage to Ambon remained in doubt during March, while the remarkable momentum of Gull Force Association itself had flagged momentarily with the death of stalwart Pilgrimage Co-ordinator Rod Gabriel in February 1999.

As the ADF prepared during April to still conduct the 1999 Pilgrimage but on a reduced scale, the coincidence of similarity with 1968 became apparent. In the preparations for that visit, the first Gull Force Pilgrimage by veterans and relatives, the
Association was advised that Indonesian authorities would not allow movement through Ambon town or outside the cemetery due to ongoing civil disturbances on the island: "the situation on the island was too uncertain - in the city quite dangerous ", recorded Ian Macrae12. Similarly in 1999, only return movements direct from the aircraft to hotel and hotel to cemetery were permitted, with a security guard provided by Yonif Linud 733 BS, the local infantry battalion13. In the end, the Australian Minister for Defence recognised the significance of the annual Pilgrimage and was determined that the continuity of representation should not be broken. It is noteworthy that the Australian and Indonesian governments acknowledged that the Anzac Day service at Ambon War Cemetery is of such significance that its observance had to continue, despite local disturbances and unrest. The Australian Defence Force was represented by Commander Northern Command, Commodore Geoff Smith AM RAN ADC, and Rod Gabriel's son Alex, a serving Army Reserve officer with the Royal Victorian Regiment, represented Gull Force Association.

The Gull Force Pilgrimage has been conducted by survivors for three decades now, and in more recent years has been expanded in scope to incorporate the sons of those who died and the Corvetteers. The time has now come that there are increasingly fewer veterans able to participate, whether officially in the Gull Force Pilgrimage, privately, or as a member of the RSL Travel Group. It has increasingly become apparent in recent years that the special affinity between Gull Force and the
Ambonese can only be made sustainable by including siblings, children and grandchildren of veterans. After the death of Rod Gabriel in February 1999, his daughter Melissa noted that she and her brother Alex intended keeping Gull Force Association active in any way they could:

> When we held the Gull Force AGM last week it was decided that anyone can become a member, we need as many people as possible, females included, to keep it going. Alex and I are going to give it our best effort although many of the veterans feel it will dwindle away in the next few years - I hope not! 14.

At this AGM, Eric Kelly was elected President of Gull Force Association; Alex Gabriel was elected Vice-President and his sister Melissa was elected Treasurer. Significantly, Alex and Melissa were successful in abolishing the Associate Membership category and broadening the criteria for membership, creating the opportunity for the ‘Daughters of Ambon’ and other relatives and friends to join the Association as full members.

The undoubted basis of all of the links and co-operative agreements which have been developed, and still the strongest bond today, is the spiritual bond between the Ambonese and their Australian defenders. It is proposed that the singular success of the Gull Force Pilgrimage lies in the uniquely Moluccan tradition of pela, a relationship based on a mutual and unspoken obligation which perhaps mirrors the Australian mateship ethos. Through the conjunction of these traditions, the Pilgrimage and Medical Aid Programme were accepted by the Ambonese as part
of a *pela* alliance. This bond has its physical manifestation in the Ambon War Cemetery and other related memorials and, through the Pilgrimage, has been maintained between families - with the Gaspersz family in particular. It was Bill and Barbara Gaspersz that Corporal Arthur Young wrote of in his transcript of the escape from Tan Toey Camp on 17 March 1942 when he praised the assistance of the Ambonese:

... *in our hearts we fervently hope that some day in the future we will meet those two good people again, and when we look back, as we hope we will be able to, show our gratitude without any reservation*. Surely *we will never forget these friends of ours* 15.

With the establishment of the Pilgrimage, the veterans finally gained the opportunity for reunions with the Gaspersz', and reciprocated by hosting them on visits to Australia. And as the Gaspersz' had freely opened their home to the Australians on Ambon, in 1999 Bill and Barbara Gaspersz have invoked *pela* to escape the unrest on Ambon, being hosted in Australia by the family of the late Rod Gabriel in fulfilment of the promise of Jinkins, Young and other Gull Force survivors.

The Pilgrimage has certainly been assisted in its growth through the ADF's commitment to ongoing support but any future escalation in official representation should not be to the detriment of these long-established personal bonds. The Gull Force Pilgrimage must be allowed to continue, but perhaps under the continuing auspices of ADF support to a wider Ambon Pilgrimage the concept can continue to expand to include veterans
and families) of No.13 Squadron RAAF and the 33rd Infantry Brigade (‘Amforce’). Further, the Pilgrimage has clearly served a number of psychological processes for veterans and their families, and it is interesting to consider whether a special joint Pilgrimage to Ambon could one day effect some form of reconciliation between Gull Force and Japanese veterans, or at least between their families.

Today, the future prospects for the Pilgrimage appear to be in doubt. As the Gull Force Pilgrimage faces the possibility of an enforced recess, or even cessation, it becomes vital that the efforts of Jinkins and Gabriel, the sacrifice of Daniel Gaspersz and other Ambonese families, and the achievements associated with the Gull Force Medical Aid Programme are recorded. The story of the Gull Force Pilgrimages epitomises the promise to remember, in both the Australian and Indonesian manner, and provides a tangible basis for an ongoing relationship. And in 1999, as Australia again progresses regional engagement by military means, whether for humanitarian reasons or simply to shore up economic advantages, the words of Gull Force veterans again come to the forefront. Significantly, it was not a politician but a survivor of Ambon, Major John Turner MBE, who as long ago as 1968 foretold: “In the peace and prosperity of Asia lies Australia’s ultimate destiny” 16.
Notes

1 Squadron Leader A Knight, Anzac Day Address (Tantui, Ambon), 25 April 1998.
2 Lieutenant Colonel C G Wrangle, pers comm, 1 November 1998.
4 Mr John Underwood, *Heritage Australia*, November 1995, p.18. The Ambon POWs were also said to have suffered "one of the worst death rates of the War" (Ford, 1996, p.122).
5 *Northern Territory News*, 24 April 1995. Lionel Penny was equally adamant; see Penny (Unpublished notes, 1985).
7 Gregory, Dr A, Chairman of The Sir Robert Menzies Lecture Trust, Remarks following the 1995 Sir Robert Menzies Lecture by the Right Hon Sir Zelman Cowen AK GCMG GCVO QC, Melbourne, 28 November 1995.
8 Letter of Intent signed on 28 October 1988 by J Dicky Wattimena and Mr Alec Fong Lim AM.
13 Yonif Linud 733 BS: *Batalyon Infanteri Lintas Udara 733, Berdiri Sendiri* - the 733rd (Airborne) Infantry Battalion, an independent battalion based where Fort *Nieuw Victoria* once stood, one of six infantry battalions within KODAM VIII/Trikora.
14 Mrs Melissa Howgate, pers comm, 14 April 1999.
GLOSSARY
Ambon Force ('Amforce')
Ambon Force was the Australian 33rd Infantry Brigade, a 2,705 member occupation force sent from Morotai to Ambon on 23 September 1945. Appointed Commander of the Brigade on 17 September 1945 was Brigadier William Allan Beevor Steele CBE, who had been Commander of the 7th Military District (Northern Territory) when the 2/21st Battalion had first arrived in Darwin and had deployed as part of Steele’s Darwin Defence Plan.

Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia
The Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) was a quad-Service organisation, comprising Army, Air Force, Navy (including Marines) and Police. ABRI had two very clear roles, under a programme known as Dwifungsi. First and foremost, it was an armed force, existing to defend the motherland from both external aggression and internal disruptions to security. Secondly, ABRI conducted a civil-military co-operation programme throughout the archipelago. On 1 April 1999 the Police separated from ABRI, since which time it has been known as the Indonesian National Army, Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) (qv).

Amahusu Defence Line
The Amahusu Defence Line was a 1.5 km long revetted trench system in the vicinity of the village of Amahusu, southwest of Ambon town on Laitimor Peninsula, with established fire positions and reinforced concrete pillboxes. After it was occupied
by Gull Force, it was held by D Company (Captain Newnham), and was later reinforced by a platoon from B Company (Lieutenant Chaplin) from Cape Batuanjut as the situation on Ambon deteriorated.

**Aru Islands** - see Dobo

**Australian Prisoner-of-War Association Cross**
The Australian Prisoner-of-War Association Cross is in the form of a rupert cross, a cross *paty* with convex ends to the arms, with a central disc bearing an enamelled outline of Australia. In the four arms are the insignia of the RAN, Army, Army Nursing Corps and RAAF. The suspension bar bears the title 'PRISONER OF WAR', with a strand of barbed-wire forming its lower edge. The reverse of the cross is plain, and could be privately engraved. This is not an official award, and is not recognised in the Australian Honours System, but rather is a medal struck to recognise service as a POW not otherwise acknowledged.

**Dobo**
Dobo, on the island of Wama, is the major port in the Aru Islands, one of three strategically located groups in the Arafura Sea. The Aru islands are the easternmost of the three, nearest to Merauke in Dutch New Guinea, with a population in 1942 of about 15,000 (the majority reportedly loyal to the Dutch). Dobo was occupied by Japanese forces from Ambon on 30 July 1942 despite opposition by five NEFIS (*qv*) brigades commanded by Captain Edwards van Muyen (as part of Operation Plover, *qv*).
Eri Defence Line
The Eri Defence Line was in the vicinity of the village of Eri, southwest of Ambon town on Laitimor Peninsula. After it was occupied by Gull Force, the Eri Defence Line was held by A Company (Major Westley), reinforced by a Dutch rifle company (Captain Bouman). A rifle section supported by engineers and bren carriers was based at Latuhalat on the very southwestern tip of Laitimor Peninsula, and a platoon from B Company (Lieutenant Chaplin) was at Cape Batuanjut, just north of Eri.

Gull Force
‘Gull Force’ was the operational title for the 2/21st Battalion Group AIF. This was an infantry battalion, the 2/21st Battalion, supplemented by auxiliary troops from the 23rd Brigade (8th Division), including:

- No.3 Section from the 2/11th Field Company, Royal Australian Engineers
- C Troop of the 18th Anti-Tank Battery, Royal Australian Artillery
- B Company of the 2/12th Field Ambulance, Royal Australian Army Medical Corps
- the 104th Light Aid Detachment, Australian Electrical & Mechanical Engineers
- a detachment from the 23rd Brigade (8th Division) Signal Section
- a detachment from the 23rd Brigade Special Dental Unit
- No.1 Section, Australian Army Service Corps
Australian Army Pay Corps personnel
Australian Army Postal Corps personnel

**HMAS Chinampa**
A motorised ketch of 60 tons built in 1938, HMAS *Chinampa* was powered by a 4-cylinder Vivian diesel motor and armed with two Vickers .303-inch machine-guns. She was commissioned into service with the RAN on 1 March 1942.

**HMAS Southern Cross**
A twin-screw motor yacht of 298 tons powered by Gardner diesel engines, HMAS *Southern Cross* carried one Vickers .303-inch and two Browning .50-inch machine-guns. Much of the steel used in her construction was salvaged from German warships scuttled in Scapa Flow in 1918. She was being used as a missionary vessel in the Solomon Islands when she was requisitioned by the RAN, and was commissioned on 18 June 1941.

**Hombu**
*Hombu* ('Headquarters') was the abbreviated name for *Galala Hakentai Hombu* (Galala Guard Detachment Headquarters). This was the headquarters of the guard contingent at Galala, using the building which had formerly been Tan Toey's house, which housed a Japanese radio station and offices for the interpreter Ikeuchi Masakiyo and senior members of the camp garrison. The true Japanese headquarters was at Fort *Nieuw Victoria* in Ambon town.
The International POW Medal is in the form of a standard service medal with the traditional suspension bar. On the obverse (front), it bears the title 'International Prisoners of War' around a design featuring the dove of peace flying over a length of barbed-wire, superimposed on a globe. The reverse of the medal bears the legend, 'Intrepid against all Adversity' around a large barbed-wire knot. An unusual feature of the ribbon is a central black stripe with a vertical strand of barbed-wire in white. This is not an official award, and is not recognised in the Australian Honours System, but rather a medal struck to recognise particular service as a POW not otherwise acknowledged.

Kai Islands - see Tual

KDM-MIB

The original geographic and administrative divisions of the Indonesian archipelago (each named Territorium, qv) were later redesignated as Komando Daerah Militer (Military Area Command, KDM). KDM-MIB was established on 26 May 1957, with headquarters in Ambon. It was a geographically-based strategic compartment responsible for the Moluccas (Maluku) and Western New Guinea (Irian Barat). The first commander of KDM-MIB was Lieutenant Colonel Herman Pieters, former commander of RI-25, appointed on 26 June 1957. Pieters and his fellow KDM commanders were appointed as military administrators on 5 July, with emergency war powers. After Pieters, there was not another Moluccan commander until 1999.
KODAM VIII/Trikora

KODAM VIII (ABRI's 8th Military Area Command) was raised on 8 May 1985 by the amalgamation of KODAMs XV and XVII (qv). Commanded by a Major General, KODAM VIII became responsible for both Maluku and Irian Jaya provinces, with its Headquarters in Jayapura, Irian Jaya. This KODAM's title is drawn from the name of the operation for the liberation of Western New Guinea from Dutch rule, from 19 December 1961 to 1 May 1963 (Operasi Trikora, an acronym for Tri-Komando Rakyat - the People's Triple Command issued by Soekarno regarding the liberation). This structure, particularly having KODAM headquarters located in Jayapura, has long been offensive to the fiercely independent Moluccans, and was partly redressed in May 1999 with the appointment of a Christian Ambonese military commander, Brigadier General Max Tamaela.

KODAM XV/Pattimura

KODAM XV (ABRI's 15th Military Area Command) was created by the division of KDM-MIB (qv) on 17 August 1962, and became responsible for Maluku, with its Headquarters in Ambon. This KODAM's name honours Kapten Pattimura (a former British Army soldier, Thomas Matulessy), the famous 19th Century Moluccan patriot in the fight against the Dutch. For the duration of its existence, KODAM XV was commanded by non-Moluccan Brigadier Generals. KODAM XV was dis-established with the raising of KODAM VIII/Trikora on 8 May 1985 (qv).
KODAM XVII/ Tjenderawasih
KODAM XVII (ABRI's 17th Military Area Command) was created by the division of KDM-MIB (qv) on 17 August 1962, and became responsible for Irian Barat (later renamed Irian Jaya), with its Headquarters in Jayapura. This KODAM was named after the covert penetration behind Dutch lines in Western New Guinea by the Army’s Strategic Command and the subsequent campaign of armed insurgency (Operasi Tjenderawasih, named after the bird of paradise, cenderawasih). KODAM XVII was dis-established with the raising of KODAM VIII/Trikora in 1985 (qv).

Komando Daerah Militer (KODAM, Military Area Command)
The Indonesian Armed Forces were first allocated to particular Military Area Commands in 1957. These commands were organised geographically throughout the archipelago as strategic compartments, but were structured functionally as divisions to respond to any act of internal insurrection or external aggression. The number of KODAMs was reduced from seventeen to ten in March 1983 under General Benny Moerdani as Minister for Defence and Security and Commander of ABRI, when there was a rationalisation between central and territorial forces.

Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indische Leger (KNIL)
The Royal Netherlands Indies Army was raised by King William I (the restored Prince of Orange) in 1830. It was an army which comprised native troops from Ambon, Manado, Java, Sunda, Madura, Timor and Aceh, as well as non-Christian Alfurs from Halmahera, Bugis from Sulawesi and, from 1929, Bataks. The
troops were under the command of Dutch officers, and the army fulfilled purely an internal security role. The KNIL force on Ambon totalled some 2,600 men; of this number, some 200 were officers, NCOs and noncombatant personnel. By far the bulk of the KNIL forces were native Indonesian troops, mostly local Ambonese and some Menadonese from the North Celebes (North Sulawesi), organised into infantry companies commanded by Dutch officers. The Ambonese were trained at a KNIL college near Eri, incurring a three year 'return of service' obligation. These young men were known by the Dutch title of Kort Verband, but colloquially within the KNIL were referred to as Tentara Tiga Tahun ('The Three-Year Army'). In 1941, young men were 'mobilised' for military training and many of them were then employed to guard forts, posts and villages. These supporters of the trained soldiers were called Land Wacht.

The Dutch land force on Ambon comprised a KNIL Militia infantry battalion with its headquarters in the barracks at Victoria, and a Landstorm (Home Guard) battalion. There was a cavalry battalion with headquarters at Benteng, comprising two cavalry companies (with just three armoured cars) based at Paso and Leahari on the central south coast. There were two mobile artillery batteries at Laha and Paso, one anti-aircraft unit with Bofors guns at Laha, and one battery of coastal artillery at Benteng Point and Lateri, looking out over the Bay of Ambon and the inner Binnen Bay respectively. A rifle company with mortars and machine-guns was positioned on the northern shore at Hitu-Lama, facing out over the strait between Ambon and Seram. A force of about 300 troops, two companies, and two Bofors guns was stationed at Laha
airfield. And the landing beaches at Paso were defended by a complex trench system, occupied by the majority of the KNIL troops, of about battalion strength. On the southern peninsula, defence lines at Halong (the sea-plane base) and Benteng (coastal artillery gun emplacements) were manned in minimal numbers, while the defence lines at at Amahusu and at Eri were strongly manned. The wharves at Ambon and Benteng, which afforded oiling and coaling facilities, were fortified.

In addition to the KNIL assets on Ambon, there were three Brewster Buffalo F2A fighters (one of them unserviceable) of the Royal Netherlands Indies Army Air Service (Militaire Luchtvaart, ML-KNIL), and nine Catalina flying-boats of the Royal Netherlands Navy at Halong.

KOREM 174
KOREM 174/Pattimura was a Komando Resort Militer (Military Resort Command), a sub-area command (strategic compartment) within KODAM VIII/Trikora (qv) responsible for Ambon and its neighbouring islands (1985-99). Commanded by a Colonel, the KOREM was configured to deal with internal security issues or to provide the initial response in the event of external aggression. It carried the name of the 19th Century Moluccan patriot Pattimura, but many Moluccans felt slighted that it was subordinate to a KODAM headquarters in Irian Jaya. This was redressed in May 1999 with the KOREM's upgrading in status to KODAM, and the appointment of Brigadier General Max Tamaela, a Christian Ambonese, as KODAM commander (Panglima KODAM, Pangdam).
Laha Airfield

Laha airfield on Hitu Peninsula was used as a base by Number 13 Squadron RAAF until the squadron was withdrawn by the Australian Government. After the arrival of Gull Force (qv), the airfield was defended by B Company (Captain Perry) less one platoon and C Company (Captain Watchorn), together with some 300 Dutch troops and two Dutch Bofors guns for air defence.

Military Order of William (De Militaire Willems-Orde)

The Military Order of William is the Netherlands’ highest honour conferred for outstanding courage, leadership and loyalty towards Monarch and Country. The insignia features the green Burgundy Cross and a white Maltese Cross, with the inscription, Voor Moed - Beleid - Trouw ('For Courage - Leadership - Loyalty'). The ribbon is yellow and blue, the colours of the House of Orange Nassau. This Order is rarely conferred, and is accordingly highly esteemed: holders are saluted when they are wearing their insignia.

Netherlands East Indies Forces Intelligence Service (NEFIS)

NEFIS was a secret organisation which conducted intelligence-gathering operations in the occupied NEI. After the Dutch withdrawal from the NEI, the Northern Territory was a logical place for regrouping by the various former members of the KNIL. A Dutch shortwave wireless station was set up at Batchelor and a joint Australian-Dutch party established an Allied Intelligence Bureau base at the old East Arm quarantine station ('Lugger Maintenance Section'). The NEFIS parties formed part of the
large-scale intelligence-gathering Operation Plover (qv), to assist remaining Dutch officials in maintaining order and to protect pro-Dutch elements.

**Operation Plover**

'Plover' was a combined Dutch/Australian operation in the eastern Arafura Sea in early 1942, involving islands which could potentially be used by the Japanese as 'stepping stones' to New Guinea, or for aircraft bases within reach of Darwin. The operation comprised a series of covert landings by small units to either restore the islands' sovereignty, prevent them being used by the Japanese as airbases or to evacuate remaining KNIL members, Dutch officials and their families. The Australian component of Plover was a thirty-man party from Z-Special Unit led by Bill Jinkins, which went to Saumlaki on HMAS Southern Cross (qv) and HMAS Chinampa (qv) to make contact with the Dutch Controller and return to Darwin with refugees. The Dutch contribution to Plover comprised two NEFIS (qv) brigades sent to Tual (Kai Islands), five NEFIS brigades sent to Dobo (Aru Islands), and one NEFIS brigade commanded by Sergeant Tahija which heavily engaged the Japanese at Saumlaki (Tanimbar Group). This relatively minor 'show of force' lasted just two weeks before the Japanese invaded and occupied the islands at the end of July 1942.

**Orde van Trouw en Verdienste** *(Order of Loyalty and Merit)*

The national decoration of the Netherlands Government, the Order of Loyalty and Merit is a large bronze medal which features the
Netherlands lion on the obverse, on a blue enamelled background, within a wreath surmounted by the Royal Crown. At the base of the wreath is a scroll with the legend, *Je Maintiendrai* (I will Maintain - meaning, “I will uphold the rights of the peoples of the Netherlands”). On the reverse of the medal, again on a blue enamelled background, are the words *Trouw en Verdienste*. The suspension ribbon was in the national colours of the Netherlands, equal stripes of red, white and blue.

*Raja*

The *Raja* is the hereditary head or leader of a village (literally, ‘king’ or ‘lord’). Daniel Gaspersz, for example, was the hereditary Raja of Naku village in 1941-42 when the Australians came to Ambon; his ancestors were native inhabitants of Ambon, originally from Naku village on the south coast of Laitimor Peninsula, the eldest son having been appointed Raja in a direct lineage dating back to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1650. His son Bill Gaspersz held the title, until passing it on to his eldest son, John Gaspersz, who is Caretaker of the Ambon War Cemetery. Originally, the *Raja* held the appointment for life, but today it is an elected, honorary, title only, and John is currently serving his second five-year term.

*Republik Maluku Selatan* (*Republic of the South Moluccas*)

The RMS was an independent state established in 1950, seeking autonomy from both Van Mook’s autonomous State of East Indonesia (*Negara Indonesia Timur*, NIT), which opposed the formation of a unitary Republic, and the Indonesian federal
republic (*Republik Indonesia Serikat*, RIS). The rebellion was led by former Dutch troops and Christian Moluccan soldiers (ex-KNIL). Significantly, the date Dr Christopher Soumokil chose to make his proclamation (refer Appendix 2) was April 25th.

**Saumlaki**

Saumlaki is the major port on the island of Jamdena (480 km north of Darwin) in the Tanimbar Islands, one of three strategically located groups in the Arafura Sea. The Tanimbars lie south of the Kai islands, and west of the Aru islands, and in 1942 had a population of about 20,000 (mostly hostile towards the Dutch). Sergeant Julius Tahija and a NEFIS brigade (equivalent to an Australian Army section) fought a significant defensive action against the Japanese at Saumlaki (as part of Operation Plover, *qv*).

**Services Reconnaissance Department**

The SRD was an organisation which mounted such famous operations as ‘Jaywick’ and ‘Rimau’ (the covert raids on Singapore Harbour), and raised ‘Z-Special Unit’ and ‘M-Special Unit’ as holding units for the Allied Intelligence Bureau. Many SRD operations were conducted from a secret base out of Darwin known by the title of ‘Lugger Maintenance Section’; this site is today beside the access road to the new East Arm Port facility.

**Tanimbar Islands** - see Saumlaki

**Tentara Nasional Indonesia**

The Indonesian National Army (TNI) is the new designation for
the Indonesian Armed Forces (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, qv) since the separation of the Police from ABRI on 1 April 1999.

**Territorium VII/Wirabuana**

After Indonesia gained independence, the archipelago (Nusantara) was divided into seven geographic and administrative compartments (each named Territorium), through which the central government maintained firm control over the regional provinces. *Territorium VII* was established on 20 July 1950, with Colonel Alex Kawilarang as the first commander, to deal with any act of internal insurrection or external aggression within eastern Indonesia. Its headquarters was in Ambon, and it possessed four regionally-based infantry regiments; responsibility for the Maluku region lay with the 25th Infantry Regiment (*Resimen Infanteri 25, RI-25*) based at Fort Nieuw Victoria on Ambon and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Herman Pieters. After the establishment of the KDMs (qv), *Territorium VII* was officially disbanded on 24 October 1959.

**Tromp**

*Tromp* was a Royal Netherlands light cruiser with a crew of 309 men, armed with an array of anti-aircraft guns (six 5.9-inch, four 3-inch, six 20 mm and two twin 40 mm Bofors-Hazemeyer guns), as well as six 21-inch torpedo tubes, proposed by Bill Jinkins to assist in the liberation of Tan Toey Camp. The RNN had three light cruisers in service in defence of the NEI: *Tromp* survived, but *De Royter* and *Java* were sunk or scuttled. Among its other
casualties, the RNN also lost all seven of its destroyers, its only coastal defence ship, all eight minelayers, all thirteen of its motor torpedo boats and five of its twelve submarines.

**Tual**

Tual is the major port in the Kai Islands group, one of three strategically located groups in the Arafura Sea. The Kai islands are the northernmost of these, and in 1942 had a population of about 20,000 (mostly Moslems). Tual was occupied by Japanese forces from Ambon on 31 July 1942, despite opposition by two NEFIS brigades commanded by Lieutenant Hieronymus (as part of Operation Plover, *qv*).
ZIARAH: THE GULL FORCE ASSOCIATION PILGRIMAGES TO AMBON

Paul A Rosenzweig

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ZIARA: THE GULL FORCE ASSOCIATION PILGRIMAGES TO AMBON

Paul A Rosenzweig

APPENDICES
Appendix 1

GULL FORCE STATISTICS

All official Gull Force records and rolls were lost during the Japanese invasion, and few could be kept during captivity for fear of discovery, making it almost impossible to prepare any serious summary of statistics. The one published account of Gull Force's service which offers nominal rolls unfortunately contains many omissions and inaccuracies.

In the Commanding Officer's last official message from Ambon, he said that all records and codes had been destroyed at the time of the invasion. Many figures have been repeatedly stated within Gull Force Association until they have become accepted as factual, but have occasionally been questioned by individuals. In addition, many statistics have been quoted as relating to the 2/21st Battalion only, and not including the range of detachments which collectively with the battalion comprised Gull Force. Men with no known grave are listed on the Ambon Memorial as belonging to the 2/21st Battalion or to their parent Corps, but not every man listed under Medical Corps, for example, belonged to B Company of the 2/12th Field Ambulance which was attached to Gull Force.

Gull Force was not complete when it arrived on Ambon, and its strength kept changing. HMAS Swan arrived at the end of December 1941 with three men who had been left in Darwin with illness. On 16 January, Lieutenant Colonel Scott arrived by aircraft, and Lieutenant Colonel Roach departed on the same
aircraft the following day. Also on 16 January, the Australian vessel *Kanimbla* arrived, carrying a reinforcement party of 16 men and Captain Tanner, sent by AHQ as a Special Intelligence Officer. The Laha Garrison Commander, Captain Sandy (Officer Commanding B Company) was evacuated to Darwin with malaria and dysentery, and on 20 January 1942 was replaced as commander by Major Newbury (OC C Company). If it seems remarkable that no official records survived the invasion of Ambon, consider the situation in Darwin: when HQ NT Force took over from HQ 7th Military District, no record of certain key memos could be found in the files. These memos related specifically to allocations of particular officers to certain forces, including Gull Force.

At the time of consecrating the Ambon War Cemetery and Memorial in 1968, it was stated that the strength of Gull Force on Ambon was estimated at 1,100 all ranks. One veteran stated the strength to be 1,090 men, but then gave a figure of 1,131. After various calculations by members, Gull Force Association has settled on 1,131 as the most widely accepted number of Australian soldiers on Ambon at the time of the Japanese invasion. From this basis, many subsequent statistics have been determined.

During their first weeks of captivity, Captain John Hooke, Lance-Sergeant Danny Foley, Corporal Stuart Swanton and Private
Walter Hicks prepared a nominal roll of Australian POWs present at Galala, Amboina ("Hooke Nominal Roll, 4 February 1942")\(^9\). Although this roll was dated 4 February 1942, it was obviously kept for some time (at great risk) as a 'running tally' because it included the names of three men who avoided capture but were brought into camp later (Corporal Benvie, and Privates Grovenor & Wegner), and those wounded who were held in the Japanese hospital in Ambon town until they were fit to travel (such as Private Harry Williams, who arrived a month after the surrender). As Camp Adjutant, Hooke maintained these records until he was killed in the bomb-dump explosion within Tan Toey Camp on 14 February 1943, and his duties were assumed by Lieutenants Van Nooten and Pullin, who transcribed the official records kept by Hooke\(^{10}\).

Ikeuchi Masakiyo is known to have kept detailed records of Laha and the Camp at Tan Toey, but these were destroyed at war's end by order of the Japanese Admiral in charge of the Ambon theatre before they could be accessed by the Allied authorities. When brought before the War Trials Commission, Ikeuchi relied solely on his memory for numbers of Australians killed or executed, and repeatedly apologised for the unreliability of his memory. He stated to the Commission that he ordered that a nominal roll be prepared at Laha, which he handed to Lieutenant Fukuda, but had discarded his own copy when he was transferred to Galala\(^{11}\).
Detailed below are estimates of the most likely statistics which relate to Gull Force, calculated backwards from known figures (burials and survivors). Precise figures may never be known.
Hitu Peninsula
31 January to 3 February 1942

It is said that there were a total of 292 men present at Laha at the time of the invasion but a total of 292 deaths is given in a nominal roll - not accounting for those who were evacuated before the invasion, escaped before capture or later surrendered. In addition, one man (Corporal G Escott) was omitted. Known statistics for Laha are as follows:

* 11 men escaped before capture (see list below).
* 3 men initially avoided capture but later surrendered (see list below).

In the nominal roll of 292 deaths (293 including Corporal Escott), there are listed 18 men who actually died prior to the surrender, leaving a total of 275 executed, although the same author states 229 in the text. The Ambon Memorial, listing those with no known grave, contains 233 names under the title ‘2/21st Battalion’, and a further 34 under the individual Corps headings of ‘2/11th Field Company, Royal Australian Engineers’, ‘Australian Army Service Corps’ and ‘Australian Army Medical Corps’ (but not all of those named were attached to Gull Force). Confusing the issue is the fact that records relating to the four mass graves at Laha refer to a total of 319 bodies recovered.
If it is accepted that 275 men were executed, and if it is assumed that the identified battle casualties were also buried in the same mass graves (to produce a total of 319 bodies), then this leaves a balance of 44 men killed in battle (whose bodies were recovered). Final assumed statistics for Laha are therefore as follows:

* 44 men were killed in battle at Laha.
* 275 men were executed at Laha after capture.
* 14 men avoided capture by escaping (but 3 of these later surrendered).
* 12 men were wounded and were held by the Japanese until they were transferred to Tan Toey Camp (see following section).

Therefore, 345 men were present at Laha at the time of the invasion. This total equates to the 292 deaths listed by Harrison plus Corporal Escott, plus the 14 men who avoided capture, plus at least another 38 men who were not named as battle casualties (giving an assumed total of 44 battle casualties). There were probably more at Laha because it is known, for example, that the wounded were held for some time by the Japanese before being transferred to Tan Toey Camp (but they were still counted in the 804 total of the Hooke Nominal Roll).
Lieutenant McBride's escape party (total 9)
2 February 1942

Lieutenant McBride, J
Warrant Officer Drane, H F
Corporal Fincher, J W
Private Drummy, J F
Private Ellis, N E
Private Keenan, A J
Private Mackieson, B R
Private Ogilvie, F
Private Tingate, N T

McMahon & Devers' escape (total 2)
2 February 1942

Private Devers, H
Driver McMahon, J

Miscellaneous escapees and casualties (total 3)
subsequently brought in to Tan Toey Camp

Corporal Benvie, L D
Private Grovenor, J Died in captivity on Hainan, 1 September 1943.
Private Wegner, A C Died in captivity on Hainan, 23 June 1945
Laitimor Peninsula
31 January to 3 February 1942

The number of men present on Laitimor Peninsula can only be estimated by working backwards from the number of men known to have entered Tan Toey Camp as prisoners. Occasionally it is quoted that '804 men entered camp on February 4th 1942', and a further 'five men' were later transferred from Laha to Tan Toey, but these statements are incorrect.

The start point for calculations is determined to be 804 based upon the Hooke Nominal Roll (4 February 1942). It is known that 3 men were later transferred from Laha to Tan Toey Camp, and one author states that 789 men were captured on Laitimor Peninsula\(^\text{19}\): if this is so, then the balance of 12 represents the wounded brought in from Laha. Accepted statistics for Laitimor Peninsula are therefore as follows:

* 5 men were killed in battle (see list below).
* 22 men escaped before capture (see list below)\(^\text{20}\).
* 789 men were captured on Laitimor Peninsula (who, together with 12 wounded from Laha, comprise the total of 801 men who surrendered and were transferred to Tan Toey Camp).
* 3 men were later transferred from Laha to Tan Toey Camp (see previous list).
This suggests that there were 816 men on Laitimor Peninsula at the time of the invasion.

Killed in battle, Laitimor Peninsula (total 5)
1 & 2 February 1942

- Lance-Sergeant Kay, B G, Mount Nona
  1 February 1942
- Lance-Corporal Richmond, R, Benteng/Amahusu
  1 February 1942
- Private Anderson, I T, Benteng/Amahusu
  2 February 1942
- Private Balcombe, R, Eri Defence Line
  2 February 1942
- Private Doolan, W T, Kudamati
  1 February 1942

Lieutenant Chapman’s escape party (total 21)
2 February 1942

- Lieutenant Chapman, W A
- WO1 Warren, I L C
- Sergeant Anderson, F
- Corporal Chugg, J W
- Private Ashton, G
- Private Ashton, K
- Private Ault, A H
- Driver Cassidy, J L
- Private Clark, T W
- Private Cofield, A T
- Private Cookesley, J F
- Driver Grady, A
- Private Hansen, E R
- Private Hawkins, A A
- Driver Hobbs, F G
- Driver McIntosh, A D
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>Palmer, A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Palmer, P H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>Robinson, A D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Warren, R A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>White, F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miscellaneous escape (1)

Corporal Digney, H F²⁴
Tan Toey Camp, Ambon
4 February to 25 October 1942

Early estimates of survivors after the fighting all stood around the 800-mark\textsuperscript{25}. The Hooke Nominal Roll however, listed 804 names including the three men who initially avoided capture (Benvie, Grovenor & Wegner)\textsuperscript{26}. Of these 804 who entered Tan Toey Camp, during the period up to 25 October 1942, the following statistics are accepted:

* 1 man died (Private J Crilly, died 21 February 1942)\textsuperscript{27}.
* 13 men escaped (see list below).
* 267 prisoners were taken to Hainan Island, China on 25 October 1942.
* 523 men remained in Tan Toey Camp after 25 October 1942 (as well as 14 Americans and 7 Dutch).

One of the most frequently confused figures is the number of men who were transferred to Hainan, given most commonly as 263\textsuperscript{28} or 267\textsuperscript{29} (and the balance of men remaining in Tan Toey is widely given as 528\textsuperscript{30}). In the Tan Toey Nominal Roll for the period after the men were removed to Hainan (26 October 1942 to 10 September 1945) there are listed a total of 537 men\textsuperscript{31}. However, this list wrongly includes 14 men who were \textit{not} in the camp during this period (13 had escaped, and 1 had died prior to 25 October 1942), leaving a total of 523 men in camp. This
number, plus the 267 removed to Hainan, 13 escaped, and 1 who
died, gives a correct total of 804 who had entered the Camp (as
given by the Hooke Nominal Roll). It therefore seems most likely
that 267 men transferred to Hainan.

Lieutenant Jinkins’ escape party (total 7)\(^{32}\)
17 March 1942

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>Jinkins, W T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>Jack, A G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>Rudder, R O D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Young, A W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Chew, A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Coe, H W(^ {33})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Warne, C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corporal Redhead’s escape party (total 4)
February 1942

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Redhead, F A(^ {34})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Dahlberg, W C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Goodall, R B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Johnson, D(^ {35})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lance-Corporal Amor’s escape party (total 2)\(^ {36}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lance-Corporal</td>
<td>Amor, B C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>McPherson, R W</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hashio Camp, Hainan
25 October 1942 to 27 August 1945

Of the 267 men who were transferred to Hainan on 25 October 1942, the following statistics are accepted:

* 67 men died in camp prior to liberation\(^{37}\).
* 9 men were killed by Chinese bandits in an ambush on 8 April 1944.
* 10 men were captured in the ambush on 8 April 1944 and remain unaccounted for\(^{38}\).
* 181 men were liberated on 27 August 1945.

In some sources, it is claimed that '183 men' were liberated, of whom two died, so that 181 were repatriated to Australia\(^{39}\). There were in fact several who died 'after liberation' because of persisting illnesses\(^{40}\), but only one man died after the prisoners' departure from Hainan - Private J W Adams (whilst in transit in Hong Kong, see list in following section). This gives a total of 181 survivors at the time of liberation from Hashio Camp\(^{41}\).
Appendix 1, Gull Force Statistics

Tan Toey Camp, Ambon
26 October 1942 to 10 September 1945

In the Tan Toey Nominal Roll for the period after the men were removed to Hainan (26 October 1942 to 10 September 1945), there are listed a total of 537 men. However, this list wrongly includes 14 men who were not in the camp during this period (13 had escaped, and 1 had died prior to 25 October 1942). This leaves a total of 523 men in camp. This number, plus 267 removed to Hainan, 13 escaped, and 1 who died, gives a correct total of 804 who entered the Camp (as given by the Hooke Nominal Roll). Their fates were as follows:

* 17 men were executed by the Japanese (11 beheaded for escaping, 5 beheaded for stealing food and 1 was shot).
* 13 men were killed in bombings or died from wounds inflicted by bombings.
* 369 men died as a result of bashings, accidents and malnutrition.
* 124 men were liberated on 10 September 1945 (including Sapper Prince, see below).

It has generally been stated that there were 121 men liberated, but a 1945 Army newspaper states clearly that 123 Australians were taken to Morotai. Walter Hicks is adamant that a
contemporary listing contained 123 names, although he is certain that Sapper Syd Prince of No.3 Section from the 2/11th Field Company, Royal Australian Engineers, was inadvertently omitted⁴⁸.
Liberation and Repatriation

It has generally been stated that there were a total of 300 men repatriated after the war (181 from Hainan and 119 from Ambon). There were in fact 301.

Of the 181 men known to have been liberated from Hainan on 27 August 1945:

* 1 man died after liberation (Adams, see below).
* 180 men were repatriated to Australia.

Of the 124 men known to have been liberated from Ambon on 10 September 1945:

* 3 men died after liberation (Rush, Cooke & Newell, see below).
* 121 men were repatriated to Australia.

Deaths after liberation (total 4)\(^{49}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lance-Corporal</td>
<td>Rush, A O</td>
<td>Morotai (ex-Ambon)</td>
<td>16 September 1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Adams, J W</td>
<td>Hong Kong (ex-Hainan)</td>
<td>September 1945(^{50})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Cooke, R T</td>
<td>Morotai (ex-Ambon)</td>
<td>18 September 1945(^{51})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Newell, W T</td>
<td>Morotai (ex-Ambon)</td>
<td>13 September 1945(^{52})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gull Force Summary

Early statistics
* 1 man (Private Chellew) died before deployment overseas and is buried in the Adelaide River War Cemetery.
* Several personnel were posted in and out after the unit arrived in Ambon, including Captain Sandy (evacuated to Darwin with malaria and dysentery) and Lieutenant Colonel Roach (recalled to Australia and replaced by Lieutenant Colonel Scott).

Strength at the time of the Invasion
* It is now determined that the strength of Gull Force at the time of the invasion of Ambon was approximately 1,161 all ranks, comprising:
  > 345 men present at Laha at the time of the invasion.
  > 816 men present on Laitimor Peninsula at the time of the invasion.

Fate of Gull Force
* Escapes: Apart from the 3 men who initially avoided capture at Laha (but later surrendered), a total of 46 men successfully escaped:
  > 22 men escaped from Laitimor Peninsula before capture.
  > 11 men escaped from Laha before capture.
  > 13 men escaped from Tan Toey Camp.
* **Surrender:** 804 men surrendered and were transferred to Tan Toey Camp, these comprising:
  > 789 men captured on Laitimor Peninsula.
  > 12 who surrendered after being wounded at Laha.
  > 3 who escaped from Laha but later surrendered.

* **Transfer:** 267 men were taken to Hashio Camp on Hainan Island, leaving 523 Australians in Tan Toey Camp on Ambon after 25 October 1942.

* **Deaths:** A total of 814 men died or were killed, as follows:
  > 49 men were killed in battle:
    > 44 men killed in battle at Laha (assumed total).
    > 5 men were killed in battle on Laitimor Peninsula.
  > 292 men were executed by the Japanese:
    > 275 men were executed at Laha.
    > 17 men were executed in Tan Toey Camp.
  > 473 men from the POW camps died:
    > 370 men died in Tan Toey Camp as a result of bashings, accidents and malnutrition (1 before 25 October 1942, and 369 after this date).
    > 13 died in Tan Toey Camp as a result of bombings.
    > 67 men died in Hashio Camp.
    > 19 men were killed by Chinese bandits on Hainan (9 killed in an ambush, and 10 unaccounted for).
    > 4 men died after liberation.
Location of Graves

* Of the 814 all ranks who died or were killed:
  > 694 men are buried on Ambon, comprising:
    5 men who were killed in battle on Laitimor Peninsula.
    17 men who were executed in Tan Toey Camp.
    285 of the 319 men who died at Laha (44 killed in battle and 275 men executed - not all of whom were recovered).
    383 men who died in Tan Toey Camp (370 as a result of bashings, accidents and malnutrition, and 13 as a result of bombings).
    4 men who died after liberation.
  > 34 men from Laha are not accounted for.
  > 76 men were buried within Hashio Camp in 1945 (67 who died as a result of bashings, accidents and malnutrition, and 9 who were killed in an ambush); their bodies were later re-interred in the British Commonwealth War Cemetery in Yokohama, Japan.
  > 10 men (who were captured and remain unaccounted for) were listed on the memorial at Kranji War Cemetery, Singapore.
Return to Australia
* 46 men successfully escaped.
* 121 men were repatriated to Australia, from the 124 liberated from Ambon.
* 180 men were repatriated to Australia, from the 181 liberated from Hainan.

Thus, there was a total of just 347 Gull Force men who survived the war, from a strength of 1,161 at the time of the invasion (a survival rate of 29.9%).
Appendix 1, Gull Force Statistics

Notes

3 Harrison (1988), p.29. HMAS Swan was later sunk by the Japanese during such a delivery run to Ambon.
5 “Officers ‘Gull’ and ‘Sparrow’ Forces”, HQ NT Force Minute to HQ Allied Land Forces dated 14 November 1942.
9 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999.
10 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999.
14 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999.
15 Harrison (1988), p.62 & 79; Gull Force Association, Programme, “Anzac Day, Ambon 1993, Lest We Forget”. There were also 11 (all ranks) members of No.13 Squadron who attempted to escape but were captured and executed (Harrison, 1988, p.86).
16 The four mass graves identified at Laha were found to contain 67, 46, 67 and 139 bodies respectively (Amforce to Landops dated 10 December 1945, AAV 336-1-1587). Harrison wrongly quotes 135 bodies in Grave 4 (Harrison, 1988, p.177).
17 Part of the initial Japanese defence at the War Trials Commission was that the bodies in these mass graves were all battle casualties. This was proven a lie when the exhumed remains included some whose wrists were bound with barbed wire, for example.
18 47 battle casualties were given as an estimate in Harrison (1988), p.62 & 79; Gull Force Association, Programme, “Anzac Day, Ambon 1993, Lest We Forget”. There may have been more than 44, but their bodies not recovered.
19 39 officers and 750 other ranks captured on Laitimor Peninsula (Harrison, 1988, p.88).
It is sometimes stated that 28 men escaped prior to the surrender; one source says that, apart from Chapman’s party, there were three other groups who escaped before captivity (Redhead’s party of 4, Amor’s party of 2, and Digney), totalling 7 men (Harrison, 1988 p.60). It seems that these 7 men have been double-counted - as escapes prior to and after the surrender.

Given as 7 killed in some sources, but there is no doubt the number killed was 5 (Harrison, 1988, p.149). This tallies with official records kept by Captain Hooke, and later transcribed by Lieutenant Van Nooten (Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999).

A typographical error implies that WO1 Warren was a Wing Commander (Harrison, 1988, p.59).

Listed by Harrison (1988) as Hobbs (p.59) and also as Hubbs (p.148).

Harrison names Digney as an escapee from Laitimor Peninsula before capture (Harrison, 1988, p.60), but does not name him in another list of escapees (p.148), nor is he listed in the Tan Toey nominal roll (pp.149-162). Corporal Digney’s name does not appear on the Hooke Nominal Roll, 4 February 1942, and no firm evidence of his escape was ever presented.


Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999.


Harrison (1988), pp.149-162.
Appendix 1, Gull Force Statistics

32 Macrae OBE, Major I F, 'A description of Major Bill Jinkins activities up to the time he joined Z Force', unpublished notes, undated; Young, A, "Ambon to Darwin, 17th March '42 - 4th May '42". Unpublished transcript, with attached notes, dated 28 November 1968. Each member was correctly listed in the Tan Toey nominal roll as an escapee (Harrison, 1988, pp.149-162); all but Coe are correctly listed as escapees after capture in the text (p.91, 148).

33 Coe was omitted from the list of escapees (Harrison, 1988, p.148) but was correctly listed as an escapee in the text (p.90), and was listed as “Escaped” in the Tan Toey nominal roll (p.151).

34 Redhead, Dahlberg & Goodall are listed incorrectly as escapees before capture by Harrison (1998), p.60 & 148, but are listed correctly in the Tan Toey nominal roll as escapees after capture (pp.149-162).

35 Johnson is listed incorrectly in a list of escapees before capture (Harrison, 1988, p.60), but is listed correctly as an escapee after capture in the text (p.148) and in the Tan Toey nominal roll (p.155).

36 Amor & McPherson are listed in a list of escapees before capture (Harrison, 1988, p.60) but are also listed in the Tan Toey nominal roll as escapees (pp.149 & 157).

37 Quoted as 67 in a summary table (Harrison, 1988, p.253), but quoted as 66 in another summary table (p.260); only 56 are identified as died during captivity in the Nominal Roll (pp.353-259). Stated as 54 by Sapper Robinson (Sapper H O Robinson, Diary #6), but he only recorded up to 23 June 1945.

38 See Harrison (1988), pp. 215-222. Two of the ten died soon after the ambush and were buried in the village of Lao Ou. It is suspected that the remaining eight joined the Chinese in their campaign against the Japanese (as speculated by Harrison, p.221). Some certainly died in combat, but a number of 'tall blonde foreigners' reportedly lived for several years after the war, as free men amongst Chinese villagers who helped to cared for them (13 Squadron RAAF Newsletter, No.52, May 1997, p.31). Walter Hicks visited Hainan with a Gull Force contingent in 1985 and notes that this assertion is not borne out by any statements by former guerilla fighters at that time (Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999).

39 Harrison (1988), pp.253 & 260; Jinkins, Major W T, "Gull Force (2/21 Bn) Association, Pilgrimage to Ambon, October 1967", with annotations by Mr W D Hicks, p.65. Les Hohl, in Rolley (1994), p.137, states that 181 were recovered, most probably meaning 181 were repatriated to Australia. In the Hainan Nominal Roll however (Harrison, 1988, pp.253-259), there are listed a total of 263 men - 10 correctly listed as captured and 9 as killed, but there are only 56 listed as died in captivity and 1 died after liberation (leaving a supposed balance of 187 who survived).
Appendix 1, Gull Force Statistics

40 There are a total of 8 listed as dying 'between War's End and Home' by Leech, R, Pacific War Odyssey. From Treaty Ports to A-Bomb. Ron Leech, Sydney, 1995, p.195, all listed in the Nominal Roll (Harrison, 1988, pp.353-259).

41 A balance of 182, and 1 died after liberation, was given by Jinkins, Major W T, "Gull Force (2/21 Bn) Association, Pilgrimage to Ambon, October 1967", with annotations by Mr W D Hicks, p.65. The one who died after liberation (Private Adams) is listed in the Hainan Nominal Roll but with an incorrect date of decease (Harrison, 1988, p.253).

42 Harrison (1988), pp.149-162.

43 Harrison (1988), pp.162, 260; Jinkins, Major W T, "Gull Force (2/21 Bn) Association, Pilgrimage to Ambon, October 1967", with annotations by Mr W D Hicks, p.65; "Table Tops", No.103, 14 September 1945. Harrison has 18 men named as "Executed" in the Tan Toey Nominal Roll however (Harrison, 1998, pp.149-162), although he shows "17" in both of his summary tables (pp.162, 260).

44 There are 13 listed as killed by bombs (Harrison, 1988, p.162), although he incorrectly counted Private Crilly (who died before 25 October 1942), but did not annotate Lieutenant Campbell in the nominal roll (p.151). A total of 13 is also given by Jinkins, Major W T, "Gull Force (2/21 Bn) Association, Pilgrimage to Ambon, October 1967", with annotations by Mr W D Hicks, p.65.

45 A total of 377 died is quoted by Jinkins, Major W T, "Gull Force (2/21 Bn) Association, Pilgrimage to Ambon, October 1967", with annotations by Mr W D Hicks, p.65. A total of 370 is given by Harrison (1988), pp.149-162, but he wrongly includes 2 who died in Morotai after liberation, and there is one wrongly counted as a survivor.

46 For example, Harrison (1988), pp.143, 144: but he also states the figure as 123 (p.142).

47 "Table Tops", No.103, 14 September 1945. There were also 26 Indians, 9 Americans and 5 Dutchmen.

48 Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999.

49 Private C W Howse is listed with a decease date of 15 September 1945 in Harrison (1988), p.154, but he in fact died of Beri Beri in Tan Toey Camp on 15 September 1944 (Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999).

50 Listed with a decease date of 26 October 1942 in Harrison (1988), p.253, but in fact died in Hong Kong in September 1945 (Leech, 1995, p.195; Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999).

51 Listed without a decease date in Harrison (1988), p.151, but in fact died in Morotai on 18 September 1945 (Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999).

52 Listed without a decease date in Harrison (1988), p.157, but in fact died in Morotai on 13 September 1945 (Mr W D Hicks, pers comm, 28 February 1999).
Often stated as 52, but this has been derived by quoting 28 escapees from Laitimor Peninsula: Redhead's party of 4 and Amor's party of 2 who escaped from Tan Toey Camp were double-counted as escapees before captivity (Harrison, 1988, p.60).

Given below is the text of the Declaration of Independence of Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS, Republic of the South Moluccas), proclaimed by Dr Christopher Soumokil in Ambon on 25 April 1950. This declaration was ratified in a Provisional Constitution of the South Moluccan Republic issued in September 1950.
Proklamasi.-
Kemerdekaan Maluku Selatan.

Ambon, 25 April 1950.-

Pemerintah Maluku-Selatan,

(J. H. Manuhutu)

(A Wairisal)
Declaration
of Independence of the South Moluccas.

To grant the real will, wishes and demand of the people of the South Moluccas, we hereby proclaim the independence of the South Moluccas, de facto and de jure, with the political structure of a republic, free from any political connection with the Negara Indonesia Timur and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, on account of the fact that the Negara Indonesia Timur is unable to maintain her position as a part of the United States of Indonesia, in accordance with the "den-pasar-regeling", which is still valid now and concerning to the resolution of the Council of South Moluccas of March eleventh 1947, while the Republic of the United States of Indonesia has acted incompatible with the resolutions taken at the Round Table Conference and its own constitution.

Ambon, 25 April 1950.-

the Government of South Moluccas,

the President, J H Manuhutu.

the Prime Minister, A Wairisal
Notes


2  "De voorlopige grondwet van de 'Republiek Zuid-Molukken'. Undang-Undang Dasar Sementara 'Republik Maluku Selatan'.", 4 September 1950.
APPENDIX 3
SONGS OF DOOLAN

‘The Australian Song’
(abbreviated version) ¹

Australi mati,
bernama si Doolan.
Mati ditembak
oleh tentara Jepang.
Mayatnya dikubur
dibawah pohon gandaria.
Sayanglah sadiki
kepada anak dan istrinya,
tak dapat melihat.

An Australian has died
Whose name is Doolan.
He died by being shot
By the Japanese troops.
His corpse was buried
under a gandaria tree.
Please sympathise a little
with his child and wife,
unable to see (his corpse).
The "Doolan Song", or

"The Ballad of Bill Doolan" ²

(sung to the tune of 'Rose in Her Hair')

On the first day of February
An Australian soldier climbed into his strongpost.
Thousands of Japanese soldiers lay killed and wounded,
Shot by the great guns, machine-guns and rifles
Of the Australians on Ambon

One Australian named Doolan
Had killed many Japanese soldiers.
He did not run away or move back,
until at last he was killed
By the Japanese soldiers.

An Australian named Doolan
Died by the side of the road.
His grave is under a Gandaria tree.
His mother and father, wife
And children have not seen it.
His tale is told everywhere.

An Australian named Doolan
Died by the bullets from the Japanese soldiers.
Calling his mother, father, wife and children
But they cannot hear him.
The "Doolan Song", or
"The Ballad of Bill Doolan"
(sung to the tune of 'Rose in Her Hair')

Pada tanggal satoe boelan Pebruari
Serdadoe Australi masoek dalam stelling
Beriboe-riboe serdadoe Djepang mati dan loeka
Kena pelor meriam mitraleur senapan
Dari Australi Ambon.

Australi satoe bernamalah Doolan
Telah memboenoe banjak serdadoe Djepang
Laripoen tida moendoer djoega tida
Sampai penghabisan ditembaknja
Mati dari serdadoe Djepang.

Australi satoe bernamalah Doolan
Mati terlantarlah di tepi djalan
Tempatnja koebuer dibawah pohon Gandaria
Iboelah dan bapa bibilah
Dan anak tida dapat lihat
Chabar tersiar sekeliling tempat.

Australi satoe bernamalah Doolan
Mati ditembak dari serdadoe Djepang
Panggil iboe bapa anak dan
Saudara tidalah menjahoet.
The “Song of Doolan” ³

Sio, dari Halong
La ke Kudamati,
Dekat Om Among,
S’orang Australia mati.
Kubornya dibawah
Pohon gandaria.
Sayanglah sadiki
Bini dan anaknya,
Tidal dapat lihat.

Away from Halong
Up to Kudamati,
Near Uncle Among’s,
An Australian has died.
His grave is under
A gandaria tree.
Please sympathise with
His wife and child,
Who will never see him again.

Australia itu,
Bernama Doolan,
la ditembak
Oleh musuh Jepang.
la terlantang
La di pinggir jalan.
Sayanglah sadiki
Bini dan anaknya,
Tidal dapat lihat.

This Australian,
Whose name is Doolan,
He was shot
By the Japanese enemy.
His corpse now lies
Along side the road.
Please sympathise with
His wife and child,
Who will never see him again.

Sioh, kasiang,
aduh, kasiang,
Bagaimana anak dan bininya,
Sioh, kasiang,
sungguh, kasiang,
Tinggal nisan jadi kenangan.

Oh, how painful,
Oh, how dreadful,
Must it be for his child and wife,
Oh, how awful,
Oh, how sorrowful,
A tombstone remains
in his memory.
Notes

1 Mr P Papilaya, pers comm (Batugadjah, Ambon), 21 August 1997.