

Portuguese Colonial State Incarceration: The Life and Times of the Anarcho-Syndicalist *Deportados* on Timor

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ABSTRACT: Seeking to offer new interpretations on the life and times of Portuguese political deportees, this article focuses upon the remote Southeast Asian half-island colony of Timor as part of a far-flung network of prisons carried through under the authoritarian regime of António de Oliveira Salazar. First, it looks back at the political and economic instability in Portugal following the military coup of May 1926 ending the First Republic. Drawing upon newly available documentation, the article examines two waves of deportees from Portugal arriving in Timor, youthful activists involved in anarcho-syndicalist activities in the 1912–1927 period, and a more senior leadership group involved in a failed military coup of August 1931. It then tracks the reactions of the *deportados* to Japan's wartime invasion and occupation of Timor including exile in Australia. By highlighting the role of anarchist revolutionaries in Portugal from the 1920s and their subsequent incarceration in Timor, the article also draws attention to the dynamic linking metropolitan centers with their far-flung colonial peripheries at large. In the case of the Portuguese empire, as argued, the burgeoning anti-colonial movement of the 1960s would also intersect with the pro-democracy movement at home. Inside Timor, moreover, *deportado* families emerged as part of the pro-independence movement indelibly imprinting politics in the post-colonial era.

KEYWORDS: Portugal; Dictatorship; Timor; Anarcho-syndicalism; *Deportados* incarceration

The presence of political exiles and other deported people (*deportados*) in Portugal's remote Southeast Asian colony of Timor – present day Timor-Leste – first came to Australian attention during the Pacific War, as a number of fighters among the 400-odd metropolitan community rallied to the anti-Japanese resistance lending tactical support to even larger numbers of Australian commandos alongside Timorese allies.¹

Until today, little has appeared in Anglophone writing on Timor as a place of exile or banishment for political prisoners. As mentioned below, Macau was not outside of the colonial carceral system and with Timor also serving as a dumping ground for *condenado* or convicts and political exiles through unto the late 1960s. More recently, Madalena Barreto (2014; 2015) has entered this field offering valuable new interpretations especially on social interactions between the *deportados* and the Timorese as viewed through Portuguese literature, alongside oral and archival research.² In a similar vein, Ana Cristina Pereira (2013) has profiled the life of one *deportado*, Simões de Miranda, first coming to police attention in 1923 for launching a baker's strike in Lisbon, joining a group of *deportados* sent to Timor

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Morning reading at the residence and headquarters of the Aliança Libertária in Dili (Timor); “Deported anarchists in Dili (Timor) exhibit titles of Spanish newspapers (Solidaridad Obrera and others), with a Timorese girl in the center.” 1932. in *Revista Blanca*. Projecto MOSCA /BNP N61 CX110 AHS3912MS2998-B865.

in 1927. By contrast, this article seeks to connect Portugal with colonial Timor through an examination of two groups of *deportados* dispatched to the half-island colony, the so-called “*deportados sociais*” (socials) of 1927, versus the “*deportados políticos*” (politicals) of 1931, as well as exposing their crimes and punishments set against the metropolitan context.

Central to this analysis is an understanding of the May 28, 1926 military coup that put an end to the unstable Portuguese First Republic initiating the self-named proto-fascist Ditadura Nacional (National Dictatorship), later refashioned into its successor, the Estado Novo (New State) or Second Republic, the authoritarian regime established by António de Oliveira Salazar in 1933 enduring until ended by the “Carnation Revolution” or military coup of April 25, 1974. In Anglophone writing, Douglas Wheeler (1978) has contributed greatly to an understanding of these events, although ignoring the *revirahismo* or movement associated with the multiple conspiracies and actions against the dictatorship. In Portuguese writing, the study on Portuguese anarchism and socialism by António Ventura (2000) should be heeded, especially with its background focus upon events leading to the

1910 revolution against the monarchy. Especially, new counter-narratives on the events of 1926–33 along with new documentation have brought to the fore a range of revisionist writings on the Portuguese colonial incarceration system at large (Barros 2009), although the role of Timor within the system is less well studied.

Still, I would argue, without some conception of state and class in Portugal, the political instability that characterized the Ditadura period does not make sense. Neither can we ignore the economic marginalization of Portugal particularly through the years of economic depression. To a large degree such has been achieved by Chilcote (2010: 4–5) in his study of Portuguese republicanism including the role of the military with respect to different epochs, as with elected parliaments up until 1926 and, with the end of authoritarianism in 1974, parliamentary again. In fact, for this writer, “How the dominant class relates to the theory of the capitalist state” becomes a central concern in understanding the authoritarian Portuguese order. As such, the events of 1974–75 in Portugal bringing an end to Salazar’s New State (and the colonial empire), have to be seen in “some sort of class context.” Space precludes a comprehensive political economy approach, but I take the deportation/

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incarceration system as it applied in Timor as an index of the structure and character of the late colonial state in Portugal with its profoundly authoritarian center and control apparatus.

As well documented, European anarchist ideas and organization touched parts of Asia profoundly decades prior to the events unfolding on Timor. From Dirlik (1991) and others we learn that Chinese communism also had anarchist forebears, especially around Paris-educated student returnees and with Tokyo emerging as a separate pole. Southeast Asia was also touched, at least in the immigrant milieu.³

More recently Benedict Anderson's (2005) minor classic, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*, has brought to the fore the links between late nineteenth Spanish anarchism with political actions in the Philippines as with political novelist José Rizal and the pioneering folklorist Isabelo de los Reyes, as well as José Martí's armed uprising in Cuba. Nevertheless, the contrast could not be greater with the remote and utterly backward colony of Timor entirely lacking a Rizal much less a Martí or, for that matter, even a native educated class or anti-colonial movement in a modern sense. Yet, with the arrival in Timor of the first wave of metropolitan political *deportados* under the monarchy continuing through the following decades under the Republican regime, echoes of the European old world did eventually resonate on the opposite side of the globe at least when the threat of fascism literally arrived on the doorstep. Moreover, with the foundation of the Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (FRETILIN) following Portugal's "Carnation Revolution," the late twentieth century would indeed produce such heroes of the resistance against Indonesian invasion as Nicolau dos Reis Lobato (1946–78) and the soldier-poet and future president of independent Timor-Leste, José "Xanana" Gusmão (b. 1946).

First, and with attention to the metropolitan center, the article sets down the basic parameters of the prison/deportation system for political exiles under the Ditadura. Second, it profiles the political setting surrounding the military coup of May 28, 1926 and events leading up to Salazar's Novo Estado system. Third, the article focuses upon the February 1927 Revolt and the deportation of the "*socials*." Fourth, the deportation of the "*políticos*" is discussed against the backdrop of the failed coup event of August 26,

1931 and political instability of the period. Fifth, and with attention focused upon the colonial periphery, it turns to an account of the short-lived anarchist-linked Aliança Libertária in Dili, especially around the key personalities involved. Sixth, the article profiles a select group of longtime and surviving *deportados* adding rare documentation on their alleged crimes. Seventh, the article discusses the role of the *deportados* alongside the "Red Brigade" in the antifascist struggle against Japan (as they conceived it), carried on in exile in Australia where they chafed under wartime controls. Finally, the article explains postwar repatriation of the *deportados*, drawing attention as well to those who stayed on in Timor building careers and families, and with their heirs joining political parties and struggles down until the present.

II/ THE INCARCERATION SYSTEM

As Chilcote (2012: 37) points out, "attempted coups, barracks revolts, naval mutinies, and uprisings" long punctuated the history of military involvement in civil society in Portugal following the October 1910 revolution against the monarchy. Contrariwise, exile and incarceration of political opponents was also established practice in Portugal, and with Madeira and the Azores Islands assigned this role from an early period, alongside Peniche and other penal establishments in metropolitan Portugal. Notorious in this sense was Tarrafal on Cape Verde off the northwest coast of Africa. Established by Salazar following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 in the image of Nazi camps, and also known as the *Campo da Morte Lenta* (Camp of the Slow Death), Tarrafal emerged as a link in a chain of penal establishments strung out from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

According to Barros (2009: 10, 31, 35, 61), the deportation, forced exile, and imprisonment system was structural to Salazar's Estado Novo, just as it sought to rupture the individuals' (invariably male) social links back home. As virtual social outcasts, the prisoners were subject to an incarceration regime demanding "impunity, civic obedience and subservience" and with islands figuring strongly in the banishment-isolation logic. There was also a constant circulation of the prisoners through various camps and sites, many times arbitrary, but always with the physical and psychological isolation of the individual in mind, disallowing even the

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slightest possibility of political action (even if this tenet was challenged by extraordinary events). Nevertheless, during the 1930s, it was the two island colonies of Cape Verde, with 334 deportee-prisoners, and Timor with 500, that stood out.⁴

Obviously Portugal was not unique as a European colonial power in seeking distant exile for political opponents. Great Britain did likewise, with Tasmania as one early dumping place for convicts; Spain with Fernando Poo for Afro-Cubans and Filipinos, and France with Devil's Island in Guinea, Pulo Condore (Con Son) for Vietnamese nationalists, as well as the island colonies of New Caledonia, and Réunion. These examples could be multiplied. What stands out in the case of Portugal is the longevity of the deportation system and with the first wave of political (those accused of complicity in anarchist activities against the monarchy) arriving in Timor in 1896 (Barreto 2015: 41). As recently as March 1968, pro-democracy advocate and Portuguese Socialist Party figure Mário Soares (Portugal's future president, 1986–96), was sentenced by a military tribunal to banishment in the island colony of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea, and with pro-independence nationalists rotating through the colonial prison system down until 1975.

II/ THE POLITICAL SETTING SURROUNDING THE MILITARY COUP OF MAY 28, 1926

On May 28, 1926, in events sometimes called the May 28 Revolution, a military coup led by General Manuel de Oliveira Gomes da Costa put an end to the unstable First Portuguese Republic overthrowing the last democratically elected government of António Maria da Silva leading to the establishment of the military dictatorship. Two weeks later, Gomes da Costa was arrested and deported to the Azores. According to Wheeler (1978: 235), while largely a military movement, “it functioned in the context of military rivalry and a struggle for power.” Although the leaders were military men, other classes and groups were involved. A bloodless coup, it was the result of long drawn out planning and conspiracy. Acknowledging that public reaction to the fall of the Silva government was favorable given the despairing events of 1925–26, he also notes that one conspiracy led to another, and that parliamentary democracy never recovered.

Wheeler's narrative of events ends in 1926 but, as demonstrated below, the event fractured the political elite and plunged Portugal into further rounds of repression and reaction. Although Portugal was spared major civil war such as massively sundered Spain, it also experienced the terror of bomb outrages, police repression, and the destruction wrought by rebellious military factions. Even when Spain enjoyed a parliamentary interlude prior to the rise of fascism in the mid-1930s, the founding elements of an authoritarian order were set down some ten years prior in Portugal, and with Spain, Brazil, and France becoming places of exile for the dictatorship's opponents.

In the early interwar period, the cost of living in Portugal was barely sustainable. From 1919, labor strikes proliferated and with the efficacy of trade unionism questioned. Intensified violence against police, employers, and strikebreakers increased. In October 1921, Prime Minister, António Granja, was assassinated. At this time, anarcho-syndicalists dominated the labor scene. The Russian Revolution was an inspiration and the Partido Comunista Português (Portuguese Communist Party, PCP) was launched in 1921 as the Portuguese section of the Communist International (Comintern). The influence of political currents in Spain, especially the role of anarcho-syndicalism cannot be discounted, though the political rhythm inside Portugal was *sui generis*. As mentioned below, a leadership group including Bernardino Machado, President of the Republic until displaced by the May 28, 1926 coup, would go into exile in Spain and then France. Under the Ditadura, between 1927 and 1931, Portugal endured major civil strife marked by five major as well as multiple other small insurrectionary movements, broadly glossed as the *reviralhista*, especially touching the cities of Lisbon and Porto, as well as Madeira and the Azores Islands.

From within the *reviralhista* movement, one of the leading poles of opposition was a youth segment known as the Juventude Sindicalista emerging in the industrial suburbs of Lisbon and Porto in 1912. From around 1919 several extremist groups, young syndicalists, young communists, anarchists and even bandit groups commenced to jell into a group dubbed the *Legião Vermelha* or Red Legion. According to Freitas (2007: 40), the advent of the Russian revolution was a call to violence. Linked with the 100,000-strong Confederação Geral do Trabalhadores or General

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Workers Confederation (CGT), between 1919 and 1925 the young revolutionary syndicalists, themselves numbering around 5,000, launched wave after wave of bombings especially in Lisbon against authority figures, big business, and bourgeois society.

As Wheeler (1978: 225) points out, the use of repressive force against anarchist, anarcho-syndicalists and others destroyed any hope of labor union support for the government in any future military coup. In the fall of 1925 the CGT newspaper *Batalha* was banned followed by a first wave of deportations of worker-activists, some accused of being members of the *Legião*. Landmarks in the sometimes bloody actions of the *Legião* included an attempted assassination on May 15, 1925 of Lisbon police chief, João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, the key individual involved in the suppression of all disaffected groups including syndicalistas, communists, and anarchists. As Barreto remarks (2014: 4), the do Amaral affair met with an ensuing wave of repression, including the closing down of newspapers and syndicates alike. Among those implicated in the plot and deported to Timor was the then 23-year old baker union activist, Simões de Miranda (Pereira 2013).

In Walter Laquer's (2012: 117) view, the *Legião Vermelha* (and right wing counterparts) were "terrorist" organizations *tout court*, that contributed to the downfall of the liberal regime and the rise of the dictatorship which ruled for the next four decades. Yet such a view ignores the actual plight of ordinary Portuguese in the years following World War I in which the country lost a good proportion of its working population to war, food shortages, and the Spanish flu, and with the economy in crisis. Still, as Filipa Freitas (2007: 40) conjectures, while the *Legião* may have existed conjunctureally, it nevertheless took on lexical and semantic import at the hands of the establishment including the media. This is all the more the case given the obscurity of its origins, ambiguity surrounding the young syndicalists, and its public mystification. As Barreto (2014: 2) notes, the government issued its own narrative to justify deportations, tarring these individuals as terrorists or "*malfeitor*."

Nevertheless, as Freitas (2007: 47) concedes, the young syndicalists pursued direct action committing the crimes that made the Legion notorious. According to an indictment of the *Legião* issued in the name of do Amaral by the Salazarist Estado Nova to justify its methods and the establishment of order, in 1924 alone



"O 'Bela-Kun' X legionário vermelho guiando sua 'camionete,' no exercício militar de guarnição" (Source: [unintelligible])

there were thirty-four bomb explosions in Lisbon linked to the "terrorists" (and the tempo would increase as the *revivalhista* movement gained momentum). Still, to understand the *raison d'être* behind the first wave of deportations to Timor under the Ditadura Nacional regime, we should closely examine the activities of the movement.

III/ THE FEBRUARY 1927 REVOLT AND DEPORTATION OF THE "SOCIALS"

The details of the February 1927 revolt with its two centers, respectively Porto and Lisbon, should not detain us here, except to say that it failed dismally, leading to hundreds of deaths, some by execution and with massive suppression. By government decree of February 15, all civil servants in any way involved in the events of Porto and Lisbon, were dismissed. Another



Source: Duarte 1944: 136).

decree of the same date dissolved all units of the Army and the National Guard which had taken part in the revolt. All political parties and organizations associated with the movement were also dissolved. On March 26, the police and security apparatus was reorganized creating the basis of the future *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* (political police) or PVDE/PIDE. On May 27, the government decreed the dissolution of the CGT.

As Loures (2013) sums up, the February 1927 movement allowed the dictatorship to create a repressive apparatus at all levels, a device that would be the cornerstone of the future *Estado Novo*. Precisely, this was the backdrop to the wave of deportations of the youthful anarcho-syndicalistas to Timor commencing in the following months. Timor was then under the governorship of Teófilo Duarte (September 1926-December 1928), a former governor of Cape

Verde and future minister of colonies under Salazar.

Following the failed revolt of February 1927, the 75 youthful alleged members of the *Legião Vermelha* swept up in the suppression of the anarcho-syndicalist movement became part of a first wave of deportations to Timor. Departing Lisbon on April 14, 1927 aboard the *S/s Pêro d'Alenquer*, a cargo ship belonging to the *Companhia de Navegação dos Carregadores Açoreanos*, and transiting Cape Verde, Guinea and Mozambique, the voyage ended in Dili after a seven month trip, and with the *deportados* disembarked at the stark Aipelo camp (Barreto 2014: 4; 2015: 29). Overlooking the sea and situated some 15 km west from Dili, Aipelo also served as an incarceration camp for Timorese rebels (possibly including the leader of the last major rebellion against the Portuguese on Timor in 1911–12, Dom Boaventura) and with the still extant ruins now “gazetted” as a heritage site.⁵ After the military coup of

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May 28, 1926, the rhythm of deportation of prisoners and communist militants intensified. Several members of the PCP including central committee member, Reinaldo Ferreira Godinho, were part of this contingent of deportees to Timor (Avante PCP website).

Not all opposition to the dictatorship came from the political left but also from the founders of the Republic. On March 12, 1927 the Liga de Defesa da República (Republican Defense League), also known as the Liga de Paris, set up in the French capital integrating political exiles of various trends. Among many others, they included António Sérgio Afonso da Costa (Loures 2013), one of the dominant figures of the Portuguese First Republic, going on to play an important role in the *revivalhismo* at least down until 1932 and subsequently playing an important role in opposition to the dictatorship. Another member, former head of the National Library and historian Jaime Cortesão, also went into exile.

The Teófilo Duarte Regime and White Colonization: Putting the Deportados to Use

On Timor, as Ana Cristina Pereira (2013) points out, Governor Teófilo Duarte, saw the youthful but skilled *deportados* as a useful workforce for colonization and, once transplanted to a colonial environment, then their moral transformation could be taken care of. To this end, he began by taking stock of their professions; bakers, locksmiths, carpenters, masons, painters, mechanics, drivers, and so on. As he boasted in his self-congratulatory book, *Ocupação e Colonização Branca de Timor (The White Colonization and Occupation of Timor)* (1944: 135), he would offer freedom to those who behaved correctly. He also pledged social assistance as with “reasonable housing, mosquito nets, quinine, clothes,” while offering a monthly allowance at two-thirds that of a white soldier. Reflecting upon the abject state of the colony, he noted that the metropolitan Portuguese presence was limited to a mere twelve settlers, that the balance of payments was unfavorable, and that Timor survived on loans. Accordingly, he sought to turn the situation around by encouraging white settlement through land grants and other concessions.

Duarte’s (1944: 136) book includes a black and white photo captioned, “O ‘Bela-Kun’ X *legionário vermelho* guiando sua ‘camionete,’ nos exercício militar

de guarnição” (The ‘Bela-Kun’ Red Legionaire on a motorized military exercise). This, we may assume, was to illustrate the domestication of the *deportado*, Joaquim António Pereira. Dubbed “Bela Kun,” presumably named after the Hungarian communist of that time, Pereira was panned as a hard core Bolshevik-cum labor activist-turned Red Legion *bombista* and principal suspect in the case against Ferreira do Amaral. Manuel Vieiga Carrascalão is also named as offering testimony of the governor’s benevolence. As Duarte (1944: 137) sneered, “These disciples of Kropotkin and Tolstoy prefer the bucolic and peaceful Timorese life to that of the hurly burly of agitation in Lisbon.” To be sure, Timorese as individuals simply do not exist in this panegyric to white colonization and miscegenation. Shocking in itself, on December 27, 1929, Pereira died in prison on Timor in mysterious circumstances and with the results of an enquiry inconclusive (see Barreto 2015; 182–83 for biographical details).

IV/ THE EVENTS OF AUGUST 26, 1931 AND THE DEPORTATION OF THE “POLÍTICOS”

In 1928, with the economy in disarray, and with General Oscar Carmona elevated to power, António de Oliveira Salazar was installed as finance minister under a government formed by Colonel Vicente de Freitas (Chilcote 2012: 37). Salazar’s restrictive economic policies designed to alleviate the effects of the international crisis of 1929 alienated sections of the population. Rebellion broke out in February 1931 on Portugal’s then remote Atlantic possession of Madeira.⁶ Months later, the island emerged at the center of an international crisis in what became known as the *Revolta da Madeira* also referred to as *Revolta dos Deportados*. A military uprising against the Ditadura starting on April 4, 1931 also touched the Azores and other Portuguese African colonies including Guinea, Mozambique and São Tomé. In Madeira, the military rebels, backed by a core of politician *deportados* swept up in the events of 1927, including leading opponent of the Ditadura, General Adalberto Gastão de Sousa Dias, gained popular support, before being neutralized (with Britain sending a warship), and with the other rebellions crushed by late April. The short-lived “Atlantic republic” on Madeira and the Azores also gained support from the Liga de Paris group.

Poster warning of dangers posed by anarcho-syndicalists. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: CT. 1201 R. Rosas, Fernando - Carrazes de propaganda política do Estado Novo (1933-1949). Lisboa: BN, 1988



LISBOA VIVEU DURANTE ANOS
sob o terror da
Legião Vermelha

O Comandante da Polícia de Segurança Pública,
 Ferreira do Amaral, prendia os criminosos.

A POLÍTICA SOLTÁVA-OS.

Em 1924 houve em Lisboa

36 presenças de bombas explosivas por vezes
em copiosa quantidade
e 7 crimes sociais de outra natureza

Ao ESTADO NOVO deve PORTUGAL
alguns lustros
de paz interna e trabalho tranqüilo

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Before the year was out, Lisbon was the site of another attempted military coup. Launched on August 26, 1931 and led by Jayme Baptista, Colonels Fernando Pais Teles Utra Machado, Dias Atunes and Lt. Miguel de Abreu, it took the form of an assault upon the Batalha de Metraladores 1 de Artilharia 3 in Lisbon. With the events restricted to Lisbon, the two principal protagonists were the infantry of the Regimento de Caçadores no 7, and an air force group. As blandly reported in *The Daily Mail* (August 26, 1931), “Portugal’s twenty-third revolution broke out at 5 a.m. when groups of civilians armed with bombs and rifles attacked and captured the Lisbon garrison’s artillery barracks, in which they barricaded themselves after firing a cannon as a general signal for revolt. A small part of the garrison joined in, but loyal troops bombarded the rebels into surrender, killing ten. An airplane carrying the leaders of the revolt escaped to Spain, while another crashed when taking off. The occupants were taken prisoners.” Distantly backed by the Liga de Paris group, the coup makers also had the support of the Buda or Madrid group around Jamie Cortesão in exile in Spain and with the backing of Spanish socialists.

The aftermath of the events of August 26 also prompted a wave of arrests and summary deportations even bypassing judicial circles. With military rebellions touching practically all of Portugal’s Atlantic and African colonies, Timor may well have been deliberately chosen as a safe location to physically isolate leadership elements of the failed coup. Unlike the “social” deportees arriving in 1927, the “politicals” of 1931 were viewed as more threatening to the Carmona dictatorship. Besides soldiers and workers, the group included intellectuals and leading political figures. Unlike the “socials” released by Duarte, the latter group would not immediately benefit from an amnesty but, under the newly arriving Governor António Baptista Justo, were obliged to serve out their prison sentences (see Pereira 2013).

In stark contrast to the youthful anarcho-syndicalists deported to Timor in 1927, the “*deportados políticos*” of 1931 included lawyers and other professionals. Duarte (1944: 141) acknowledges the arrival in Timor of graduates of higher schools and former high-ranking officials, but names only two, namely Hélder Ribeiro and Utra Machado. For some reason he omits the name of José António Simões

Raposo Junior, as described below, the political doyen of the group.

As one of the original backers of the October 5, 1910 revolution against the monarchy, Hélder Ribeiro (b.1883) was a member of the Partido Republicano Português (PRP). In other circles he would have been seen as a national hero. Ribeiro was also a World War I veteran, and minister in a string of cabinets, including minister of war; foreign minister and, in 1924, minister of education. However, owing to his vocal opposition to the Ditadura, he was forced into exile in Cape Verde (1927) and, subsequently, the Azores between 1927 and 1931, prior to his incarceration on Timor from 1931 unto 1933.

On his part, Utra Machado (1882–49) was a military man and politician who had served as minister of colonies in one of the governments of the First Portuguese Republic. After the military coup of May 28, 1926, he began to support the democratic opposition leading to his involvement in the failed uprising of August 26, 1931 (the aviator officer mutiny), incarceration and subsequent deportation to Timor.

José António Simões Raposo Junior (1875–1945) was a long time professor or magistrate of the venerable Casa Pia de Lisboa, a charitable organization responsible for the education of children. As a member of a Masonic resistance committee he was also part of the revolutionary committee of October 5, 1910 which overthrew the monarchy ushering in the Portuguese Republic. Founder of the Aliança Republicana Socialista group, a small faction seeking to achieve a political transformation via electoral means, he was implicated in the production of a revolutionary manifesto in July 1931 and, pending his arrest and incarceration, was deported to Timor that year. His stature among the *deportados* is showcased in *O Batalho* (July 8, 1933) of Rio de Janeiro in a rare photo displaying himself at the center of an elegantly dressed group, presumably taken in Dili just prior to embarkation for the return journey to Portugal.

Among the intellectuals was the political journalist Miguel de Abreu, a former deputy of the National Assembly. Prior to his arrest and deportation he had been in letter contact with Bernardino Machado (then in Bayonne, France) on April 17, 1931 from his base in Madrid. As revealed in these letters, he went to Spain on the pretext of reporting for the

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República newspaper but with the underlying purpose of contributing to the restoration of the constitutional republic. From Spain he published in such Madrid newspapers as *La Libertad*, *Heraldo* and *El Liberal* on the political situation in Portugal. He also sent telegrams to contacts in the Azores and Madeira (Fundação Mario Soares: casa comun). A media person and well connected, he was obviously highly useful in organizing the coup plot.

Deportation of the 1931 Politicals

With the *S/s Gil Eanes* departing Lisbon on June 28, 1931 via the Atlantic route and disembarking prisoner-detainees at the various colonies, a first group of ninety *deportados* were landed in Dili. Departing Belem (Lisbon) on September 2, and taking the Mediterranean and Suez route, the *S/s Pedro Gomes* transported a second group of 358 prisoners to Timor besides civilians and military. As Barreto (2014: 5) confirms, the great majority of the *deportados* on these two ships were swept up in the suppression following the sequence of *revirahistas* against the May 26, 1926 coup installing the Ditadura. According to a PCP source, among the deportees aboard the *Pedro Gomes* was the communist leader António Cabrita Bandeira (Avante PCP website). Another was José António Simões Raposo.

Rare detail on the long passage to Timor and the fate that awaited them is revealed in a manifesto issued by a group of the detainees interned in Timor (at the Oecusse camp) titled “Manifesto de um grupo de deportados de Timor à Nação Portuguesa.”⁷ As explained, on September 2, 1931, in the dead of night and at bayonet point they (hundreds of Portuguese citizens) were escorted from prison in Lisbon to the quay at Belem. The ship waiting for them was the *Pedro Gomes* of the Companhia Nacional de Navegação, and with their destination, Timor. Earlier, on June 28, another group had already departed Lisbon for Timor under similar conditions aboard the *Gil Eanes*, a former German ship-captured during World War I.

Both ships docked in Dili, capital of the colony. In the words of a Dutch journalist who boarded the *Gil Eanes* as it stopped over in Java, this was a veritable “human cargo.” We know that the ship also stopped off in the British colony of Ceylon because one of the detainees, political journalist Miguel de Abreu, clandestinely sent a postcard from Colombo

to Bernardino Machado. Dated September 30, 1931, the communication also reveals the slow passage of the ship across the Indian Ocean (Fundação Mario Soares, Cartão de cumprimentos, remetido de Colombo, Ceilão). The two ships would arrive in Timor at the end of October.

Having arrived in Timor, the *Pedro Gomes* transported one group of *deportados* to Ataúro Island, visible offshore Dili in the formidable Ombai-Wetar Strait. With a global population of c. 5,000 dispersed through three or four different communities, according to missionary-anthropologist Jorge Barros Duarte (1984: 15–16) who studied their myths and beliefs, Ataúro islanders were then deeply animist. The *deportados* cannot but have failed to observe their totem culture and (now) collectible primitive art. Owing to geography, Ataúro was described as a “natural concentration camp” with the sea substituting “for barbed wire and under the vigilant watch of armed guards.” By contrast, the other group was destined to Oecusse-Ambeno, then – and now – an utterly remote enclave territory embedded in Dutch (now Indonesian)-controlled west Timor, a site where head hunting was only eliminated after World War II. Dubbed a “true concentration camp,” the Oecusse camp was surrounded by a deep and wide moat filled with water and surrounded by barbed wire. Machine gun posts were located on the high ground. A whip-wielding camp comandante, backed by an indigenous force, barked orders. With the thermometer touching 32 degrees for eight hours a day, and with the onset of the rainy season (it was the month of October), the land around the camp became flooded and with disease striking down the prisoners – death literally stalked the concentration camps.

As the report bewailed, that was how the dictatorship treated the Portuguese who fought for the Republic in 1910. Without trial and exiled, their banishment was actually prison. In effect, this was a death penalty without guillotine or being shot. In this far away place, death could come in unknown circumstances, insidious and craven from “natural moral depression” and/or mortified by the punishing climate – “A monstrous devil of an island.” But, the petitioners continued, “ideas don’t die and suffering and pain turned into high flame the same smoldering fire of belief, both religious and political.” – “To serve the Portuguese people, to save our sisters and children,

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and to defend the Republic, we have been condemned to death.” As duly signed off, “from 3,000 miles distant, from “*Ilha Maldita*” (Island of the Damned) to Portugal, *Viva a Republica*.”

Their rescue was not yet at hand, but their plight was registered, at least by the Paris-based political opposition-in-exile, and the Spanish media. Inaugurated by Governor António Baptista Justo (1930–33), both these camps were highly malarial sites, lacking quinine, lacking nutritious food, adequate clothing, etc., and leading to many deaths. In reflecting upon the “victims of the dictatorship,” Afonso da Costa, leader of the PRP, three times prime minister and exile in Paris, especially lamented the fate of those deported to Timor and Cape Verde. In “moving terms,” he spoke of their “suffering, misery and tortures.” In Cape Verde, as noted, there were eighty-four officials including generals and admirals, without counting dozens of sergeants, corporals, and soldiers. There were former ministers and deputies, doctors, and officials, or a grand total of 334 *deportados* effectively representative of all classes of Portuguese society...*a poderiam por si sós organizar uma revolução triunfante* (they could by themselves organize a successful revolution). As he pointed out, in Timor there were 500 *deportados* in analogous conditions (*Fundação Mário Soares, “Actas da Reunião de Beyris*).

The Madrid press of the time barred no holds with a string of liberal newspapers offering stinging rebukes of the *Ditatura* under Carmona while highlighting the plight of the Portuguese *deportados* in Timor. For example, as the *Heraldo de Madrid* (14/19/1931) railed under the headline, “La Opression de la dictadura portuguesa,” as “victims of false accusations,” this was a “terrible inferno” for the *deportados*, even compared to the notorious prison on Isla da Sal on Cape Verde. Mario Salguero (himself deported to the Azores and Cape Verde on May 14, 1932) and writing in *La Libertad* (29/11/1931), and *Luz* (16/4/1932) under the headline, “Timor antecâmara de la muerte” (the waiting room of death), likened the fate of the *deportados* on Ataúro to prisoners waiting for death. Gonzalo de Reparaz writing in *La Libertad* (6/2/1932) under the headline “La Dictadura Portuguesa: En El Inferno de Timor,” echoed this sentiment, describing a “horrible situation” and a “slow agony,” for the *deportados*, lacking food, protection and medicine and with TB and

malaria rife, otherwise shipwrecked, abandoned, and exiled to a torrid island environment by a dictatorship “lacking in humanity.” Complaints eventually reached the Portuguese ministry of colonies via the Liga dos Combatentes, a war veterans group set up in 1923 (Barreto 2014: 5–6; 2015: 34). As revealed below, an amnesty would be forthcoming for certain categories of political prisoners but only in late 1932.

The Great Escape

We know little concerning the circulation of the Manifesto but, as noted in the document, it was prepared aboard the *Koninklijke Paketvaart-Maatschappij* (KMP) line ship, the SS *Op ten Noort* (less than ten years later converted to a hospital ship attacked, captured and scuttled by the Japanese). According to an attachment to the document (added in 2011 and with English translation supplied), the manifesto was drafted “by a group of deportees from the Oekussi concentration camp in Timor, from where they had managed to escape.” “Dated February 28, 1932 from the Dutch ship *Op ten Noort* that rescued them after their escape” (Fundação Mário Soares, “A Voz das Vítimas”).

Very few details about the escape have leaked out. Indeed, it may have been as gripping as a scene from the 1973 Hollywood movie, *Papillon*, relating to a fictionalized escape from Devil’s Island in Cayenne, French Guinea. Crossing overland into west (Dutch-controlled) Timor would have been no mean feat given the undoubted weakened condition of the escapees, flooded rivers, dense forested terrain, malarial swamps and unwelcoming natives. The only other option would have been by sea and, in the 1930s, Dili was served by the Dutch KMP shipping line connecting with Surabaya on Java and other ports in the then Netherlands East Indies. According to Barreto (2015: 375), who interviewed the son of one of the escapees, the escape was indeed effected by small boat in the direction of Flores Island where the party took passage for Java aboard the Dutch vessel SS *Van Riebiek*.

Notwithstanding the censorship regime in Lisbon, the escape of nine Portuguese from Timor was reported in the Lisbon daily *O Século* (April 10, 1932). This was quickly followed by an article penned by Mario Salgueiro in the Madrid newspaper *Luz* (April 14, 1932), adding the detail that the group

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persuaded the captain of a visiting ship (the *Van Riebiek?*), then delivering supplies in Oecusse, to take them on. Arriving in Surabaya under the guise of shipwrecked Portuguese sailors, they were met by officialdom and the media before moving on to Jakarta. At this juncture, according to Barreto (2015: 357), the Portuguese authorities unsuccessfully lobbied their Dutch counterparts as to their repatriation. Three days later, the party boarded the *Op ten Noort* bound for Singapore, using the occasion to draft their manifesto. From Singapore, Utra Machado contacted Afonso de Costa seeking his intervention. In the event, the party embarked on the Messageries Maritimes ship *D'Artangan* bound for Marseilles. Members went their various ways and with Utra Machado joining the civil war in Spain against Franco. Still the actual escape begs explanation especially as to the attitude of the Dutch authorities although the support of sympathetic maritime union workers plying KPM and French ships on Asian routes including clandestine communists and nationalists can be taken for granted.

Although not a signatory of the manifesto, and not an escapee, another member of the Oecussi-Ambeno concentration camp group was Carlos Cal Brandão (1906–73). Although Brandão describes his arrival in Timor on the *Gil Eanes* in his small classic *Funu: Guerra em Timor* (1953: 29), he avoids discussion of his earlier career. Born in Porto in 1906 and a Coimbra University graduate in law, from an early age Brandão became politically active. Between 1926–27, he headed a Centro Académico Republicano and was also involved in Masonic activity, as indeed were many republicans of that time. Going on to found the newspaper, *Gente Nueva*, he likewise doubled as editor of the “anti-reactionary-anti-clerical” *Humanidade* newspaper. Arrested in 1930 over his Centro Académico activities, he was again arrested in 1931 accused of involvement in the revolutionary attempt of August 26, 1931. Duly sentenced, he was deported to Timor via Cape Verde (Fundação Mario Soares, *Iniciativas: Carlos Cal Brandão*). As discussed below, joining the anti-Japanese resistance on Timor, Brandão went on to become a staunch democrat back in postwar Portugal.

In fact, as Barreto (2014: 6–7) explains, an amnesty of 1931 brought some respite. This was followed by a general amnesty of December 5, 1932 for all *deportados* spread out across Portugal’s colonies. In the absence of documentation, she finds it difficult

to track the fate of the 500 *deportados* on Timor in the years to come, though certain gained their liberty.⁸ On April 27, 1933 the great majority of the surviving *deportados* still in Timor embarked on the *S/s Moçambique* with the intention of returning to metropole. However, around 110 of those originally deported in 1927 remained, including a group of 50 categorized as “most dangerous,” leaving one-third of the European population in Timor *deportados*, extraordinary in itself. Dispersed throughout the half-island colony and forbidden to leave, they put down roots and, especially through intermarriage, became part of the Portuguese-Timorese cultural exchange. As suggested in a final section, numerous of the political elite in present-day Timor-Leste descended via this cohort.

The arrival of the *Moçambique* in Lisbon with some 100 *repatriados* or returnees was also registered by *O Batalho* (July 8, 1933). As the *corico* or Rio de Janeiro-born journalist Azevedo Lima declaimed, “Toda Lisboa vibra neste momento com a narrativa verbal la tragica existencia dos recémvindos da pequena possessõa oceanica.” Especially mentioned was the presence of José António Simões Raposo Junior, correctly described as “one of the most esteemed Republicans.” As explained, the Liga dos Combatantes da Grande Guerra had come into bat for them, especially in highlighting their heroic role in the Great War in France and Angola respectively. Thanks to the League’s intervention they gained their liberty and, moreover became beneficiaries of a monthly stipend. The great escape of the nine from Oecusse was also mentioned. Not to be confused with its Portuguese anarcho-syndicalist namesake, the Brazilian paper was capable of striking contradictory positions. Nevertheless it drew attention to the Didatura’s deportation policy by comparing it with Czarist deportations to Siberia and even the forced exile of Trotsky to his frozen wasteland.

VI THE SHORT-LIVED ALIANÇA LIBERTÁRIA DE TIMOR IN DILI

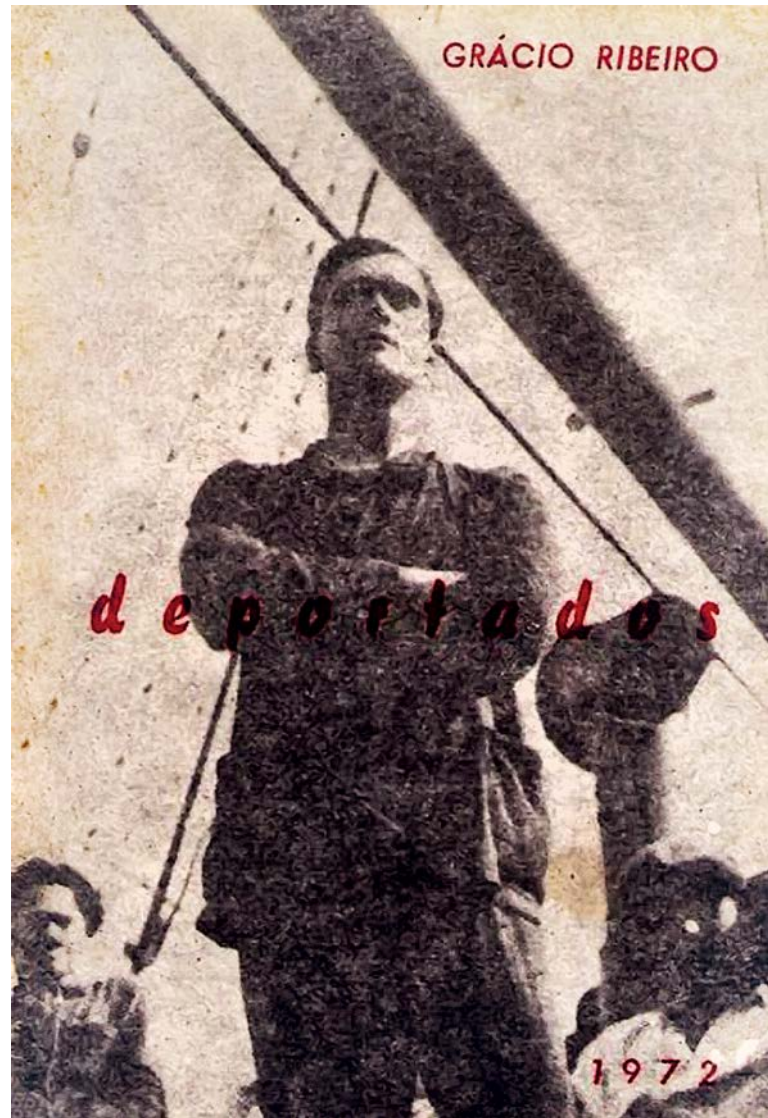
Nothing better illustrates the center-periphery theme of this essay than the foundation in Dili in 1932 of a branch of the anarchist organization, Aliança Libertária. In Portugal, the foundation in 1931 of the Aliança Libertária Portuguesa sought to bring together different anarchist groups. In 1932 it adopted the name

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Federação Anarquista da Região Portuguesa (FARP). As understood, the Aliança had a connection with the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), in turn, linked with Portuguese and Spanish anarchists. Surprisingly, in 1932, the Aliança Libertária set up in Dili as the Aliança Libertária de Timor creating a newsletter that ran through three issues before the authorities intervened.⁹ Col. António Baptista Justo, a military figure, was now governor (1930–33) taking over from his predecessor Governor Duarte who, as mentioned, had facilitated the integration of the 1927 cohort of “social” *deportados* into colonial life.

Meantime, the atmosphere between the *deportados* and the colonial administration was poisonous with beatings, malnutrition and deaths part of the regime, especially with numbers of the *deportados* assigned to distant work camps. Still others petitioned the administration to be allowed to return to Portugal or proceed to Macau. Even though many of the *deportados* had put down roots contracting marriages and raising families, there was also tension in the air. At the same time there was a great deal of paranoia on the part of the regime as to scheming and plots by individual *deportados* including rumored attempts to remove or assassinate the governor, especially following a fire of 1932 in the *Palácio do Governo* or Governor’s Palace in Dili (Barreto 2015: 66, 315).

In the following we turn to the profiles of two individuals at the heart of the Dili branch of the Aliança Libertária. One, Manuel Viegas Carrascalão, anarcho-syndicalist militant of the Libertarian Youth and CGT. The other, Arnaldo Simões Januário, a militant anarchist moving through the Salazarist prison system until early death. Improbable as it may sound, prior to his re-arrest, Januário took up a leadership role, founding the *Leitura Aliança Libertária em Dili (Timor)* (Chamberlain 2010: 7). They were not alone. Among other *deportados* swept up in the repression of the Aliança in Dili leading to incarceration on Atuaro was Alfredo Pereira Vaz. Back in Lisbon, Vaz had been active in militant anarchist Direct Action groups and was implicated in the plot to assassinate Ferreira do Amaral. Prior to deportation to Timor he had been incarcerated in Guinea and Cape Verde (Barreto 2015: 171). On Timor, he was resettled to the Liquisa area and was working on a plantation at the time of the Japanese invasion. As Vaz revealed to Australian interrogators, he suffered death threats and other tortures from the Japanese to induce information



Cover of Grácio Ribeiro's *Deportados* (1972)

on the location of the Allied forces before himself joining the Australian guerrillas (NAA A73 4058A; MP742/1 115/1/245). Another figure swept up in the repression following the attempt on the police chief was José Caetano Castela, a youth activist in Lisbon arriving in Timor in September 1927 (Barreto 2015: 188).

Manuel Viegas Carrascalão

Born in 1901 in São Brás de Alportel in the Algarve, Manuel Viegas Carrascalão, started his political career at the age of 12 as apprentice typographer at

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the local printshop. With his patron arrested in a police raid, he moved on to Lisbon in 1920 finding employment as a typesetter and plunging into the world of anarcho-syndicalism. First detained in 1922 following a bombing incident in the capital linked with revolutionary syndicalists, he was again arrested in June 1925 in a crackdown following the May 15 assassination attempt in Lisbon on Ferreira do Amaral. In September 1926, he was accused of membership of the *Legião Vermelha* and sentenced to six years banishment by the Military Court (confirmed in December by the Supreme Court). Along with José Gordinho, cork-maker, João Maria Major, baker, José Filipe, construction worker, Joaquim da Silva, metal worker and others, he joined a group of 64 *deportados* transported on the *S/s Pêro de Alenquer* to Timor departing Lisbon in mid-April 1927 (Portal Anarquista; Barreto 2015: 278-79).

Arnaldo Simões Januário

A barber by profession, Coimbra-born Arnaldo Simões Januário (b. 1897) was both a militant anarchist and organizer (when arrested he held lists of anarchist cells and members nationwide). Appraised in Portuguese leftwing circles today as of “rare intelligence and action,” he is saluted as a propagandist and organizer of trade unions and workers’ struggle in his hometown. A member of the *União Anarquista Portuguesa*, he also collaborated with such newspapers as *A Batalha*, *A Comuna*, *O Anarquismo*, *O Libertário*, and the magazine, *Aurora*. He was first arrested in 1927 following the repression of the workers’ movement in the wake of the events of May 28, 1926 leading to the establishment of the Ditadura. Subsequently, he was in and out of the prison system in Coimbra, Aljube, and Trafaria, before deportation to Angola, Azores, and Cape Verde. From Africa he was transported to Timor and, on October 22, 1931, incarcerated in the Oecussi camp. Swept up in the Aliança affair, as mentioned, and shipped back to Portugal, likely still in custody, he died in the Tarrafal Death Camp on March 27, 1938 (“*Perfil de Arnaldo Januário*,” Freitas 2007: 444).

Grácio Ribeiro and Paulo Braga: Literary Takes

Cafe society in Dili in 1932 cannot have been boring with such an assembly of talent. Two more

names of *deportados* enter this picture whether or not members of the Aliança Club, both prolific writers on Timor practically supplying the entire literary corpus for Timor during the late colonial epoch. One was Grácio Ribeiro, author of *Caiúru* (1939) and *Deportados* (1972), and the other, Paulo Braga, full name José Paulo de Oliveira Braga, author of a set of literary creations on Timor published in Lisbon of which *A ilha dos homens nus* (1936) is of particular interest. My concern is not with the Orientalizing images of these colonial novels which obviously offer a rich field for cultural studies critiques (eg. Soares 2015), but simply to seek context on the life and/or mentality of the deportees.

Caiúru: Romance Timor, Grácio Ribeiro’s *chef d’oeuvre* on Timor is an autobiographical take on a young revolutionary deportee and his love contract with a young Timorese women named “Caiúru,” albeit also exposing the real life practices of the *deportatos* of 1927 in putting down roots. At the heart of this contract is a marriage alliance tradition in Timor called *barlaque* (*berlaki* in Malay). The names of Oecusse, Aipelo, Batu Gede and Ataúro prison camps adorn these pages, as with the conversation among a number of *deportatos* meeting up over beer in the single Chinese-run hostel on the island, atmospheric with the smell of coffee beans, betel nut, and with pictures of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai Shek and other Chinese generals, stuck on the walls. The *Gil Earnes* is mentioned, and the regular visits to Dili by the KPM line ships is noted. An evocative picture of prewar Dili is drawn with its odd Arab and Indian trader, the seafront, the hospital and colonial core at the cooler heights of Lahane, but it is the liminal world of the mountainous interior to which the author directs the reader. By contrast, Ribeiro’s hard to find (*muito raro*) posthumously published, *Deportados*, recounts his detention and deportation in 1931 on the *Gil Eanes*, with photo illustration of the author on the deck of the ship (a contrast to the 1927 group who travelled in the hold).

Born in Tras-os-Montes in 1905, Paulo Braga read law at the University of Lisbon, also plunging into the world of journalism from a young age. The circumstances are not clear but, known for his socialist ideas, he was swept up in the events of 1931, and would join the *deportado* group of that year. After a stint of isolation on Ataúro, and still *deportado* status,

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he relocated to Dili where he took up teaching in a private school, while at the same time becoming an astute observer of colonial life and local society. Upon returning to Lisbon in 1933, he published four works of fiction on Timor (republished collectively in 2006), while continuing his career in writing and journalism. For Braga, according to Soares (2015), the inhabitants of the “*ilha da gente nua*” (“the island of naked people”) or Ataúro, become “the epitome of a society that – whilst it is able to resist the most pronounced effects of colonialism – has much to commend it.” In Braga’s (1936: 140) muse, “Timorese social organization, already under the influence of capitalism and religion, is obliterated, [...] without root and diluted as in a perfect communist organization” (cited in Soares 2015, author’s translation).

The Aliança Libertária in Dili

We are struck by the image in the photograph labeled, “Deported anarchists in Dili (Timor) exhibit titles of Spanish newspapers (*Solidaridad Obrera* and others), with a Timorese girl in the center.” Photo, dated 1932). As noted, the photo is sourced to *La Revista Blanca*, a Spanish anarchist journal appearing in a new format in Barcelona from 1923–36. Yet, it hardly squares with the image of a Devil’s Island, penned one year earlier by another group of *deportados*. Quite the reverse, it is an improbable picture of colonial bourgeois gentility in a colony where the natives did not even wear shoes and where even the elite were starved of reading material, much less Spanish anarchist newspapers. Even if it fitted the amnesty of 1931 and the general amnesty announced by Salazar in 1932, was this a government propaganda shot? Or did the Spanish anarchist paper, *Solidaridad Obrera*, first issued in Barcelona in 1907, actually arrive on the first ship out of Portugal in the year of publication? An obviously contrived pose, we wonder even as to the role of the “girl” as domestic, wife or intended convert to the anarchist-libertarian cause? Or, rather, is this a mislabeled photo from another colony, another time, or just a play by *Revista Blanca* to hype the existence of an anarcho-syndicalists movement to the corners of the earth? Still the photo matches the style of that published in the Brazilian newspaper *A Batalha*, namely white men in white suits, plausibly supplied to the group following their remission and while awaiting their embarkation on the *Moçambique*

for the journey home.

According to Chamberlain (2010: 7), the activities of the Aliança and the launch of a newsletter by Arnaldo Simões Januário, precipitated a “rigorous inquiry” by the authorities in November 1933 into the “profoundly anti-nationalist” activities of the circle. Coming to police attention for his evident involvement in the Aliança Libertária, in November 1933 the colonial authorities arrested several of the members and, as a result, Carrascalão and his Timorese wife were exiled from Dili to Ataúro Island (Portal Anarquista). One Aliança member, Raul dos Santos, who had penned a tract on the “conditions of the natives,” was imprisoned in Batu Gede fortress (on the border with west Timor) prior to transfer to Ataúro. A group of four, including Januário were sent back to Portugal (Barreto 2015: 65). As Chamberlain confirms, following the amnesty declared by Lisbon of December 1932, all but a handful of those originally deported on the *S/s Pedro Gomes* remained and with the majority returning. He also cites a British report suggesting that the *deportados* on Ataúro fomented a short-lived rebellion among different tribal groups on the island, leading to further disciplinary action.

VI/ PROFILES OF THE *DEPORTADOS* ACCORDING TO AN OFFICIAL DOSSIER

Actual documentation on the so-named Red Legion activists is rare although, as Freitas (2007) underscores, their crimes were also real. The following draws from twenty police-style biographies of the would-be returnees to Portugal at the end of the war entering an official dossier, allowing that this is just a sample cohort of survivors along with stay-behinds.

Some of the biographies are more detailed than others, some with names confused, and still others undocumented, leading us to wonder if recorded court proceedings even existed in the first place. The reports are also hyperbolic possibly even the result of police fabrications. In any case, all the profiles connect with the metropolitan events of 1927–31 and, as such, offer rare insights into the lives and times of this cohort. Many of the group have earlier histories of political action but all were deported for alleged crimes committed during the *reviranhismo* time frame. By rearranging the sequence in which the names are listed

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we can divide the group into several categories, namely syndicalists, anarchists, including “*Legião Vermelha*” members and/or *bombistas/extremistas* (the majority), masons, and revolutionary careerists. Communists are not named among the list of returnees, likely owing to their ineligibility for repatriation.¹⁰

One group of eleven are identified as ex-Red Legion members and/or *bombistas*, but who may or may not have been instigators or activists. In any case their dossiers are just incomplete. They number, Eugenio Augusto Ribeiro, Francisco José Teixeira, Jaures Americo Viegas, Antonio Augusto dos Santos, and Manuel Viegas Carrascalão (the latter arrested on June 15, 1925 as a *bombista* and known agitator while hosting “*vermelhas*” in Loulé in the Algarve), Sebastião da Costa Alves (deported via Angola but nothing more known), José (or Avalo) Castelo or Caetano, Joaquim da Silva (“O Miroloho”); Sebastião Graca; João Fernandez Pinto, and Celso Pinto Marques dos Santos.

The balance of names as listed below, reveal a deeper complicity or history of opposition.

Amândio Pinto: Imprisoned on March 14, 1931 by the Porto police for manufacturing explosive bombs under the influence of Abílio Guimãrais. Professed extremist ideas as revealed by the presence of documents at the time he was apprehended, among them statutes of a “*maçonaria secreta*.” Deported to Timor on June 27, 1931.

Americo de Sousa: Taken into custody on May 25, 1931, deemed a “very dangerous” agitator, having thrown bombs in Baixa [Lisbon] on May 1. Deported to Timor on June 27, 1931.

António Lopes: Taken into custody on May 27, 1931 for participating in bomb throwing incidents coinciding with a demonstration in support of the Governo da Ditadura. Together with Santos Diniz, threw bombs adjacent the Café Suisse in the Praça de Restauradores [in Lisbon] on the night of the 18th. An active conspirator and communist, deported to Timor on June 27, 1931.

Augusto Veríssimo de Sousa: Well documented as a *bombista*, arrested on various occasions. Arrested again on November 28, 1930 for transporting and distributing bombs to various groups in Lisbon and neighboring locales under the orders of the leader of the revolutionaries, ex-Lieut António Correia. Deported to Timor on September 2, 1931.

Bernardido (Maria) dos Santos: Well recorded as an “*agitador extremista*” going back to the 1920s, having

been arrested various times. Exiled to Guinea on May 29, 1925. On November 12, 1930 transferred from Ponta Delgado (Azores Islands) and then to Timor.

Cesar de Castro: Imprisoned on April 7, 1931 for fabricating explosive bombs and complicity with a trio of (named) *bombistas*. Deported to Timor on June 18, 1931.

João António Pires: Arrested on November 28, 1930 for implication in a revolutionary movement in preparation for extremism and having secreted in his house on Alto (Lisbon) a cache of hundreds of bombs on the orders of ex-Lieut Manuel António Correia [one of the leaders also swept up in the repression]. Deported to Timor on June 27, 1931.

João Augusto Galhoz: An “extremist element,” arrested on June 11, 1931 and charged with various robberies and acts of arson committed in Evora. Deported to Timor on June 27, 1931.

João dos Santos: Arrested on November 18, 1927 for taking part in the “revolutionary movement of February 7” [This was a failed attempt against the Ditadura of that month] and continuing to conspire against the Ditadura, being compromised in a revolutionary organization headed by Dr. Camilo Valente, and deported to Timor (where he remained).

Joaquim Manuel Cardoso: Arrested on June 12, 1925 for possessing bombs and a military pistol. Immediately deported to Cape Verde, then transferred to Timor.

José António Rosa: Well documented for his political and social activities. Arrested on March 3, 1931 for revolutionary links with (three named individuals) and for possession of three boxes of bombs kept in his house in Aqualva, where he headed a group of civilians. Deported to Timor on June 17, 1931.

José de Castro Junior: Implicated in the assassination in 1919 of Manuel Martins Ferreira, a member of the Situação Sidonista [referring to the Sidónio Pais regime of December 1917–December 1918], but going unpunished for this crime. Professed advanced ideas and a “man without scruples.” Took part in the revolutionary committee of the Minho and Douro Railroad Company, one of the principle factors in the outbreak of the October 19 revolutionary movement in the Estação da Campagná [in Porto, events leading to the end of the First Republic and the assassination of António Granjo]. One of the individuals involved in transporting bombs to Rua Saraiva de Carvalho [in

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Lisbon] leading to explosion and disaster. Arrested on July 10, 1925 for possessing bombs and arms of war. Actively participated in the revolutionary movement of “February 3” at Porto. Arrested, but escaped, making his way to Brazil by ship from where he subsequently returned. Arrested again on January 6, 1930, having been compromised in the revolutionary movement projected for the night of April 17–18 of the same year, while organizing a boat for the conspirators on the Rio Douro. Confessed to possession of three cases of bombs. Deported to Timor on June 27, 1931.

José de Rodrigues da Silva: Arrested on April 14, 1927 for taking part in a revolutionary movement of “February 7” and sent to the penitentiary. Arrested on June 4, 1931 for possession of a pistol. Part of a group of extremists seeking to assassinate Dr. Oliveira Salazar, he was arrested and deported to Timor on June 27.

José Serafim Martins: Arrested on February 2, 1927, compromised in the preparations for the revolutionary movement which broke out on the 7th. Arrested again on February 5, 1931 for possession of 98 bombs found in the agriculture school at Paia [Tejo] where he worked. Deported to Timor on June 27, 1931.

Not on the list, but worthy of mention is Francisco Horta (1906–70) (the father of the future President of the República Democrática de Timor-Leste, José Ramos-Horta) (See Baretto 2015: 107–09). His profile emerges in the transcripts of an Australian Investigation Board inquiry responding to a protest by a group of twenty-seven Timorese evacuated from Timor during wartime and – contrary to international protocol on the treatment of nationals of neutral countries – interned under Australian National Security Detention law. As he explained to the Board, prior to arrival in Timor he had served nine years in the Portuguese navy. With the exception of Angola and Macau, he had visited all the Portuguese colonies, along with Brazil. The ship on which he served “took part in a revolution and all the sailors on board were deported.” This, he confirmed was a reference to events of February 7, 1927 also indicating that he took part in another rebellion in 1929. With the officers sent to Angola and eventually gaining their freedom, he was deported to Timor. Arriving in Dili in October 1931, he settled in the then quite isolated town of Manatuto on the north-central coast, marrying, raising a family and earning his living as the captain of a sailing boat transporting government merchandise (A373 3685B

“Objection No. 12, January 27, 1944). In other words he had no direct association with the Lisbon rebels and bomb throwers (as far as is known) but, whatever his sympathies, he was nevertheless swept up in the repression.¹¹

VII/ THE RED BRIGADES AND FATE OF THE *DEPORTADOS* IN AUSTRALIA

In their invasion and occupation of the island, beginning on February 19, 1942, the Japanese soon learned that they faced a double resistance, not only from Australian commandos but also from a fluctuating number of the *deportados*, usually around six, members of the “Red” or International Brigade so-named by the Australians because a number of their countrymen had served in (or had knowledge of) the International Brigade in Spain (Vieira da Rocha 1996: 69). By joining the Australians, members of the Brigade tended to share the same fate, at least in the field. Australian soldier Bernard Callinan (1984: 131) describes the death of one who did not survive captivity after participating in a joint raid on Dili. Denied pre-war repatriation, the exiled baker-conspirator of 1927, Simões de Miranda, died in late March-early April, 1943, “from hunger and lack of medicine” on the Dilor River zone on the south coast part of an escape group linking with Australian commandos (Pereira 2013 citing Chamberlain 2010).

According to Brandão (1953:104), of the 400 Europeans in Timor during the three-year Japanese occupation, comprising officials, colons, and *deportados*, more than one quarter succumbed to hunger, suffering, and bad treatment. Other *deportados* joined with the official Portuguese volunteer army unit led by Captain António Oliveira Liberato deployed to suppress a Japanese-backed indigenous rebellion in the border region. In his book, Liberato (1947) names three such individuals and mentions a *condenado* or convicted Macau Chinese volunteer. In his official report on the war years, Governor Manuel de Abreu Ferreira de Carvalho (2003: 761–64) lists by name twelve *deportados* who died during this period, along with a smaller number of former or then current *condenados*.

As monitored by British intelligence, in the immediate prewar period the *deportado* group numbering around 100, comprised 60 percent “democrats,” 30 percent “communists,” and about 10 percent ordinary “criminals.” As noted, by this stage they were no

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longer concentrated or interned, but widely dispersed throughout the colony. Going by this breakdown, it would appear that most of the original anarcho-syndicalist group swept up in 1927 had indeed returned to Portugal. It would suggest that the number of those labeled communists retained in Timor was constant or added to. It would also suggest that the range of social democrat opponents to the Salazar regime had been boosted. Among their number were individuals who had participated in a revolt in Guinea in 1927 and 1931; an individual supporting independence in Angola; and as mentioned, Francisco Horta who arrived in Timor in October 1931 pending internment in the Oecusse concentration camp. As confirmed in his deposition to the Australian Investigation Board, Francisco joined the Australian-led resistance until evacuated to Australia on August 3 1943. Asked whether he wished to return to Timor to fight the Japanese, he replied, "I am a very good shot." Accordingly, upon his release from internment he became part of Operation Starling, a trainee group prepared in Queensland to launch raids into Timor, albeit canceled at war end. Following a sojourn in Portugal he went on to serve as a district administrator in Timor while raising a family (see Barreto 2015: 107–117).

Fate of the Deportados in Australia

Sharing the fate of the Australian commandos or fearing Japanese reprisals, a total of 545 evacuees (105 males; 172 women; 244 children; and 24 unclassified) including Portuguese administrators, soldiers, missionaries, Timorese, Chinese and Indians along with mixed race families, evacuated from the island to Australia between December 1942–43. Politically, socially, and ethnically, this cohort was a mixed bag. Among them was a total of forty *deportados*, many accompanied by families. As refugees of a neutral nation, they had their rights but they were also subject to close scrutiny on security grounds.

Declassified Australian documents also reveal paranoia on the part of the Australian authorities as to the worthiness of the evacuees from both ends of the political spectrum. Alongside "troublesome" anti-fascist socialists and communists among the *deportados* stood a core of senior pro-Axis figures. These included João Manuel Ferreira Taborda, the deputy governor and head of civil administration, deemed pro-Axis and pro-Japanese (and subsequently suspended from duty back in Timor for breaching neutrality) and the

Goanese Custódio Noronho, the attorney general in Dili who had actually sentenced certain of the evacuees to detention on Ataúro and, to the disdain of the authorities, had brought with him to Australia a full staff of native servants and concubines.

With the majority of the evacuees transported south from Darwin to Newcastle in central New South Wales (NSW) and billeted in a nearby former military camp known as Bob's Farm, tensions ran high. Discontent arose not only over isolation and poor conditions but also on the part of some at the veritable colonial caste system in which whites were privileged over natives and mixed race people, practically mirroring social hierarchies and politics back in metropolitan Portugal as well as in the Asian colony. Notwithstanding the censorship regime, sympathetic locals including Communist Party of Australia (CPA) unionists in the Newcastle area also reached out to the camp population. A number of the *deportados* reciprocated. Notably, Alfredo Pereira Vaz whom we identified as part of the Aliança Libertária group, was observed as calling upon fellow evacuees, government officials alike, to uphold equality and other "communistic principles" (NAA A73 4058A; MP742/1 115/1/245). Even so, there was often little understanding on the part of Australian officialdom of Portuguese and/or Timorese political and cultural context and social mores.

While certain of the refugees were lodged in Melbourne or in other destinations as other camps were prepared, a select group of twenty-eight Portuguese nationals (actually including one Spanish) were taken in hand by military intelligence and sequestered for practically the duration of the war. As such they were separated from their families and dispatched to even more remote destinations. Australian documents reveal some discord between Army hardliners and even the Director-General for Security over the fate of the detainees. Initially acting upon "Z special unit" information sourced from inside Timor by "agent X" implicating them with "active treachery or complete unreliability," the innuendo was stretched to suggest that the twenty-eight men were privy to military secrets that could compromise the agent and Australian military security. Deemed too dangerous to commit to Bob's Farm, the group were split up and consigned to different locations (and with Francisco Horta sent to the obscure and isolated town of Tatura in central

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Victoria, pending transfer to Liverpool camp in NSW and then to the Minimbah Homestead camp near Singleton also in NSW).

Their cause was also heralded in the CPA organ, *Tribune* (January 11, 1945) which railed: "The NSW Civil Rights League is enquiring into the position and status of the Portuguese anti-fascist exiles residing in Australia." Having assisted the Australian commandos it might be expected that, having being brought to Australia, they would gain their freedom (also noting the death of two in the struggle, namely Francisco Grace and Fernando Martins). Yet, the report continued, they were under the constant surveillance of the pro-fascist Portuguese consul Dr. Alvaro Brillhante Laborinho. Moreover, under the present regime, sending them back could entail further imprisonment or even death. Australia's worst fears of leaks was probably confirmed by reception of a Japanese radio broadcast slamming the ill-treatment of the detainees (although the food, clothing and general reception was actually appreciated) (NAA MP742/1 115/1/245).

Given the opportunity to appeal their detention in line with provisions of the National Security (General) Regulations, a hearing was conducted between January-February 1945 by the NSW Advisory Committee presided over by Justice Pike. Proceedings were monitored by Consul Laborinho who also offered some interpreting services. Disturbed that their petitions to the Advisory Committee were going nowhere, the group launched a hunger strike between February 18 and 29, 1944. Although the hearing revealed the lack of a factual basis to intern and isolate the group especially upon "opinion of an unknown officer based on facts which are also unknown," and while the civil authorities were uncomfortable with the detention of neutrals without apparent cause, the Army view prevailed. In a letter of February 25, 1944, no less than Dr. H. V. Evatt, Australia's wartime attorney-general and minister for external affairs requested the minister of the army to come up with the facts to justify continuing detention (NAA MP742/1 115/1/2/245, p.201; NAA A 373 3685C). As far as the twenty-eight were concerned, this was a travesty of justice in a democratic country. In the event, rejoined by their families, the group which included Francisco were allowed to reside in a country town "under conditions applying to aliens."

Sentiments of the group was well expressed by

Domingo Augusto Bezerra dos Santos who wrote in an intercepted letter of December 13, 1943 to the International Red Cross seeking a Christmas reunion with his family (in turn translated from Portuguese into English) :

I find myself in a country, the language of which I was unacquainted with, in a country that I served with pride [having sided with Australian commandos], breaking the neutrality of my country. Deported to Timor in 1931 on account of my democratic and anti-fascist ideas, deported without trial, I succeeded, after countless sacrifices in surviving the hate and persecution of the fascist authorities in Timor. Thus accompanied by my wife and six children I arrived one day in Australia, a democratic country, but ignoring the word gratitude, it interned me at Liverpool, removing me from the persons who constitute my sole reason for existence (NAA A373 3685C).

If anything, detention would harden his convictions. In a series of trenchant critiques of the injustices of the system that punished anti-fascist fighters like himself and rewarded the enemy, he also railed against racial discrimination in Australia comparing Australian treatment of aboriginal people as worse than that of Portugal in Timor.

Some of the *deportados*, as with Francisco, would gain their liberty in July 1945 by joining Operation Starling. Eventually, at war end, the *S/s Angola* of the Companhia Nacional de Navegação departed Newcastle for Dili on November 27, 1945 embarking 560 refugees (minus twenty who remained illegally). Among this group were six deportees. Two of them, Moreira Junior and L. J. de Abreu, were denounced by Consul Laborinho as intending to stay behind to plot revolution in Timor with support of the communist party and with Bezerra dos Santos alleged to be scheming to set up in Timor as a communist agent (NAA MP742/1 115/1/245). A group of four including Bezerra dos Santos and Alfredo Pereira Vaz had their petitions for Australian residence turned down. This was pretty much consistent with the prevailing "White Australia policy" that rejected non-European including mixed-race immigrants. However, reading between the lines, the petitioners were also rejected on the grounds of "immorality," a reference to their cohabitation with native Timorese.

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VIII/ POSTWAR REPATRIATION AND SEQUELS

Following three years of occupation under Japan and with the entire administration incarcerated, a sense of solidarity bound together the entire Portuguese community, the *deportados* included (at least according to the official version). As revealed in a telegram of October 6, 1945 sent to the ministry of interior from the outgoing Governor of Timor [Manuel de Abreu Ferreira de Carvalho], the *deportados* had basically earned their freedom through their expressions of patriotism at a time of abject suffering. Endorsed and signed off for the cabinet of the ministry of interior by (Capt.) Manuel Pereira Coentro on October 19, in turn the petition was sent to the President of the Council and, apparently, endorsed. Offering data on individuals (as analyzed above), the governor requested permission to allow (the Europeans among them) to return to metropole and, if permitted, under what conditions.

All of them during this period revealed great patriotism having been most useful elements to meet all needs....serving throughout the difficult situation we passed through during this period, starting from the reestablishment of authority, always being the first to turn to for our needs. Deeming it justice to give them complete freedom, restore their civil rights, allow them to go to metropole as free men and with freedom for those persons who want to stay permanently in the colony? Also with full rights. Hoping you will intercede with the Ministry of Interior and PIDE about my proposal with urgency because in two weeks we anticipate the arrival of the *Angola*.

As he added, this would be “an act of justice for men that have served their time over many years and have paid for their old (*culpas*) sins” (anon. 1945. “Situação dos deportados em Timor”).

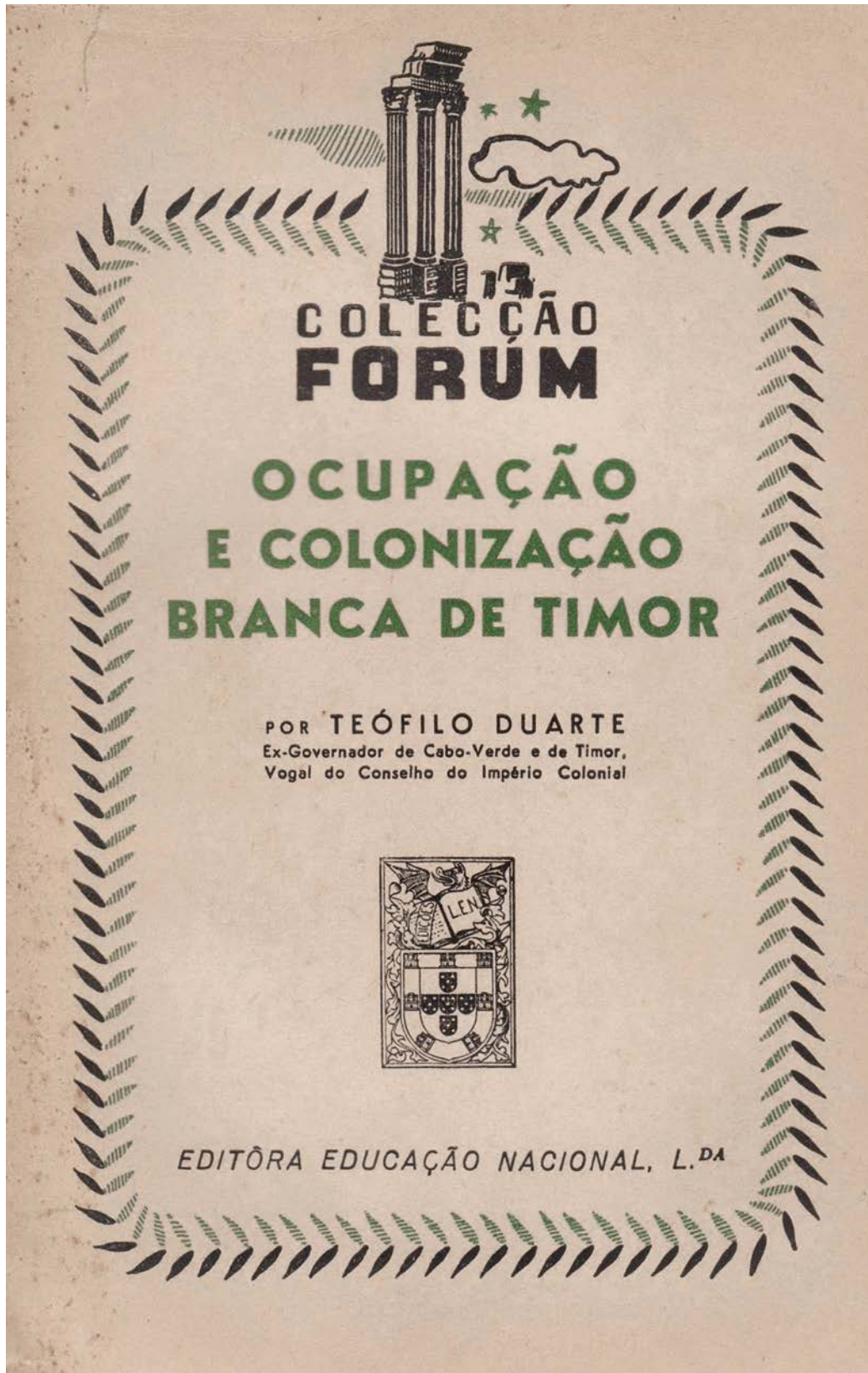
One *deportado* who evaded the fate of the group of twenty-eight was Carlos Cal Brandão. Having joined the guerrilla movement launched by the Australians against the Japanese occupation, he was later integrated into the Australian army, evacuated and subsequently reentered Timor as a guerrilla in June 1942. Following the Japanese capitulation he returned to Timor as Portuguese interpreter accompanying arriving Australian forces seeking to impose an official surrender on the Japanese in Portuguese Timor. Amnestied, he

returned to Portugal in 1946 after fifteen years of exile, interalia working as a lawyer for political prisoners in Porto. In November 1958, he was arrested again, accused of undermining the good name of Portugal when seeking to petition the United Nations over issues relating to incarceration. He returned again to jail in 1961 condemned for being a signatory of a “Program for the Democratization of the Republic.” He died on January 31, 1973 (*Fundação Mário Soares Iniciativas: Carlos Cal Brandão*). With his book *Funu: Guerra em Timor* (1953) becoming a “best seller” in Portugal, Brandão’s account became a kind of standard narrative of wartime Timor (and with *funu* meaning war in Tetum language), although the tenor of his book was not uncontested.

On his part, Manuel Viegas Carrascalão joined Captain Liberatos’ volunteer column from January 30, 1943. Winning some respect for his actions, the end of the war offered him the first chance to leave the colony. Responding to a petition to Salazar on October 25 all the *deportados* had their civil rights restored in honour of their patriotism displayed during the Japanese occupation. On December 9, 1945, along with the governor and 700 other passengers, Manuel Viegas and family embarked on the *S/s Angola*, arriving in Lisbon on February 15, 1946. Returning to Timor, he was granted ownership of a coffee plantation in Liquisa which he styled the Fazenda Algarve. In 1952 he received state honors from Governor Themudo Barata (1959-63), who also lauded the contributions to Timor made by the *deportados*. Prospering on his real estate acquisitions, he rose to become president of the Concelho do Governo or governor’s council on Timor (Portal Anarquista; Barreto 2015: 288).

Even so, and in a reversal of roles, as part of the colonial establishment and big landowner running a virtual feudal estate, Manuel Viegas also became a target of the burgeoning East Timor independence movement around FRETILIN party which crystalized following the events surrounding the downfall of the Estado Novo in April 1974. Having founded a veritable clan, three of his sons, Manuel (1933–2009), João Viegas (1945–2012) and Mário Viegas (1937–), played prominent political roles on both sides of the political divide before and after the Indonesian invasion of 1975. Manuel Viegas – the patriarch – having departed East Timor in 1975, died two years later in Portugal.

Heading up the minority Timorese Democratic



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Union (UDT) party, on August 11, 1975 at Indonesian instigation, João Viegas launched a *coup d'état* leading to a brief and destructive civil war (Jolliffe 1978: 118–19; Dunn 1983: chap 8). The coup and reaction by pro-independence FRETILIN forced the governor and entourage to flee to Ataúro, prior to fullscale Indonesian invasion in December that year and with himself relocating to Australia. In the late 1990s with expectations of a reinvigorated international intervention on the East Timor self-determination issue, João Viegas brought UDT into the *Convergencia* with FRETILIN, importantly offering a united front at a time when Indonesia was backfooted by exposure of massive human rights violations leading to high mortality inside East Timor. Electorally, however, UDT flopped in elections conducted under United Nations auspices in 2002, pending the birth of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste on May 20, 2002. João Viegas also failed in a bid in the presidential election of 2007, seeing out his life as Timor-Leste ambassador to Korea (South) (2008–12). An engineer by training, he was also married to Rosa Maria of the Ramos-Horta family (See Gunn 2011: 53).

In 1982, Manuel's eldest son, Mário Viegas (1937–), would commence a ten-year term as Indonesian-appointed governor of occupied East Timor. Yet another son, Manuel (1933–2009), joined the Indonesian-installed parliament but also became an open opponent of the occupation facing down assassination attempts that killed an adopted son. In 2001 he replaced resistance leader José “Xanana” Gusmão as leader of the National Council, a legislative body set up by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (see Gunn 2011: 53–54).

Although the practice of using Timor as a dumping ground for metropolitan *deportados* was discontinued in the postwar period (in any case the Atlantic islands continued to serve that purpose well), the island colony still fitted Portugal's carceral regime with respect to Macau.¹² As observed first-hand by an Australian consular official in Dili, with the arrival on May 2, 1965 of the 2,000 tonne Companhia Nacional de Navegação packet *India* from Macau via Singapore, thirty-five Chinese prisoners were disembarked handcuffed to each other and accompanied by an armed guard of seven Macau civil police pending transfer to prison in the Taibesse military quarter. This was a new

prison paid for by the Portuguese Macau government and with Macau subsidizing the upkeep of the prisoners. They included politicals as well as convicted murderers and with capital punishment abolished in Portugal and colonies back in the nineteenth century. As noted in a handwritten annex, the politicals among them were obviously caught up in “unceasing struggles” between Communist and Nationalist elements in Macau (though their political actions may well have been directed against the Salazar regime as well). Nevertheless, as the reports confirm, the prisoners were given considerable freedom of movement around Dili and, in line with past practice, once their sentences had been served then they were absorbed into the local Chinese community (NAA A1838, 3038/2/5/1, D. W. Milton, Australian Consulate, Dili, May 10, 1965). In other words, their fate was exile. Though a number were repatriated to Macau in 1962–63 (MO/AH/AC/SA/01/22560), those who remained would share the traumas of the long Indonesian invasion and occupation commencing just ten years later and with Chinese notoriously targeted for elimination.

CONCLUSION

As this article has traced, the anarcho-syndicalists among the *deportados* sent to Timor in 1927 undoubtedly represented a bellwether of the radical opposition to the Ditadura leading up to the failed military coup of August 1931 at a time when privation stalked Portugal and with all parliamentary activities shut down. At the same time, as Freitas (2007) points out, the label Red Legions masked a range of activists from communists, anarchist to social bandits. Bomb throwing and assassination were desperate actions by desperate people, in part reactive of police repression. Such actions were also fanned by, especially, French and Spanish political currents then obtaining among the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Portugal. Even so, in the absence of a credible justice system, it is hard to establish whether or not all the fingerprints on the bombs matched the youthful trade union activists and others swept off the streets of Lisbon in 1927, although many were undoubtedly complicit. Whether or not this group of alleged *bombistas* actually pushed the political climate to the right leading to the forty year Salazarist Novo Estado would require further study but what

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is for sure is that brazen acts of urban terror on the streets of Lisbon provided a powerful rationale for the authorities to expand its system of repression, including incarceration and deportation to the colonies.

From the scanty evidence on the carceral system in Timor, we were able to observe many of the features explained by Barros and others with respect to prisons and incarceration centers in metropolitan Portugal and especially on Cape Verde. Yet the incarceration regime on Timor stood out from the above, not only for its primitive conditions and hardships, but because the demographic presence of the *deportados* came to be seen by the Novo Estado as an asset, an indispensable social element within colonial society. This was because the metropolitan population on Timor was small in number, isolated and, during the three-year Japanese occupation, utterly beleaguered. While this article has not dwelt upon the social side of the *deportado* community, they were obviously localized, integrated, spoke local languages, and offered invaluable intermediary services to the Portuguese establishment. The actions of the Red Brigade in joining the Allies has no parallel in any other Portuguese colony. As with Manuel Viegas Carrascalão, the rehabilitated *deportados* entered local society, albeit as privileged members.

As the former Australian consul in Dili, James Dunn (1983: 13) elaborates, notwithstanding constant harassment from PIDE after it set up in Dili in 1960, many of the urban-dwelling *deportados* tended to

develop close links with *mestiço* and educated Timorese. They were thus well poised to pass on ideas about democracy, liberalism, socialism, and opposition to Salazarism. To be sure, following the collapse of the dictatorship in 1974 and the advent of political parties in East Timor, many of these ideas were embraced and with *mestiço* elements alongside Timorese catapulted into leadership positions; José Ramos-Horta, João Carrascalão, José Xanana Gusmão, among them. In the twilight of their lives in the face of a brutal Indonesian military invasion and occupation, they also shared the fate of the Timorese. This is not an attempt to read the genealogy of the political elite in independent Timor-Leste backwards but that would also produce some interesting results as well, especially as to who's who.

How much of this narrative is known or remembered in Timor-Leste today obviously depends upon the strength of institutions as with museums, universities and the writing of local history. Still, it is laudible that the Aipelo prison site, the colonial-era Comarca prison in Dili, along with several other places of incarceration on Timor have indeed been renovated or memorialized and with a Timorese resistance narrative in mind (see Leach 2009). While not the subject here, the colonial prison system on Timor (later revived during the 24-year Indonesian occupation) with its insalubrious health conditions and documented torture regime surpassed even the description of the infamous French "devil's island." **RC**

NOTES

1 This is also reflected in a number of books looking back at the war (Dunn 1983; Callinan 1984; Wray 1987; Gunn 1999; Goto 2003; Chamberlain 2010).
 2 I am also obliged to Madalena Barreto for offering a copy of her dissertation, as referenced in the bibliography.
 3 In British Malaya between 1919 and 1925 the turn to anarcho-communism actually became a "harbinger" of the formal establishment of the Malayan Communist Party (Yong 1997: 17).
 4 Needless to say, the archipelago of prisons hosted by the Estado Novo would prove serviceable to containing the burgeoning nationalist movements, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. As the Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado or PIDE set up in Goa, Timor, and the African colonies, all manner of pro-independence supporters were touched by the system. African nationalists shared this fate and incarceration under the colonial regime is now part of the nationalist

narrative of the newly independent states. As well documented, those swept up by the authorities in Timor in the bloody repression of the "Viqueque rebellion" of 1959 were deported to Angola and Portugal (Gunn 2006).
 5 Decommissioned in 1939, the late 19th century Aipelo prison today is viewed in Timor-Leste as a monument to the mistreatment of political prisoners and common criminals, sent there by the Portuguese colonial administration. A museum project was launched in 2012. Images can be viewed on this site, <https://davidpalazon.com/ai-pelo/>
 6 In events known as the *Revolta da Farinha*, in protest against a decree that established the state centralization of wheat and cereal import, the uprising was duly crushed, in turn leading to the deportation to the African colonies of at least 50 supporters of the revolt (*Fundação Mário Soares*, "*Manifesto de um grupo de deportados...*").
 7 Signatories of the petition were, Fernando de Utra Machado (signed

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- Lt.-Col. Infantry and former Minister of the Republic); Alfredo Marques de Mendonça, military captain and lawyer; Miguel de Abreu, journalist and former deputy of the National Assembly; José Pereira Gomes, airforce captain; Manuel António Correia and Francisco de Oliveira de Pio, both lieutenants in the infantry; Joaquim Ramos Munha, businessman; Manuel Vireilha da Costa, merchant mariner; and Eduardo Carmona, Infantry lieutenant (Bordo de op ten noort, 28 February 1932) (Fundação Mario Soares Pasta: 05006.079 “Manifesto de um grupo de deportados de Timor à Nação Portuguesa,” 28 February 1932).
- 8 In her dissertation, Barreto (2015: 147-353) profiles dozens of the *deportados*. Working from archival sources as well as oral interviews, she has undoubtedly produced the most detailed work on this subject. According to period and route, she divides *deportado* arrivals in Timor into six categories. a/ those deported in the age of João Franco Ferreira Pinto Castelo-Branco (the last prime minister under the kingdom, May 1906–February 4, 1908); b/ those sent to the Azores, Africa (1925) and Timor (1927); c/ those sent to Africa (1925) and Timor (1927); d/ those transferred from Lisbon to Funchal and then to Timor (1927); e/ those sent from Lisbon to Timor (1927); f/ those sent from Lisbon to Timor (1931) remaining until 1933.
 - 9 Additionally, Barreto (2015: 64) mentions the creation of a parallel organization, “Socorro Vermelho,” with Cal Brandão as president but this is not well documented.
 - 10 The telegram also offered a threefold categorization of the surviving *deportados* according to embarkations, respectively, those arriving on the *Pêro de Alenquer*, the *Pedro Gomes*, and the *Gil Eanes*. Notably, those who embarked in October 1927 on the *Pêro de Alenquer* included Celso Pinto Marques?; Eugenio Augusto Ribeiro Jau?; Américo Viegas; João Fernandes Pinto, João Santos; Joaquim Manuel Cardos; Joaquim da Silva; José Castela; Manuel Viegas Carrascalão; Sebastião Graça; Antonio Augusto Santos. Those who embarked in 1931 aboard the *Pedro Gomes*; namely, Augusto Veríssimo Sousa. And, those who embarked in 1931 aboard the *Gil Eanes*; namely António Lopes; Francisco José Teixeira; João António Pires; José Castro Junior; José Serafim Martins; José Rodrigues Silva; Sebastião Costa Alves; Bernadino Santos; César Castro; (João) Augusto Galhos; José António Rosa; Amandio Pinto; and Américo Sousa (Relação de Indivíduos que se Encontram Deportados em Timor/ “Situação dos deportados em Timor”).
 - 11 A different rendition of events surfaces in a statement made by José Ramos-Horta on November 13, 1996 cited in Gunn (1999: 211), in which he states (possibly erroneously if we check the dates) that his father was part of a group who commandeered a warship to oppose Franco during the Spanish civil war.
 - 12 In fact, deportations from Macau to Timor are indexed by date in various series archived in the Macau Archives although, upon cursory inspection, they reveal zero data as to crime, judicial process, or punishment. The advent of the Republic had seen a transfer of Portuguese officials and military from Macau to Timor in December 1912 aboard the *Empire* (MO/AH/AC/SA/01/03711). The Republican era also saw the dispatch of Chinese *degradados* (exiled convicts) to both Mozambique and Timor. Departing Macau on January 21, 1911, one group of Chinese was sent to exile on Mozambique via Lisbon, and with successive groups of *degradados* sent to Timor, as with those dispatched from Macau aboard the *Empire* in December 1912, and January 1915 (Processo nos. 110 and 149, Serie D, *Januário* 8, 1915), and with those departing Macau aboard the *Gil Eanes* in 1926 (MO/AH/AC/SA/01/08804) and another group of Chinese colonists and prisoner exiles sent to Timor in 1927 one sentenced to four years (Processo no. 166, Serie D, Setembro 3, 1927). Contrariwise, some political exiles were granted remission to pass out their sentences in Macau, as in 1933–34 (MO/AH/AC/SA/01/13958).

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