

PUNITIVE DAMAGE

STUDY GUIDE

PUNITIVE DAMAGE (1999) tells the inspiring true story of a young man who lost his life for a cause he believed in and his mother, who refused to let him die in vain.

The events portrayed take place between 1991 and 1994. In light of recent events in East Timor this story is both poignant and prophetic. The human story of a mother and son who sacrifice so much to support a people in another country helps to make a complex political situation both accessible and immediate.

Compiled and written by Amy West, in consultation with Annie Goldson, Helen Yensen and Gaylene Preston.

PUNITIVE DAMAGE Study Guide

Contents:

East Timor	3
i. Geography	
ii. Historical Background	
iii. The Indonesian Occupation: 1975-1999	
iv. Recent Events	
The story behind PUNITIVE DAMAGE	5
The people in PUNITIVE DAMAGE	6
i. Kamal Bamadhaj	
ii. Helen Todd	
iii. Nadiyah Bamadhaj	
iv. Constancio Pinto	
v. Alan Nairn	
The makers of PUNITIVE DAMAGE	7
i. Annie Goldson	
ii. Gaylene Preston	
iii. Leon Narbey	
iv. John Gilbert	
v. Stephen Taberner	
The making of PUNITIVE DAMAGE	8
Teaching Strategies	8
i) Tertiary	
ii) Secondary	
Places to Contact	10
Resources	11
Additional Information	12

East Timor

Geography

The word 'Timor' is derived from the Malayan language and means 'east'. The island of Timor is so named because it is located at the extreme east of the group of islands now known as Indonesia. Apart from the Indonesian islands, Timor's nearest neighbour is Australia, the city of Darwin being no more than 430km to the Southeast. The total surface area of Timor is approximately 30, 000 square km; roughly 11% of the size of New Zealand.

The island of Timor is volcanic in origin and is crossed by many rivers and mountain ranges. The Timorese experience a Monsoon season from December to April, which is hot with heavy rains. As for New Zealand, winter sets in from May to September.

The island's subsoil is rich in copper, gold, manganese and petroleum. Four petroleum companies with headquarters in Australia currently operate from the island. As a colony, Timor's major exports were coffee and sandalwood.

Historical Background

The island has been divided into East and West Timor since the 18th century as a result of competing colonial interests. As long ago as 1512, Portuguese explorers arrived at the island of Timor. Soon after, Portuguese merchants and Dominican missionaries began to occupy the small country. However, by the 18th century the Dutch had taken control of the western part of the island as part of their extensive 'East Indian' empire and in 1859 the two European nations signed an agreement which effectively divided Timor between them.

As a distant colonial ruler, Portugal was content to reap profits from the lucrative coffee and sandalwood export trade from afar. Rather than enforcing rule through crown-appointed officials, Portugal exercised influence through the existing hierarchy of tribal rulers and chieftans (*liurai*) as well as Dominican missionaries and the powerful *mestico* (half-Timorese, half-Portuguese) families. This allowed traditional social and political structures to remain virtually intact throughout the centuries of colonial rule. However, it also meant that Portugal did little to assist the development of the country in terms of education, medical services, transport and communication systems.

During the Second World War, Timor was the site of a prolonged battle between Japanese and allied Dutch and Australian forces. The East Timorese in particular fought alongside the allies to protect the island. However, after the European forces acknowledged defeat and abandoned the island, as many as 60,000 Timorese were slaughtered by the incoming Japanese troops.

In the post-war years Holland relinquished control over West Timor along with its other colonies in the area. These countries became part of the recently formed Republic of Indonesia. However, Portugal continued to govern the Eastern part of the island until the 1970s.

The Indonesian Occupation: 1975 - 1999

In 1974 the 'Carnation Revolution' and subsequent political upheaval in Portugal precipitated a process of decolonisation. From the Portuguese point of view the integration of East Timor into the Indonesian Republic seemed the obvious course to take and negotiations with the government in Jakarta began. Indonesia was strongly in favour of integration. They argued that the annexation of East Timor to the Indonesian territories made sense culturally, economically and politically.

The East Timorese had different ideas. Various political parties quickly emerged, which offered real alternatives to Indonesian integration. The most significant of these were the UDT (*Uniao Democratica Timorese*) which advocated East Timorese autonomy under the Portuguese flag, and FRETILIN (*Frente Revolucionaria de Timor-Leste Independente*) which sought full independence. Tensions between these two parties escalated into a small scale civil war. However, by November 1975 FRETILIN had gained the majority of support in East Timor and its leaders symbolically declared their country's independence, which they renamed the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

On 7 December 1975 Indonesia responded with a large-scale invasion of East Timor, bombing the capital city Dili and executing thousands of Timorese people. Seven months later President Suharto signed a law integrating East Timor into Indonesia. This law was never recognised by the United Nations which maintained that Portugal was still the official governing body in East Timor.

From this point on foreign observers were officially prohibited in East Timor and the Indonesian government ruled by military command. The guerilla arm of FRETILIN (named FALINTIL) continued an underground resistance from secret enclaves in the mountains. During this period many East Timorese were abducted, tortured and murdered by the Indonesian military. Families were forced to live in inhuman conditions in village compounds; thousands died of disease and malnutrition.

Exiled East Timorese leaders and activists put pressure on the United Nations to address the violation of human rights in East Timor every year after the 1975 invasion. A number of resolutions were passed which condemned Indonesia's occupation of the small nation, but it was not until 1991 that definite action was taken. Finally, in co-operation with the government of Portugal and through negotiations with the Suharto regime in Jakarta, a UN delegation was proposed. Significantly, the delegation's visit relaxed the prohibition of foreign media in the territory and many international journalists and photographers travelled to East Timor in preparation for the event. Likewise, thousands of East Timorese pro-independence activists journeyed to Dili and revealed their political affiliations in anticipation of the visit. However, several weeks before the delegation was scheduled to arrive, Indonesia withdrew from the agreement and the visit was cancelled. On 12 November 1991 Western media were present to record events when the Indonesian military opened fire on a pro-democracy demonstration in a bloody reassertion of their absolute authority. This terrible occurrence came to be known as the Dili Massacre.

The bloodshed of this day in 1991 was nothing new for the people of East Timor, but the international television coverage forced the Western world to acknowledge the brutal reality of the Indonesian regime. As a consequence, significant international pressure groups emerged to work alongside Timorese exiles in the campaign for East Timorese self-determination.

Recent Events

In May 1998, the Indonesian economy collapsed. Accusations of corruption and violent intimidation forced President Suharto to resign. His successor, Jusuf Habibie, was a Suharto ally. However, for diplomatic reasons he decided to respond to international pressure over East Timor and in January 1999 he announced a referendum on the future of the country. The East Timorese would choose between 'autonomy' – that is, some freedoms under continuing Indonesian rule – and total independence. The referendum would be 'supervised' by the United Nations, but Indonesian forces would retain control of 'security'.

This stipulation proved to be the downfall of the referendum process. The Indonesian military are a powerful force with vested political and economic interests in most territories within the Republic, including East Timor. Significant military leaders saw Habibie's concession as a betrayal and initiated an underhand campaign of violent intimidation against the East Timorese people, in an attempt to sabotage the referendum. Reliable sources and eye-witnesses have reported that branches of the Indonesian military armed, trained and paid paramilitary forces called 'militias', and set them on a systematic campaign of intimidation, torture and murder in the months leading up to the ballot. Known pro-independence activists were placed on a hit-list. Journalists reported entire villages held at gunpoint awaiting the day of the referendum.

Despite this campaign an incredible 99% of registered voters reached the polling booths on 30th August 1999 and voted overwhelmingly in favour of independence. The response from the Indonesian military was vengeful in the extreme. In the chaos that followed the days of the ballot, ordinary people were attacked and murdered at random. 250,000 were forcibly relocated to West Timor, while hundreds of thousands fled to the hills where many died of malnutrition and exposure. Dili and surrounding villages and towns were looted, then razed to the ground.

At the time of writing, an international force led by Australia, has entered East Timor in order to wrest control from the military and their militia gangs. The Indonesian Government has been internationally condemned and threatened with sanctions. However, hundreds of thousands of East Timorese are still displaced without homes to return to. Even now, the future of East Timor and the lives of its people remains uncertain.

Sources: Cox, Steven & Peter Carey. *Generations of Resistance: East Timor*. London & New York: Cassell (1995). / *East Timor: Corso Appeal*. Christchurch: Corso (1999). / *East Timor information sheet*. Auckland: Free East Timor Coalition (NZ) (1997). / Viegas, Telma. *Timor-Leste*. Educating for Diversity series. Lisbon: Open University (1997).

The Story behind PUNITIVE DAMAGE

In 1991 the people of East Timor had been living under an oppressive military regime since the Indonesian invasion of 1975. Under Indonesian rule the East Timorese were unable to vote, or to express political opinions in any way. The majority of the people were forced to live in extreme poverty while Indonesian enterprises drained the small country of its valuable resources. During the 1975 invasion thousands of East Timorese were murdered by the military. In the subsequent occupation, over 200,000 Timorese were either killed or starved to death. Torture and 'disappearances' became routine. In 1991 it seemed that the Western world was prepared to intervene on behalf of the East Timorese and investigate allegations against Indonesia. A visit by United Nations delegates from Portugal was scheduled for November of that year.

In Sydney, Australia, a young man named Kamal Bamadhaj, an active member of the Indonesian human rights organization ASKI, decided to travel to East Timor to lend his support to the pro-democracy groups as they prepared for the delegation. Kamal was a twenty-year old New Zealand-Malaysian student of History and Indonesian Politics at the University of New South Wales.

Kamal believed that the presence of Western journalists and observers in East Timor would help raise the profile of the delegates' visit. However, after Kamal arrived in East Timor it was announced that the UN had responded to pressure from the Indonesian government and cancelled the delegation, just two weeks before it was scheduled to arrive.

In preparation for the UN visit many East Timorese had exposed themselves as pro-democracy supporters. When the talks were cancelled, these people knew that they were in danger of being tortured or murdered by the Indonesian military. Nevertheless, hundreds of people participated in a pro-democracy demonstration in the capital city of Dili in the hope that the Western press would take their message to the outside world.

The demonstration was planned as a memorial procession for a young man who was killed by the military while hiding in the Motael church in Dili. As the procession reached the gates of the Santa Cruz Cemetery, the people displayed banners which they had painted in secret and hidden under their clothes. In response to this the Indonesian military opened fire on the demonstrators. Kamal Bamadhaj was among 271 people killed that day. Hundreds more were injured and maimed. Worse still, many young people were 'disappeared', most likely taken to secret military camps to be tortured and finally disposed of in mass graves.

A British film-maker, Max Stahl, risked his life to record scenes from the massacre. He buried the video cassette in the cemetery and returned after dark to retrieve it before smuggling it out of the country. These images aired on prime time news around the world providing irrefutable evidence of the brutality of the Indonesian regime.

Kamal's mother, Helen Todd, a New Zealand journalist and author who lives and works in Malaysia, heard of the massacre along with the rest of the world. Her worst fears were confirmed when she received a phone call to say that her son had been shot dead.

Three years later, with the help of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, Helen testified against a key figure in the Indonesian military, General Sintong Panjaitan, in a case which set a precedent in the struggle to bring human rights violators to trial. In bringing the case Helen spoke not only as a mother seeking justice for her son's death, but on behalf of the thousands of East Timorese who had lost family members in the Dili massacre.

Helen Todd was awarded NZ\$22 million in 'punitive damages' for the wrongful killing of her son. However, General Panjaitan called the court finding "a joke" and refused to pay. The military leaders directly responsible for the Dili massacre have since been promoted to influential positions in the Indonesian government and military. If Helen Todd ever receives any of the money to which she is legally entitled she will send it to the East Timorese people.

Kamal kept a journal which offers an eye-witness political commentary on the events of 1991 which lead up to the Dili massacre. Sadly, after the events of 1999, his final diary entry is more pertinent than ever:

"Whether total genocide occurs in East Timor or not depends not only on the remarkably powerful will of the East Timorese people but on the will of humanity, of us all."

The People in PUNITIVE DAMAGE

Kamal Bamadhaj

Kamal was born in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. When he was a teenager he came to New Zealand to attend Auckland Boys' Grammar School. From there he gained entrance to the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia where he began a B.A in Asian Studies.

Helen Todd - Kamal's mother

Helen Todd grew up in Gisborne, New Zealand. In 1963. While studying History at Victoria University in Wellington, she met her future husband, a young Malaysian commerce student. The couple settled in Malaysia where they had three children: Kamal, and daughters Nadiah, and Haanim. Helen became a journalist for Malaysia's leading daily paper The New Straits Times.

Helen and her second husband Professor David Gibbons now work for AIM (Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia), a microcredit programme that works to relieve extreme poverty in developing nations. Helen continues to write and has recently published a book *Women at the Centre* about her experiences with AIM in Bangladesh and India.

Nadiah Bamadhaj – Kamal's sister

Like Kamal, Nadiah was educated in both Malaysia and New Zealand. She graduated from Ilam Art School in Christchurch, New Zealand with a B.F.A. She now lives in Kuala Lumpur where she works as an artist and writer. Nadiah has recently published a book entitled *Aski Write* based on Kamal's writings. She is also the co-ordinator of the *Kamal Bamadhaj Trust* (see 'Places to Contact').

Constancio Pinto – Resistance Leader

Constancio Pinto, a Timorese resistance leader in exile in the United States, is one of the key trial witnesses featured in the film. When the Indonesian forces invaded in 1975, he and his ten brothers and sisters escaped from Dili into the hills around the city. Three years later he was arrested and interned in a concentration camp where he was brutally tortured. After his release he became an underground leader and organised the first open protests in Dili, among them the Santa Cruz Cemetery protest.

Constancio managed to escape to the United States shortly after the massacre, while his wife Gabriella gave birth to their son in his absence. She later managed to join him in New York, where he is currently completing an MA in International Relations at Columbia University. They now have a second child.

Alan Nairn - Journalist

The second trial witness, Alan Nairn, is an American journalist with a profound commitment to human rights. He has worked in El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and East Timor. In 1990, he became one of the first foreigners to enter East Timor since the occupation in 1975.

Since the Dili massacre he has become an expert on the history and politics of Indonesia and East Timor, and regularly writes for the Washington Post, The Nation and the New Yorker. He also has appeared before the United States Congress as an expert on East Timor.

Alan returned to East Timor during the referendum of 1999 and risked his life to observe and report on the atrocities committed against the East Timorese people.

The makers of PUNITIVE DAMAGE

Director:	Annie Goldson
Producers:	Annie Goldson and Gaylene Preston
Executive Producer:	Gaylene Preston
DOP:	Leon Narbey
Editor:	John Gilbert
Composer:	Stephen Taberner
Music performed by:	Hananu Kore A'an
Line Producer:	Catherine Madigan

Annie Goldson

Annie Goldson is an accomplished film and television producer/director, with more than ten years experience in the United States and New Zealand. Her films have received at least seventeen international awards, including the prestigious MediaNet award for PUNITIVE DAMAGE at the Munich Film Festival and an audience vote for Best Documentary at the Sydney Film Festival. Earlier titles include: *Seeing Red*, *Wake* and *Framing the Panthers in Black and White*. A Senior Lecturer in Film, Television and Media Studies at the University of Auckland, Goldson is currently completing her PhD.

Gaylene Preston

Gaylene Preston is an award-winning filmmaker who has directed and produced some of New Zealand's finest cinema and television. Her feature film credits include *Mr Wrong*, *Ruby and Rata* and the feature documentary *War Stories Our Mothers Never Told Us*. She also directed the successful television mini-series *Bread and Roses* and is also the producer and co-director of the recently released feature documentary *Getting to Our Place*, about the development of Te Papa, the museum of New Zealand.

Leon Narbey

One of New Zealand's top cinematographers, Leon Narbey has shot feature films, television drama, documentaries and commercials during his 25-year professional career. His work has won major international accolades in New Zealand, Europe and Hawaii. Narbey is also a film director in his own right. Among his credits are the feature films *Illustrious Energy*, the *Footstep Man* and many documentary productions.

John Gilbert

One of New Zealand's most respected film and television editors, John Gilbert has more than 20 years experience in the industry. His numerous documentary credits include *Jean Batten* for which he won 'Best Editor' at the New Zealand Film and Television Award, 1989. Among his feature film credits are *Crush*, *Via Satellite*, and Peter Jackson's *The Frighteners*. Gilbert was recently awarded 'Best Editor' at the 1999 Nokia New Zealand Film Awards for his work on *Via Satellite*.

Stephen Taberner

Much of the music for PUNITIVE DAMAGE was composed by New Zealander Stephen Taberner. Taberner's original score was nominated for an award at the 1999 Nokia New Zealand Film Awards. The songs are conducted by Taberner and performed by the Hananu Kore A'an choir, a group of Timorese exiles in Sydney, Australia.

The making of PUNITIVE DAMAGE

PUNITIVE DAMAGE took about four years to complete. Most of that time was spent in fundraising, research and scripting; the actual production and postproduction took under a year. The research approach assisted us in raising the necessary funding for a feature documentary, and in scripting the final work. After carrying out preliminary investigation, Annie travelled to the US, Malaysia and Australia, conducting interviews with potential subjects on the relatively inexpensive DV video format. These interviews were then transcribed and woven into a script that had a dramatic narrative shape. This allowed the film-makers to submit a script that was accessible to funders familiar with financing dramatic features, who may have been less prepared to fund a film based on a (more speculative) documentary treatment. In addition, this allowed the film-makers to assess the most effective subjects to interview on film and could specify which content areas each interviewee could cover. As we were shooting Super-16 mm film, which is more expensive than video, it was necessary to tightly control the length of each interview.

As there was no existing footage of the court case, the film-makers decided to “re-enact” the hearing using the real subjects. The two lawyers, and three witnesses, were given transcriptions of their statements from the original court case to read. The lawyers then asked the same questions they had on the day of the hearing, and the witnesses answered these questions. As they were still stating their particular interpretation and recollection, the witnesses’ “re-enactments” were very close to the original transcripts. The DOP devised a “camera obscura” type device which allowed each witness to see and hear the lawyer asking the actual questions in real time which achieved a certain intimacy. The black and white stills were also shot specifically for the film in the Boston courtroom where the original hearing took place. By combining the stills and the “re-enactments” the film was intended to recapture the emotional authenticity of the court case, as well as giving the audience a sense of the location.

PUNITIVE DAMAGE: Suggested Teaching Strategies for Tertiary Institutions

In a ‘media studies’ as distinct from ‘political studies’ class, it would be possible to take two approaches:

A. First, the film could be analysed in terms of documentary structure. PUNITIVE DAMAGE is shaped by its strong narrative. Although it addresses the political context of East Timor, its central structure relies on the personal story of Helen and Kamal. The film falls into an almost classic three-act structure, more typical of a dramatic feature than a documentary. The strong “characters” in the film, Kamal’s journey and its culmination in the Dili massacre and his death; Helen’s determination and her ultimate “success”, function as narrative “turning points,” which propel the film through to its conclusion.

The narrative shape is maintained through its editing style. The story is traced using “talking heads” of the interview subjects, all of whom either knew Kamal as friends or family, or who were present in Dili during the massacre. The choice was made not to use any “experts” on East Timor, partly because the subjects involved were already expert, but also because the film was intended in part to “bear witness” to the horrifying events as they have unfolded in East Timor and to the shock of Kamal’s sudden death.

In the edit, the interview segments are woven with “re-enactments” of the court case and archival footage from East Timor itself. The “re-enactments” were the riskiest part of the documentary. A blend of black and white stills and “performances” by the real people, they were based on the transcripts of the hearing in Boston. Given that the same questions were asked in “performance” as were in the court case, the answers remained true to the original case. An audio tape-recording, which was used as a blueprint, is the only actual surviving record of the hearing.

PUNITIVE DAMAGE also made use of the fact that Kamal was a prolific and elegant writer. His diaries and letters, along with family photographs, bring him to life in the film.

Despite the fact that the film was shaped by the personal story of Helen and Kamal, there was little risk it would only be about “white people.” It was evident from the beginning that Kamal and Helen were exceptional people with a deep understanding and empathy for the Timorese. In fact, Helen’s determination to seek justice was motivated in part because she, unlike the Timorese, could speak out against the atrocities of the Indonesian military occupation without risking her own life or that of her children. She also knew in bringing out the court case, that Kamal’s very death could be used to highlight the plight of the Timorese – and that is what he would have wanted.

This narrativised structure could be compared to the more typical “expositional” documentary form that relies on argument and rhetoric. Conventional documentaries tend to be edited using a more rhetorical than narrative editing style, following an argument rather than a story. Very frequently a narration is used to support the argument, while interview subjects and experts confirm the position or positions articulated by the documentary.

Useful readings follow:

Bieringa & Dennis	<u>Film in Aotearoa New Zealand</u> : VUP 1992. [See article by Russell Campbell]
Nichols, Bill	<u>Representing Reality</u> . Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1991
Roscoe, Jane	‘Punitive Damage: A Mother’s Trial’ <u>Metro</u> (Australia). Pp 19-23, #120 1999.
Sluka, Jeff.	‘Punitive Damage’. <u>Illusions Magazine</u> (NZ). pp. 8 – 13, Winter 1999.

B. A second use of PUNITIV E DAMAGE would be a cultural studies approach which would raise questions about news representation and ideology i.e. the film as the story “behind the headlines”. What is covered by the news, and how? Where do the conventions of “balance” and “objectivity” come from? How do they function within news discourse?

Ideological critiques of the news and the pressures of commercialisation abound, but some of the most useful readings include:

Hall, Stuart.	<u>Culture, Media and Identities</u> series. Vol 1-2. London: Open University, 1997.
Chomsky, Noam.	<u>Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media</u> . Pantheon Books, 1988.
Kellner, Douglas.	<u>Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern</u> . New York and London: Routledge, 1995.

PUNITIVE DAMAGE: Suggested Teaching Strategies for Secondary Institutions

Drawing on some of the critiques of news and ideology proposed above, teachers in the secondary school sector may suggest that students keep a chart analysing news clips that air on a particular news station. This would familiarise them with the language of TV news. For example, they could note the types of interview subject chosen, analyse the content and tone of the voiceover, and describe the types of clips chosen to illustrate the story. They could then discuss how the news constructs certain meanings that are then presented and understood as truthful.

Other issues that might be of significance particularly to secondary schools include discussions of:

1. Kamal’s bi-racial heritage. The section of the film in which Helen describes how Kamal felt “different” in both Malaysia and New Zealand could provide a useful starting point for a student discussion on multiculturalism, biculturalism and minority representation in New Zealand and other countries.
2. Grief and loss. The students could discuss what it is like, or what it would be like, to lose a family member and consider the emotional difficulties of bringing out a court case. You could raise the ethical issues in filming a person who has undergone such loss. Helen’s relative empowerment and control could be contrasted to the mainstream media’s typical representation of the “victim” and “battler”. When does the subject of a film or television programme, or the audience, gain anything from these representations – ie, when are they informative and when are they merely voyeuristic?

Places to Contact

The Kamal Bamadhaj Trust

As an Asian Studies student at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia, Kamal founded and participated in student groups advocating democracy and human rights in South East Asia. The Kamal Bamadhaj Trust has been set up to support youth initiatives to promote human rights, democracy and regional solidarity in South East Asia. Inquiries and contributions to:

Postal Address: 29, Jalan Permata 5, Taman Permata, Seremban 72000, Negeri Sembilan, West Malaysia
Internet: bamadhaj@iname.com

The Center for Constitutional Rights

The Center for Constitutional Rights was founded in 1966 as a public-interest legal and educational organization dedicated to protecting and advancing the rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Since its beginnings in the civil rights movement, the Center has practiced a unique kind of civil and human rights law. CCR works in partnership with community-based religious, labour and human rights organisations, both within the U.S. and abroad, to advance civil and human rights as essential foundations of peaceful, just and civil societies.

CCR's innovative legal role in expanding international human rights law has made the Center a recognised leader in litigating international human rights issues. Working closely with human rights organisations and grass-roots groups, CCR has brought suits against human rights violators from countries including Guatemala, Haiti, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Algeria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Indonesia and Burma.

Postal Address: Center for Constitutional Rights, 666 Broadway, 7th Floor, New York, NY 10012
Ph: 212-614-6464, Internet: ccr@igc.apc.org

The Free East Timor Coalition (NZ)

The Free East Timor Coalition was consolidated in the early 1990s as a network of national solidarity groups. These groups have coordinated their efforts to put pressure on the New Zealand government to change its policies with respect to East Timor and to educate the electorate about the issues involved. They also publish regular newsletters (NETTALK).

This coalition works closely with East Timorese resistance organisations in Australia and East Timor itself, as well as coordinating efforts with many other groups who are concerned about the situation in East Timor, including Amnesty International, CORSO and Oxfam.

Postal address: PO Box 68 419, Newton, Auckland
Ph/ fax: 09 376 9098, Email: maire@clear.net.co.nz

Local contacts:

CITY	CONTACT	POSTAL ADDRESS	TELEPHONE
Whangarei	c/ - Tim Howard	RD 9, Maunu, Whangarei.	09 434 6633
Auckland	ET Independence Committee	Box 68 419, Newton, Ak	09 376 9098
Hamilton	c/ - CORSO,	Box 9437, Hamilton	07 839 1246
Wellington	ET Action	Box 9314, Wellington	04 385 6728
Christchurch	ET Independence Campaign	Box 1905, Chch	03 366 2803
Dunedin	C/- CORSO	Box 1375, Dunedin	03 477 3395

East Timor Action Network (US)

The East Timor Action Network (ETAN)/United States was formed after the Dili Massacre of November 1991. It is a grassroots network with many local groups, working to change U.S. policy toward East Timor. ETAN provides an extensive resource list.

Postal Address: East Timor Action Network / U.S., P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA
Tel. 1-914-428-7299, Fax: 1-914-428-7383, Website: www.etan.org

Additional Resources

Text

Amnesty International. *Power and Impunity: Human Rights under the New Order*. Amnesty International Special Report, UK (1994).

An in-depth report by Amnesty International on Indonesia and East Timor. Amnesty has produced a series of important reports on East Timor and published numerous articles and books which expose and analyse human rights violations throughout the world.

Kamal & Nadiah Bamadhaj. *Aksi Write*. Malaysia: Rhino Press (1997).

Nadiah Bamadhaj has compiled her brother's letters and diary entries as a highly personal account of the politics of South East Asia and the events in East Timor prior to the Dili massacre. These entries are interspersed with Nadiah's own writing, in the form of informative essays on Indonesia, East Timor and political activism. As the letters date back to Kamal's school days at Auckland Boys Grammar School, this book is also a portrait of a vibrant young man and shows the development of his political consciousness.

Peter Carey and G. Carter Bentley (eds.). *East Timor at the Crossroads: The Forging of a Nation*. Hawaii & New York: University of Hawaii Press/ Cassell (1995).

This book brings together the writings of international experts on East Timor and provides information on all aspects of the situation. Includes an extensive bibliography.

Steve Cox and Peter Carey. *Generations of Resistance: East Timor*. London & New York: Cassell (1995).

Photo-journalist Steve Cox presents an extraordinary portfolio of photographs taken in East Timor in the early 1990s. He recorded events on the day of the Dili massacre and several of his images are featured in *Punitive Damage*. A substantial introduction by Oxford historian Peter Carey, provides a detailed history of events since the 1975 Indonesian invasion.

Video

Elaine Briere. *Bitter Paradise: The Sell-out of East Timor*. Canada (1996), 56min.

An award-winning political documentary on the history of East Timor since the Indonesian invasion.

Paper Tiger TV. *East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye*. US (1993), 30min.

Video documentary about US foreign policy and the role of the media. Available through ETAN.

John Pilger and Max Stahl. *Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy*. UK (1994), 76 min.

A feature-length documentary produced for British TV and broadcast in over 40 countries.

Peter Wintonick and Mark Achbar *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*. US (1992). 166min.

Documentary on political commentator Noam Chomsky, which includes a comparison of media coverage of East Timor and Cambodia.

Internet

East Timor information in English is on the World-Wide Web at the

University of Lisbon <http://amadeus.inesc.pt/~jota/Timor/>

This site includes background and current information, and links to many other systems.

Other well-maintained East Timor pages include:

<http://www.ozemail.com.au/~ekeberg/INDEX.HTM>, <http://shell.ihug.co.nz/~calliope/Nettalk.html>

<http://www.peg.apc.org/~etchrmel/>, http://www.peg.apc.org/~adamt/et_index.htm

Amnesty International's Indonesia & East Timor material is available through <http://www.amnesty.org/> with background material on their 1994-5 campaign in <ftp://ftp.io.org/pub/human-rights/Amnesty/indonesia/>

For more information on internet resources on East Timor, send a blank email message to timor-info@igc.apc.org

Occasional Productions
 Ph.: (09) 849 7864
 Fax: (09) 373 7429
 Email: a.goldson@auckland.ac.nz

New Zealand Film Commission
 Ph: (04) 382 7680
 Fax: (04) 384 9719
 Internet: www.nzfilm.co.nz

Running Time: 77 minutes (film) 72 mins (video)
 Rating: M (contains violence)

An Occasional Productions Film, produced in association with the New Zealand Film Commission, New Zealand on Air, Television New Zealand, The Open Society Institute, The University of Auckland and The Willi Fels Memorial Trust.

Festivals, special screenings and awards (to date: May -- Nov 99):

Canadian International Documentary Festival (Hotdocs): Official Selection
 Sydney International Film Festival: Audience Vote for Best Documentary
 Nokia New Zealand Film Awards :Nominated for Best Film
 Munich Film Festival (Film Fest Munchen 99): Silver Medianet Award
 Melbourne International Film Festival
 New Zealand Film Festival (various cities)
 Locarno International Film Festival: Critics Week
 The Hague Appeal for Peace: 'Images of War/Visions of Peace' Film Series
 Government House, Wellington: Parliamentary screening
 Chicago International Film Festival: Nominee for Gold Hugo

Pending:

Rocky Mountain Women's Festival, Colorado
 Palm Springs Film Festival: Martin Luther King special screening
 Hawaii International Film Festival: Nominee for Best Documentary
 Valencia International Film Festival: Nominee for Best Documentary
 Rencontres Internationales du Documentaire de Montréal
 In competition, Amsterdam International Documentary Festival
 Finalist, New Zealand Media Peace Awards