## Contents



## i Acknowledgements


The Comarca study draws most of its primary material from *the Neil Barrett Comarca Video Project*, a Submission to the CAVR Archives. In August and September 2002, CAVR invited Neil Barrett to video interviews with former political prisoners in the ruined Comarca, prior to its rehabilitation as the CAVR national headquarters. With the assistance of Jacinto Alves, Inge Lempp, and Pat Walsh, he filmed 20 interviews with former inmates in the Comarca, and elsewhere. The *Neil Barrett Comarca Video Project* is the result.

Big thanks must go to José Simão Tito Barreto for his patient and unfailing correction of translated material, and for his solid support. Karen Campbell-Nelson did an excellent edit of the first draft, and Pat Walsh and Douglas Kammen provided some valuable suggestions. A special acknowledgement must go to Barbara Bee, a former volunteer in the CAVR Archives, who expressed great interest in the initial version of the work. She gave the Comarca study new life!

## ii Preface by Jacinto Alves

In 2000, the Association of Ex-political Prisoners (ASSEPOL) proposed that the Comarca be rehabilitated, and work began on the building in 2002. I am both the co-ordinator of Assepol and a National Commissioner of CAVR, and it seemed appropriate that the renovated Comarca be the national headquarters of the Commission. The Japanese Government provided funding to rehabilitate the Comarca, a place of suffering, initially for CAVR, but also as a memorial of human rights abuse, so that future generations are reminded of Timor's traumatic past. Plans are being developed for the Comarca to become a memorial centre for victims and human rights in Timor-Leste.

While I was a prisoner in the Comarca, I wrote on the wall:

> We want freedom
>
> To put an end
>
> To the limits
>
> That frustrate
>
> Our deepest thoughts,
>
> And genuine aspirations.

My words join those of many who were imprisoned in the Comarca – the graffiti is our manuscript. Our story is incomplete: this study is just the beginning of the process of documentation. I encourage all ex-Comarca prisoners to share their experiences, photos, and memorabilia with the staff of the CAVR Archives, so that they can add to this account.

## iii Appeal

This study of the Comarca prison is not definitive, but a work in progress. CAVR and the continuing institution would like to hear from anyone who had involvement with the Comarca, and is interested in sharing their stories or experiences. Former prisoners and their visitors, former staff, tradesmen who may have repaired or even built the Comarca, people who made deliveries to the building among many others, are encouraged to contribute to the continuing study.

If anyone can assist in the task of gathering a full list of the names of former detainees, their help would be greatly appreciated.

A collection of material detailing the history of the Comarca during the Portuguese period (from 1963 to 1974) is also in progress, and again if anyone can provide some information it would be very useful.

Many thanks for your interest and support.

# The Comarca Balide Prison:
# A 'Sacred Building'[1]

By Emma Coupland[2]

> *This place (the Comarca) is a memorial for us who were imprisoned here.*[i]

## 1. A Brief History of the Comarca[3ii]

The prison known as the 'Comarca' in Balide, Dili was built in 1963.[iii] During the Portuguese era, the Comarca functioned as a "regular prison",[iv] situated at the edge of an area that "was swamp, actually quite dangerous due to the mosquitoes".[v] The only nearby buildings were those constructed for the Portuguese military, surrounding the marshy ground,[4vi] with the Comarca in the middle. Former inmates remember exercising in a large, open area in front of the prison.[vii] Described as having a colonial-style structure,[viii] the Comarca replaced an older gaol, demolished in the same year, which was located behind the Palacio do Governo (the current Timor Government buildings) in the centre of the town.[ix]

The Comarca is mentioned in the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reports of September 1975. The organisation was conducting relief operations in East Timor in the wake of the internal conflict, and was permitted access to visit UDT (União Democratica Timorense, Timorese Democratic Union) and APODETI (Associacão Popular Democratica Timorense, Timor Popular Democratic Association) prisoners that Fretilin (Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente, Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor) held at the Comarca. An ICRC official visited 240 people held captive in Dili during the first two weeks of September, many of whom were in the Comarca.[5x]

By mid-September, a former prisoner estimated that there were 390 prisoners in the Comarca, held until December 1975. The prisoners arrived from several districts, and some had been moved between a number of detention sites prior to entering the Comarca. The detainees seem to have been treated well, carrying out work duties such as "hoeing the land or cutting grass". They also received enough food when it was available, though as the national situation worsened, the detainees also suffered:

> *Food supplies brought from the east dried up and the sweet potatoes from Ermera ran out. We just waited to die … and this situation lasted until the end of November.*[xi]

On 7th December 1975, when the Indonesian military invaded East Timor, a Comarca detainee said, "The prison doors were all shut and nobody went out." Another detainee shouted to the prisoner guard, "you must free us so that we can find a way out!"[xii] The men

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[1] *The title of the study is taken from a quote by Filomeno da Silva Ferreira. Please see page 20 for the complete quotation.*

[2] *Emma Coupland, a historian, worked at CAVR for a year and a half in numerous positions. She wrote this study of the Comarca in 2004/5.*

*3 "Comarca" is a Portuguese word meaning 'judicial district'. The 'Comarca' is also the term most people use when speaking of the prison building in Balide. The building will be referred to as such throughout this study. An example of the correct way of using the term 'Comarca' is "the prison of the Dili Comarca in Balide".*

*4 Later, prison authorities converted the swampy land at the rear of the building into fields to grow food.*

*5 Due to the confidential nature of ICRC records regarding the organisation's visits to prisons, no specific details are available.*

watched the running battle between the invading Indonesian military and the Fretilin forces for most of the day before they attempted to leave the Comarca. Finally, three prisoners "led the way, waving a white cloth… We followed behind them to the Indonesian Consulate in Leicidere (Dili)."[xiii]

The Indonesian military immediately commandeered several Dili buildings, including the gaols of the "old Portuguese colonial system".[xiv] The Armed Forces used the Comarca to confine political prisoners or, those "suspected of involvement with the resistance forces",[xv] together with people arrested for criminal misdemeanors. People arrested immediately after the invasion were moved to the Comarca in January of 1976.[xvi] Later, ABRI (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) soldiers who had transgressed army regulations "gaoled because they were undisciplined", were also imprisoned in the Comarca.[xvii] Shortly after they took over the prison,[xviii] the military police forced suspected resistance fighters to renovate and clean the building in March 1976.[xix]

The Comarca was the only official prison in Dili until 1986. It was at this time that a second prison, in the area of Becora, was finished, thus relieving overcrowding in the Comarca. The civilian governor of the Comarca wrote a letter to the Head of the Indonesian Prison and Immigration Service in the early 1980s, complaining of the "intolerable situation" he was forced to manage, attempting to accommodate so many people with limited resources.[xx] From 1986, at first female detainees were moved to Becora, leaving the Comarca, which remained under the direction of the military police, to house ABRI soldiers under arrest and some political prisoners.

The Comarca's governance was a mixed arrangement. One former prison guard stated that the Comarca had only recently fallen under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice when he began working there in 1980. The military police had direct control of the prison prior to that.[xxi] By 1990, most prisons in the Indonesian archipelago were under the management of the Directorate of Corrections,[xxii] so the Comarca's civilian governor in the early 1980s was consistent with the practice in other prisons. The prison was similarly termed Dili's "Socialisation Institute".[xxiii] However, the military police held the balance of power in the Comarca. All inmates, upon arrival, had to pass the military police post at the entrance to the building. One former prisoner remembered that when he was in the dark cells, having just arrived at the Comarca, "four people, fully equipped with guns, came from the Indonesian military police at night to guard us."[xxiv] The military police were closely involved with the detainees during their incarceration, and they made most of the decisions concerning the political prisoners. The military police were also responsible for the majority of the violations.[xxv]

The Comarca was infamous as a place of suffering. "Balide … was not a common prison, these were military premises where prisoners, men and women, were treated in the most outrageous way".[xxvi] Almost every person came to the prison from some other "improvised place of detention",[xxvii] such as the hospital, the Comoro Police Station, the Flamboyan Hotel in Baucau, the District Military Command Headquarters, and Sang Tai Hoo.[6] Periods of captivity in these other detention venues ranged from a few days to almost a year. The conditions in many of the venues were abject, and most of the detainees had already endured torture by the time they arrived at the Comarca. One man arrived at the Dili regional Headquarters with such obvious injuries that the police refused him entry, and he was taken directly to the Comarca. Several people were repeatedly incarcerated in the prison; one man was held there four times.[xxviii]

## 2. Entering the Comarca

> *Entering the Comarca I just prayed – I didn't know if I would live or die.*[xxix]

[6] *Sang Tai Hoo was a Chinese shop in the commercial area of Colmera, Dili, used by the Indonesian military as a detention centre.*

Former prisoners expressed the fear they experienced when they realised they had been taken to the Comarca. Many arrived in the hours of darkness. One detainee described a typical journey to the gaol – "They beat us in the car until we arrived. It was then that they untied our blindfolds and we realised that we were in the Comarca."[xxx] One prisoner regained consciousness inside the Comarca, having no memory of his passage there, while another depicted herself as lying waiting for death in her cell.[xxxi]

In the 1970s, prisoners were "generally detained without charge or trial, some of them for several years."[xxxii] One detainee was not even told the reason for his imprisonment. He asked his captors, "What it was that I had done wrong…[but] I would only receive more beatings." It was not until December 1983 that the first trials were held in Dili.[7] From 1984, most detainees progressed through the court process at some point of their incarceration, though one man had been so badly beaten he was unable to do so.[xxxiii] In the 1990s, a higher proportion of prisoners were either tried prior to their detention or 'processed' more rapidly by the courts once imprisoned in the Comarca.[8][xxxiv]

The level of violence inflicted on the prisoners upon arrival fluctuated. Under close guard from the military police, they were strip-searched and interrogated, usually about the prisoner's activities prior to capture.[xxxv] Many former detainees remained in their underwear for days or sometimes weeks, "women were treated the same as men".[xxxvi] Several prisoners said the Indonesian military inserted a spoon into the anus, apparently looking for what they called "blue", a "magic charm" they believed would make the person invisible. Some were sent straight to their cells with their thumbs tied behind their backs, while others were made to stand from the early hours of the morning through the heat of the day in an inner courtyard, a place "always … used by the military police to torture the newcomers". The detainees were made to repeat 'welcome to the prison' and if they collapsed they were splashed with water, forced to stand up and continue. One inmate was beaten unconscious and only revived when he was placed on the concrete in full sun. Other inmates were beaten, told to lie on the ground and sprayed with water.[xxxvii] Some prisoners were ordered to crawl to their cells. One man had a large, wooden board placed across his back, and he was forced to crawl with a number of Indonesian military personnel standing on the board. They only desisted with the brutal treatment when the prisoner fell forward on to his face, and beatings failed to bring him round.[xxxviii]

## 3. Interrogation and Torture

> *I'd rather be in prison, even up to fifteen to twenty years, but what I don't want is to be interrogated. That is something that really destroys.*[xxxix]
> *We felt that we were already dead. We didn't know ourselves any more.*[xl]

Torture invariably occurred during interrogation. Two priests, who frequently visited prisoners in the Comarca, corroborated that torture was used to extract 'information' from those detained. Although prison authorities tried to hide the torture from the priests, the prisoners gave them details, which they in turn reported to the church establishment. When a detainee was denied access to confession, they knew it was because he or she had suffered maltreatment.[xli] In the early 1980s, the wife of the prison governor, unable to endure the nightly screams from the isolation cells as military interrogators persecuted the prisoners, returned to Indonesia. She had lived in the Comarca for only four months. As a civilian governor, her husband was powerless to prevent the military police from entering the cells.[xlii]

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[7] *In August 1984, Amnesty International asked to observe the trials in East Timor. When the request was refused, AI "informed the Indonesian Government of its reasons for believing that the trials might not conform to international standards." (East Timor Violations of Human Rights: Extra Judicial Executions, 'Disappearances, Torture and Political Imprisonment, 1975 – 1984*, [Amnesty International Publications, 1985], p.17.)

[8] *This is true for former prisoners, Jacinto Alves and Francisco Branco; both men's names appear in the Dili Court Records in 1992, the year they were arrested.*

There was a well-established interrogation routine.[9] Besides the gaol, Comarca prisoners were interrogated and tortured in other venues.[10] Detainees of the 1970s, especially long-term prisoners, recalled attending investigation sessions every six months.[xliii] Sometimes the detainees were taken daily to be 'processed', returning to the Comarca each evening.[xliv] Nightly interrogations, frequent in the 1970s and early 1980s, were more feared. One detainee told of guards who woke him repeatedly at 1 a.m. to take him to another location. However, most of those "who got called during the night for investigation never returned", and were presumed murdered.[11] One of the priests said that there was no torture or killings in the Comarca towards the end of the Indonesian occupation.[xlv]

Interrogation topics rarely differed. Prisoners in the 1980s were probed about others in the clandestine networks and details of the structure of the resistance organisation. "They interrogated us and asked us what we did, what did we want and we told them we did what we thought was needed for Independence."[xlvi] One prisoner was asked continually "You must tell us, who commanded you?"[xlvii] Investigations could last hours: one man remembered that a day and a night passed, and the interrogators changed shifts several times.[xlviii] On the rare occasion that prisoners received a visit from an international monitoring organisation, military police would then question prisoners to determine what information had been passed on.[xlix]

The psychological impact of interrogation was the most destructive for many prisoners. When one detainee was faced with investigation, a concerned cellmate tried to allay his apprehension - "Please be calm, don't shake too much".[l] During his sessions, another prisoner was reduced to begging - "I asked for help … I asked for forgiveness from the Indonesians."[li] Interrogation, according to one man was systematic, "in order to destroy my mental capacity".[lii] Another man stated, "during interrogation they didn't want to know about what I had done wrong. Instead (they) invented mistakes and forced us to admit to them."[liii] Similarly:

> *The interrogation that should have happened, wasn't really an interrogation any more…they forced us to admit to things which they wanted us to admit to… We became confused because we didn't know any longer what it really was that we were supposed to say, to say what we wanted to, or to say what they wanted us to say.*[liv]

Methods of torture were diverse, but the most common was beating. Many prisoners were beaten during their initial period of incarceration, often on a daily basis. A detainee was beaten with a belt, sometimes when she was lying down. One prisoner who was bashed around the head reported "my face was so swollen I could not see". Others were beaten with an iron bar while wearing a metal helmet, which also covered the face so the detainee could not see – "then they wrote on top of the helmet 'I AM FRETILIN' ".[lv] Another said:

> *They put the steel hat on my head and I looked like a soldier … and I was ordered to sing two songs, "Foho Ramelau" and "Herois Do Mar"[12]. And to be honest, I… cannot sing and this made me freeze.*[lvi]

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*[9] An inmate of the 1970s explained a system of prisoner categorisation used by the military police. The detainees were designated class A, B or C, "according to their assessed attachment to Fretilin". Undesignated detainees were Class X. However, he was the only interviewee to refer to such a system. The system was very similar to that used in "classifying catergories of prisoners arrested in connection with the alleged communist coup attempt in Indonesia in September 1965." (*Amnesty International**, Interview with Justino Mota, Lisbon, 3-4 July 1984; Amnesty International, p. 63.)***

*[10] Widely known places of detention and torture were Chinese shops requisitioned by the Indonesian military such as Sang Tai Hoo, or the Hotel Tropical. Joint Intelligence Force (SGI, Satuan Gabungan Intelijens) headquarters was another frequented building for the interrogation of Comarca prisoners.*

*[11] Please see the section 8 "Solidarity Among the Prisoners" for further details.*

[12] *"Foho Ramelau" (Mount Ramelau) is the Fretilin anthem. "Herois Do Mar" (Heroes of the Sea) is a Portuguese nationalist song.*

Another prisoner was ordered to "lick the arse of an Indonesian soldier"[lvii]; as one man said, "these pressures were not only physical pressures, but first and foremost mental pressures."[lviii]

Former prisoners listed the instruments of torture. They were made to kneel on mung beans, burnt with a soldering iron and the ends of cigarettes, and given electric shocks. Crushing feet under the leg of a chair while someone sat on it, and immersing prisoners in a drum of water were also common forms of torture. When the drums were heated with prisoners inside, some were killed. One detainee was stabbed in the chest with a long knife. A strong, young man could leave the cell in the morning only to return totally debilitated after a day of being 'processed'; when "they put him inside, he could not walk, he walked just like a little kid."[lix]

Children also experienced imprisonment and torture in the Comarca. From 1976, one woman spent six years with her mother in various prisons, and they arrived at the Comarca when she was six years old. The military police used the little girl to torture her own mother:

> *One day … my mother was ordered to kneel under the Red and White flag (the Indonesian flag) from morning until noon... Some guards … ordered me to take (some hot) bean soup … to the man who was torturing my mother… (He) ordered me to pour it over my mother's head. I was … not tall enough, so they took a cement block and ordered me to stand on it… (T)hey forced me to pour the hot soup on my mother's head… My mother was just quiet, her face was red, her body all wet and dirty with the soup. That was when I realised I had urinated in my pants.*[lx]

In 1983 two small children were part of a group of 38 people tied together, brought to the Comarca from the east.

> *(T)he military police gathered on each side of them at the entrance holding long metal pipes. They beat them from all sides. We didn't know if they would live… They … tied and dragged the children. They fell down and got up when they had some strength.*[lxi]

Sexual abuse of women was reported. Former prisoners spoke about a room in the Comarca where women were taken and violated, and a priest confirmed that women were molested. Other women were made to strip during investigation, and one reported that she was photographed. Another woman was ordered to walk to a tank of water in which she was held beneath the surface. As she walked, she attempted to cover her genitals but military personnel removed her hand with the butt of a gun and told her to walk straight to the tank. "Those that interrogated us were the ones who sexually violated us," she stated.[lxii] Some women were compelled to have sexual intercourse with their interrogators,[lxiii] while one woman, detained with two others, reported that "a … man came and put nails in our underwear. He and the army were close, so the army didn't do anything and he put his hand back in our underwear."[lxiv] They were all then sexually violated until morning.

In the 1970s and 80s, death as a result of torture was not uncommon. Several people reported that prisoners were beaten to death in front of them.[lxv] One man said two other detainees were killed with a knife next to him, the torturers saying, "if you refuse to talk, you will suffer the same fate." Another prisoner saw a dead body in a sack on a table at the end of one of her investigation sessions. Prisoners suffered lasting physical damage as a result of beatings. One detainee received such severe head injuries that he was hospitalised for a couple of months and complained of constant headaches there after.[lxvi]

Many prisoners felt that daily existence in the prison caused as much distress as acts of torture. The feeling that overall conditions of imprisonment in the Comarca were a form of psychological torture that "damaged our minds" was a recurring theme in the testimonies of former detainees. "It was the psychological violence that really made us suffer". Long-term

suffering was not just physical: "Julieta is still a bit mentally ill".[lxvii] Another woman also became mentally incapacitated after years of imprisonment and constant abuse. When she was finally released, she wandered the streets of Dili, dying two years later.[lxviii]

The dehumanising aspect of treatment was a general grievance:

> *Because we are human, we have feelings and the Indonesians didn't consider this … didn't respect people's rights or did they think we were animals?*[lxix]

Another former prisoner stated, "We were like animals".[lxx] A Timorese prison guard, working in the Comarca in the early 1980s, described the appalling treatment of prisoners:

> *I received the key and took it out when they had brought the breakfast. But when I opened the door, we can describe them as cows in a pen. They were just standing, filthy. They couldn't do anything more because they were crushed, unable to move … with their hands tied. … I let them out.*[lxxi]

When he tried to share out the paltry food rations, their hands remained tied together thus impeding their attempts to eat. The group suffered the circumstances for four days before they were transferred to another gaol.

## 4. Cell / Prison Conditions

> *We came to cell number two: they forced us inside like animals, the same as a pig that someone locks up in a pigpen.*[lxxii]

Of all the cells in the Comarca, the eight metal-doored cells were "known and feared by all prisoners",[lxxiii] "notorious for the all the people who had died in them."[lxxiv] They were known as the 'dark cells'[lxxv] as they had no windows, and once the doors were closed they were almost pitch-black inside. The small openings at the top of the outer walls let in minimal light and air. Many prisoners were taken to the dark cells when they were first incarcerated in the Comarca. "We didn't know if it was day or night. It was only when the rooster crowed that we knew." The length of stay in the dark cells differed from decade to decade In the 1970s, after eight months in a dark cell one man said, "when we went outside we couldn't bear the sun because it had been so dark night and day that I couldn't see properly."[lxxvi] However, in the 1990s prisoners usually remained in the cells for about a week.

There was another, more legendary confinement cell in the Comarca. It was at the end of a courtyard, separate from the block of eight dark cells, and was called the 'Maubutar' cell. It was also known variously as "the cell of death", and "the quarantine cell".[lxxvii] The prisoners who were detained in the Maubutar cell when they first arrived in the Comarca spent anywhere from a few days to six months inside.[lxxviii] The dimensions of the cell were similar to the dark cells, and prisoners experienced comparable conditions of near total darkness, they slept on concrete, and were without water. One prisoner said he was "held in a room full of faeces as if I was an animal",[lxxix] while others were tortured during their incarceration in the Maubutar cell. After three days of maltreatment one prisoner declared, "If you spent one week in the Maubutar cell, they would surely kill you."[lxxx] The cell was apparently named after a Falintil guerilla in the 1970s. One prisoner who was in the cell when the man arrived bleeding from a gunshot wound, said Mau[13] Butar remained in the cell for only two weeks, but his name stayed permanently.[lxxxi]

The term 'solitary' confinement in the Comarca is only true in relation to the 'Maubutar' cell. In the dark cells as many as 14 people were regularly crammed into a space approximately

[13] '*Maun' is Tetun for older brother. There are conflicting stories regarding the namesake of the cell: a former prison guard reported that 'Maubutar' was tied up and left to die in the cell. (João Baltazar Martins, testimony to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003.)*

two metres square for over a week.[14][lxxxii] Overcrowding usually coincided with military operations throughout the country when a large number of people were arrested. In mid-1977, for example, the estimated number of detainees was 500,[lxxxiii] but the number could have risen as high as 700 by 1979.[lxxxiv] Ironically, in 1984 an Indonesian Government bureaucrat informed "the Sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva that the Comarca prison held 200 prisoners at full capacity."[lxxxv]

Lack of space was most extreme in the 1970s and 80s. Many prisoners were forced to stand for much of their week-long confinement in the dark cells, especially when a prisoner needed to defecate in the toilet in the corner.[lxxxvi] Once they were moved to the cellblocks, they slept head to toe.[lxxxvii] When the prisoners gathered in the prayer room in the late 1970s:

> *There were people standing outside because there were too many of us. Hundreds of people at that time were prisoners in Comarca, Dili.*[lxxxviii]

Crowded conditions were particularly severe in the 1980s when approximately 200 people were held in each cellblock – scores more people than were intended for the cell's facilities.[lxxxix]

Former inmates frequently described the filthy conditions of the dark cells. Detainees incarcerated in the 1990s described a broken toilet, which was either full of waste or leaked waste and water back into the cell when it was pumped, forcing prisoners to sit or stand in the mess.[xc] Food scraps –banana skins, fish and meat bones- on the floor of the cell were never cleaned away.[xci] The foul nature of the cells attracted rats and cockroaches, which prevented the prisoners from sleeping.[xcii] The smell was unbearable as there was no ventilation.[xciii] A former prison guard stated that when "we opened the door to the cells it made us feel sick".[xciv] The heat also made prison life unpleasant, as prisoners improvised with paper fans to try and circulate air, sweating profusely despite wearing nothing but their underwear. The guards had difficulty closing the metal door of one of the dark cells: it had to be slammed shut, and those inside felt that each time the noise threatened to burst their eardrums.[xcv]

Overall, conditions improved when the prisoners were moved from the dark cells. Once the detainees had attended the tribunal they tended to receive better treatment, they were given prison uniforms,[xcvi] and often changed cells, moving to the cellblocks[xcvii] – "those places were clean because we'd received our sentences."[xcviii] The cellblocks, numbered one to six, were much larger in size and generally more hygienic. The windows, however, were very small, three to each block, and set high up in the walls. When a particular point of the afternoon arrived, at the right time of year, the sun shone through the little windows on to the ground and the prisoners fought for a place in the light. Some prisoners had to endure light deprivation over a long period of time - "only a little light, maybe about 45 watt was in here, for the entire room."[xcix] One detainee described being allowed out of the cellblock:

> *When we went outside and saw the sun we just fell over because for one year we hadn't seen the sun and we had become pale.*[c]

The location of the Comarca affected conditions inside the cells. The concrete floors were often damp, as a result of the proximity to the swamp.[ci] The prisoners had little protection from the wetness as they slept on the concrete, usually without a mat. In the 1990s, for the first few days in the larger cell, prisoners used their sandals as a pillow until they were provided with a piece of plywood to lie on.[cii]

Daily living conditions in the Comarca were not just physically difficult. Aspects of imprisonment were depicted as a form of psychological torture. One man was kept in solitary confinement for two years, and only allowed out for one hour per week. Some prisoners were forbidden to talk. Other prisoners felt totally isolated as they were prohibited from knowing

[14] *The actual dimensions of the cells are 2.02m long x 2.72m wide x 3.1m high.*

anything of the world around them. All they saw were the white walls of the cell everyday. Some could not even see the daily activities of the Comarca, as the view from the door of their cell was another white wall. One detainee said the lack of colour variation "made people become stressed quickly… So this… (was) a process of brain washing."[ciii]

## 5. Food

*They gave us the same food as they'd give a pig.*[civ]

Food and its provision was a central concern in the Comarca. For the prison governor of the early 1980s, feeding the detainees was a major dilemma. He was allocated a budget to provide food for approximately 50 prisoners, yet often had to "cope with upwards of 500 prisoners being crammed into the gaol in the aftermath of military campaigns."[cv] The military police did not consult the governor about the large numbers of political detainees they brought to the Comarca after widespread arrests were conducted. As a consequence, some prisoners literally starved to death at times when the prisoner population was high.[cvi] A detainee, confined in a dark cell with 14 other people reported:

> *Of this group of 15, four died of hunger. It was … a horrible experience to witness … Death by hunger is a spectacle that cannot be described.*[cvii]

Deliberately depriving a detainee of food was common practice. Withholding food often occurred during the initial week of imprisonment: "They gave us food once a day, but sometimes not at all."[cviii] Food deprivation was also used to force people to provide 'information' when a prisoner was being investigated. An interrogator told one prisoner "You must tell us the truth, then you can eat and drink." Over all, prisoners received inadequate amounts food; one spoonful of rice given three times a day,[cix] or a daily handful of rice was not unusual.[cx] Some prisoners reported that they were given food, but not water for periods of up to six months – "I only had water from the food that I ate."[cxi] Others were only provided with tap water, not generally fit for drinking in Dili.[cxii] One prisoner reported that in 1980, while in a dark cell, a small hole in the floor was "used like a bottle. Into this went all the dirty water I had to drink… full of chicken faeces and soap."[cxiii]

The quality of food was very low indeed. The widespread reaction to the food was "we had to force ourselves to eat. If we didn't we would have starved to death."[cxiv] However, sometimes it was impossible to eat the food; for example, prisoners who were given dried cow skin simply threw it on the roof of the prison.[cxv] A more typical daily menu was:

> *In the morning we had a saucer of rice only with no vegetables and at midday also a saucer with just boiled kangkung (water spinach).*[cxvi]

The prison kitchen was separate from the main building. It was situated at the rear of the prison, approximately 25 metres down the hill, surrounded by the prison gardens. It had concrete floors, and a large wooden table down the centre of the room. The back doors of the prison were opened to allow kitchen staff to carry the large saucepans of food in to serve to the detainees. Apparently, when the guards overseeing the daily operation were not kindly disposed, the doors would remain closed and staff had to take the food round to the front of the building and into the main courtyard.[cxvii]

The serving routine varied over the decades. In the 1970s detainees did not receive breakfast at all, just lunch and dinner, while in the 1980s they ate in the morning and at lunchtime. Sometimes the food server was told to hand out rations quickly, allowing only a short period of time to receive the food. At other times the food server called the prisoners like animals with "eat, eat, eat" so they would run with their plates to the door to collect their bread and a handful of peanuts. Meal times were also a way that prisoners in the dark cells could tell what time of day it was.[cxviii]

Prison visitors tried to supplement the meagre diet, though often without success.[15] The guards at the gate heavily vetted most provisions brought by the prisoners' families, and often the detainees were not allowed to receive anything. Some prisoners were given only fragments of meat, or just the vegetables, or only the juice from the meals that were brought in while the guards ate the rest. "Our tears fell because I didn't believe that my family would come and see me and bring something like this for me."[cxix] Malnutrition was often the end result of such a restricted food intake, leading to illness and sometimes death.

## 6. Health / Medical Care

> *When the food was no good people became very, very sick with (TB).*[cxx]

Health and hygiene among Comarca detainees was dependent on daily living conditions. When prison conditions were poor, as was often the case, the prisoners' health declined. Dirty cells, lack of clean water, overcrowding, light deprivation, and inadequate diet all took their toll on the well-being of the prisoners. One inmate said, "the air exhaled by one of us was inhaled by another … if one of us fell ill, all of us would become ill." The only time some detainees saw sunlight was when they were ill. Former inmates stated that many prison deaths were the direct result of the "suffering" caused by the state of their imprisonment. Paralysis leading to death "because of the condition of the cell" was reported.[cxxi] Death as a result of tuberculosis (TB), known by the prisoners as 'blood cough'[cxxii] occurred regularly in the 1970s and 80s.[16][cxxiii] A detainee of the 1980s stated, "the truth is, people just kept dying here. They die(d), one after another."[cxxiv]

Life in the dark cells was particularly harsh. "When we first entered we all had headaches as if we had malaria. At first we couldn't cope, but after three or four days we could tolerate it." Prisoners confined in these cells "defecated inside, ate and drank inside and urinated there as well."[cxxv] In terms of hygiene, the dark cells were dire. Hand washing was impossible as the closest prisoners came to being provided with water was when the military police would occasionally turn the hoses on some of the prisoners at night.[17][cxxvi] Even the toilet was without water and often full of excrement.[cxxvii] Some detainees held for a long period in the dark cells spent months without washing. After six months of itchiness, one man's skin began peeling off.[cxxviii]

Skin conditions were also the product of insufficient nutrition.[cxxix] Emaciated prisoners, described as "bone on bone" whose weight had dropped as low as 30 kilogrammes, were reported.[cxxx] Bloating of the stomach was referred to, also evidence of malnutrition.[cxxxi] The medical facilities of the Comarca were minimal. The nursing care available in the late 1970s was described as "inadequate," the Indonesian military nurses were "neglectful and incompetent".[cxxxii] Treatment of TB was especially ineffectual, with inappropriate use of medicines and wrongly directed dosages being probable factors in prisoner deaths.[cxxxiii] There was a clinic in the prison during the 1980s, though the doctor only visited once every three months. The prison nurse gave medicine for fevers, aches and pains, but only from the hours of 9 a.m. to midday. During the 1990s detainees who were ill were taken to the military hospital in Lahane.[cxxxiv]

The prison authorities frequently neglected prisoner illness. A detainee in a serious condition was left to die over a five-day period. Another inmate shared a cell with a prisoner who had died as a result of torture-sustained injuries for a day before he was removed.[cxxxv] In 1976 three severely under-nourished detainees were hospitalised, but instead of receiving

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[15] *AI reported that in 1978 there was a kiosk in the prison, run by the prisoners. However, it is difficult to imagine that many prisoners benefitted from the arrangement due to lack of money. (Amnesty International, p.62.)*

*16 AI listed the names of eleven prisoners who had died of TB between 1975 and 1979, however the "list should not be regarded as complete." (Amnesty International, p.63.)*

[17] *Soap and toothpaste were not available in the prison. Please see section 11 "ICRC and Other Organisations" for further details.*

treatment, they were forced to wash the floors. They all died in hospital.[cxxxvi] Detainees brought to the Comarca with injuries often did not receive any medical assistance. A man with a gunshot wound, screaming in pain, bled for four days. He was only able to talk coherently on his fourth day of imprisonment. A detainee, already seriously beaten when he arrived at the Comarca, was subjected to further brutality from the military police. Gravely injured and unconscious, he was finally taken to hospital, but instead of receiving treatment he was handcuffed to the bed with his legs tied together. He regained consciousness after two weeks.[cxxxvii]

## 7. Daily Routine / Activities

> *Once we finished eating, we slept. In the afternoon we washed, and in the evening we just prayed and slept. We had no other activities.*[cxxxviii]

There were two distinct daily routines for Comarca detainees once they had been freed from the dark cells. The schedules differed in accordance with who the detainees were and the nature of their 'offence'. Some prisoners were entirely confined to their cells, while others had remarkable freedom to engage in a variety of activities.

For cell-bound detainees, existence revolved around the interior of the cellblock. "We were here (in the Comarca) for … 9 months, the 13 of us were only allowed through that door over there (which led to the ablution block) … they truly wanted to totally isolate us." Inmates would climb up on each other's backs "to see (the) outside world through the window," "because we were bored." However, as one prisoner observed it "always brought us back to deep longing and I decided to stop it." In order to have some form of contact with prison life surrounding their cell, they used a mirror so they could "see the movement of persons, for instance their feet".[cxxxix]

For the restricted prisoners the routine was repetitive. "We didn't have any activities as we were locked up, unable to move."[cxl] Everything was taken from the prisoners upon entry and "newspapers were never allowed in, nor story books or other things. Nothing was permitted in." In the morning people ate breakfast and then prayed together, some with a rosary. One prisoner said, "When we were released from here we (had) almost memorised the entire scripture. We studied it every day."[cxli] The Bible permitted by the prison authorities was an Indonesian language version (possibly Protestant), unfamiliar to the Catholic prisoners.[cxlii] Group exercise followed and food was then served. One compensation, an improvement on conditions in the dark cells, was that "if we wanted to take a shower we were able to from morning till evening: the water never ran out."[cxliii] Some people then slept during the afternoon, and later the detainees received an evening meal.

Entertainment was often communal. It consisted of political discussions, group support for the continuation of the resistance struggle, and short lectures on specific topics. Drawing graffiti was also widespread amongst the detainees – "they gave us candles to light the room. I lit a candle and started writing on the walls."[cxliv] The words and drawings reflected prisoners' aspirations: "Mother-country or Death – We Must Win! Victory is Certain!"[cxlv] These made up the prisoners' activities for the day. A detainee remarked, "In the Comarca Balide, we didn't have any freedom." This fact was emphasised by her later experiences of detention in the Becora prison where she was taught to sew, and planted trees and vegetables.[cxlvi]

For the more liberated, prison life was significantly different. The detainees were allowed to move around the Comarca and sometimes to leave after arranging it with the prison guards.[18] Their black-shirted uniform with the words 'prisoner' in white print on the back meant that they were easily identified whenever they left the Comarca building. They could choose where

[18] *The leave was usually secured by a bribe. Please see section 9 "Relationships with the Guards" for further details.*

they ate. Detainees, who ate on the verandah, brought out their sleeping mats[19] to sit on, and some played cards after lunch.[cxlvii] Volleyball and football were regular activities throughout the occupation, as was ping-pong in the later period. Religion played a large role in the lives of many detainees, and most were permitted confession with the visiting priest. On Sundays the prisoners were allowed to attend the mass conducted by the visiting priest in the prayer room. Some prisoners also gathered to sing or listen to singers; "it was sweet to hear … the rhythm was also sweet".[cxlviii]

A typical daily schedule for the less restricted prisoners circa 1985 began at 6 a.m. when the cell doors were opened. The detainees washed, as water was plentiful, and ate breakfast and cleaned the cell. They moved the sleeping mats, so the floors could be swept, cleaned the ablution block - flushing out and scrubbing the toilets. The prisoners then relaxed outside before lunch, or washed their clothes at the pump in the corner of the main courtyard. After lunch, detainees often rested. Around 3 p.m. the guards opened the prison doors to the nearby fields for those who wished to water the vegetables growing there, or plant more. The garden area was extensive, providing the prison with a range of fresh food, from bananas and papaya to cabbage and other green, leafy vegetables. Other prisoners chose to learn English with another detainee who gave lessons in the prayer room. Later in the afternoon a game of football or badminton began, while other detainees made rings from cow horns. Once they had received their evening meal, inmates were permitted to watch television after 5 p.m. At 8 p.m. the prisoners gathered for a roll call and, once they were all accounted for, the cell doors were shut for the night.[cxlix]

Prison authorities directed a sometimes intense and prolonged exercise regime that could be used to punish misdemeanours. It involved some of the more closely confined detainees, allowing them a brief opportunity to get out of their cells, but leaving a lasting impression of abuse. Some prisoners recalled a session of push-ups, star jumps and running,[cl] while others described brutal or humiliating physical discipline. Jumping on the spot was a penalty for waking late in the morning, but was enforced upon all the prisoners. One prisoner was made to crawl to the exercise field, while others were sometimes beaten or slapped in the face by military police as they tried to carry out the enforced routine.[cli] The physical demands of such sessions on under-nourished prisoners were excessive.

Besides exercise activities, cell-bound prisoners were also given work duties. When prison authorities discovered one detainee had electrical skills, he was requisitioned not only to re-install the cables and fittings throughout the Comarca, but also in the houses of military officials and other buildings.[clii] His relative freedom and responsibility was in contrast to most other work details: For example, from August to October 1977, prisoners were made to exhume bodies from the cemetery next to the port and relocate them to the cemetery in Santa Cruz.[cliii] More commonly, prisoners were sent to clean out septic tanks, to dig channels and build roads,[20] cut wood for the prison kitchen, plant rice or to carry rocks to build the Becora Prison. The latter task was described as the worst experience of one man's detention. One prisoner saw the work as nothing more than deliberate humiliation. When he was told to collect water for an Indonesian soldier in the 1980s, he shouted "I came here to be punished, not as a servant of the Indonesians to be sent to collect water to wash (their) arses!"[cliv]

Prison routine involved a mixture of voluntary and enforced activities. In the 1970s prisoners were compelled to participate in afternoons of cultural assimilation such as learning the Indonesian nationalist song 'Padamu Negeri' (For You, Country).[21] Intelligence officers were placed among the prisoners to monitor levels of volume, interpreted as an indication of their interest. One man declared "we felt tortured because we felt forced to sing a song [that] violated our freedom." Also during the 1970s volleyball matches were held between military personnel in the Comarca. Prisoners with ball skills were told to supplement the teams when

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*[19] ICRC provided the mats. Please see section 11 "ICRC and Other Organisations".*

*[20] "Although funds were reportedly allocated to pay for … work (circa 1978), the inmates were not always paid – only prisoners doing road work received any pay at all, about Rp450 a day." (Amnesty International, p.62.)*

*[21] One of the questions asked at the regular interrogation sessions in the late 1970s was whether or not the prisoner had learned Indonesian. (Amnesty International, p.64.)*

numbers were low. Similarly, in 1977 some of the detainees were invited to participate in the Indonesian military football games held on a nearby field. The prisoners themselves chose the players and called the team 'Rai Lakan' (Tetun for 'Lightening'). The team was permitted to join the twice-daily training organised by the Indonesian military, and in their spare time they planned strategies. They played against an Indonesian team in the Dili stadium, and the crowd was so excited they chanted 'Rai Lakan' throughout the match. At the end of the game "the military was … angry (and) the name was banned... From then on the team was called 'Rajawali'. " (Indonesian for 'big, black hawk', the symbol of an Indonesian Military Special Forces unit.) The next time the team played, the crowd ignored the name change, and "yell(ed) … full of enthusiasm that Rai Lakan had arrived … the team made up of political prisoners."[clv]

## 8. Solidarity Among the Prisoners[22]

> *Many of our friends are dead, with no graves. We've … survived until now but so many didn't come back.*[clvi]

Relationships between the prisoners were an essential factor of detention. Some detainees closely observed their fellow inmates to document when they 'disappeared'. Tracking other prisoners was not as necessary in the 1990s, as the names of detainees had been given to the international community and the East Timor solidarity movement, and this helped to protect them. The priests visiting the Comarca played a crucial role in supplying the names of all the political prisoners.[clvii] However in 1985, AI wrote "the organisation has received persistent reports that many of the 'disappeared' were extra-judicially executed after being seized. These include reports that a number of people were taken from detention in the Comarca prison in Dili … and executed at Areia Branca beach east of the capital and Lake Tasitolu to its west."[clviii] A priest confirmed:

> *They were thrown (in) to the lake or buried in some other way. At that time people used to say: 'Today Tasitolu is red'.*[clix]

It was reported that in the 1980s, people were executed in the field behind the Comarca. "We always tried to look outside from here. We could see the people that the Indonesians took out, and killed. There were tens of people who were killed over there."[clx]

Detainees presented a grim picture of the fate of their cellmates. "They tied their hands, tied their legs, blindfolded them and took them away [late at night]. They never came back." When high numbers of prisoners were incarcerated in the dark cells upon arrival, sometimes up to 30 in one cell, it was often an indication that many would later 'disappear'. After the military police visited these cells, "those left were only 13, 15 and the others no one knows their whereabouts." During the early 1980s, detainees were also removed from the cellblocks, where numbers were as high as 200; "every night … they would take about 50 people out at a time. They were taken away".[clxi23]

During the 1970s, a prisoner suspected two Comarca inmates of collaborating with the military police. He asked one of them "which people did you make disappear – did you give them to the Indonesians to murder? Where are they buried?"[clxii] The questions reveal that the prisoners did not know for sure what happened to people after they were taken. The military police used the pretext of interrogation to call prisoners from their cells. However, detainees taken at night "never returned … The night time meant death, the night time meant we (would) disappear forever, so we always prayed to avoid that." Before the military police removed people they turned off the lights, only switching them back on several days after the

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[22] *There is almost no information on the interaction between transgressors of military discipline and the political prisoners. The only reference is from the governor of the Comarca from 1980-6: "There was constant friction between these two groups of prisoners, with the ABRI detainees being particularly difficult to contain." (Interview by Peter Carey with Ian Dion, Banjar, West Java, 3 January 2004.)*

[23] *The number quoted here is unconfirmed and considerably higher than figures reported earlier to AI: "at least twelve people, who were reportedly taken from the Comarca during the night of 18 April 1979 … never reappeared." (Amnesty International, p.33.)*

prisoners 'disappeared', exacerbating the atmosphere of fear and uncertainty.[clxiii] In the 1980s one prisoner "waited for the moment when they would call my name and I would be taken to be killed. The decision to execute was arbitrary."[clxiv] Remembering an American prisoner awaiting execution on death row, a story he had heard prior to his arrest, one detainee stated:

> *While we were outside we could not understand the feeling of a prisoner … like him. But after we were gaoled and we knew that we could be free, outside safely, but also could be killed. We really did not know our fate at that time.*[clxv]

The prisoners counteracted the climate of apprehension within the prison by strong inter-prisoner support. It was important to the inmates to be unified and have equality. When an officer offered special favours to a prisoner who played volleyball as a substitute during military games the prisoner declined. "I wouldn't be happy for there were others … who never left the cell … to play volleyball … I did not want to do anything that other friends could not." Instead the prisoners encouraged and supported each other. Imprisonment "is the fate that has made us become one, made us always close to each other, because of … the same … suffering we shared … during years and years together." A man nominated as group motivator told his cellmates:

> *We should always watch out for each other, … we should learn, … so that we wouldn't lose our convictions that one day our goals would be achieved.*[clxvi]

Mutual support could make the difference between survival and death. Political prisoners had an unshakeable belief in the reasons for their imprisonment that enabled them to overcome hardship and suffering. Again and again, former detainees spoke of their imprisonment in relation to the struggle for independence. The Comarca "was the place we lived in, because we wanted freedom and independence for East Timor." "I entered here as a prisoner with honour, imprisoned for defending a just cause, the cause of independence." "It was my moral duty, a consequence of my part in the struggle for freedom. So what ever happened, I accepted it." Talking about his detention, one man stated, "it was a long enough period, but at that time we could survive only because we were sure of what we struggling for." The older priest gave his impressions of those detained - "I found a high degree of human dignity and sense of resistance ... But what impressed me the most was the good moral level (of the) prisoners."[clxvii]

The prisoners' religious faith was also a means of creating strength and unity. "Day by day we … pray(ed) together, … (to) try to build the relationship with God to preserve our belief."[clxviii] Some nights, especially when circumstances were difficult, cell groups prayed three times, finishing at 11 p.m. and beginning again at 5 a.m. when the rooster crowed.[clxix]

> *In [our] struggle to obtain independence at that time, we gave our lives and we gave ourselves. They gave us work but that wasn't enough for us because we wanted the right to be free.*[clxx]

## 9. Relationships with the Guards

> *We gave money to the guards and they looked after us well.*[clxxi]

Corruption was not the only element of the guard – prisoner relationship in the Comarca, but it was the most obvious. As with other areas of life during the Indonesian occupation, "money could buy privileged treatment."[clxxii] A former detainee explained that, "for the Indonesians it was also difficult to find money to smoke cigarettes, as they didn't have any money."[clxxiii] Thus money for bribes, or lack of it made a real difference to the treatment detainees received.

After the Indonesian invasion it took as little as cigarettes to buy a visit to see family.[clxxiv] Later Rp5,000 for 'cigarette money' was required to gain permission for a home visit, especially at night.[clxxv] Other prisoners, for an unknown sum, were "granted 'conditional liberty', being allowed to leave the prison during the day and over the weekends."[clxxvi] However in the 1990s, a prisoner, wishing to pay his respects to a dead family member, had to pay Rp100,000. He was away from the Comarca for no more than two hours. "If we didn't have money they would keep the doors closed. If our friends came to visit they wouldn't let us meet them to talk." Friends and family smuggled money in for the detainees, however it was a risk for the smugglers. "If the guards saw them, at night they would go and spy on them and be violent towards them, spying on them so they could call them for interrogation. So we had to do this without the guards' knowledge." One detainee even had to pay the guards in order to have a private audience with the priest after mass.[clxxvii] Bribes were allegedly "often required to secure the release of eligible prisoners." Those who were unable to pay their way out "are said to have continued to be held in the Comarca".[clxxviii]

The situation outside the Comarca influenced the tone of relations between guards and prisoners. When the situation was tense outside, inmates knew they had to be alert inside[clxxix] for the guards would control them closely and would not let them do anything.[clxxx] Relations often began badly. One detainee remarked that, upon arrival in the Comarca, the guards "looked at us (with) … hate". Spies were placed in the cells to maintain closer control over the prisoners. One prisoner was reported to the military after encouraging a group of detainees to continue the struggle. After he was interrogated about the matter, a sympathetic military guard advised him "to be more careful, that I shouldn't talk too much, because they had already slipped among us their people." The same man had his glasses taken away by guards who believed "wearing glasses meant an arrogant attitude, which they could not accept"; they refused to understand that he needed them to see.[clxxxi] One detainee, however, obtained preferential attention as he had repaired the electricity fittings throughout the Comarca. Prison management told the guards they "must look after him well".[clxxxii] The man used his favoured status to assist prisoners in his cellblock to gain clearance to visit their families in the evenings, (for a nominal fee!)

Cultural alienation was another difficulty of guard relations. The disparity between the Timorese prisoners and the guards, most of whom were Indonesian was keenly felt. - "What made us suffer the most … (was) the cultural conflict." It was "very difficult for us, because suddenly we were forced to [adapt to], … a foreign culture, about which we had no clue." As a reward for a detainee's good behaviour, a guard granted him the privilege of going home to spend the night with his wife, obviously so he could have sexual intercourse. However, the prisoner was mortified, "I was ashamed for a long time". He realised later that such an "attitude, wasn't anything abnormal. It was something that was commonplace in their culture." Another former prisoner relayed a similar anecdote that occurred fifteen years later. After a year of confinement, his wife was allowed to visit for the first time. She was offered an empty room and, if she brought a mattress, she could sleep with her husband. She "answered that she didn't have dirty thoughts like that".[clxxxiii]

Women detainees experienced overt forms of sexual misconduct from the guards, such as being forced to bathe naked in front of them. During the early 1980s, some women were permitted to visit their families occasionally, but only when accompanied by a prison guard. While one older detainee was verbally intimidated throughout the journey, others endured worse. "Maria went outside to sit down because it was hot. The Indonesians came and grabbed her breasts – she smiled. We could only smile at these times."[clxxxiv] Women could gain special privileges, though at a personal cost. A female detainee could gain her freedom if she agreed to have sexual intercourse with a prison guard. One woman was offered a sweet, but believing it was drugged she refused to eat it. She remained in gaol. Later the same night another prisoner was freed – the woman "assumed (it was) because she had given into the Indonesians' offer".[clxxxv] One prisoner felt that her only chance to continue her clandestine work unmolested was to agree to a relationship with an Indonesian soldier. "When we were due to leave the Comarca, they always offered us something like " 'you want to leave the Comarca, you must go with me in order to leave'," reported the woman of the proposition she received. So, she "took advantage of this opportunity to be released" from prison, obtained protection, had a child with the soldier, and even rejoined the independence movement.

However, she was unable to face her former cellmates who had refused the benefits of such a liaison.[clxxxvi]

## 10. Visitors and Communication

> *I remember the message she sent to me … 'Father, we are living in hell'.*[clxxxvii]

Visitors made a significant impact on the lives of detainees. They relieved the monotony of "living inside the prison … isolated (from) the world and family".[clxxxviii] For one prisoner the hardest thing was that "we never met our wives or saw our children."[clxxxix] Visits from friends and family were important to re-establish feelings of being human by reminding prisoners of their lives outside the prison walls. A younger prisoner received a visit from a priest he barely knew during his first months in the Comarca. It made a life long impression: "of all people it was him to be the first one to visit me, to give me love, which I needed oh so desperately at that time." Visitors also strengthened prisoners' resolve to endure detention. A man who had married just before he was captured saw his three month old baby for the first time when in prison - "I really had to be mentally strong and sure that I could survive so one day I could see my baby again, my wife, and also other family members."[cxc] Families gave the prisoners strength:

> *We pictured our children continuing the war in the future, as we were getting older. In order for us to continue, we would … always mentalise together like this.*[cxci]

Some prisoners received visits regularly. In the 1970s families were allowed to meet detainees every Sunday for twenty minutes,[cxcii] and in the 1980s, on either Monday or Friday.[cxciii] Those restricted to their cells may have had two or three visits during their entire incarceration, though it was possible to receive more depending on their ability to bribe the guards.[24] Some detainees were not allowed visits for the first three months, some not for the first year, while others were forbidden visitors altogether, though they were detained for more than two years.[cxciv] Prisoners whose families lived too far away from the Comarca were also denied the benefits a visit could bring. Although the guards searched and removed items from the visitors' bags, sometimes a few basic items were allowed through to the prisoners. A man, whose family lived very close to the prison, ensured that those in his cell who were not so fortunate at least shared food that was brought for him.[cxcv]

A vital asset visitors provided was communication. News about the circumstances of life outside the prison was shared as much as possible among the detainees. The priests were purveyors of information. "The Father came and we confessed, we also asked questions. The Father told us that the problems outside were being organised: you need to be calm, you need to cope." Through Bishop Carlos Belo, the priests helped prisoners inform the international community about the conditions of imprisonment in the Comarca and other violations. A prisoner, who witnessed the aftermath of the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991, wrote a paper detailing what he saw, and the priest carried it out of the Comarca in his bag.[cxcvi] The paper was subsequently delivered to Amnesty International (AI). The prisoners' communication link with the international community was strongest in the 1990s. AI received almost no details about conditions in the Comarca in the 1970s, and it was refugees from East Timor who supplied most of the information in the 1980s.[cxcvii] Some inmates were not even permitted to write a letter. A prisoner, new to the Comarca, asked the prison commandant if he "could write to my wife to ask if the children were fine. He said, " 'No.' He had orders that no communication was allowed with anyone."[cxcviii]

Information was surreptitiously transmitted by many means. Detainees wrote information on tiny pieces of paper, which they passed on to the priests when they kissed their hands.[cxcix] In the 1990s, these tiny pieces of paper then ended up on the desk of the Indonesia/ East Timor

[24] *Please see section 9 "Relationships with the Guards" for further details.*

section of AI's International Secretariat in London.[cc] Prisoners also "threw little paper messages over the fences and … the children, who were playing outside the yard, took them and delivered them to the addressees." Prisoners with more freedom collected notes pushed through doors from those in more restricted confinement. One detainee managed to send out regular letters to her son fighting in the hills via a trusted courier who wrapped the letters in his clothes. Some slipped messages in between the two layers of a rice container,[cci] while others gave the notes to sympathetic kitchen staff to pass on to family members.[ccii] Kitchen workers also relayed news from outside; through this means one man heard his wife was ill in hospital, and that Xanana Gusmão had been captured. Finally, prisoners on work detail during the day were able to bring news. After the invasion, prisoners returning from their labours outside reported that Indonesian troops continued to arrive. Two of the older detainees in the cell took the news badly - "they both died … of shock, because of the information they got."[cciii]

## 11. ICRC and Other Organisations

*The International Red Cross said that Indonesia knows how to punish people but not how to care for people.*[cciv]

Access to the Comarca by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) made a crucial difference to imprisonment. A man imprisoned in the late 1970s wrote a letter, requesting the attention of ICRC,[ccv] but prisoners did not feel the effects of an ICRC visit until 1982.[25][ccvi] The early years of ICRC access were troubled. In April 1979, on the day the ICRC was due, it was alleged that several Comarca prisoners were shot by military police.[ccvii] After the commencement of an ICRC presence, AI wrote in 1985 that it had "received reports from former prisoners that prisoners have been moved from the Comarca in advance of visits by members of ICRC."[ccviii] A few years later, in response to a high number of deaths in custody, one prisoner wondered "why the Red Cross who was already here at the time, would not do anything."[ccix] AI observed, "Although the occasional visit by ICRC resulted in improved conditions in the Comarca, their curtailment (from November 1982 to June 1984, despite initial Indonesian permission was) … followed by a corresponding decline."[ccx] Nevertheless from late 1984, following an agreement on a "phased programme of prison visits", ICRC had a positive influence on conditions in the Comarca.[ccxi]

First and foremost ICRC began a regime of weighing the prisoners. From late 1984 the organisation visited every three months, with one prisoner reporting that ICRC "saw everything" including the kitchen.[ccxii] It seems detainees at the time were suffering from starvation as the organisation recorded weights as low as 30 kilogrammes. One detainee said that ICRC staff "shook their heads" in response to the prisoners' condition and took photographs. When the ICRC workers returned, they bought "a carload of things", bringing everything from milk to mats, soap to soccer balls.[ccxiii] The most immediate improvement was in the quality and quantity of food that, a detainee remembered, ICRC staff "gave…three times a day…straight into our hands".[ccxiv] Prisoners received fresh bananas, eggs, fried fish and sometimes meat. As a consequence, the overall health and weight of the prisoners improved so that on subsequence visits ICRC recorded weights of 70, 80 and 90 kilogrammes.[ccxv] If at any time, the prisoners' weights fell, the ICRC staff would, one inmate said, "protest" to the prison authorities.[ccxvi]

The ICRC affected other aspects of prison life. The provision of basic items such as plates, clothes and sleeping mats made a real difference to daily conditions in the prison.[ccxvii] The organisation insisted upon replacing the existing hand pump in the Comarca with an electric water pump.[ccxviii] Soap and towels given to the detainees ensured general hygiene was maintained. ICRC staff also provided balls for volleyball, football and ping-pong, demanding a regular routine of physical exercise and, in particular cases, exposure to sunlight. More importantly, ICRC staff saw all the political prisoners detained in the Comarca; it was no

[25] *AI stated the first visit to the Comarca by ICRC was in 1979, but there is no record of the event in ICRC reports. It is assumed the visit was unofficial, perhaps in a fact-finding capacity only.*

longer possible for the military police to hide detainees from the visits.[26] While ICRC was not able to receive information from the prisoners that may have compromised the impartiality of the organisation, staff did pass on letters to families.[ccxix] Also significant for the lives of those in the Comarca was how the organisation used its leverage to make family visits possible:

> *The Red Cross came…to order them to let us receive visits from our families. So our families, at that time… came with the Red Cross, as they opened the doors for us to speak to our families.[ccxx]*

The ICRC was not the only international organisation to visit. Representatives from the United Nations (UN) also gained access to the prisoners. UN special envoy, Dr Amos Wako, met prisoners in February 1992. ICRC had reportedly stated that the particular group "was imprisoned under the most inhumane conditions" and wanted to attend to the prisoners. However, the military police had refused to allow ICRC access to the group, which led to the request from the Secretary-General for the UN to meet the prisoners.[ccxxi] Before the scheduled meeting, prison authorities implemented a two-week health regime of physical activity, fresh air and improved diet, and then moved the group to the newer Becora Prison where they met the special delegate. "As isolated prisoners who had a visitor from the UN we felt blessed." The group put a list of demands to Amos Wako, including the statement that Timorese people have the right to self-determination. The international court, they said, was a more appropriate place to hear the case; the Indonesian courts were only for "entertainment". "Amos Wako was very sympathetic and in solidarity with us."[ccxxii] One detainee summed up the reasons for increased attention given to the detainees in the 1990s: "at that time the Timor problem had begun to receive solidarity from the international community."[ccxxiii]

The work of AI in raising awareness of the plight of Comarca prisoners was very important. Although AI was not permitted to visit East Timor until May 1999,[27] its close monitoring of the Comarca prisoners via intermediaries was crucial. One prisoner remarked, "even though we were totally cooped up without any connection to … anyone … outside of this detention centre … when we fell ill, Amnesty International took up our case".[ccxxiv] The information provided by AI assisted other organisations. For example, as AI had received the prisoner's Santa Cruz paper, it was able to alert the UN's Special Rapporteur on Extra-judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Bacre Ndiaye to witnesses detained in the Comarca.[ccxxv] In July 1994 Bacre Ndiaye visited the prisoners. "He came to visit us prepared; as they (already) knew our names, the Indonesians couldn't do anything to us."[ccxxvi]

## 12. Post-Comarca

> *When I see the prison, I think about my friends from before who died and my tears flow.[ccxxvii]*

There were several directions for those who eventually left the Comarca. Some, whose gaol terms finished, were given their clothes and simply walked home.[28ccxxviii] For other prisoners, however the distress they had endured in the Comarca was often so debilitating that they left prison seriously ill, and some died soon after release.[29] For many, the Comarca was a transit site before they were exiled to the island of Atauro, or transferred to prisons within Indonesia,

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[26] *In the first few years of ICRC access, AI received information that on two separate occasions "when ICRC visits were expected, prisoners were reportedly moved from the Comarca to the nearby Indonesian military police barracks." (Amnesty International, p.64.)*

[27] *One member of the delegation admits that the Indonesian Government did not officially sanction the AI visit. The group travelled to East Timor on the invitation of the Indonesian Human Rights Commission, in order to "visit their office" in Dili. "It gave us some level of official protection". (Kerry Brogan, former officer on the Indonesia/ East Timor Desk of the International Secretariat, AI (1994-99) in an email to CAVR, 10 October, 2005.)*

[28] *One man particularly mentions that he did not need to pay a bribe in order to be released at the end of his sentence. (CAVR interview with M J C Soares, Dili, 26 August 2004)*

[29] *Statements given to CAVR stored on the Human Rights Violations Database – for example Nº 5662. Please also see p. 8, section 3 "Interrogation and Torture".*

such as Cipinang in Jakarta, Semarang (Central Java), or Kupang (West Timor). One arduous journey involved ten people, "tied together by a single rope … ordered … to climb on to a vehicle. We were all squeezed so tightly together we could not climb." By the time they arrived in Kupang their "hands were swollen from the tight ropes."[ccxxix] One man actually escaped from the Comarca around Christmas time in 1998. At 6 a.m. one morning, when the four Brimob (Brigade Mobil, Mobile Police Brigade) guards were still asleep, he walked past the military police on duty carrying a rubbish bin saying, as usual, "I have to take the rubbish out sir." He then put the rubbish on a pile at the back of the Comarca, which at the time had no boundary fences, lit a cigarette and just walked away from the prison. He returned to the resistance fighters in the hills.[ccxxx]

Leaving the building was often not the end of people's connection with the prison. "When I was released they gave me a letter saying that I had to report to the nearest Koramil (Komando Rayon Militer, Sub-district Military Command)… every Monday."[ccxxxi] The Koramil staff gave the former detainee numerous work duties every week for the next two years. Once someone had been detained in the Comarca, it increased their likelihood of re-arrest as they were constantly under suspicion.[ccxxxii] "We'd already left but they still persecuted us. How could we look for work – it was more difficult with the military following us, making surveillance so often."[ccxxxiii] On a more emotional level, the thoughts of one detainee spoke for many:

> *I always call the Comarca Balide a sacred building … A building in which everyone had one mission – they were good nationalists there, in order to show the next generation that there was one purpose; it was like a place of courage for the liberation of the people and the country.*[ccxxxiv]

For these aims, said another, "we feel we were just put away, our way was never as 'fighters', we were born already old."[ccxxxv] People spent their youth, lost their health, and watched each other's suffering in the Comarca. From the day they were captured until they were released from gaol, and often beyond, they were subjected to extreme human rights abuses. Only the strongest and most committed survived conditions in the Comarca. In a land of crosses and nation-wide suffering, the Comarca prison stands as a reminder of the gruelling experiences that were indelibly written into its prisoners and who they were as people.

*Post Script:*

The Comarca ceased to function as a prison in early September 1999. The last prisoners escaped the escalating violence resulting from the Indonesian military led militia response to the Popular Consultation, fleeing the building to seek refuge in the hills immediately in front. The building was subsequently burned, many of the fittings were removed, and the grounds became grazing land for goats and cattle.

# I Endnotes

*i From the Neil Barrett Comarca Video Project, interview with Maria da Silva Benfica, Submission to CAVR Archives, Dili, August 2002.*

*ii ASSEPOL, "Ex-Political Prisoners as the Voice of Conscience of the Past, Present and Future for a Better Time", Submission to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-8 February 2003, p.2.*

*iii Plano de Fomento, an official document of the Portuguese administration, 1963. It refers to the construction phase of the Dili Comarca prison, a public service installation.*

*iv ASSEPOL Submission, p.2.*
*v Alvaro Atunes (director of Fundacao Oriente, Dili), email to Delene Cuddihy (CAVR archivist), 30 January 2004.*
*vi CAVR interview with Afonso Correia Lemos, Comarca, Balide, 5 September 2004.*
*vii Barrett Submission, Maria Fatima.*
*viii Atunes, 30 January 2004.*
*ix Kevin Sherlock (a Darwin-based private collector of material related to Timor-Leste), letter to Delene Cuddihy (CAVR archivist), 21 July 2004.*
*x Noel Barrow, archivist of Australian Red Cross, National Office, Melbourne, email to Emma Coupland (CAVR), 8 October 2004; International Committee of the Red Cross, East Timor Relief Operations, 16 September 1975.*
xi *CAVR interview with Anselmo dos Santos, Maubara, Liquiça, 9 March 2004.*
xii *CAVR interview with Frederico Almeida Santos, Apodeti President, Dili, [no date] 2003.*
xiii *CAVR, A Santos, March 2004.*
*xiv ASSEPOL Submission, p.2.*
*xv Amnesty International, East Timor Violations of Human Rights: Extra Judicial Executions, 'Disappearances, Torture and Political Imprisonment, 1975 – 1984, (Amnesty International Publications, 1985), p.61.*
*xvi Amnesty International, interview with Justino Mota, Lisbon, 3–4 July 1984.*
*xvii Barrett Submission, Jacinto Alves.*
*xviii Amnesty International, p.61.*
*xix Barrett Submission, Fernando Pinto Baptista. He was working on the renovations for approximately two months.*
*xx Interview conducted by Peter Carey with Pak Ian Dion, Banjar, West Java, 3 January 2004*
xxi *Joao Baltazar Martins, testimony to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003.*
*xxii Human Rights Watch, Prison Conditions in Indonesia, (Human Rights Watch, August, 1990), p.1.*
*xxiii Amnesty International, p.61.*
*xxiv CAVR interview with Manuel Joaquim da Costa Soares, Dili, 26 August 2004.*
*xxv Barrett Submission, Talufu Munizialin, Filomeno da Silva Ferreira, Francisco Branco, S. Belo, J Alves.*
*xxvi Barrett Submission, Father Felgueiras.*
*xxvii Amnesty International, p.61.*
*xxviii Barrett Submission, S Belo, Enrik da Costa.*
*xxix CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*xxx Ibid.*
*xxxi Barrett Submission, T Munizialin, M S Benfica.*
*xxxii Amnesty International, p.61.*
*xxxiii Barrett Submission, Louey da Costa, T Munizialin.*
*xxxiv Barrett Submission, J Alves, F Branco. Staff at the CAVR Archives created the index for the surviving Dili Court Records. At the time of writing, the records were on loan to the Commission's Archives.*
*xxxv Barrett Submission, Julio Alfaro.*
*xxxvi Joao Baltazar Martins, written statement to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003.*
*xxxvii Barrett Submission, J Alves, F P Baptista, T Munizialin.*
*xxxviii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*xxxix Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
*xl Barrett Submission, S Belo.*
*xli Barrett Submission, Father Felgueiras, Father Jose Antonio.*
*xlii Interview conducted by Peter Carey with Yati Dion, Banjar, West Java, 3 January 2004.*
*xliii Barrett Submission, J Alfaro; Amnesty International, p.57.*
*xliv CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*xlv Barrett Submission, Joao da Costa Jeronimo Barreto, J Alfaro, Father Felgueiras.*
*xlvi Barrett Submission, J C J Barreto.*
*xlvii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*xlviii Barrett Submission, S Belo.*
*xlix CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*l Barrett, Submission, J Alfaro.*
*li CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*lii Barrett Submission, T Munizialin.*
*liii CAVR interview with Aquelino Fraga Guterres, Baguia, Baucau, 17 May 2004*
*liv Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
*lv Barrett Submission, Aleon (David Conceicao), M S Benfica, F P Baptista.*
*lvi Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
*lvii AI, J Mota, July 1984.*

*lviii Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
lix *Barrett Submission, Father Felgueiras, M S Benfica, J Alfaro.*
lx *Maria José Franco Pereira, testimony to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003.*
lxi *CAVR testimony, J B Martins, February 2003.*
*lxii Barrett Submission, J Alves, Father Antonio, M S Benfica, M Fatima, Maria Immaculada.*
*lxiii AI, J. Mota, July 1984.*
lxiv *CAVR interview with Maria da Silva Benfica, 4 October 2004.*
*lxv CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004; Barrett Submission, J C J Barreto.*
*lxvi Barrett Submission, David Ximenes, M S Benfica, T Munizialin.*
*lxvii Barrett Submission, J Alves, F S Ferreira, M S Benfica.*
lxviii *CAVR testimony, M J F Pereira, February 2003.*
*lxix Barrett Submission, S Belo.*
*lxx Barrett Submission, F S Ferreira.*
*lxxi CAVR testimony, J B Martins, February 2003.*
*lxxii Barrett Submission, F S Ferreira.*
*lxxiii Barrett Submission, J Alves.*
lxxiv *Bernardino Villanova, testimony to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003.*
*lxxv The cells were referred to as 'sel gelap' (Indonesian), 'sel escura' (Portuguese) or 'sel nakunun' (Tetun), which all mean 'dark cell'.*
*lxxvi Barrett Submission, S Belo, J C J Barreto.*
*lxxvii Mariano Soares, testimony to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003; Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
*lxxviii Maria da Silva (Benfica), testimony to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003; CAVR interview with Alfredo Manuel de Jesus, Ermera, 8 October 2003; CAVR interview with Rui Soares de Araujo, Dili, 27 October 2003; David da Conceicao da Costa Thon (Aleon), testimony the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003.*
*lxxix CAVR interview with Alfredo Manuel de Jesus, Ermera, 8 October 2003*
lxxx *CAVR, M S Benfica, October 2004.*
*lxxxi Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
*lxxxii Barrett Submission, J C J Barreto.*
*lxxxiii AI, J Mota, July 1984.*
*lxxxiv Amnesty International, p.61.*
*lxxxv Amnesty International, p.62.*
*lxxxvi Barrett Submission, S Belo, F A Belo.*
*lxxxvii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*lxxxviii Barrett, J Alfaro, August 2002.*
*lxxxix Barrett Submission, D Ximenes, J Alfaro.*
*xc Barrett Submission, F A Belo, J Alves.*
*xci CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*xcii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*xciii Barrett Submission, S Belo.*
*xciv CAVR written statement, J B Martins, February 2003.*
*xcv Barrett Submission, S Belo, Aleon.*
*xcvi Amnesty International, p.62.*
*xcvii Barrett Submission, S Belo.*
*xcviii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*xcix Barrett Submission, J Alves.*
*c Barrett Submission, F S Ferreira.*
*ci AI, J Mota, July 1984.*
*cii Barrett Submission, F Branco, J Alves.*
*ciii Barrett Submission, L Costa, F P Baptista, J Alves.*
*civ CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*cv Interview by P Carey with I Dion, 3 January 2004.*
*cvi Barrett Submission, D Ximenes; CAVR A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cvii Timor Information Service (March/ April 1982).*
*cviii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*cix Barrett Submission, S Belo, F P Baptista.*
*cx AI, J Mota, July 1984.*
*cxi Barrett Submission, Aleon.*
*cxii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
cxiii *CAVR testimony, B Villanova, February 2003.*
*cxiv CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*cxv CAVR, A C Lemos September 2004.*

*cxvi Barrett Submission, M Immaculada.*
*cxvii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxviii Barrett Submission, J Alves, F S Ferreira, S Belo.*
*cxix Barrett Submission, M S Benfica, S Belo, F S Ferreira.*
*cxx CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxxi Barrett Submission, J Alves, F S Ferreira, J Alfaro.*
*cxxii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxxiii AI, J Mota, July 1984; Barrett Submission, J Alfaro; CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxxiv Barrett Submission, D Ximenes.*
*cxxv Barrett Submission, S Belo, F S Ferreira.*
*cxxvi CAVR, M J C Soares, August, 2004*
*cxxvii Ibid.*
*cxxviii Barrett Submission, L Costa, Aleon.*
*cxxix AI, J Mota, July 1984.*
*cxxx CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxxxi Ibid.*
*cxxxii Amnesty International, p.63.*
*cxxxiii Amnesty International, p.64.*
*cxxxiv CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*cxxxv Barrett Submission, L Costa, M S Benfica.*
*cxxxvi AI, J Mota, July 1984.*
*cxxxvii Barrett Submission, J Alfaro, T Munizialin.*
*cxxxviii Barrett Submission, M Immaculada.*
*cxxxix Barrett Submission,D Ximenes, J Alves.*
*cxl CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*cxli Barrett Submission, F S Ferreira, J Alves.*
*cxlii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*cxliii Barrett Submission, J Alves.*
*cxliv Barrett Submission, F S Ferreira, Aleon.*
*cxlv CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*cxlvi Barrett Submission, M Fatima.*
*cxlvii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxlviii Barrett Submission, D Ximenes, Father Felgueiras, J Alfaro.*
*cxlix CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cl Ibid.*
*cli Barrett Submission, S Belo, F S Ferreira, and F A Belo.*
*clii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cliii Amnesty International, p.63.*
*cliv Barrett Submission, Miguel da Costa, F A Belo.*
*clv Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
*clvi Barrett Submission, M Fatima.*
*clvii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*clviii Amnesty International, p.21.*
*clix Barrett Submission, Father Felgueiras.*
*clx Barrett Submission, D Ximenes.*
*clxi Barrett Submission, M Fatima, J Alves, D Ximenes.*
*clxii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*clxiii Barrett Submission, J Alfaro, F A Belo, M Costa, M Immaculada.*
clxiv *CAVR testimony, B Villanova, February 2003.*
*clxv Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
*clxvi Ibid.*
*clxvii Barrett Submission, D Ximenes, J C J Barreto, F S Ferreira, J Alfaro, Father Felgueiras.*
*clxviii Barrett Submission, J Alves.*
*clxix CAVR testimony, J B Martins, February 2003.*
*clxx CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*clxxi Ibid.*
*clxxii Amnesty International, p.63.*
*clxxiii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*clxxiv AI, J Mota, July 1984.*
*clxxv CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004; Amnesty International, p.64.*
*clxxvi Amnesty International, p.77.*
*clxxvii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*clxxviii Amnesty International, p.63.*
*clxxix Barrett Submission, M S Benfica.*
*clxxx CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*clxxxi Barrett Submission, J Alves, J Alfaro.*

*clxxxii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*clxxxiii Barrett Submission, J Alfaro, J Alves.*
*clxxxiv Barrett Submission, M S Benfica.*
*clxxxv AI J Mota, July 1984.*
*clxxxvi Barrett Submission, M S Benfica.*
*clxxxvii Barrett Submission, Father Felgueiras.*
*clxxxviii Barrett Submission, J Alves.*
*clxxxix CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxc Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*
*cxci Barrett Submission, J C J Barreto.*
*cxcii Barrett Submission, J Alfaro; Amnesty International, p.62.*
*cxciii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxciv Barrett Submission, M S Benfica, J Alves, L Costa.*
*cxcv CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cxcvi CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*cxcvii CAVR interview with Anthony Goldstone, former officer on the Indonesia/ East Timor desk at the International Secretariat, AI (1979-1985), Dili, 11 October 2005.*
*cxcviii Barrett Submission, F Branco.*
*cxcix Barrett Submission, Father Felgueiras.*
*cc CAVR interview with Geoffrey Robinson, former officer on the Indonesia/ East Timor desk at the International Secretariat, AI (1989-1994), Dili, 7 July 2005.*
*cci Barrett Submission, Father Felgueiras, F Branco, M S Benfica, J Alves.*
*ccii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*cciii Barrett Submission, F Branco, J Alfaro.*
*cciv CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*ccv Barrett Submission, J C J Barreto.*
*ccvi International Committee of the Red Cross, Annual Report, 1982.*
*ccvii AI, J Mota, July 1984.*
*ccviii Amnesty International, p.64.*
*ccix Barrett Submission, D Ximenes.*
*ccx Amnesty International, p.64.*
*ccxi Amnesty International, p.15.*
*ccxii ICRC, Annual Report, 1984; CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*ccxiii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*ccxiv Barrett Submission, S Belo.*
*ccxv CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*ccxvi Barrett Submission, S Belo.*
*ccxvii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*ccxviii CAVR, A C Lemos, September 2004.*
*ccxix CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*ccxx Ibid.*
*ccxxi Barrett Submission, F Branco.*
*ccxxii CAVR interview with Francisco Miranda Branco, Dili, 30 July 2004.*
*ccxxiii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*ccxxiv Barrett Submission, J Alves.*
*ccxxv He presented his report to the UN Commission on Human Rights in February 1995. (UN Document E/CN4/1995/61/Add.1. Referred to as the Ndiaye Report).*
*ccxxvi Ibid.*
*ccxxvii Barrett Submission, S Belo.*
*ccxxviii Barrett Submission, L Costa.*
*ccxxix Barrett Submission, M Fatima & M Immaculada, D Ximenes, F Branco, E Costa.*
*ccxxx CAVR interview with Constancio da Costa dos Santos (Aquita), Comarca, Balide, 7 July 2004.*
ccxxxi *Julio Alfaro, testimony to the CAVR National Public Hearing on Political Imprisonment, Dili, 17-18 February 2003.*
*ccxxxii AI, J Mota, July 1984.*
*ccxxxiii CAVR, M J C Soares, August 2004.*
*ccxxxiv Barrett Submission, F S Ferreira.*
*ccxxxv Barrett Submission, J Alfaro.*