RESUMO: 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 revolutionary 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, deportados families emerged as part of the post-independence movement indelibly imprinting politics in the post-colonial era.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: 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. 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 condemned or convicts and political exiles, as political exiles and deportados in Timor are viewed through Portuguese literature, alongside oral and archival research. 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 in 1927. By contrast, this article seeks to connect Portugal with colonial Timor through an examination of two 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” military coup of April 25, 1974. In Anglophone writing, Douglas Wheeler (1978) has contributed greatly to an understanding of these events, although ignoring the revolucionários 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 deportação/
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 in 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.

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 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.

I. THE INCARCERATION SYSTEM

As Chicote (2012: 57) 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 is sought to rupture the individuals’ (irretrievable) 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.

Between 1910 and 1974, the period of Salazar’s Estado Novo, the collective agent of incarceration was the “political” (reviralhista). Fourth, the deportation of the “political” 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 Libertarista in Dili, especially around the key personalities involved. Sixth, the article profiles a select group of longterm and surviving deportados, adding core 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 POLITICAL SETTING

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 de Oliveira Salazar. Leading to the establishment of the military dictatorship. Two weeks later, Gomes da Costa was arrested and deported to the Azores.

From within the reviralhista movement, one of the leading poles of opposition was a youth segment known as the Jovemutismo in the industrial suburbs of Lisbon and Porto in 1912. From around 1919 several extremist groups, young communists, anarchists, and even bandit groups commenced to jelli into a group dubbed the Xavante. And the radical nationalist and political activist Seixas 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
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 1935 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: 47) remarks, 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).

Nevertheless, as Freitas (2007: 47) remarks, 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 there were thirty-four bomb explosions in Lisbon linked to the "terrorists" (and the tempo would increase as the revolta 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.

DEPORTATION OF THE "SOCIALS"

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 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 with the movement becoming part of a first wave of deportations to Timor. Departing Lisbon on April 14, 1927 aboard the S/s Síncopa, 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. 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 Síncopa, 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.1 After the military coup of
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 reviravolta 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.


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 (Chicole 2012: 57). 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. 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 starring 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.

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 Ucha Machado, Díaz Aruentes and L. Miguel de Abreu, it took the form of an assault upon the Batalha de Materiales de 1 de Artilharia 5 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 an isolated leadership elements of the failed coup. Unlike the “socials” released by Duarte, the latter group included intellectuals and leading political figures.

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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. Creator 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 1913 and, pending his arrest and incarceration, was deported to Timor that year. His statue amongst the deportados is showcased in O Batalho (July 8, 1933) of Rio de Janeiro in a rare photo displaying himself at the center of a 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 República newspaper but with the underlying purpose of contributing to the restoration of the constitutional republic. From Spain he published a piece 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 (Fundoário Maria Soares: casa comun). A media person and well connected, he was obviously highly useful in organizing the coup plot.

Deportation of the 1931 Political

With the Sts 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 St Pedro António 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 revolts on both sides against the May 26, 1926 coup installing the Dictatura. According to a PNP source, among the deportees aboard the Pedro Gomes was the communist leader António Cabrita Bandeira (Avante PNP 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.” As explained, on September 2, 1931, in the dead of night and at bayonet point (they hurriedly put on their clothes) were escorted from prison in Lisbon to the quay at Belem. The bombing for them was the Pedro Gomes of the Companhia Nacional de Navegación, 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 before 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 revealed that the ship crossed the Indian Ocean (Fundação Mario Soares, Carrião de cumprimentos, remetido de Colombo, Célia). 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 Atauro Island, visible offshore Dili in the formidible 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 commandante, backed by an indigenous force of barbed orders, patrolled and sirotod the perimeter wall 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 walked 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 cruel from “natural moral depression” and/or mortified by the punishing climate. “A monstrous death 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, and to defend the Republic, we have been condemned to death.” As duly signed off, “from 3,000 miles distant, from “Ilha Maldivita” (Island of the Damned) to Portugal, Viva a República.”

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 sunshine, lacking nutritious food, inadequate 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 Brégis). The Madrid press of the time barred no holds with a string of liberal newspapers offering stinging rebukes to the Ditadura 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 Opresión de la dictadura portuguesa,” “victima of false accusations,” this was a “terrible inferno” for the deportados, even compared to the notorious prison on Ilha do Sal on Cape Verde. Mário Salgueiro (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 antecámara 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 Infierno 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 a 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 Reibieck. 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 Mário Salgueiro in the Madrid newspaper Luz.
(April 14, 1932), adding the detail that the group persuaded the captain of a visiting ship (the Van Rhijnkloof), 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, Ultra Machado contacted Afonso de Costa seeking his intervention. In the event, the party embarked on the Messageries Maritimes ship D’Artagnan bound for Marseilles. Members went their various ways and with Ultra 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 Occussi-Ambeno concentration camp group was Carlos Cél Big Brandão (1906–71). Although Brandão describes his arrival in Timor on the Gil Eanes in his small classic Ficção: 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. In 1926, he joined a Centro Académico Radical and was also involved in Masonic activity, as indeed were many republicans of that time. Going on to found the newspaper, Guerra em Timor (1953: 29), as the corto or Rio de Janeiro-born journalist Azevedo Lima declared, “Toda Lisboa vibra neste momento com a narrativa verbal a trágica existência dos recémvinados da pequena possessão oceânica.” 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 Combatentes 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 Occusse 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 ALIÂNCIA LIBERTÂRIA DE TIMOR IN DILI

Nothing better illustrates the center-periphery theme of this essay (see also the introduction) than the 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 Federação Anarquista da Região Portuguesa (FARP). As understood, the Aliança had a connection with the Federação 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. Col. António Baptista Juto, 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 to distant work camps. Despite the attempted assassination, 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 the Aliança’s office in the Palácio do Governo in Dili (Barreto 2015: 315).

In the following we turn to the profiles of two individuals at the heart of the Dili branch of the Aliança Libertária. One of these was Manuel Viegas Carrascalão, an 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. Imprisonable as it may sound, prior to his re-arrest, Arnaldo would be responsible for the coup of the Aliança Libertária on September 19, 1932 (Barreto 2015: 315). On Timor he had been incarcerated in Guinea and Cape Verde. Imprisonable as it may sound, prior to his re-arrest, Timor he had been incarcerated in Guinea and Cape Verde. Arnaldo, born in Porto in 1901, was a journalista who lived in the years to come, though certain gained their liberty. On April 27, 1933 the great majority of the surviving deportados still in Timor embarked on the Sis 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 corto or Rio de Janeiro-born journalist Azevedo Lima declaimed, “Toda Lisboa vibra neste momento com a narrativa verbal a trágica existência dos recémvinados da pequena possessão oceânica.” 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 Combatentes 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 Occusse 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.
career at the age of 12 as apprentice typographer at 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 deportates transported on the Sis Pêro de Alenquer to Timor, departing Lisbon in mid-April 1927 (Porto Ananquista; Barreto 2015: 278-79).

Abar Simões Januário
A barbarian by profession, Comebram-born Abar Simões Januário (b. 1897) was both a militant anarchist and organizer (when arrested he held lists of anarcho-syndicalists and cell members nationwide). Appraised in Portuguese leftwing circles today as ‘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 Anarquista, 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 put in and out of the prison system in Coimbra, Ajaide, and Tarrafaria, before deportation to Angola, Azores, and Cape Verde. From Africa he was transported to Timor in June 1925 in a crackdown following the May 15 police raid, he moved on to Lisbon in 1920 finding work in a shipyard. He relocated to Dili where he took up teaching in a private school. 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 terra” (“island of naked people”) or Atauro, 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 stunt? Or did the Spanish anarchist paper, Solidaridad, publish the photos of the deportados in Barcelona in 1937, 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 emancipation on the Matsangas for their year of exile. 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 “profundely 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 Ataízar Island (Porto Ananquista). 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 Ataízar. A group of four, including a policeman who had returned 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 Sis Pedro Gomes remained and with the major staff staying, he also cites a British report suggesting that the deportados on Atauro fomented a short-lived rebellion among different tribal groups on the island, leading to further disciplinary action.

V/ Profiles of the Deportados According to an Official Dossier
Actual documentation on the so-called Red Legion activists is rare although the Frigas (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 many others.

Some of the biographies are more detailed than others, some with names confused, and still others undocumented, leading us to wonder if there were even recorded court proceedings 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 revirvalismo time frame. By rearranging the sequence in which the names are listed...
we can divide the group into several categories, namely syndicalists, anarchists, including “Legião Vermelha” members and bombistas (extremistas) (the majority), masons, and revolutionary careerists. Communists are not named among the list of returnees, likely owing to their illegibility 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, Jáures Americo Viegas, Antonio Augusto dos Santos, and Manuel Viegas Carrascal (the latter arrested on June 15, 1925 as a bombista and known agitator while hosting “vermelhos” in Loulé in the Algave), Sebastião da Costa Alves (deported via Angola but nothing more known), José (ou Avo) Castelo or Caetano, Joaquim da Silva (“O Mirolo”); Sebastião Gracã; 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 under the influence of Abílio Guimãrais. Professed extremist ideas as revealed by the presence of documents by a group of twenty-seven Timorese evacuated from Ponta Delagado (Azores Islands) and then to Timor, Cesar de Castro: Imprisoned on April 7, 1931 for manufacturing explosive bombs and complicity with a trio of (named) bombistas. Deported to Timor on June 18, 1931.

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

José 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). Joãoquin 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 Aghalva, where he headed a group of civilians. Deported to Timor on June 18, 1931.

José de Castro Furtado: Implicated in the assassination in 1919 of Manuel Martins Ferreira, a member of the Situação Sindicata [referring to the São Tomé and Príncipe 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 Campanha [in Porto, every leading to the end of the First Republic and the assassination of António Grañho]. One of the individuals involved in transporting bombs to Rua Saraiva de Carvalho [in 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 again and deported to Timor on February 5, 1931.

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 bound in the agricultural school at Páti [Tepo] 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 in 1930. He was a member of the 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 (1904: 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, 1945, “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 Chamblain 2010).

According to Brandão (1953:104), of the 400 Europeans in Timor during the three-year Japanese occupation, comprising officials, soldiers, 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 Fereira 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 "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

VIII/ 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 that legendary Brigade in Spain (Veira 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 (1904: 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, 1945, “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 Chamblain 2010).

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80% confidence
10 percent ordinary “criminals.” As noted, by this stage they were no longer concentrationized or interned, but were 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 democratic 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 islands 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. Between December 1942-43, Portuguese administrators, soldiers, missionaries, Chinese and Indians, amongst others were subjected to “troublesome” anti-fascist socialists and communists among the deportados stood a core of senior pro-Axis figures. These included João Manuel Pereira 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 Cândido Noronho, the attorney general in Dili who had actually sentenced certain of the evacuees to detention on Atauro 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 allowed to call 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 officials with regard to the 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 eight Portuguese nationals (actually including one Spaniard) 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 deportados. Initially acting upon “Z special unit” information sourced from inside Timor by “agent X” implicating “six deportados,” the MAA (NAA MP742/1 115/1/245, p.201; NAA A373 3685C). As far as the twenty-eight were concerned, this was a travesty of justice in a democratic country. Deported to Timor in 1931 on account of my democratic and anti-fascist ideas, deported without trial, I succeeded, after countless arrests, to be plotting for 37 years the destruction of 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 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 Pilk. Proceedings were unduly lengthy and without sufficient intelligibility. Initially acting 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 the detention of NAA MP742/1 115/1/245, p.201; NAA A373 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 Bezerro dos Santos who wrote in an intercepted letter of December 13, 1945 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 as a member of the fascist socialists and communists among the political spectrum. Alongside “troublesome” anti-fascist socialists and communists among the deportados, as with Francisco, would gain their liberty in July 1945 by joining Operation Starling. Eventually, at war end, the NSW Attorney General’s Department of Navigação departed from 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 J. de Abreu, were denounced by Consul Laborhinho as intending to stay behind to plot revolution in Timor in support of the communist party and with Bezerro dos Santos alleged to be plotting to set up in Timor as a communist agent (NAA MP742/1 115/1/245). A group of four including Bezerro 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.

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 Fereira 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 interfere 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 (culpa) sins" (anon. 1945, “Situación 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 crystallized 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.

Head ing up the minority Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) party, on August 11, 1975 at Indonesian instigation, João Vie g as 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 FRETI LIN forced the government and encourage to flee to Atauro, prior to fullscale Indonesian invasion in December that year and with himself relocating to the Archipelago. In the late 1990s, with expectations of a reinvigorated international intervention on the East Timor self-determination issue, João Vie g as brought UDT into the Convergência Nacional e de Defesa do Estado or PIDE set up in Goa, Timor, 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. That was because the metropolitan population on Timor was small in number, isolated and, during the three-year Japanese occupation, utterly beleagured. 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 Vie g as 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 military and especially on Cape Verde.

HISTORIOGRAFIA

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NOTES

1 This is also reflected in a number of brooks looking back at the war (Dunn 2004: 195). The bloody repression of the “Vougaque robbers” of 1959 were deportados to Angola and Portugal (Gunn 2004).

2 Situated in 1938, the late 19th century Aipelo prison today is viewed in Timor-Leste as a monument to the mistreatment of political prisoners. Images can be viewed on this site, https://davidpalazon.com/ai-pelo/.

3 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 on the prison of Aipelo in West-Northeast Timor can be viewed on the website of the Fundação Nacional Macau, visit https://fundacao-macau.com.br.


5 Detained 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 on the prison of Aipelo in West-Northeast Timor can be viewed on the website of the Fundação Nacional Macau, visit https://fundacao-macau.com.br.

6 In events known as the Revolta de Farinha, in protest against a decree that established the state centralization of wheat and cereal import, many were undoubtedly complicit. Whether or not this group of alleged “anticommunist” actually pushed the political climate to the right leading to the forty year Salazarist Novo Estado would require further study but what 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.

7 Signatories of the petition were, Fernando de Utra Machado (signed...
Additional, Barret (2015: 64) mentions the creation of a parallel category, “Sosse Grande,” with Brazil as a principal benefactor but this has not been documented.

The telegram also offered a threefold categorization of the surviving deportados, according to embarkations, respectively: those arriving on January 21, 1911, one group of Chinese was sent to exile on Mozambique via Lisbon, and with successive groups of deportado on Timor, as with those dispatched from Macau aboard the Gê Euséu in December 1912, and January 1913 (Processo nos. 110 and 195, Sheet D, January 9, 1915), and with those departing Macau aboard the Pêro de Alenquer. According to embarkations, respectively, those arriving on October 1927 on the Pêro de Alenquer: José Armestum; Celso Pinto Marques; Eugénio Augusto Robino Jai; Augusto Vieira; João-Fernando Pinto; João Samois; Joaquim Manuel Cardoso; João-Domingos da Silva; José Camilo; Manuel Viego Carracassú; Sebastião Graça; António Augusto Santos. Those who embarked in 1931 aboard the Pêro de Alenquer; namely, Augusto Vieira Tuyás; Augusto Vieira Tuyás; those who embarked in 1931 aboard the Gê Euséu; namely, António Vieira, José Tuyía, António Vieira, José Castro junior, José Rosário, Augusto Vieira, Sebastião Costa Ável; Bernadino Santos; César Castro; (Joaquim Augusto Salicion; António Vieira; Augusto Tuyás; and Augusto Tuyás (Relação de Individuos que se Encontrem Detidos na Instrução dos deportados em Timor).

12 A different rendition of events surfaces in a statement made by José Ramos-Horta on November 13, 1999, cited in Gua (1999: 211), in which he states (in his letter’s summary) that he (his father) was part of a group who commanded a warship to oppose Francisco de Sousa, then in control of the Portuguese army.

13 In fact, deportations from Macau to Timor are indexed in a number of various series archived in the Macau Archives although, upon cursory inspection, they reveal some 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. A group of deportados was sent to Fundão and then to Timor (1927); these from Lisbon to Timor (1927); if those sent from Lisbon to Timor (1931) remaining until 1935.

14 Additionally, Barret (2015: 64) mentions the creation of a parallel organization, “Sosse Grande,” with Brazil as a principal benefactor but this has not been documented.

15 The telegram also offered a threefold categorization of the surviving deportados according to embarkations, respectively: those arriving on the Pêro de Alenquer: José Armestum; Celso Pinto Marques; Eugénio Augusto Robino Jai; Augusto Vieira; João-Fernando Pinto; João Samois; Joaquim Manuel Cardoso; João-Domingos da Silva; José Camilo; Manuel Viego Carracassú; Sebastião Graça; António Augusto Santos. Those who embarked in 1931 aboard the Pêro de Alenquer; namely, Augusto Vieira Tuyás; Augusto Vieira Tuyás; those who embarked in 1931 aboard the Gê Euséu; namely, António Vieira, José Tuyía, António Vieira, José Castro junior, José Rosário, Augusto Vieira, Sebastião Costa Ável; Bernadino Santos; César Castro; (Joaquim Augusto Salicion; António Vieira; Augusto Tuyás; and Augusto Tuyás (Relação de Individuos que se Encontrem Detidos na Instrução dos deportados em Timor).


