



Andrew McNaughtan - a true "good" "man"

As we remember him -

at work with a twinkle in his eye,

passion in his heart

and commitment driving his soul

May he ride again in heaven

in grief

caroline

Caroline Tapp, Darwin

Photo by Vaughan Williams

Sad new to all East Timor activists and the East Timor nation.

One of our great activist warriors Andrew McNaughtan was found dead in his bed in his house in Sydney on Christmas Eve, and we just learned of this tragedy.(...)

Andrew grew up in Sydney, he first did a trades course in welding, and was an accomplished Australian motorbike road racer. He was studying medicine at UNSW in 1975 when he heard Gough Whitlam then PM of Australia pontificate on about East Timor, and Andrew thought to himself this is crap. After he completed his medical degree he worked, was 'politically aware', and thus spent a year in Nicaragua where he learned Spanish. After the Dili Massacre in Nov 1991 he decided that he should act on his 1975 conviction that East Timor was being duded, so he came north to find out all about it and what he could do.

Initially he got a job in the Katherine Hospital near Darwin, and he got involved with our AFFET Australians for a Free East Timor group. He often rang me at 2 or 3 am or whenever he had a break to discuss some element of history and what could be done. Later he bought a house in Darwin which become the 'headquarters' for Timor activists. Many meetings were held there, and after he left for Sydney he allowed it to be rented by activists for a concessional rate.

Apart from participating in actions, letter writing and demonstrations etc in Darwin, he organised a collection of photos from WW2 and then a WW2 impact preconference conference to our IRCR in July 1995. The photos exhibition was later expanded to an impressive form and he made several copies for use around the world, which seem to have disappeared into the ether. He then took Darwin Timorese couple Tony Maia and Veronica Pereira to Japanese hearings on WW2 occupation matters.

He moved to Sydney when his mother fell terminally ill and stayed on there in the family home as the only child. He became the convenor of AETA Australian East Timor Association NSW, and continued lobbying for East Timor, in conjunction with other warriors Jefferson Lee and Stephen Langford et al.

He made 4 trips to East Timor under Indonesian jurisdiction, usually carrying a Hi8 movie camera and monitoring and interviewing. At least once he left the camera with the Resistance. His film of student activists travelling under the guns of the TNI to encourage people to take part in elections is an important part of the historical record. In late August 1999 he, Jude Conway and Sally-Anne Watson were detained

and deported by the Indonesian military for helping to promote the coming UN election.

He did pioneering trips with Timor Aid in early October 1999, mostly to areas to the west well before Interfet got there. He became expert in several areas of human rights abuses by the TNI, and had wanted to work as a human rights specialist in East Timor - but that was not to be - activists are rarely considered to be experts.

One of his main interests was his advocacy to try to get a fair deal for East Timor regarding Timor Sea issues. In this he interacted a great deal with oil and gas engineer and personal friend Geoff McKee, JRHorta and myself, and always showed innovative thinking, as shown by his important opinion piece in the smh April 2002. In mid 2002 he pursued this issue in Dili and student activist/journalist Quinton Temby remembers him for his focus, humour and for being great to work with.

He also wanted to go beyond mere medico work, and his fierce sense of justice took him on a remarkable few months odyssey in the USA in 2002 to clear the name of advocate Joe Gersten, leading to a major court case in the Federal Court. It is believed he was writing a book on this matter and this would be sensational and not likely to endear him to some. He has also recently dabbled with Greens politics, and was immersed in Meditation which he hoped to teach in Timor as a means to help deal with bitter memories.

Andrew tended to focus on an issue and not let go until he was satisfied. This was destined to make him a saint or a martyr, and not always totally easy to get on with. But when interested he was charming, and always dedicated. His knowledge passion and sense of justice will be sadly missed by the East Timor movement, in Australia and East Timor. There is a strong sense that not all was fulfilled.

Rob Wesley-Smith
spokesperson for affet - Australians for a Free East Timor

Wes 2nd:

Friends

Sorry I can't be with you due to impecuni-osity or -ousness. My brother Martin can well represent the family as he has been a dedicated activist and multimedia composer for East Timor since 1975.

As you may have read, Andrew came north to learn more about East Timor, and I then copped the brunt of his inquiring mind, often at 2 or 3am when he had a break in duties at hospitals at Katherine then Innisvail I think.

He wanted to make a difference, and to do it differently. The photo exhibition beginnings in 1995 was an example, although at the time it put a lot of extra pressure on our small group organising almost beyond our capacities an international conference in Darwin.

Thank God he did. He saw the need, he had the guts and wherewithall, and even some experience in the arts which enabled him to make good filmic use of his several visits to East Timor under Indonesian rule. His courage was undaunted, his courage undoubted. I loved the comment from a student about how Andrew "strolled" around the university in Dili getting statements from students just after some had been killed and wounded by Indonesian military attack - that was Andrew, not many would have done that.

For his work and attendance in East Timor in 1998 and 1999 in particular I think of him as the John Martinkus of activism.

His early experience and work on East Timor could be said to be within the fold of affet, Australians for a Free East Timor. But even then and always after his inside knowledge to go to East Timor etc was facilitated by Maria do Ceu Federer, or just 'Ceu', now president of Timor Aid, and also to Juan, who set up ETISC then Timor Aid. Andrew rather pragmatically intellectually based himself there even when functioning as convenor of AETA in Sydney. As well, his knowledge and inspiration on Timor Sea issues was firmly with Geoff McKee, another great Australian, and he bounced off any and many.

Andrew was privvy to many secrets including the clandestine work of Kirsty Sword in Jakarta and Victoria in Kupang, and the essential secret roles played by others including Lansell Taudevin. In pursuit of important information he was like a terrier, or better, as Sonny wrote, a bloodhound. You see this at work in his 1994 clandestine interview with Bishop Belo, in the full footage, where he asked the same question 4 times, and finally an exasperated Bishop gave a statement worthy of reporting and noticing - Andrew was proud of that interview, though didn't see he had been unusual in his approach.

I think he like all people was personally somewhat vulnerable, though trying hard to hide it. Maybe being an only child with a stepfather he disliked had a bearing on this. This was manifested to some extent in a degree of competitiveness, and also of unexpected pleasure at personal recognition from a friend. He also shared with and supported many as testimonies have said. Vacy teaches us we should acknowledge people more, especially useful while they are alive. The Australian government has not acknowledged the work of any East Timor activist I know of

except officers it briefly supported, except perhaps and deservedly Jim Dunn. Andrew's work and courage deserves and deserved better.

From core affet members over the years and friends in Darwin, myself, Jude Conway, Sonny Inbaraj, Vaughan Williams, Ilana Eldridge, 3 Watson sisters Sally-Anne, Jessie and Cindy, and others, and East Timorese activists in Darwin Veronica Pereira and Tony Maia, and Maria Pires and others, we are sad and shocked and will miss him greatly.

In closing, I think Andrew's contribution to the struggle to free East Timor from the murderous grip of the Indonesians during the time he was involved in that process, say 6 years from 1993 to 1999, was unsurpassed by any outside East Timor. He had a lot more to contribute to Timor and to other causes, and to the recording of those campaigns, including the big battle facing East Timor and ourselves, which is to persuade the Australian people and government to stop the current and future outrageous theft of its oil and gas revenues, and to stop denying settlement of its proper Maritime Boundaries. Andrew's early passing is a huge disaster, only slightly mitigated by the focussing of our energies and our sharing now.

Rob Wesley-Smith

Tribute to Andrew McNaughtan
by Pedro Pinto Leite

It was a terrible shock to hear of Andrew's death. (...) As Rob Wesley-Smith rightly pointed out Andrew had a fierce sense of justice - indeed, he fought injustice until his very last day. I truly admired him for that.

Like Max Stahl, Andrew had an incredible courage and the same great sense of opportunity. He was always at the right place, doing the right thing at the right moment. The hearings of the East Timor case at the ICJ in the Hague had just started (end of January 1995) when I received a letter from Andrew, with the request to pass it to the Portuguese team. The moment couldn't have been better chosen. The Australian counsels were confident. Foreign Minister Evans had publicly stated that Australia had always supported the right of East Timorese to self-determination and the counsels were prepared to make good use of that statement. Besides they were going to demonstrate before the Court that Portugal was dealing with Morocco in relation to the natural resources of Western Sahara exactly in the same way as it was accusing Australia of dealing with Indonesia in relation to the natural resources of East Timor. The Portuguese lawyers knew that the Australian second argument was strong and felt uneasy. I'm sure that Andrew's letter ("on

behalf of a group of concerned Australian citizens") helped to raise the spirits of the Portuguese team and fully destroyed Evan's intents:

"I write to inform you that as an Australian citizen I was embarrassed and shocked to hear our Foreign Minister's remarks that Australia has always supported the right of East Timorese to self-determination. This is certainly news to me as well as many others who have lamented the policies of our own government towards East Timor.(...)

Gary Evans continues a long story of dishonesty and hypocrisy by Australian governments on the East Timor issue. (...) His recent statement (...) must surely be a belated attempt to make it look as if our policies conform with internationally accepted standards. Presumably this is being done to mislead the World Court into believing that Australia's policies have been morally and legally correct on the issue and thus help Australia's chances of winning the Timor Gap case."

There was another talent I admired in Andrew. He had the ability - uncommon even among experienced law professionals - of analysing difficult problems from a legal perspective in a clear, comprehensible manner. In July 1997 he presented a paper at a four-days seminar in the Oporto University under the title "Legal options that could be pursued on behalf of East Timor: concepts of medical assistance for East Timor". I arrived in Portugal after the seminar took place, but as soon as we met there I spoke with him on the subject of his paper and on many other legal questions related to the East Timor problem. I remember to have told him that he would have done a great lawyer. When I invited him to become a member of IPJET he declined. "I'm not a jurist", he said with a smile (his so characteristic smile). "But I'll help IPJET as much as I can".

Two weeks later I was in Darwin for a conference on the Tetun language. He invited me to come to Sydney and stay at his place in Mosman. During three days I enjoyed his excellent hospitality. (...) I also noticed how much was Andrew interested in IPJET: he introduced me to several lawyers and explained them what were the aims of the Platform, the work it had been done and how they could help the struggle for East Timor's self-determination. At the same time I realized how broad was Andrew's activism. At arrival to his home, to my great surprise, I met the barrister Ledum Mitee, who had succeeded to Ken Saro-Wiwa (murdered by the brutal Nigerian military regime) as president of MOSOP, the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People. The Ogoni, of course, could count on Andrew's support. Next day he brought me to his good friend Joe Gersten, introducing him as a political refugee, victim of an odious persecution by high-placed officials in Florida and Washington. Needless to say, Andrew was helping

him at all fronts. And, thanks to Andrew, both Mitee and Gersten joined IPJET.

I was wondering how could I pay back to Andrew so much dedication and kindness, when, some hours before my flight, he offered me a copy of the brochure he had just published with ETISC, "Human Rights Violations in East Timor". An important document, very useful for the work of all East Timor solidarity groups around the world and particularly for the petitioners at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Besides, printed in quite good paper, I mentioned. "That's the problem", he said. And pointing at several paper boxes piled up in the room: "The brochures are printed in good paper, therefore they are so heavy. To send them overseas by post will cost us a lot of money". I cannot tell here how, but fortunately I had a solution for the problem and as far as I know the brochures were sent to Europe free of charge (if I hadn't, Andrew would have paid the posting with his own money, I'm pretty sure). I remember well how happy he was. He thanked me several times as if I were doing him a personal favour. I told him that it was the minimum I could do to return all his care and that in fact the final beneficiary was the Timorese cause. Now, thinking better, I understand his gratitude. There were no boundaries between the Maubere people and their "irmão" Andrew. The cause of East Timor had become his own life. As in an ideal, perfect marriage, until death took them apart.

In the following months we exchanged several email messages. He shared with me his growing concerns on the safety of the Timorese. On 25 April (the day Portugal was commemorating the 25th anniversary of the fall of Salazar/Caetano's regime) Andrew wrote me:

"We must maximise international efforts for a peacekeeping force on the ground, before all our friends are killed by these thugs"

Short afterwards he told me that he was going to brief some Australian lawyers about the situation in East Timor and the need or relevance of prosecution of those responsible for crimes there. He encouraged IPJET to start a data-base leading to the prosecution of the Indonesian military and militias' leaders and sent me the work Judge Lambert had already done on the subject. When I told him of an old law professor of Leiden who had been involved in the preparatory work for the establishment of the Yugoslavia Tribunal, Andrew immediately replied:

"Pedro, do you think he could provide some advise soon, a general outline of how (using what legal bases and arguments) the Yugoslavian process was laid out? Surely the argument in the Timor case is as clear or clearer than in the former Yugoslavia. The Indonesian army are not

(according to the UN) supposed to be in East Timor. One would think that would make the case against them easier to sustain."

In a following message, he insisted:

"It seems to me that we need every weapon we can mobilise against the Indonesian chain of command and militias before the August 8 vote. They need to know there is a cost to them potentially for their vicious acts. I am in favour of letting it be known that legal steps are being taken against those in the middle - implementing the policies: Indonesian and Timorese militia leaders."

Finally he sent me the article he wrote on the explosive situation in Timor ("The covert terror campaign in East Timor"), one of the best appeals to the world's conscience I ever read.

August came and the referendum was postponed to the end of the month. With Felipe Briones, the secretary of the International Association of Jurists for Western Sahara, and Francisco Alonso Rodrigues, the president of the Liga Española para los Derechos Humanos, I went to Suai.. I was not surprised to meet Andrew, Jude and Sally-Anne there, as everybody was expecting problems in Suai during the vote. As I was not surprised to see that they hadn't asked an accreditation to the UN (their disbelief in the UN was more than justified), but were driving around under a tourist visa when promoting the referendum. As I was not surprised to hear their adventure at Zumalai, where the Indonesian police discovered sample ballot papers in their hired jeep and militia men broke the jeep's rear window. True courage! (...)

After Suai I met Andrew a couple of times only, but in a free East Timor.

(...)

From the many tributes to Andrew I have read in these last days, I would like to underline the wise thought, mentioned by some of you, that we should give a sign of appreciation to those who deserve it, while they live and not wait until the moment they die. I do hope that I was clear enough in showing my admiration and recognition to Andrew. When he lived, in all those moments I had the privilege to be with him.

Pedro

Andrew MacNaughton's sudden death deeply saddened me. For more than a decade he has been a staunch supporter of the East Timorese. Whenever there was a crisis, Andrew was never far away. He devoted great energy to whatever role he took on, and seemed always ready to help if there was a

crisis. He came into the Timor campaign when many of us were beginning to feel fatigued, and he donned many different coats in his desire to help. At times, I for one, felt shamed by the effort Andrew put into helping East Timor. I last saw Andrew at the opening of the ET embassy in Canberra, on 10 December, and stood beside him for part of the ceremony. He was still searching for new ways to help East Timor.

Andrew leaves behind a sad circle of friends, and comrade in the struggle against East Timor's forced integration. His going is also a loss to this country for people of his calibre, his determination and imaginative responses are few. Dear Andrew, you have left an emptiness in our lives, for we can ill afford to lose people like you. However, those of us who knew you have had our lives enriched by your presence and the example of dedication you set. There are many struggles still to be fought, and in facing up to them we will surely feel your presence, hear your encouragement and will continue to be inspired by your humanitarianism and your dedication.

James Dunn

James Dunn 2nd contribn

I sent a quick note when I heard the sad news, but would like to add the following, if there is an opportunity to air it. I cannot be at Andrew's funeral, not least because I have some health problems of my own to deal with.

On 10 December I found myself standing beside Andrew at the opening of East Timor's embassy in Canberra. He seemed his normal self, so it came as a deep shock to learn that we had lost him. Andrew was a special part of the East Timor campaign. He was essentially a dynamic activist who seemed at times impatient with ageing plodders like myself. He was happiest out there in the field, often taking risks on behalf of the people for whose welfare he had formed a deep commitment. As he once told me, at Suai he confronted Colonel Sediono, who played a key role in the 1999 massacre, a war criminal who has yet to be brought to justice for his part in this crime against humanity. As others have pointed out Andrew's home in Darwin was a central meeting place - a constant hive of activity. Andrew may no longer be with us but he has left us with an inspirational legacy - a lesson in tireless commitment, and sheer determination, which should encourage us to keep on doing something about those human rights abuses that escape the selective policies of our government.

Today we shed tears at his loss, but today's sadness will be tomorrow's strength, for Andrew's inspiring presence will warm us, and encourage us in the task of making our world a safer and more humane place.

James Dunn

Bernadette Connole

Best wishes Alix, I will be with you all in spirit tomorrow at the memorial service.

Andrew McNaughton had a wonderful sense of humour and outrage. I will miss his long phone calls where he would talk on subjects from the release of Aung Suu Kyi to Timor Gap to the latest gossip on Australian foreign Affairs.

I would ring about a simple press release, or a book launch at Glee Books and two hours later we had not hit the topic but always I would leave Andrew feeling inspired and stimulated. I met him in 1999 after I returned from working as a district electoral officer with the United Nations in East Timor.

I always felt a bond with him - for his intellect, his humour and honesty. I am in Queensland seeing family and will be there tomorrow with you all in spirit. I was shocked to learn of Andrews death and had spent some very rich time with him in Canberra and Sydney just a few days before his death.

In Canberra he lit up the dinner circle with his rendition of John Howard and the "dumbed down Liberal Cabinet." On the drive down he was outraged about anything from inner city Four Wheel drivers, politics without heart, hose rage, two timing over the Timor Gap treaty, refugees in Naru - and we were only at Goulburn turnoff.

On the afternoon of the press club lunch with Ramos Horta Andrew hit the room afterwards briefing the Courier Mail, ABC, New York Times like a man on a mission.

"I have to go back to Sydney tonight - there's a meeting on Aceh and then a rally on Burma."

I persuaded him to stay and just savour the celebrations over the opening of the Embassy. That night he laughed, helped bring up books with Jeff to sell and rejoiced to the good company that evening.

Andrew was not a man of opinions - but a man of conviction - someone who would walk the wire to the very end.

To him there was no human rights flavour of the month. He helped heal the heart of a nation - Timor Leste - with his skills, rather than using his talents as a doctor in a money making venture. There were many sleepless nights at the Hotel Turismo in 1998 - The Dili Spring - when Andrew was woken up by students to film another rally. No United Nations or Australian federal police to protect him - his bravery was tested many times.

I grieve the loss of a friend, an intellectual sparing partner and a person who always asked - why not. Do not go softly into that good night Andrew - always rage against the burning of the light.

Adeus - Obrigadu/a

Bernadette Connole.
freelance correspondent

Max Lane
In memory of Andrew McNaughtan

All of those who were involved in working for East Timorese independence will be terribly saddened by the sudden death of Dr Andy McNaughtan. Myself, and all the activists who were active in Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET) and later Action in Solidarity with Asia and Pacific (ASAP), often worked with Andy, especially in Sydney, but also Melbourne. Andy was always willing to help with protest actions and demonstrations, even the small street corner events that sometimes seemed actions carried out with so little support. He always spoke intelligently and with passion at all these events.

I had many discussions with him at protest actions, or in the office in Sydney, as well as in Jakarta and Portugal. He never stopped trying to gather more information in order to understand things better and to be able to present what he thought would be a more effective argument in support of the East Timorese movement. As many others have noted, he was very energetic; one of those activists who dedicated himself almost totally to East Timor, visiting the country several times to carry out practical activities, including during the period of military deportation, risking his own safety, and suffering detention and deportation.

The process of building an East Timor solidarity movement in Australia was a complex and often tense process. As everybody who was involved knows, alongside the united effort to support the East Timorese win independence, there were differences in the movement as well as factionalism and sectarianism both among East Timorese and Australians. While always having strong opinions of his own, Andy was one of those very non-sectarian activists who was determined to work as well as he could with all groups and individuals involved in the movement.

He maintained his concern for East Timor after independence and also started to become interested in other issues related to struggles in the Indonesian archipelago, such as Aceh and Papua. He attended and spoke at street protests on these issues in recent years as well. I have not seen Andy for at least two years now as I have been living in Jakarta and now in Perth. But ASAP friends tell me that he was still attending events relating to Aceh, for example, in December.

His sudden and early death is a shock and a real loss to the movement for solidarity with the people of East Timor and other oppressed peoples in the region. I am sure he will always be remembered with respect.

Max Lane
National Chairperson Action in Solidarity with Asia & the Pacific (ASAP)

Sonny Inbaraj, an Affet, ETISC/ Timor Aid colleague, from Ethiopia after hearing the news today

Dear Wes Thank you for passing on the news.. It's really, really sad. I'm actually lost for words. Andrew McNaughtan was a good comrade -- it's a sad loss for Australia and Timor Leste. I'm finding it hard to continue..... Write to you later.

Sonny
later:

It came as a great shock to me when I heard of Andrew's death. I'm at present in Ethiopia, on assignment with IPS' Africa bureau, and was at the Somalia border over the Christmas period.

Wes was trying to contact me and finally got in touch through a good mutual friend stationed in Addis Ababa.

Andrew's death is a great loss to Australia and East Timor. I fondly remember the time when we first met in 1995, in Darwin and that relationship developed into a professional one several years later in ETISC and Timor Aid.

Andrew's relentless energy in pursuing issues related to human rights abuses in East Timor really inspired many of us. Like a bloodhound, he would zero in on any information from Timor and sniff around till he got details of any abuses -- at times working for days without sleep.

But Andy, too, had a humourous side to him. I remember once sneaking into McDonald's with him to get a Big Mac, in Sydney. He turned to me and said: "Sonny, this is like going to a whorehouse...It's politically incorrect, but what the hell!!"

Rest in peace Andy.

Sonny Inbaraj
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Inter Press Service
<http://www.ipsnews.net/africa>

Like so many friends, I learned of Andrew's death by email, passed on by a good activist friend Vacy Vlazna. I am shocked saddened by his untimely passing.

I met Andrew in Darwin in January 1995, after I had been kicked out of East Timor to Kupang for witnessing a demonstration by Timorese young men, led by our friend Jose Belo. Together with Darwinite Tony Jefferies and Melbourne Uni student Pavel, we were met at the airport by Andrew and Rob Wesley Smith at the Darwin airport. I always joked with Andrew and Rob that I was never sure whether they rescued me or hijacked me.

After a couple of tense weeks in Timor I was in worse shape than I understood. Andrew immediately took me to his home, where he made me welcome for as long as I liked. Of course, Andrew's Darwin home was Timor activist HQ, and while not exactly restful it was a place full of purpose and energy. In this week I began to get to know Andrew as someone who thought deeply about what he was doing, why, and how best to be effective in his action.

When Andrew moved to Sydney, our friendship grew. While Timor was always the catalyst for bringing us together - the work was always urgent and we could never do enough - we spent many hours also talking about life. One of the things that so deeply impressed me about Andrew was that he had explored his own life, reflected deeply and made conscious choices based on moral values developed through often difficult experience. And for all that, he maintained a very down to earth sense of humour and ability to laugh at himself. We did that alot too.

There remained something of the daredevil motorbike rider in Andrew. I was surprised to read that Dr Andrew McNaughtan was 50 - he had the air of a younger man, someone who remained hungry for life and the living of it in a practically meaningful way.

I last saw Andrew in September last year (2003). I was briefly in Sydney and Andrew was very keen to meet and talk about his ideas for helping to introduce meditation into Timor, especially to help stressed political and community leaders. Typical of Andrew, he was doing alot of work in the background, trying to make sure the work of "experts" could actually stick and make a difference. We talked too of his thoughts of entering politics - I was struck by the clear thinking behind this, and the matured process of how Andrew thought he could make the most significant contribution to society.

Andrew was an activist who made his mark as someone who insisted on being effective in a practical way. He got results. I'll always carry with me the image of the rangy Andrew, shock of read hair, walking half-running with his

tilting stride due to his earlier motorbike accident ... off to get something done in a hurry.

My condolences to members of Andrew's family. And my embraces to the community of activists who will come together to remember Andrew today. I wish I was with you. I would like to let you know how valuable I feel this community is, in a personal and work sustaining way. It is not often enough that we let each other know this, and I hope this time of remembering and honouring our friend Andrew also reminds us of the love and spirit we bring to our work together.

There was so much more for you to do Andrew. We will miss you sorely, but carry you with us in the struggles ahead.

Kieran Dwyer
from northern Thailand (in a short break from Timor)

Russell Anderson

Like so many of the tributes to Andrew I was shocked and saddened to hear of his sudden death. Still actually sad and wondering if it's some how a mistake. It's the wrong person! I always found Andrew highly energetic and living life to the full. He dedicated a large part of his life to work on East Timor. He took the risks that activists take to work on life threatening struggles like East Timor.

I have know Andrew on and off since the mid 90's. I first met Andrew when he was working on the photo exhibition of WW2 pictures and again later while attempting to set up a coalition of all Australian solidarity groups to support East Timor. He was one of those very persistent people and he actually didn't spend much time at the meeting, he was always more interested to just getting on with things. I had the fortune to be with him in Kuala Lumpur during the 1996 APCET conference where we were arrested and then deported to Australia. Andrew was one of the smart ones that bought with him a mobile phone so that, while under guard, we could contact the media and continue holding interviews. He was always a good person to be with in a tight spot.

Andrew took risks to his life while in East Timor between 1998 up until the 1999 referendum. And while in East Timor in 2000, working with Timor Aid to distribute food Andrew was more concerned with delivering aid then getting sick himself. There were many people catching malaria and dengue fever but Andrew was not even bothered to take a prophylactic. His hairy arms and constant movement seemed to keep the mosquitos away. He never caught even a cold while he was in Timor, he was like a man of steel. I last saw Andrew during the 20th May independence celebrations in Dili and always thought I would see him again. It is hard to imagine him gone.

Andrew will be sorely missed. I know that there will be a massive hole left in the ongoing

work for East Timor especially on the extremely important issue of the Timor Sea oil.

Condolences to his family and to everyone that will grieve for Andrew. My apologies that I cannot attend the service on Friday, I pass on my regrets and best wishes. It brings home to me how important it is to celebrate Andrew's life, for I know that if many more would live the life that Andrew led then we would live in a more just and fair world.

Like Vacy I hope that the government of East Timor will give some sort of acknowledgment to the work that Andrew did for East Timor.

Russell Anderson.

Saskia Kouwenberg

I am writing on behalf of Saskia Kouwenberg who can't move from bed, she is extremely sick with a bad flu and sends her apologies at not being able to attend Andrews's memorial service.

Shocked and saddened like everyone about Andrews death Saskia would like to send condolences to the family and solidarity greeting and best wishes to all friends, and activist friends of Andrew. "Andrew will be sorely missed but should be remembered as a shining light for activists".

RA on behalf of Saskia Kouwenberg, in the Netherlands.

From: RUI HANJAN

Sent: Wednesday, December 31, 2003 1:35 PM

Subject: FW: Delivery Status Notification (Failure)

Dear G A Mckee,

Having read your comments as part of your salute to Dr. Andrew McNaughtan, As a timorese I fell embarressed ended because all Timorese politicians are now "sleeping" and often forget other people's contribution to the process of resistance. Not only that, there is a tendency to close their eyes to see another world. I think I agree, and most people will agree with me that Timorese politician only see the the big part of contribution. My question is why we have a huge ceremony for Sergio Viera de Melo but we don't have the same ceremony to pay our tribute to Dr.Andrew McNaughtan. Is that because Sergio led this country during the transitional period? or because Sergio died in an accident under the UN flag? I think whoever had contributed in the past, no matter he or she is an ordinary person or very famous person have to get the same salute, respect etc.

This oportunity, I would like to encourage all my dear Timorese Friends to think about that, make a deep instrospection, especially for youth movement like RENETIL,

OBJELATIL, SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT etc, to take it as a lesson. I do not have to only rely on politicians, but as youg generation we need to be more sensetive to others who had contributed this new born nation.

My great respect and Salute to Dr. Andrew McNaughtan--Rui Manuel Hanjam (Timor-Leste)

NB. If you can forward this e-mail to other friends to share with them will be great--
Regards --Rui

Brendan Doyle, treasurer AETA nsw

Andrew's opinion piece in the Sydney Morning Herald on 20 April 1999 got me along to my first AETA meeting. It was the most concise and well-argued case for Australia to call for UN intervention that I had read. His reasoning was clear, backed up by passion and conviction, and the conclusions to be drawn from his arguments were unavoidable. He called a spade a spade. "The Indonesian army is the source of the terror campaign in East Timor... Downer and Howard are at least partially responsible for the killings... ABRI has forfeited the right to be left in control... Australia should call on the UN Security Council to send in a peacekeeping force." Plain, unadorned language that got to the heart of the matter. As much as Andrew enjoyed a long-winded rave, when he did the final edit on an opinion piece or a pamphlet, his arguments were honed to rapier sharpness. In a world of hackneyed language and spin, Andrew provided models of lucidity.

At my first AETA meeting, I remember feeling somewhat intimidated by this tall man with a shock of white hair who was the convenor. He was speaking without notes, giving detailed accounts of the latest killings in Timor. When it came to what could be done, he impressed me with his already global perspective on things. He could see that unless we could influence major powers, East Timor may never be free.

He was fearless, never afraid to confront the powerful. Although he hated hypocrites and oppressors with a vengeance, he could take on a political opponent without letting anger get in the way. At a recent celebration for the opening of the East Timorese consulate in Sydney, he strode up to Phillip Ruddock and confronted him head-on about his policy of sending failed Iranian asylum seekers back to Iran and probable

torture and death. In spite of Ruddock's spluttering responses, Andrew stuck to the facts and principles involved, and hammered them home.

Andrew was a tireless and effective campaigner, and he was in there for the long haul over East Timor. It was an immense satisfaction to him to see this dream realised. At one of the last AETA meetings he attended, I remember him saying how rare it was for a movement to actually succeed in its major aim, especially one that no one could have confidently predicted five years before.

Andrew didn't have an ideological axe to grind. He had formed his own ideas about how the world could be, of how a decent society should operate, how people should be treated. His loss is tragic. His example will outlive him, and continue to inspire us all.

Brendan Doyle

Bill Fisher

Yes, Wes, I was lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time often when Andy was around. I remember his very Australian larrikin sense of humour and the sparks generated between Andy and Jeff Lee when they were in good form, which was nearly always. His appearance before the Senate enquiry in Darwin in September 1999 was a revelation. He really knocked the stuffing out of some of those government senators trying to bury the East Timorese people. And he did it, as always, calmly and politely but with a breadth of knowledge and a command of the facts that shut up the spoilers. Knowing Andy was a real privilege.

Bill

As a latecomer to the East Timorese movement (October 99), I thank Andrew for two things -

- His answers to my questions about what went before and his part in it, but now I can't ask anymore
- His support for those of us working to provide employment and income for East Timorese women

We will all miss you.

-Alix Mandelson

Dr. Andrew McNaughtan, 1954-2003

La'o Hamutuk Bulletin Vol. 5, No. 1: January 2004

Supporters of justice and human rights all over the world lost a committed and valuable ally when Australian physician Andrew McNaughtan died unexpectedly at his Sydney home last December. For East Timor, the loss is especially painful, both because of the effective work Andrew did to advance the independence of East Timor, and for the equally effective work he would have done in the future to support human rights and economic independence for this new country.

Andrew was motivated by a sharp sense of justice, and followed his instincts with great skill and analysis. He spent a year in Nicaragua practicing medicine, and later continually helped Nigerians, Indonesians, Acehnese, Papuans, and even Americans struggling for justice. But his greatest commitment was to the East Timorese people. In the few weeks since he died, many of his friends and colleagues have shared memories. Each of us has learned much about Andrew, and all have been struck by the wide range of his work, and the many results it had. Indeed, it is hard to think of any non-Timorese person who contributed more to East Timor's independence than Andrew did.

Although Andrew was Australian, justifiably outraged by his government's support for Indonesia's occupation, he understood the importance of international campaigning and strategy.

Throughout the 1990s, he made repeated visits to East Timor, interviewing and filming people here and making his videos available to key journalists, campaigners and officials around world. Sometimes at great personal risk, he provided documentation which disproved Indonesia's lies. At a time when East Timorese were being arrested and worse for contacting global human rights groups, Andrew shrewdly used his "malai privilege" to do what they could not.

Andrew began adult life as a welder and a motorcycle racer, and after an accident he decided to go to medical school. But his real passion was to fight against injustice, and he found that he could work more effectively for East Timor as a campaigner than by providing health care. He began supporting East Timor in 1992, and became Information Officer for the East Timor International Support Center based in Darwin, and Convenor of the Australia-East Timor Association in Sydney.

Andrew's articulate, strategic and persistent advocacy of East Timor's case with Australian media and politicians was critical to laying the groundwork for Canberra's belated 1999 conversion to support East Timor. Often using graphic photographs of East Timorese victims, Andrew's videos and publications were used by many activists and journalists and distributed widely, forcing many to acknowledge the crimes being committed here, the afterimages remaining in their previously willfully blind eyes.

Andrew knew the strategic importance of global solidarity, and he was tremendously helpful to campaigners in the United States and elsewhere who had less access to information and audiovisuals than in Australia. Andrew also participated in the APCET (Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor) conferences, and his hand phone played a crucial role in maintaining media contact while the APCET II conference was arrested by Malaysian police in 1996.

Andrew compiled an exhibition of more than 100 photographs to help people understand East Timor's history, and six sets of photographs were shown all over the world. When they were exhibited at Canberra's Parliament House in 1997, the government changed the title from *Your Friends Will Not Forget You* to *A History of East Timor in World War II*, and photos showing events after 1975 were censored, and could only be shown at a local church.

In October 1998, Indonesia was claiming to withdraw troops from East Timor, but people here knew the opposite was happening. From a clandestine resistance member in ABRI's personnel office, Andrew obtained more than 100 pages of Indonesian military documents proving that actual troop deployments were much higher than Jakarta claimed, and increasing. Andrew quietly obtained expert analysis of these documents, and coordinated simultaneous release of the information in London, Washington, Jakarta and Canberra to expose Jakarta's lies at a critical time, putting the global media spotlight on the post-Suharto military occupation.

Andrew was always very generous with his personal funds, and gave tens of thousands of dollars to Falintil and Xanana's work. Before and during the 1999 referendum, Andrew was again in East Timor, providing money and other assistance to enable people targeted by the TNI/militia to escape to safety, and compiling information about the militias to inform the UN, journalists, officials and activists worldwide. A few days before the referendum, he and two Australian colleagues were arrested by Indonesian police in Zumalai after being attacked by militias. Although they were deported a few days later, Andrew learned of the vote results while in custody. He observed that his Brimob captors were genuinely surprised that 79% voted for independence despite the Indonesian terror campaign — final evidence of how little Indonesia's occupiers understood the people of East Timor.

Andrew came back to East Timor in late September 1999, and returned several times. He helped InterFET understand the historical and political context, as well as current information, of the country they had just arrived to "save." He worked with Timor Aid, helped Timorese friends with personal problems, and educated himself and many others on new challenges facing East Timor — especially pursuing justice for Indonesian perpetrators of crimes against humanity here, and preventing Australia from stealing the majority of East Timor's oil and gas resources. Among other projects, he worked with journalist HT Lee to produce the video *Don't Rob Their Future: Give them a Fair Go* which is on the OilWeb CD-ROM published by *La'o Hamutuk*.

During 2003, several foreigners who contributed to East Timor lost their lives prematurely, including Dr. Andrew McNaughtan, Father Stefani Renato (a long-term Italian/Japanese supporter of East Timor, since 2000 parish priest in Atsabe, killed in an October automobile accident), Sergio Vieira de Mello, and four Korean PKF soldiers swept away by a river in Oecussi. Each of these deaths are tragic, but we believe those who chose to commit their lives to East Timor's people and nationhood — Andrew and Father Stefani — deserve special recognition.

Since 1999, many have come here to advance their careers, make money, follow orders, or share in East Timor's independence, and their help is welcome. But between 1975 to 1999, there was no material benefit in supporting East Timor. People like Andrew McNaughtan, who gave up their careers and spent much personal money to participate in East Timor's struggle against injustice, are rare treasures who cannot be replaced. Although thousands of East Timorese people suffered more and took greater risks than any solidarity activist ever could, the struggle for their country was, in a sense, forced upon them. Andrew took it on voluntarily, from his deep sense of shared humanity.

Andrew's colleagues were the people of East Timor and others struggling for justice. He was not liked by governments or diplomats — the truths he spoke were often uncomfortable for those in power. But East Timor's independence owes a lot to those truths and to the people who spoke them, more than it owes to institutions and governments who discovered East Timor after the struggle was won.

We hope that East Timor's new government remembers and honors its friends from those long, difficult years, and that it will prioritize celebrating these human relationships over flattering powerful institutions. But even if it doesn't, the people of East Timor — the many who were fortunate to know Dr. Andrew McNaughtan personally and the many more who owe their freedom partly to his work — will treasure him and continue his commitment to justice.

from LtCol Collins

Jefferson, Brendan, Alix,

I was shocked and very saddened to hear of Andrew's death. I am interstate and the moment and deeply regret that I cannot return for the Memorial Service in Sydney.

Andrew's sudden passing is a great loss to those concerned with working for a better world. In my dealings with him I never knew a truer gentleman nor one more concerned with human dignity and objective truth.

Lieutenant Colonel Lance Collins
Australian Army

Max Stahl

Thanks for passing the very sad news regarding Andrew. That Andrew, a person of such absolute integrity and incredible generosity in his struggles for others, should have died alone seems especially cruel.

Please pass my thoughts and heartfelt condolences to all who knew Andrew and looked to him for help and support, and to the members of AETA, Jefferson and all.

Max Stahl, Dili massacre etc filmer and filmmaker

I still find it hard to accept the idea that Andrew McNaughtan is no longer with us. Andrew was always there, with his time, his insight, and his tenacious determination, and his friendship.

He was a formidable campaigner, not as widely recognized as he should have been.

So many of us owe him a huge debt. Those who wrote, those who filmed, those who gave and organized aid, and planned and strategised advocacy against formidable odds, the people of East Timor, the former attorney general of the state of Florida who found himself persecuted by United States and today has been granted asylum in Howard's Australia. The list of unlikely political triumphs and back from the dead victories which Andrew McNaughtan had a hand in is long and eclectic.

I first met Andrew when he was a doctor in 1991. I was making a film on East Timor, visiting Australia to renew my visa. He was working with an aboriginal community north of Darwin. Unlike most of Australia he had not forgotten Timor and was curious. It was a month before the massacre in the cemetery at Santa Cruz.

Within months I began to hear from Dr. Macnaughtan. Within a year or two he was in the documentary film making business. When I was banned from East Timor it was Andrew who stepped into the breach. [Actually from 1995 to 2001ish the heroic and award-winning Max Stahl was banned from Australia, thus putting his life in extra jeopardy for him to try to reach East Timor - wes]

As a film maker he was my most trusted foreign ally over several years work in East Timor. His picture of the policemen throwing stones at the demonstrators in the Cathedral in Dili in 1995, his interview with Bishop Belo who told him what an Indonesian soldier had confessed- a death toll of more than 400 at the 1991 Dili massacre, his interview with Fr Hilario Madeira a month before he and others were massacred at

Suai church in 1999. Andrew understood the importance of the key fact, the telling detail and he would risk his life and spend his days to get it.

As a spokesman for Australians for East Timor, as a volunteer, as a press informant in the run up to East Timor's referendum, Andrew was right and time and again. He did the hard graft, spending months gathering information, videotaping after the TV crews had gone home, and before they came, marshalling the facts, printing and preparing photo exhibitions, passing the information to those who could put it in the public view. In this he was selfless as he was generous, financing much of his work himself, and dedicated and courageous to a fault in the struggle for justice for East Timor.

He should have been better acknowledged. He would have liked that. But partly it was his own doing that he was not. Andrew did not put himself forward. He was absolutely his own man, and his integrity was such that he could let nothing pass. He would challenge and infuriate his closest associates with his insistence on getting it right and knowing it was right which usually meant doing things his way.

But that was his way to truth. And Andrew's passion in life was the truth. That and gathering cold hard evidence and exposing chosen politicians and military men to a blast of it.

Andrew was not a politician, although he put his toe in Green party politics. He was too straight, too genuine to be a pro at the game. He took injustice everywhere very personally. And whether he took up the case of a nation in need, or a man wronged, when he took it to heart, he fought like a ferret. When the crowd moved on out of exhaustion or fear or boredom or frustration Andrew would be left there gnawing away at the issue, at the most sensitive parts under the biggest political trousers.

And he made them wince, on more than one occasion.

Thank you Andrew. We will miss you. But you have left us a legacy we will not forget. And you helped change the world for many who were abandoned and in need . Not bad for a country doctor who took an interest.

We will miss you. The world is a smaller, less honest, and more unjust place without you. Rest in Peace. You have earned it.

Max Stahl

Freddy Gamage

I only met Andrew very few time in my life may be two, yet he was always in my memory as very good campaigner , a good friend .I could still remember when i was attending a solidarity conference in Australia on ET Andrew helped me lot specially when i got sick.His photo collection was a very good pop ed for the ET campaign in Sri Lanka.It gave us the way to developed a good photo exhibition on the Sri Lank as ethnic problem which is still touring around the country for five years.

As others mentioned during apcet 2 I can remember how he coordinate the every possible chances to high light the event through his mobile phone in media and of cause we all use his phone to speak to the families and friends .That was my 3rd deportation on ET, Andrews courage was so helpful for us to face the situation.

We salute you Andrew,for teaching us lot.....

Freddy Gamage
Friends of the third world
Sri Lanka

ex Senator Vicki Bourne, Democrats, and East Timor supporter

Rob-

Fay Lawrence has sent on to me your lovely contribution to Andrew's service today. I wish I'd known it was on. I was absolutely stunned to hear of Andrew's death on the radio. Do you happen to have an e-mail address for Jefferson? I've tried the bigpond one I used a couple of years ago, but it just keeps bouncing back. [it happens to all of us, Vicki]

I still can't believe he's gone. We stayed in the same hotel in Dili for the independence ballot and it was so nice to get back there every day and chat. He made me feel that everything had to come out all right in the end.

I remember chatting to him at a seminar in Sydney sometime in 1999. I was saying how annoying it was that some people in Parliament who had belittled the East Timor cause (and all those of us involved) were now finding that they were in favour of it, and they were the ones getting the publicity. Andrew said he knew just what I meant. He had a lovely little analogy I've been trying to remember -I think it went like this: it's like you're pushing a car up a hill because you have no petrol and you know the people on the other side desperately need the car. There are people sitting around telling you not to be so stupid as to use all your energy on pushing the car - you'll never get it to the top of the hill and anyway the people on the other side are better off without it. Then, when you nearly have the car to the top, the people who have been

resting on the side of the road giving you advice decide that it's so close to the top of the hill now that it's worth their while to help, and lots of them push the car over the top of the hill, leaving you behind. You trudge to the top of the hill and look down the other side to see everyone cheering because now they have the car. Then you look down the road and you see another car, and another hill, and you know that you will have to gather your strength and start pushing the next car up the next hill.

I hope to goodness Andrew knows how many people are now shocked, stunned and very, very sad, and that all of us are thanking him for all his back-breaking work in pushing that car up that hill.

I hope everything is going well for you. I'm very happy out of the Senate, but I'm still grateful for all the things that being a senator allowed me to do, and all the wonderful people I met. I do remember the Darwin tour de force - Andrew's information & evidence was always so thorough and convincing that even one dreaded Liberal senator found it difficult to dismiss! Best wishes,
Vicki Bourne

Vacy Vlazna posted to east-timor.com (corrected)
A personal reminiscence of Andrew's Sydney memorial (2nd January 2004)

Tonight, back home, Andrew's absence is keenly tangible now that the shared stories, shared grief and the comfort and renewed buoyancy of comradeship have ebbed away.

His absence was heightened too by the dignity and sheer beauty of the ceremony. The Mary MacKillop Chapel was the perfect venue. It is indelibly infused with the spiritual history of the hopes for Timor's freedom. As Sister Josephine Mitchell recollected, it was home to many vigils for Timor and also the celebration mass for its independence. Coincidentally, the Chapel is also linked to Andrew's personal history as Donald McNaughtan revealed that the McNaughtans and the family of The Blessed Mary MacKillop lived close by in Scotland.

The Chapel itself is lovely; the cream walls enhancing a space of peace, stained glass filtering rainbow light, vases of exquisite flowers, symbols of the diversity and fragile transience of life, adorned the altars. To the left a nativity scene like those that spring up all over Timor, was a reminder that Andrew missed this Christmas and that his passing will permeate all our Christmases to come.

The ceremony started lateish (1.30 pm) as the queue of family, friends and comrades to sign the visitors book flowed outside the chapel and way down the street. Ultimately it was a grand Gathering of the Activist Clans from intra and interstate- including leaders from the Aceh and West Papuan solidarity.

In honour of Andrew, on the steps in front of the altar the noble regalia of a Timorese warrior chief (Liu -rai)- the crescent headpiece (Karbauk) the breastplate(Belak) and the armbands had been laid on a tais by Jenni Kanaley along with a lai of frangipanis.

Everyone rose as a lone Scottish Piper walked down the aisle, turned and walked back out the church - the haunting notes fading in the distance were heart-wrenchingly poignant - as though Andrew's spirit had come and gone.

The atmosphere was solemn, everyone burdened with disbelief, sorrow and tears.

Sister Josephine, her words quivering on the verge of tears, hosted the ceremony. Andrew's cousin, Nigel Stewart paid a magnificent tribute steeped in dignity. Another cousin Don McNaughtan read from Corinthians. A family friend, Justice O'Keefe, gave a measured tribute sharing reminiscences of the young Andrew and praising Andrew's investigative and legal skills. Hymns were sung to the organ accompaniment of Lansell Taudevin.

Jose Ramos Horta's 'tribute' jarred somewhat - he rambled on about other people who had died and the effect on their children. Had he come to the wrong memorial? Eventually he gave a couple of personal anecdotes regarding Andrew's concern for Jose's health. As the representative of the Timorese government at this historic event, he omitted presenting in detail Andrew's prodigious services to the people of East Timor.

John Pilger redeemed the high tone of homage; he strode down the aisle, took the lectern and rendered a rousing impassioned eulogy for Andrew's great courage, his great integrity, his dogged commitment to a fair deal on the Timor Gap. He named Andrew an informed ally, a truth-teller, a real hero. Pilger strongly vocalized the sentiments in our hearts and souls.

To a person, tears quickened and fell when Sr. Susan Connolly read a beautifully written prayer:

God beyond all names,
We grieve for a man of passion
We grieve for a man of integrity;
A man of intensity and courage.

We ask why.
We weep.
We feel the loss, the numbness, unbelievable.
We bow to what is, because it is beyond us to change it,
Or to undo it, or remake it.

We weep for a friend, a brother;
And we remember the one who wept for his friend Lazarus,
Wept in the face of the frustration of limits,

The sorrow of mortality.

We acknowledge the gift of Andrew, our friend.
We relish the memory of his tenacity, his clear-sightedness,
His dogged pursuit of good.

Andrew believed in goodness,
He believed in the truth.
He believed in the mystery of life despite the inevitability of death.

He believed in the indestructibility of spirit,
In the capacity of the human to perceive that there is more
to life than meets the eye.

We pray that the fire which burned in Andrew's heart will
burn brightly in us;
That justice be done;
That mercy hold sway;
That truth be sought.

May we understand the meaning of Christmas a little more,
even as we mourn Andrew;
That the most truly divine is found in the most truly human,
And that in our efforts to be truly human we approach the divine.

"It is not those who say to me, 'Lord, Lord', who will
enter the kingdom of heaven, but the person who does
the will of my father in Heaven." (Matt. 7:21)

(you can see why the sisters of the MMIETS community are the spiritual heart of the
Sydney East Timor solidarity.)

The Timorese community, visibly distressed, stood before the warrior shrine to Andrew
softly murmuring a prayer of respect and parting.

The final hymn by William Blake was followed by the return of the Scot Piper who led
the family from the Chapel. Sheltered from the bright Sydney sun outside, groups of
people clustered under the shade of trees while the bagpipe mourned by the roadside.
Then most people moved on, at the invitation of the family, to the North Sydney Oval
function Centre.

The family offered opportunities to speak more informally about Andrew; Martin Wesley
Smith read his brother Rob's tribute. Rob, the great veteran activist, is organizing a
memorial in Darwin. The regrets of unavoidable absence were passed on from good
friends, like Jim Dunn and Kieren Dwyer. Jeff Lee, who has worked frantically notifying

people of Andrew's death, assisting in the last minute organization of the memorial, putting together a hard copy compilation of tributes, added a characteristic blast of humour admitting he was often the butt of Andy' jokes. (I missed other tributes as I had to move my car to avoid getting a parking fine.)

For each person there is a unique Andrew. Hundreds of Andrews unified by his moral responsibility.

Many of us asked why Andrew's loss has such a profound impact on our lives. People are dying everyday and each is precious. The answer for me is embodied in the prayer read by Susan, and also the realization that Andrew's death has left a huge deficit of astute intelligence, integrity and compassion in the quest for universal justice and earth/human rights, especially these days when the insanity of the powers-that-be runs amok.

Later a large gathering of stayers continued at the pub across the road. The only person obviously not circulating as usual was Andrew.

Just a small factual correction..... it was Nigel Stewart (Andrew's 2nd cousin) who made the address and it was Donald McNaughtan who read from the Bible.

Vacy

Dr Vacy Vlazna:

Like all of you, I am stunned and deeply saddened by Andrew's death; an event I'd expect to grieve in 30 years time, not now, not now.

Strange how death clarifies the vastness of his spirit; his dogged pursuit of justice for the people of Timor; his integrity- I know journalists respected his investigative skills and trusted his information; his personal and material generosity to Timor- he gave up a lucrative medical profession to work full time in Timor solidarity financing the expensive photo exhibitions, the hundreds of overseas calls with diasporan activists, journalists academics etc, self-financed travels to conference and seminars nationally and around the world - phenomenally he was everywhere -his secret wheelings and dealings were at the centre of the clandestine hub in Timor with students and journos and internationally.

You couldn't help but admire him; his prodigious intelligence matched his loquacity (which was the source of a frustrating tardiness). What I found most intriguing, most human, was the way Andrew was so touched, surprised even, when he got positive feedback. For all his real courage and confidence on the political stage, he was personally vulnerable.

After Timor's freedom from Indonesian occupation it was a pleasure to see the tension gone from Andrew's face and manner - the tension that comes from racing against time,

time in which Timorese were being murdered, imprisoned, tortured. Nevertheless, he was seemingly indefatigable. No doubt you will hear from others what other significant matters of justice he committed himself to after 1999. Little wonder his heart ceased.

Like many of you, I am irked with a thorn of regret: you just don't know when is the last time you see someone and the last time I saw Andrew was at Sr Josphine Mitchell's jubilee celebration on 2 December- Jenny Kanaley and I said the three of us should get together soon. (We didn't) (painful brackets) Chatting- Andrew had been pleased that as a newcomer to The Greens he had got fifth place on the pre-selection- in terms of foreign policy and justice matters Andrew would have been an invaluable asset to The Greens. And he was enthused about his spiritual practice of meditation.

I hope the Timorese government will publicly acknowledge and honour his magnificent contribution to Timor's right to independence. Name a street, a scholarship, something after him.

Maromak knows this is long overdue and the pity of it is that he didn't enjoy a highly deserved commendation while he was alive. He would have felt so chuffed. Appreciation is a sacrament.

Dr Vacy Vlazna
Friend and former Convenor of East Timor Justice Lobby and Australia East Timor Association, NSW.

Received from John Imle, Jan 5, 2004

Andrew was an inspiration. My contact with Andrew was brief but intense. Our first "meeting" was a two hour long marine call in 2002 during in which he simultaneously sought and critically absorbed my input. He sought business and technical counsel because had a thirst to understand the issues before taking action in support of Timor Leste's quest for control of her own resources.

Our last meeting, in the fall, was a wide-ranging brainstorming session on innovative ways to help the new nation he loved so deeply. Andrew was a "quick learn" on subjects far from his field of expertise. He was an activist who did his homework completely before acting.

The world needs more Andrew McNaughtans who bring immense energy and intellect to complex problems. Andrew was a rare and unique asset for the people of Timor Leste and will be missed by all who care for Timor Leste. Andrew has left an enduring gift to Timor Leste through his personal efforts.

We would all benefit by emulating his humility, integrity, and energy.

With profound sadness and respect,

John Imle

Personally I never met Dr Andrew McNaughtan, but his name had been very familiar to me. East Timor lost one of his best fighter. I salute you Dr. Andrew and your name will be remembered forever.

Rest in Peace

Tala
Dili

Hundreds honour late East Timor activist McNaughtan

Hundreds of people have marked the death of the East Timor independence activist Dr Andrew McNaughtan at a memorial service in Sydney in New South Wales on Friday.

Dr McNaughtan was the convenor of the Australia-East Timor Association.

He died at his Mosman home on December 22, aged 49.

Among those attending the service were former Labor minister Tom Uren, Supreme Court justice Barry O'Keefe and journalist John Pilger.

Mr Pilger describes Dr McNaughtan as a champion of truth and a real-life hero.

"Some people are heroes - they're not plastic heroes, they're not celluloid heroes, they're quiet heroes, and that was Andrew McNaughtan," Mr Pilger said.

"I shall miss him [and] I pay tribute to him."

Also attending was East Timor's Foreign Minister, Jose Ramos-Horta, who describes Dr McNaughtan as a man of immense compassion who recognised injustice.

"So he began to try to go to Timor, which he did at risk of his own life," Mr Ramos-Horta said.

"He was arrested [and] deported a few times.

"To publicise the truth about what was happening back in East Timor ... he has done tremendous tremendous educational work, educating people about the

plight of the people of East Timor."

(From Rozamunda Waring)

THE PASSING OF DR ANDREW McNAUGHTAN

Dear Andrew,

You have left us and we mourn with deep sorrow. The East Timorese mourn, for in losing you they have lost their best friend. A friend whose relentless exposure of their persecution under the depraved tyranny of Suharto's army reached the whole world.

You were unstoppable in your passionate international campaign for justice and full rights over the Timor Oil Fields on behalf of the beleaguered tiny nation of East Timor. Your articles and lectures were erudite, dynamic and accurate. You gave no quarter.

Thank you for sharing your life's work and knowledge with us with grace and generosity. You were an exceptional truth teller, who made a resounding difference - a difference history will remember. You are irreplaceable.

Fond love,

Rozamunda Waring

Australia East Timor Association

Dear Vacy,

Greetings from the East Timor Ireland Campaign

I got the sad news about Andrew McNaughtan several days ago and felt quite upset about it.

I phoned Paddy Keneally who I know very well, and he told me what happened.

I met Andrew several times and in August 1999 spent a lot of time together in East Timor. Two years ago he came to Ireland and stayed with me for a week.

What impressed me about Andrew was his total dedication to the Timorese, a commitment that never wavered with all the difficulties he experienced. After all, when I think back now, East Timor was a cause that was marginal at best. And it was because of people like Andrew that it was kept alive both in Australia and elsewhere.

What also impressed me was that he was never self righteous--a fault not uncommon among activists--and had a great sense of humour, a vital safety valve in times of stress.

During his stay in Ireland, he kept us enthralled with his stories about his time campaigning for Timor. His repertoire of stories was a treasure trove.

I hadn't seen him for two years and had looked forward to meeting him again sometime, somewhere. Unfortunately it is not to be. If you are in touch with any of his family please send them our condolences and the same to the Timor gang in Australia. He will be missed.

regards,

Sean Steele

Estavao Cabral

I would like to add my voice to all the other tributes that have gone out in honour of Andrew McNaughtan. I would like to do so by writing a brief account of a moment of considerable danger that I shared with him in the late 1990s. I first met Andrew in Kuala-Lumpur when the Asia Pacific Coalition for East-Timor organised a peace conference there. I had heard his name before but knew very little about his work on East-Timor. I soon got to know him very well since all the international delegates at the conference were detained and harassed by the Malaysian authorities and then 'deported' from Malaysia. I came face to face with Andrew when I was taken to the immigration office in a police van, along with Bishop Deakin and some Filipino colleagues.

When we clambered out of the van, there was Andrew, standing in the lobby of the immigration office, pacing up and down anxiously. Shortly after this we were all bundled into a lift. At this point, I noticed that Andrew had a mobile phone with him. He was the only one who had one. We were then ushered into a small, sparsely furnished room on the fourth or fifth floor. Our minder left us all there and closed the door behind him. At this point, I approached Andrew and asked him if I could make a quick call to the UK, to let Marilyn, my partner, know about our present situation.

By then, Andrew had already contacted a radio station in Australia. His long experience as an activist had made him keenly aware of the need to alert the media in times of trouble. This radio station was, at that point, the only media outlet that knew about the way in which the Malaysian authorities were treating the delegates at a conference on 'Peace in East Timor'. When I asked Andrew if I could use his phone, he passed it to me without hesitating and would not allow me to reimburse him for the call, despite my protests. I called Marilyn and she contacted the BBC World Service and the British Consulate in Kuala Lumpur.

In the afternoon, we were taken to the airport and confined in a room in the basement. Andrew kept our spirits up and chatted with everyone in the group. By the evening we had been transferred to a hotel at the airport. By the time we got to the hotel, Andrew was beginning to receive calls from the Australian media on his mobile and was giving interviews. I remember, at one point, a police superintendent stormed into the hotel and wanted to know who it was who had a mobile phone. He demanded that it should be handed over. Obviously, we all denied any knowledge of mobile phones. Andrew had pushed his underneath the mattress in his room. He then bought a round of beer and we all began to relax a bit, laughing and sharing a few jokes at the expense of our minds.

Andrew's determined and intelligent use of the media on that occasion transformed the situation and made it possible for us to gain further publicity for the East-Timor cause. The organisers had also achieved what they had wanted: publicising the cause, albeit at their own risk. Unfortunately, it seems that some of the organisers are still in prison. The Indonesians had initially wanted to ensure that there would be no publicity related to East-Timor as a result of this conference but he managed to turn their intervention, the collusion of the Malaysian authorities and the actions of the Malaysian rent-a-mob against them.

The following day most of us were 'deported' and left for home. This was not the first time that Andrew had experienced deportation. He risked his life on several occasions. For example, he went to East-Timor knowing full well that the Indonesians were watching him all the time. He was there again before the referendum and helped to finance the clandestine network's door to door campaign. He was later arrested by the Indonesian military and deported but was soon back in Dili.

The last time I saw him was in Dili during the Restoration of the Independence in 2002. I ran into him in the town centre. I am so glad that we had this one last chance to exchange a few words and to share our joy at the fact that independence had at last been achieved by the East Timorese people.

I was stunned when I heard of his death. We have lost a friend of exceptional vision and dedication. He worked tirelessly for our freedom. Those of us who have had the opportunity to get to know Andrew will never forget him. I take comfort from the knowledge that he lived long enough to witness the Restoration of Independence with me and my fellow country men and women and that he had the satisfaction of knowing that we have achieved our freedom after twenty four years of Resistance. I have no doubt that many East-Timorese who have had known him for all those years will never forget him. Rest in Peace Andrew!

Estêvão Cabral

* Estevao Cabral *
* Department of International Politics *
* University of Wales, Aberystwyth *
* Penglais Campus, *
* Edward Llwyd Building *
* Aberystwyth, SY23 3AD *

Maria Bernadino

Dear Wes,

Thank you for this message, I received the news of Andrew's death on January 5th around 5.00 pm. As most of my time is spent in the districts I have little opportunity to check emails or communication. When Cecilio Freitas told me I felt numbed and still find it difficult to accept that Andrew has passed away. He had so much to offer my people and others who believe in justice and that the world can be a better place for all. He gave his best for us, our struggle for freedom became his struggle, often I wanted to give up but looking at people like Andrew I felt I had to continue. Let's hope that the politicians Australian, East Timorese and others can learn from him. Wes, please share with others.

Andrew, a luta continua!

Laka

Julian King

Hi Rob

Thanks for sending these messages, its still hard to believe Andrew's gone from this world. He was truly a great and brave activist. I remember when I

was leaving for Timor and he told me not to worry about the military, just insist you have the right to go where you please.

Julian (McKinlay-King)

Fighter for truth, liberty and justice

Peter Slezak

9 January 2004

[The Australian](#) Obituary

Andrew McNaughtan East Timor activist. Born March 20, 1954, Sydney. Died Mosman, Sydney, December 22, aged 49.

THERE was no flag-draped coffin or gun-drawn carriage, no pallbearers in uniform and no eulogising politician.

Instead, an elderly Timorese lady sobbed quietly and wiped tears throughout the memorial service for activist **Andrew McNaughtan**, giving eloquent testimony to his contribution to East Timorese and Australian life.

McNaughtan was among the small band who fought tirelessly, effectively and perhaps even decisively for the lives and rights of the East Timorese, a people to whom Australians owe an immense debt: during World War II, 40,000 Timorese died defending Australian soldiers from the Japanese.

McNaughtan was a doctor but, as family friend and Supreme Court justice Barry O'Keefe remarked at the memorial service, he chose not to pursue the usual paths of professional or financial reward.

Instead, he devoted himself to humanitarian causes where he made immense contributions as an activist and one-man medecins sans frontieres. In 1983, he spent a year as a volunteer doctor in Nicaragua and in 1991 he worked at the Katherine hospital in the Northern Territory where he saw the effects of torture on East Timorese refugees.

McNaughtan became convener of the Australia East Timor Association, a small solidarity group that held meetings, printed newsletters, raised funds, wrote to newspapers and sought to raise public concern about the tragedy in East Timor.

In 1998, McNaughtan had obtained confidential Indonesian army documents that showed the presence of Kopassus special forces and the heavy involvement of military officers in running the province, supervising militias who were not the independent rogue elements our government preferred or pretended to believe.

In addition, the leaked documents showed that Indonesian troop numbers, at around 18,000, were not being reduced as claimed and were nearly three times the number admitted to by the Indonesian government.

Lansell Taudevin, in his book *East Timor: Too Little, Too Late*, recalls that he was cautioned by Australian embassy staff in Jakarta to stay away from McNaughtan, whom they viewed with suspicion as a ratbag and at best ill-informed.

When embassy staff came to Dili, Taudevin arranged for them to meet McNaughtan.

Following the meeting, Taudevin records that a surprised diplomat remarked: "He is not that bad after all."

For 18 months leading up to the referendum of 1999, as information officer for the East Timor International Support Centre in Darwin, McNaughtan donated 80 per cent of his salary to the ragtag Falintil guerilla army.

After East Timor's tumultuous independence, McNaughtan was aboard a truck delivering food to the devastated villagers who were at first unsure whether the approaching vehicle was friend or foe.

Josephine Mitchell, who led the memorial service, said the joy on Timorese faces gave McNaughtan "the happiest moment of his life", as he had told her.

Among his most passionate causes was his fight for justice over the revenues from Timor Sea oil and gas.

McNaughtan was angered by the Australian Government's treatment of East Timor and its resources, claiming as a pretence assertions that Australia "was being generous and honest in our dealings, whereas we have been stealing the resources from one of the poorest countries in the world".

East Timor Foreign Minister and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Jose Ramos Horta, spoke at the memorial service of McNaughtan's dogged pursuit of the Timor Gap issue and his insightful analyses of the legal matters it raised.

In a submission, McNaughtan wrote that Australia used its disproportionate weight and leverage to push its smaller neighbour into accepting an unfair outcome and then knowingly misrepresented its own actions as generous.

He recorded that Australia withdrew from the jurisdiction of the international court with respect to the determination of maritime boundaries when our Government became aware that internationally recognised expert advice to the East Timorese leadership indicated that the principles of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea would grant full sovereignty to East Timor over the oil and gas reserves.

McNaughtan wrote and spoke publicly about many human rights issues. In 2001, he gave a presentation at a conference titled *Refugees, Terrorism and the Public Right to Know* on how governments abuse their powers to withhold information to cloak their improper activities.

Journalist John Pilger spoke of McNaughtan as one of the few who fought to tell the uncomfortable truth when mainstream commentators and public figures promoted self-serving illusions.

McNaughtan left Sydney Grammar without his Higher School Certificate and trained as a welder before quitting to travel the world. On his return he completed his HSC and studied medicine at the University of NSW.

He inherited a passion for humanitarian causes from his mother, June Gram, an environmentalist and social activist. His father Ian, who died aged 33 when McNaughtan was six months old, was a history professor.

He is survived by three cousins Donald McNaughtan, Nigel Stewart and James Stanger.

DEATH OF DR. ANDREW MCNAUGHTAN

by Jefferson Lee

Members of the Australian and East Timorese communities and are in shock today after hearing of the sudden death of well-known human rights activist and Convenor of the Australia-East Timor Association, Doctor Andrew McNaughtan, aged 50 years.

Dr. McNaughtan was best known for his devotion to the liberation of East Timor. He spearheaded many campaigns to highlight human rights abuses there throughout the 1990s. He earned the wrath of the Indonesian military for documenting their crimes. He was deported, without reason, a number of times from East Timor when his exposures of civilian murders and abuses embarrassed both the Jakarta and Canberra administrations.

Back in Australia, Dr McNaughtan was a constant media lobbyist for East Timor and a thorn in the side of bureaucrats in Canberra. He gave the best advice exposing the TNI "militia" build up in the 1998-99 period, and was a key player in mobilising domestic and international support for INTERFET in the wake of the human cataclysm that followed the August 30th 1999 UN-supervised Referendum in East Timor.

Dr McNaughtan worked on every level - from dispensing medical assistance to hundreds of Timorese, to his work as a board member of Timor Aid, to the production of endless reports and documentaries on the unfairness of the Timor Gap Oil Treaty and the cover up over the 'Balibo Five' deaths, to photo displays that circulated the world - his loss to the movement of people seeking justice for East Timor will be incalculable.

Spare time was a scarce commodity for Andrew. He will be remembered for his hands on work with refugees and asylum seekers in Australia, his assistance

to the West Papuan and Acehenese freedom struggles, and his work with Aborigines whilst working as a medical practitioner in Darwin and elsewhere in the early 1990s.

Relatives and friends have yet to finalise his funeral arrangements.

release by:

Jefferson Lee on behalf of the Australia-East Timor Association.

Jefferson Lee update 9th January, and memoir

As you might have guessed I'm still shell-shocked by the events of the last fortnight. Andy's legacy was both immediate and ongoing.

Although the interim Police Report and Forensic Report came before the Coroner last Tuesday (6/1/04) and the Coroner signed the order to release Andy's body to the family for burial, it should be noted that the full toxicology and histology tests may take up to another 6 weeks to complete. The family desire us all to be patient.

Andy's family members think that the idea of an AETA run "Andy McNaughtan Memorial Human Rights Scholarship Fund" for Timorese students coming to study in Australia is a good idea. Cheques have already come in in advance of a formal decision. If you are doing so please include a covering note and send to AETA c/- PO Box 751 Darlinghurst, NSW 2010.

There have been a number of proposals over Andy's extensive archive/research library. The people to consult here are Brendan, H.T.Lee, myself, Peter Cronau and others. We intend to call a meeting soon to draft a formal proposal to the family so that Andy's unfinished projects can be carried on by the rest of us. Proposals are as diverse as depositing everything in the Mitchell library or at the East Timor Consulate with a small access/duplication fee to raise money for the Scholarship Fund.

Material has also come in from John Waddington (in WA) who has an ongoing archival project on East Timor, from Helen Hill concerning a proposed Conference on assistance to East Timor, on the need to keep up funding for the valuable ETAN web site and Washington Lobby Office and many other suggestions. They will be circulated when time permits.

At the moment I am forwarding everything, including the photos I have of Andy from countless AETA events he attended, either through Rob Wesley-Smith <rwes-@ozemail.com> or H.T.Lee <htl-@saedi.com.au>. For the memorial service last Friday (2/1/04) Geoff McKee, H.T.Lee and myself edited, printed and distributed Volume 1 of "Tributes to Andrew

McNaughtan" and handed out the hundred copies we managed to finish in time. H.T. Lee is finalising a revised edition, with all the extra tributes that have come in and some of the extra photos received. It will be available in PDF form from the end of next week and a printed version (running up to 40-80 pages) will appear within a fortnight.

Jefferson Lee 0425 201638 home (02) 9519-4788 (fax included here)

postscript continuing: "THE REAL MCNAUGHTAN LEGACY"

My head is spinning from regret. That I didn't take as detailed notes as I should have when speaking to Andy McNaughtan about endless topics. We debated for hours the missing facts on Balibo that he was so close to uncovering and over which he was badly maligned by a person who should have known better. We debated for hours the implications of the Bacre? family in the Villawood Detention Centre who Andy visited with Jacqui Everett to firmly establish that Immigration Minister Ruddock lied on at least 6 points in his vicious attack on this family in the media. We debated for hours nearly every other important issue - from the sell out by Australia and the UN of an International War Crimes Tribunal for East Timor, the intricacies of the Timor Oil issue, the need to recall the parliament after the last Federal elections following the unravelling of the Tampa affair in the media and Senate Inquiry, etc etc....

In earlier days, we argued over whether Andy should be devoting so much time to debriefing Philip Dorling, the research officer of the then ALP Foreign Affairs Spokesman Laurie Brereton. Indeed the courageous shift that Brereton engineered of ALP policy back towards "self-determination" and the subsequent breakdown of the "Two Major Party Consensus on Foreign Policy on East Timor" (remember the Evans-Alatas warcry of "irreversible" here?) owes more to McNaughtan's persistence here than is publically known. Ditto Brereton's plea for a UN Peace Keeping Force in East Timor before the UN Referendum in 1999. Ditto the media stories over Canberra lying about "rogue elements" of the TNI being involved with the "militia". It was Andy's brilliant detective work on the ground in 1998-99 in East Timor...and his thorough backgrounding of everyone in Australia of the same...from top military intelligence in Canberra, to his local member Tony Abbott M.P. to everyone in television Current Affairs Programs...Four Corners, Foreign Correspondent, Channel 9's Sunday, SBS Dateline...all the newsdesks and on it goes...that the "militia" were total pawns in the TNI Leadership endgame for East Timor.

As much as Don Greenlees and others might scream it was Howard's letter to Habibie that changed the course of Australian Foreign Policy on East Timor....behind the scenes it was Andrew McNaughtan's brilliant lobbying...in conjunction with the rest of solidarity in his support...and

not the shady dealings of Canberra boffins...that played the far more central role...

Long Live Andy McNaughtan.

PS..I must throw in a line here about a certain obit that was published saying that Andy stood against "sectarianism" in the East Timor movement, that this article failed to mention that Andy was Convenor of AETA speaks volumes. Rest assured Max, that Andy fully discussed with the rest of the AETA Executive whether he should speak before he went to each and every ASAP/ASIET Rally on Aceh/West Papua/ etc. As Andy would say, it gave him a chance to solidify our links with people from those communities irrespective of the level of political impact of the rally itself. Yes Max, we all claim Andy as our own. But we all respected him for his independent thinking and the fact he never parroted a party line even after he joined The Greens.

from Jeff Lee Monday am 29th Dec 03

As soon as the funeral arrangements are finalised I'll send out details...at this stage it looks like the Mary MacKillop Chapel in Mount St, North Sydney (either next Friday 2/1/03) or the following Monday (5/01/03)...Andrew's family (3 first cousins) are conferring today (Monday 29th Dec) and we are also awaiting outcome of post mortem (today or tomorrow) and the discussion between lawyer Joe Gersten and Nth Sydney police on circumstances of Andrew's body when it was discovered (NOTE:at the moment there are NO suspicious circumstances)

This should all be finalised by tues arvo....jude conway tells me there will be a gathering in Dili on Tuesday evening for a memorial function/service...and that the ETimorese leadership would like the Australian funeral stepped up as close as possible to a "State funeral"Indeed, Andrew deserves just recognition for all his magnificent efforts....However I attended Slim Dusty's "State" funeral and noticed how Howard, Downer and Bishop, etc all used the occasion to have a back slapping gloat with each other (disguised as feigned emotionalism)... all done for the media attention they received

...I'm sure Andy would prefer to be surrounded by his "friends"rather than media hungry politicians??? Besides, it would take a very public request from Xanana, Jose or Mari before the Govt in Australia would even respond to a request of this nature...If that request came then we could ask people like Vikki Bourne, Laurie Brereton, Bob Brown and others to echo the call??... Respect for the families' priorities and time factors appear to be mitigating factors on this issue??

[I'm suggesting the memorial go ahead Friday if possible. Wes]

There will be a service in Dili 4.30 Tuesday at Santa Cruz then to Vila Harmonia, Becora Rd Becora, for all friends and interested.

A MEMORIAL SERVICE for Dr ANDREW MCNAUGHTAN

this coming FRIDAY (January 2nd 2004) at 1 PM
at MARY MACKILLOP PLACE (Chapel), 9 MOUNT STREET,
St Mary's, NORTH SYDNEY

(3 minutes walk from the station, left up the hill from the Post Office on the Pacific Highway and Miller St corner...limited parking in area.

Leading the testimonies will be H. E. Jose Ramos-Horta
(Foreign Minister of the Government of Timor Leste)....
with Sister Josephine Mitchell as M.C. and Prayer leader

Details/Apologies to AETA Exec c/-
Brendan Doyle (02)9960-4166 <brenda-@bigpond.com>,
Alix Mandelson <alixman-@bigpond.com> (02) 9331-1496,
Stephan Langford (02) 9331-5986 or
Jefferson Lee <jeffers-@bigpond.com> (02)9519-4788.

Performance and cultural contribution inquiries should be directed to the family (via)
Mary MacKillop Institute of East Timor Studies (02)9623-2847.

Cards can be forwarded to AETA c/- PO Box 703, Leichhardt 2040 for
interstate and overseas people who cannot attend. Please indicate if you
wish your card to remain in the AETA files or forwarded to the family.
Email messages will be circulated if time for collation (we're all
volunteers here mate!).

It has been suggested that some people may wish to make a donation to East Timor
charities in lieu of flowers? Your decision.

Many remembrances about Dr Andrew McNaughtan are posted on the Reg East Timor
Website

<<http://www.east-timor@igc.topica.com>>

Full compilations available on request from rwes-@ozemail.com.au

regards
jefferson lee (30/12/03)

The Australian 15 Sept 99 "Sometimes it pays to hear voices in the wilderness"

by PAUL TOOHEY

THE day before the result of the August 30 UN ballot was announced, Darwin activist Rob Wesley-Smith wrote to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan begging him not to announce the result until a peacekeeping force had been put in place in East Timor.

Whether Annan saw the fax is irrelevant. What matters is that Rob Wesley-Smith, of Australians For a Free East Timor, and Andrew McNaughtan, of the East Timor International Support Centre, have for months been trying to tell the world what the real result of the UN ballot would be: untold bloodshed.

The unpalatable truth, for some, is that these small organisations - struggling for funds, regarded as ranters and troublemakers - have far superior ability to forecast events and understand what Indonesia is capable of than the combined intelligence of the UN and our own Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

This must be so; otherwise the UN would surely never have allowed the ballot to proceed.

To now say these groups were right all along is not about hindsight. It's about our diplomatic corps laughing off, and continuing to laugh off, people such as Wesley-Smith when they should have been, and should still be, listening.

ETISC and AFFET have for years kept an open hotline to East Timor. With breaking news, they often get it wrong. But they have proven consistently closer to the mark than the Indonesian and Australian governments.

"They (DFAT) get it wrong because they take their information from Indonesian sources," Wesley-Smith said.

There is a view that AFFET and ETISC should not be taken seriously because they beat up stories and publish inflated casualty figures. It is in fact not the inclination of these groups to exaggerate death counts. They are close to East Timorese families in Australia and in East Timor and do not wish to distress them.

It took weeks for DFAT to adjust its position on the death toll from the massacre in Liquica in April. It was saying only five had been killed: information taken from Indonesians. AFFET's report that between 60 and 70 had been killed was much closer to the truth.

Wesley-Smith does not distance himself from the less sensible acts of his cronies, such as throwing live chickens on to US warships.

But such apparent silliness springs from the frustration that their real contribution - information - is not taken seriously. Outside of the East Timorese themselves, no one knows better what is happening in East Timor than AFFET and ETISC.

Dr McNaughtan, an ETISC spokesman accused by the Indonesians of ballot interference and deported from Dili on Saturday, said he had spent the past six months doorknocking diplomats, embassies, journalists and the UN, warning of the bloody consequences of the UN ballot.

Dr McNaughtan was asked how it felt to finally be believed. "It's the worst feeling imaginable," he said.

Antero Benedito Da Silva

Since we came across Andrew McNaughtan in 1998, many students called him Dr. Andrew, but I was somehow convinced that Andrew was more a journalist or an activist than a doctor as I used to understand. Andrew risked his own life travelling with students around East Timor when the students conducted series of dialogues and demonstrations calling for referendum. I knew Andrew genuinely worked out a documentary film and a copy was showed to the International Students Festival in Norway 1999. It generated tremendous sympathy of the participants for East Timorese students' struggle.

In 2003, Andrew sent an email to me through ETISC in Dublin telling that he was going to set up a meditation centre in Timor. I could hardly realized that it was his last email.

Now, I somehow come to think that Andrew is indeed a doctor in a special way, a doctor that seeks to defeat the causes of sicknesses against a people, humanity, not simply a doctor in a hospital. Andrew has contibuted in a very special way to the change in East Timor! On behalf of my fellow students, I'd like to say that it is hard to believe Andrew is gone forever.

In Solidarity,
Antero Benedito Da Silva

David Scott

For your network (I provided something for Jose in Dili) I would like it to be known that I went from Balibo on the day of the commemoration of Andrew's life to Santa Cruz just in time to hear moving talks from Jude, Ceu, Father Joavito and others. It could not have been a more appropriate setting.

I said I had been involved since 1975 and like others of that time

welcomed the many younger people, in East Timor and overseas, and Andrew was notable, who had taken up the cause, especially after Max Stahl made it impossible for any to ignore East Timor after 1991.

I came to know Andrew in the Oporto international meeting in 1995 where his exhibition made a big impact. I met him on other occasions. we were good friends but I was not as close as the many who worked with him who have mourned his death.

I said Andrew was a qualified medical practitioner who could have enjoyed a prosperous, comfortable and interesting life in Sydney, possibly with a partner and children to whom he would have been a loving father. He forewent all that to devote his life and resources to make a significant and effective gift to the many times betrayed people of East Timor.

My last memory of him was in Jude's garden last year during independence celebrations . Wes and I wanted him to come with us to Remexio, a place of historical significance. Andrew would have liked to but said he must do his meditation practice. Duty to an idea and its practice took first place.

I said I thought he was one of the heroes of the independent Timor-Leste.

.....

I'd like it if you could share this. Incidentally while we talked in the airport at Darwin yesterday there was an obituary in the Australian.

warm wishes

david.

Kiyo

In Memory of Andrew full version on east-timor.com

I met him for the first time in 1995 when I was hospitalized in Tokyo, Japan.

Andrew kindly accompanied Ms. Veronica Pereira/Maia and Mr. Antonio Maia to my room in the hospital. They came to Japan from Darwin to give their testimonies about the war crimes of Japanese Army which occupied Portuguese Timor during the World War II. They were invited to attend the Post War Compensation Forum which was held in Tokyo. ..cut..

If people could stand up together in Timor-Leste, Japan, Australia and Portugal, that would be able to change the situation. I wish I could work with Andrew now.

Kiyoko Furusawa
Associate Professor, Gender and Development
Keisen University, Tokyo
c/o Office for Promotion of Equality, Government of Timor-Leste

In Memory of Andrew

I met him for the first time in 1995 when I was hospitalized in Tokyo, Japan.

Andrew kindly accompanied Mrs. Veronica Pereira/Maia and Mr. Antonio Maia to my room in the hospital. They came to Japan from Darwin to give their testimonies about the war crimes of Japanese Army which occupied Portuguese Timor during the World War II. They were invited to attend the Post War Compensation Forum which was held in Tokyo.

Tropical Ulcer

At that time the ulcers in my legs were getting very bad. They caused necrosis and it was so aching that I was unable to walk. The doctors found my ulcers get expanded because of a bad circulation of blood but they couldn't find out why it gets serious when the temperature of air is high.

Mr. Masamichi Kijima, a president of Tokyo East Timor Association (a solidarity group in Tokyo founded in 1980's), who was stationed in Portuguese Timor as an accounting officer during the WWII, said that he saw a lot of Japanese soldiers were suffering from the same symptom during the occupation of Timor. Mrs. Maia said not only Japanese soldiers but also Timorese people had been suffering from that ulcer. It was a strange coincidence because at that time I was banned from entering Indonesia and also East Timor which was an unlawfully occupied 'territory of Indonesia'. Anyway Andrew told me that he would look into the disease to help us.

Now I am working in Dili as a research advisor on gender budget for the Office for Promotion of Equality in the Prime Minister's Office. I am suffering from the ulcers again here. We still need Andrew's help as a medical doctor.

Issue of War Compensation

In 1995 we couldn't interview any survivors in East Timor. Let alone to think of meeting with survivors of gender violence and of asking them to come to Japan and talk about their experiences.

In December 2000 this was made true when 'the Women's International Tribunal on Japanese Military Sexual Slavery' was held in Tokyo. For the first time in our history Ms. Marta Abu Bere and Ms. Esmeralda Boe, two old

ladies of East Timor, came to Japan and spoke out about their own experiences of sexual violence by Japanese Army and demanded the justice in front of 1000 people in Kudan Hall. Nobody had told them what to talk. It was their spontaneous action and they received a storm of applause from the audience.

In 'the Tribunal' I was coordinating a joint investigation team on Portuguese Timor. While the team in Japan was making archive research, documentation and translation of evidence, the East Timorese 'prosecutors' (now they are working as judges in Dili actually) and its team was interviewing the survivors in districts and drafting the indictment. 'The Tribunal' gave a final judgment in Hague in December 2001. Our research is still going on in spite of the political statement by Mr. Jose Ramos Horta in March 2002 saying Timor-Leste would not demand any official apology and compensation to Japan. So far we have received many testimonies from the survivors, of both male and female. Some of the testimonies were filmed, too. I wish I could share these stories with Andrew.

Now we confirmed that as far as Portuguese Timor was concerned not a single Japanese was prosecuted for the abusive acts against the local people in the B or C level tribunals under the International War Crime Tribunal of Far East. But concerning the abusive acts on the Australian and Portuguese POWs in Portuguese Timor there were some prosecutions and guilty cases. On the other hand in Dutch Timor (Western Timor/The Netherlands was a member of the allied) there were some prosecutions and guilty cases not only concerning the abusive acts on the POWs but also concerning the abusive acts against the local people. Prof. Geoffrey Gunn indicated there was a lack of cooperation in the side of Portugal ('Timor Lorosae 500 Years'). Later on the Portuguese authorities tried so called Japanese collaborators (= Timorese) as they liked. On the other hand the government of Portugal threw away the negotiation on war compensation with the government of Japan in.

Again here those who were tried were not the foreign invaders responsible for the criminal acts in East Timor but Timorese who got involved in the conflict between foreign powers. Those who were most responsible for the criminal acts were not brought to justice.

If people could stand up together in Timor-Leste, Japan, Australia and Portugal, that would be able to change the situation. I wish I could work with Andrew now.

Kiyoko Furusawa
Associate Professor, Gender and Development
Keisen University, Tokyo
c/o Office for Promotion of Equality, Government of Timor-Leste

Geoff Gunn

Returning to Nagasaki from Macau, I am saddened to learn of Andrew's passing.

The composite picture emerging from many obituary pieces suggests that Andrew's own role alongside East Timor freedom fighters in the East Timor independence struggle was considerable. The last time we met was the launching of John Martinkus' book at the Turismo together with Jefferson and Horta in front of a press pack of about 100. We missed a meeting in Macau in 1997, but connected by chance in Manatutu in August 1998.

It was very clear to me - to use a medical analogy - that Andrew had his finger on the pulse of the then surging pro-independence struggle as played out across the country by the student solidarity movement. Little of this was reported (Stephanie Coop/Martinkus were exceptions). Andrew captured the entire sequence on video.

No journalist, but a consummate networker, Andrew could also play the media. This comes through with characteristic humility in a final mail I received from him last August. I was then helping CAVR in Dili to unravel the murky past of a host of international actors involved in the making of the East Timor tragedy and I specifically requested his take on Australian domestic politics in the crucial 1998/1999 period. Apologies to non-Australians, but I think it appropriate to recycle what Andrew wished to be written into the public record.

Geoffrey Gunn, nag--@net.nagasaki-u.ac.jp
Nagasaki/Macau

Andrew's words re Australian politics 1998/9:
quote

I am convinced that Laurie Brereton (former Australian Shadow Foreign Affairs Minister) and his chief adviser Phillip Dorling played a significant role in ET getting a referendum ... How? During 1998 Brereton began taking a quite proactive position towards East Timor, highlighting the need for monitors about human rights etc. and Brereton was able to obtain good 'traction' in the Australian media ...he was being heard and finding a resonance with the Australian public. Downer was being constantly back-footed and didn't look good. I believe Brereton's position was assisting the ALP to gain on Howard's government. The historic bi-partisanship that typified Oz politics towards Indonesia and ET was fractured, for the first time in a long while.

Howard recognised what was happening (with Brereton and ALP gaining

credibility over the Timorese people's rights to Self Determination, human rights, bogus Indonesian withdrawals, Alas killings etc), and I believe that was a critical factor in his decision to send his letter to Habibie ...Howard's objective NOT being to put pressure on Indonesia to hold a referendum, but to insulate and 'firewall' the Liberal Government from Brereton's successful encroachment into their government's popularity. Thus Howard sent the letter to Habibie - that aimed to neutralise the ET issue for the foreseeable future and cut the ground out from under Brereton (because Howard could say that he had already supported autonomy with Indonesia and flagged a possible future act of self-determination ...that Howard probably thought would never happen) and Brereton would be 'neutralised' .

However, Brereton's courageous position (that had him labelled things like 'bombthrower Brereton') was also being opposed from within the Labor Party ...from old buffoons like Whitlam and good ol' Gareth Evans. I have it on good authority that Gareth considered himself the REAL shadow foreign affairs spokesman ...not Brereton (and of course Brereton was threatening all Gareth Gareth's good work). So Gareth was working to undermine Brereton within the Labor party, and was a threat to Brereton's new positioning of Labor.

Labor had adopted a new position on ET at its Hobart Conference (in January 1998, but of course adopting a position and implementing it are two different things...in this case Brereton meant business. However opposing forces (exemplified by Whitlam (old) and Evans (new)) wanted to neutralise Brereton's new approach.

In late 1998, maybe September/October Mario Carrascalao spoke in Jakarta of ongoing killings at various places in Dili after the 1991 massacre. It reopened the 'second massacre' or ongoing and systematic killings argument. Evans stupidly defended his previous position that 'on balance' the 'best evidence' suggested that it was an aberration, not systematic, that not so many were killed etc.

That created an opportunity for me to dig out my videoed interview with Bishop Belo from 1994 in which Belo had talked about ongoing killings at various locations (systematic) with a death toll he had been told of "over 400". In 1994 the media had basically not used this interview (buried it). In the meantime Belo had won Nobel Prize ...so the media was interested.

I went on the (abc radio) PM programme and was interviewed and the Belo quotes were played. (abc tv) '7.30' report then followed with a piece

featuring the Belo interview and myself interviewed. Then I put an opinion piece in the Age on similar subject (arranged by John Pilger who was following these events with interest - because, you will recall, he was maligned about the allegations of ongoing massacres in 'Death of a Nation') - on 29th November, 1998.

Evans credibility was at issue because he said (basically) that there had been no credible evidence of systematic or extensive killings. This put him at odds with the (now known and famous) Bishop Belo. I had sent the Belo interview to DFAT and Evans, and Evans actually more or less admitted seeing it ...so it put Evans at odds with Belo (then basking in his post-Nobel glory). This didn't give Evans a good look...(off the record I know that the Brereton faction was very happy because it undermined Evans who opposed them). Shortly after Evans left to join the ICG in Brussels. I'm sure he would deny this fracas triggered that decision, but I believe the further tarnishing of his image weakened him inside the Labor party at that time - and helped him decide to go.

This left the control of ALP position more or less in Brereton's hands and resulted in pressure on Downer and Howard - resulting in Howard deciding to be seen to be taking some cosmetic step. He wrote to Habibie suggesting a symbolic shift ...but mentioning the possibility of an eventual act of self determination. This may have been one of the 'last straws' and did (I believe) play a part in Habibie deciding to authorise a referendum ...

So I think Brereton's role was significant and the role of others [...] in backing and augmenting Brereton's position was important. I actually think Australia was rather significant at a few crucial junctures in Timor's passage to self determination ...it may have been very intransigent, but the shifts that eventually occurred here were quite consequential to the eventual outcome, in my opinion. unquote (of Andrew's notes to Geoff Gunn)

Judi Taylor

We were honored to be present yesterday at the wonderful celebration of Andrew's life. We have only met him a year ago when he made contact wishing to take Christian Meditation to East Timor, out of his concern for the trauma of the people and their ongoing stress. We have worked together on a feasible plan and a trip is being arranged for July. I would love to share your booklet on Andrew with others in the meditation community and wondered if you could send a copy electronically or in the post. With every good wish,

Judi Taylor, pal-@ozemail.com.au

National Secretary, Australian Christian Meditation Community

Rozamunda Waring

THE PASSING OF DR ANDREW McNAUGHTAN

Dear Andrew,

You have left us and we mourn with deep sorrow. The East Timorese mourn, for in losing you they have lost their best friend. A friend whose relentless exposure of their persecution under the depraved tyranny of Suharto's army reached the whole world.

You were unstoppable in your passionate international campaign for justice and full rights over the Timor Oil Fields on behalf of the beleaguered tiny nation of East Timor. Your articles and lectures were erudite, dynamic and accurate. You gave no quarter.

Thank you for sharing your life's work and knowledge with us with grace and generosity. You were an exceptional truth teller, who made a resounding difference - a difference history will remember. You are irreplaceable.

Fond love,
Rozamunda Waring
Australia East Timor Association

Bishop Pat Power

Dear Vacy/Brendan

Thank you for letting me know of Andrew's death. I had a nice conversation with him on 10 December at the opening of the East Timor Embassy here in Canberra. He was a most admirable person with a great heart from justice and goodness. May he rest in peace.

Pat Power

Eusebio Guterres, Democrats member of Parlt East Timor, Timor Sea expert

Dear all,

I can't realise that I won't never see huge friend of Timor. his remarkable activist, he dedicated tremendous contribution for Timor, for independence, for Timor Sea and for every person of Timor. I never hope to pray him in Santa Cruz Dili, but hope to meet him to talk about future.

Miss you all,
Eusebio Guterres

Clinton Fernandes cf-@deakin.edu.au

What a loss. I will miss his durability, dependability, intelligence and sense of moral outrage. He always supported the ongoing struggle for freedom in Indonesia, not just in East Timor. He was also a very funny guy. Even when he was ear-bashing me about his latest insights into the JFK assassination, he was a pleasure to be with.

He was bitterly disappointed that he never did get an invite for the Independence Day celebrations. He went there anyway; after all, he knew (and said) that it was the parvenus that excluded him, not the Timorese people.

Let me always feel the loss.

While Andrew was alive, I obtained his permission to include aspects of his activities in my thesis. What follows is a glimpse, not the whole story. Members of this email address group are seasoned veterans themselves, and will therefore need no introduction to the context:

<<Also in October 1998, a large number of Indonesian army personnel records were brought out of East Timor by Dr Andrew McNaughtan, a Sydney-based activist. The documents showed that Indonesia's claims of withdrawal and demilitarisation in East Timor were lies. Downer tried to

downplay the issue, saying he was 'attempting to verify the authenticity

of the documents'. He couldn't bring himself to say any more than 'if the documents are accurate, it would be a real matter of concern to us' (Daley 31 October 1998, p 5). However, the dramatic exposure of the personnel records, and the extensive details contained therein, made it clear that the Indonesian authorities were lying. They had been caught out. The documents received a lot of publicity, and led to a dramatic increase in the pressure on Habibie and the Indonesian foreign policy apparatus.

McNaughtan's role in this episode illustrates the continuum that existed

between FALINTIL in the mountains, the clandestine resistance in the towns, and activists overseas. This last group was a crucial component of the strategy to internationalise the struggle.

McNaughtan was staying at the Hotel Turismo in late August-early September 1998, during what was called Dili Spring. Jose Antonio Belo

came to the Turismo to see him. Belo had a couple of pages with him and wanted to show them to McNaughtan.

He asked, "Is this interesting to you?". McNaughtan took a look at the pages and saw what appeared to be lists of names and organisations. He studied them for a while and realised that what Belo was showing him was

an extract from the Indonesian military's Order of Battle, with detailed

information about personnel and units. Belo smiled and told McNaughtan that he had a source in ABRI's admin office. McNaughtan asked Belo for the rest of the material, assuring him that he could make good use of it. Belo pulled a computer disk out of his pocket and handed it over, telling him the rest of the material was on the disk.

When Belo left, McNaughtan tried to open the files on the disk but was unsuccessful. The software was much older than anything he had on his computer. It was an old Wordstar program. He tried to open the files at other people's computers, but none of them had the antiquated software - or perhaps the necessary skills - to do so. He remembered that John Martinkus, the Australian journalist, was staying at the Villa

Harmonia. Martinkus had an old second hand computer. McNaughtan tried to open the files on this relic of a computer, and was finally successful. Martinkus and McNaughtan saw what the files contained and immediately realised the significance of the material. It gave the lie to all the Indonesian claims of withdrawal, de-militarisation, inclusiveness and neutrality. Their more immediate realisation, of course, was that they were in the possession of material that was so damaging to ABRI's pretence that they themselves might be in danger. Alarmed, they shut the computer down and agreed to treat the issue with great discretion.

When McNaughtan left Dili, he feared being searched at the airport, because Indonesian military intelligence may have known of his meetings with Jose Antonio Belo. He had limited any possible damage, however, by

not asking Belo (and not being told) who the source was. As it turned out, he was not searched, and was able to make his way back to Sydney with the disk in his possession. Back home in Sydney, McNaughtan still had the problem of finding someone who had the old Wordstar software. After much frustration, he was able to get the files opened and printed out[1] <mhtml:mid://00000023/#_ftn1>. They amounted to approximately 200 pages of A4 paper. McNaughtan then went to Newcastle, where he spent one day and one night in intensive consultation with Dr George

Aditjondro, who helped him make sense of the documents. McNaughtan also passed the documents to East Timor activists in London, Lisbon, Washington DC, and elsewhere. The distinguished historian and Indonesia

specialist John Roosa brought his expertise to bear. The plan was to maximise publicity by holding simultaneous press conferences in different cities. However, through an intermediary, McNaughtan learned that Don Greenlees, The Australian's Jakarta-based correspondent, was about to publish the story. In order to ensure the best possible story to come forward, McNaughtan stayed up for most of the night producing an

analysis of the documents, and then provided the documents and the analysis to the ABC's AM program. He had the support of Laurie Brereton's policy adviser Dr Philip Dorling, who ensured the widest possible circulation to the Parliament House press gallery. He also spent time on the phone with the Sydney Morning Herald's Hamish McDonald. A tactical decision was taken to leave Jose Ramos-Horta out of the press conferences, so that the focus could be on the news story itself, and not on the Nobel laureate.

Jonathan Head, the BBC's Jakarta correspondent, gave the documents maximum publicity in Indonesia, and his reports were repeated and cited in stories around the world. The consequence was a dramatic increase in

the pressure on Habibie and the Indonesian foreign policy apparatus. It

was yet another source of frustration for Habibie, and an important reason for his subsequent decision to offer a referendum on autonomy or independence. Jonathan Head was later singled out for punishment. On 1st September 1999, militiamen invaded neighbourhoods surrounding the UN

headquarters on the southern perimeter of Dili, firing indiscriminately at independence supporters, hacking one apart with machetes. Head was identified and chased. He was kicked in the head and then bashed with a

rifle butt, causing a hairline fracture in his arm[2]

<mhtml:mid://00000023/#_ftn2>.

The coda to this story is that the source inside ABRI's admin office, Manuel Martires, left East Timor with the help of a false passport that had been procured for him by Australian activists. He settled down in Portugal.

The McNaughtan documents showed that:

- The number of combat troops had increased, and was nearly 40% of the total.
- Hansip (civil defence) or Pertahanan Sipil units, were not organic to ABRI but to the Department of Home Affairs.
- The militias were under the direct command of ABRI.
- Military personnel occupied all the key civilian positions.
- There was a marked increase in penugasan troops>>

FORWARD TO SEPTEMBER 1999

<<A refugee camp was established in the Darwin suburb of Karama. Known as Karama Refugee Camp, it sheltered East Timorese refugees, mostly those who had taken refuge in the UN compound in Dili and had been evacuated along with the international observers. At this time, there was no plan to send in a peacekeeping force. The plan was to evacuate international observers and selected East Timorese, so the slaughter and

ethnic cleansing could occur without witnesses. At the time, members of the international media had also been evacuated, and were mostly located

in Darwin. They had an immediate need to interview the Karama-based East

Timorese refugees, whose stories were intensely newsworthy. Australian supporters of East Timor were also keenly interested in ensuring that the public heard the refugees' stories, because that would increase the pressure to send in a peacekeeping force. The government, however, had the opposite intention; it wanted to contain the pressure to send troops

in, because the plan was to evacuate Westerners and selected East Timorese while the Indonesians imposed a Carthaginian Solution. The government therefore moved to ensure that the refugees were kept isolated from the media and other interested persons. The gates to Karama Refugee Camp were guarded by members of the Northern Territory Police, who were very hostile to people who wanted to meet the refugees.

Andrew McNaughtan, the Sydney-based medical doctor who was now in Darwin, was refused permission to enter, but heard his name being called

out from behind the wire. He moved towards the wire and saw that it was an East Timorese refugee named Sebastian Guterres, who had previously worked as an interpreter for the Australian journalist Mark Davis, and for UN official David Wimhurst. Guterres looked terribly distraught. He said that while he was being evacuated to Australia, his family had been

murdered[3] <mhtml:mid://00000023/#_ftn3>. He tried talking to the medical doctor, whom he knew quite well. The guards at the camp shouted at McNaughtan to get back from the wire. McNaughtan tried to explain that he knew Guterres quite well, and Guterres also made it clear that he was seeking out McNaughtan in conversation; the guards did not relent, ordering McNaughtan to back away from the fence and stop talking

to Guterres. At that point, a car pulled up. Laka Bernardino, who was an

Australian citizen and a prominent member of Darwin's East Timorese community, got out of the car. She had a badge identifying her as an approved visitor. McNaughtan explained the situation to Bernardino, who also asked the guards to let him in. The guards refused, saying that McNaughtan would need approval. When he was eventually allowed in, McNaughtan saw the East Timorese refugees milling around the camp looking wan, frail and shocked. Some of them came up to him and began telling him what they had been through. They wanted to get the message out to as many Australians as possible, but were prevented from talking to journalists. McNaughtan tried to reason with the guards once again, only to be informed that what the refugees really needed was 'three square meals a day and a good sleep, that's the best thing for them. Talking about it will upset them'. A senior guard was tasked to follow McNaughtan around and prevent the Timorese from telling him their stories. One of the guards informed McNaughtan that they had orders to keep the media and public out, confirming his observation that the Timorese, although given food and shelter, were in fact being deliberately isolated from the broader Australian community.

This was of course in sharp contrast to the way the government's publicity machine cranked up to publicise the Kosovar refugees' situation. Media were let in, the Kosovars were provided with logistical

and other assets to go on excursions, and there was a deliberate attempt

to let the Australian public know about their stories. >>

[1] Precisely how cannot be revealed at this stage.

[2] Don Greenlees, "Reporters in the line of fire", The Australian, 16 September 1999, p 1.

[3] It later turned out that he had been misinformed due to the confusion of the evacuation.

* Wes: I hate the authorities over their exclusion from that camp of those who had fought hardest for those inside. The exclusion was done with manic enthusiasm.

I was denied access too, as you would expect, even though I was being asked for. I tried through the system, but also knew some who were allowed in so that was some comfort.

Later the Minister who removed my public service job, Mike Reed, took Xanana inside, and later boasted this was a highlight of his life, but again people like me were excluded.

Bastard CLP govt and bastard cops (amongst the cops)!! Wes

Rob - I just wanted to thank you for putting out all this information about Andrew's life and contributions to Timor and social justice generally. Andrew stayed at my house for about a month back in late spring/early summer 2000, when he was working on his friend Joe's case.

I always remember with a smile how he dealt with the litter box of 2 large cats my housemate was watching. The litter box really stank, and Andrew cleaned it on several occasions; he always referred to it as the "shit box," which always made me laugh. Again, thank you very much,
Karen

Dear Rob:

It is with great sadness that I write you. I can only imagine the profound personal and political loss that Andrew's untimely death that you and your comrades in the Australian East Timor solidarity movement must feel.

I had the pleasure of meeting Andrew on numerous occasions. His dogged determination and creative activism were certainly inspiring. He was a loose cannon at times, but that undoubtedly was in large part why he was able to accomplish so much. As he showed, a movement like ours often needs daring free agents. At the same time, I always found him to be more than willing to work cooperatively and constructively with others. Andrew gave real meaning to the term "international solidarity."

I visited Andrew at his home in Sydney in May 2000 en route to East Timor to help establish La'o Hamutuk. As always, Andrew had many helpful ideas, sharp insights, along with some good jokes. Unfortunately, I think that was the last time I saw him,

although we did exchange emails occasionally.

Like Andrew, I came to East Timor activism after living in Nicaragua in the 1980s and experiencing first-hand the joys and shortcomings of the Sandinista revolution, and the tragic human costs of American imperialism. In that regard, we shared much.

Like you and your colleagues, I will miss Andrew. He lives on in all the extraordinary work he has done, and the inspiring example he leaves behind. May we live up to his high expectations for us all.

Peace and solidarity,
Joe Nevins

The Age (Melbourne) Friday, January 2, 2004

Righting East Timor's 'Unrightable Wrong'

By John Martinkus

Obituary - DR ANDREW IAN, McNAUGHTAN, CAMPAIGNER FOR EAST
TIMORESE
INDEPENDENCE, 21-2-1953 - 22-12-2003

Dr Andrew McNaughtan, who has died in Sydney, was an outstanding human rights activist who devoted himself to changing the situation in East Timor throughout the 1990s and to improve the lives of ordinary East Timorese living under the Indonesians.

Many years before it was politically acceptable to mainstream Australia to be involved with the East Timorese issue, Andrew worked with the Timorese community in Australia and visited East Timor to try to focus attention on the issue. He was deported several times by the Indonesian authorities.

Andrew's experiences in the mid-'90s in East Timor only strengthened his resolve to reverse what he saw as a great historical wrong being perpetrated by Indonesia and ignored by Australia.

Andrew McNaughtan was born in 1953 in Sydney, the only son of June Gram, a dedicated environmentalist who helped save bushland in Mosman. Andrew went to Sydney Grammar. After training as a welder and racing cross-country motorcycles he enrolled at the University of NSW.

He recalled that in 1975 he heard Gough Whitlam talking about East Timor, sparking his interest. After graduating in medicine in 1983 he spent a year

as a volunteer doctor in Nicaragua.

Hearing news of the Dili massacre in November 1991, Andrew moved to the Northern Territory, working at the Katherine hospital. He began to be involved with the East Timorese community and campaign based in Darwin. In 1995 he returned to Sydney to care for his mother who, on her death, left Andrew the family home in Mosman, which he often made available to those involved in the East Timor campaign.

When Indonesian president Soeharto fell in May 1998, Andrew returned to Dili for several months despite having been deported before. It was an exciting time with the East Timorese testing the limits of their freedom of speech, and a dangerous place, preceding the bloody militia campaign of 1999. Impervious to the threatening atmosphere, Andrew filmed the demonstrations, gave medical aid and collected evidence of the Indonesian military's attempts to re-impose their will on East Timor.

In September 1998 Andrew got hold of the pay records of the Indonesian military in East Timor that proved that they were lying about having withdrawn personnel from East Timor.

I remember opening the document on my laptop in Dili. I was nervous about being caught with such sensitive information, but Andrew carried the document out and publicised the contents. It was a significant story. The revelations added substantially to the momentum that finally forced the Indonesians to accept a referendum.

For most of 1999 Andrew was in and out of East Timor. He facilitated the flow of donated funds to the people who really needed them in Dili, often by taking them there himself, or giving from his own pocket. He campaigned continuously, writing, interviewing and collecting evidence of the violence of the militia crackdown.

Just before the referendum, Andrew was arrested by the Indonesians in Suai, on the south coast. It was an extremely violent part of East Timor, where most foreigners would not go. He sought to assist those who would later be killed by the militia after the UN pulled out.

I interviewed him for AAP when he was held in Dili by the police. As always, Andrew laughed at the situation, saying he felt safer inside the police station, before launching into a detailed assessment of the situation in the south. Typically, there was no thought for his own safety or comfort. The information was important, not minor problems such as being accused of espionage and being thrown in jail.

When the InterFET force finally arrived, Andrew was straight back in Timor

delivering food and medical care to risky areas where Australian troops did not go. In the central towns of Ainaro and Aileu, he directed Timor aid shipments to the population that was often too fearful to venture into towns even where the Indonesians had withdrawn.

It was on one of these trips that Andrew visited the site of the massacre at the church in Suai. He left a record of his impressions with ABC journalist Di Martin and it may be the clearest assessment of events at the church where Andrew's friend Father Hilario Madeira was killed in front of his people before they too were killed.

Andrew kept working on Timor after independence: campaigning for a fair deal for the Timorese in the Timor Gap; lobbying for the Indonesian military officers who directed the slaughter he witnessed in 1999 to face an International Tribunal. He argued that the Indonesians would not punish their own people and the international community must be responsible.

In a nation such as Australia, where most heroes are sporting legends or servants of the state, Dr Andrew McNaughtan exemplified the qualities of self-sacrifice, integrity and courage to which we should aspire. He fought selflessly for what he believed to be right; he knew a great wrong was taking place and he couldn't just sit back and let it happen.

He is survived by two first cousins, Donald McNaughtan and Nigel Stewart, who both live in Sydney.

A memorial service is being held today at the Mary MacKillop Chapel in North Sydney at 1pm, attended by East Timor's Foreign Minister and Nobel laureate Jose Ramos Horta.

John Martinkus is a journalist and author who covered East Timor from 1997 until 2000 for Fairfax, AAP and The Bulletin.

Dear Rui,

Having just read your note I feel you have touched on an issue that is felt very deeply by all those Australian's that gave up so much of their time and energy in a passionate effort to help our East Timorese neighbours who were suffering under the most extreme form of oppression and suffering.

This motivation was of course compounded by a deep sense of shame at our government's hypocrisy and misguided sense of "hard-headed realism", leading to the cold-blooded sacrifice of the people of East Timor on the alter of "good relations" with the corrupt Soeharto regime.

Andrew McNaughtan is a supreme example of what we are talking here, as all the tributes testify.

It is so sad that it has taken his death for some people in East Timor to realise and acknowledge the enormous contribution and sacrifice he has made to help their cause, which became his cause. In fairness though, maybe they were simply not aware of all his actions, efforts, and risks taken.

Now by reviewing all the correspondence and movements of Andrew since the United Nations took over in East Timor, I have come to the conclusion (in hindsight) that from around 2000 Andrew was becoming increasingly marginalised by all sections of power in Dili. It was a silly and tragic waste of knowledge and resources. For example, he would have made a very good media liaison officer or political representative in Australia, reporting directly to the ET leadership. But it was not to be.

I think in some people's written tributes to Andrew, this subtle marginalisation is alluded to, in various ways, although people do not want to say any negative things at such emotional times. It is best to remember all the positive and happy things. For this reason in my personal tribute, I decided not to include any memories beyond 2000, when Andrew worked just as hard for Timor as he has always done, but with international UN officials really in control in Dili, blocking his access and effectiveness, and blocking any recognition or acknowledgement of his past work. Probably these officials took their positions in Dili without any knowledge of the struggle's intimate details, and without ever having heard of Andrew McNaughtan. I'm not sure how much power the true East Timorese leaders actually had to choose their own advisors at that time. Maybe they were kind of puppets of the international bureaucracy installed in Dili. Andrew was unfortunately tagged with the "activist" label, that probably cuts right against the culture of UN career officials etc. and perhaps anybody, once they have secured political power.

Maybe when the dust settles there will be more writings and revelations on the more recent history of the struggle, and people who know more than I will have some things to say...

But today we are attending Andrew's farewell with a huge sense of loss and sadness.

With best wishes,

-- Geoff

Geoffrey A. McKee

Dec 29, 2004

--

Andrew's untimely death is a loss for all of us who knew him and worked with him. It is also a loss for the people of East Timor to whose struggle he dedicated his life for many years. Rob Wesley-Smith, thanks for putting me in touch with Andrew back in December 1997. And it was you who 'phoned me on Saturday December 27th 2003 with news that hit like a freight train, closing the short 6-year chapter in which I knew Andrew as a friend and occasional confidante. I think you have already expressed eloquently how many of us must feel, but I would like to add my 2 cents worth here. Vacy Vlazna, Helen Hill and Jeffersen Lee have also added some personal words that have been so succinct and sensitive in expressing our loss at this time when we begin to realise he is no longer around and we must all get suddenly accustomed to the change.

Wes, as a result of your introduction, Andrew invited me in December 1997 for a meeting at his home to discuss Timor, and in particular what action could be taken to politicise the Timor Gap Treaty. We talked into the night, both having the same loathing for the Treaty and the same desire to remove its stain from Australian history, the ultimate goal being independence for East Timor. As soon as I met Andrew face to face, I recognised him as that quietly spoken and articulate man, wearing a sports coat and tie, that I heard speaking in public 18 months earlier. It was at a conference on East Timor at UTS in Sydney in mid-1996. He had the photographic exhibition that you mentioned, and he was talking about the history of the independence struggle inside East Timor. I discovered that in private he could vent his emotions and feelings like any of us, but when speaking in public he had the gift of diplomacy and controlled speech.

Andrew has often been pigeon-holed as a 'political activist' but this description I feel is a little trite and does not really tell the whole story (like all labels). I saw him as a unique person who was born with an inflexible sense of justice that would dictate his response once he became aware of an unacceptable reality that he could actually do something about. This view is reinforced in his super-human assistance to his friend and refugee American lawyer and politician Joe Gerston. This I believe had nothing to do with political activism but a lot to do with a sense of loyalty and a heightened sense of personal responsibility to help a friend who was in dire straights. Maybe his mother was aware of this special trait, as I remember him telling me at

that first meeting that she did not want to see him leave Australia again after he had returned from Nicaragua, and suggested he fight his battles closer to home. Why not learn about East Timor at our doorstep, she suggested. So Andrew did just that, and moved to Darwin, as you describe Wes, and the rest of course is history.

Others have spoken about this trait, using various descriptions and noting their responses ("sometimes not always totally easy to get on with" etc). His persistence though never frustrated me. To some it might have been interpreted as a little rude or annoying, but I knew in my heart that this is the way Andrew was wired up, and without these special traits he would not be Andrew, but somebody else. Once he locked his radar on to a line of inquiry, he would not "let up" until he had extracted all the information and every ounce of nuance he required. When he sometimes 'phoned for such a purpose (normally at the most inconvenient time) and I did not understand myself the nuances he was after, it meant a very long telephone call with both of us trying to understand what the other was driving at. And I was simply not permitted to get off the phone, even if the dinner was getting cold and the family pestering me come to the table!

The last time I saw Andrew was in June this year, when we met in town and then walked down to have a talk with John Imle, the retired American oil company president who was visiting Sydney and had some interesting ideas about the future development of the Sunrise gas field in the Timor Sea. My main focal point with Andrew was with his obsessive interest in the strategies behind the Timor Sea petroleum negotiations. He had many other interests and obsessions, but this was the one that brought us together. Before walking down to the harbour, we had a cup of coffee and a little venting about the Iraq war. Andrew of all people had special insight into the dissembling and disinformation as practiced by the Australian government over the years 1975 - 1998, in it's selling East Timor as Indonesia's "27th Province". It was therefore fascinating to listen to Andrew's colourful language in expressing his views on the same syndrome at work by our government in selling another invasion, this time Iraq. [Journalist Geoffrey Barker's description of this syndrome is apt, calling it "driven by a narrow conception of pragmatic realism and national interest, and characterised by diplomatic and political tendencies to appeasement, duplicity and hypocrisy"].

Andrew was on my mind as Christmas approached, and I 'phoned him on Christmas eve. The phone kept ringing, and ringing. I was expecting his normal voicemail message enabling me to at least leave a Christmas greeting. But it was not to be, and it is now too late to talk.

I spent Sunday going through Andrew's public and private writings

spanning the 6 year period that I knew him. I do not have the ability so summarise all his achievements in a short space. I also do not have the ability to write anything succinct in this posting. There is a lot of behind-the-scenes work that Andrew carried out in relation to the politics of the Timor Gap Treaty (in Vacy's words, his "secret wheelings and dealings"). Andrew's motivation I feel was aimed at shaping the Australian public's perceptions on the Timor Gap Treaty during the critical period 1998-2000 when the negotiation positions were still "fluid". This was the period when the political agenda over the future of the terminally-ill Timor Gap Treaty was being set, both in Canberra and within the East Timorese resistance and solidarity supporters.

I would like to mention here just three examples of how Andrew brought together his extensive networking skills, media relationships, and personal mobility into the service of this goal to influence public opinion. Behind opinion-bending media headlines that most accept at face value, there was a lot of hard work done by Andrew, always at his own expense.

In July 1998 the CNRT issued a media release to coincide with the first production of oil under the (illegal) Timor Gap Treaty. The timing of this media release, its forcefulness and clarity took the Australian government by surprise, and they realised that the East Timorese resistance had their facts and language right, signalling that they had done their homework and were not going to be an easy "push-over" on this issue. Further, the media release had the desired effect of minimising government and oil company fears about a total unravelling of the treaty, thereby allaying paranoia about independence. Newspapers had headings such as "Hold oil money, say Timor rebels". I can say that it was Andrew who conceived the idea of a policy research committee (together with activist Neill Sullivan in Perth) to assist resistance leaders J.R. Horta and Xanana Gusmao on this issue, when these leaders had so much more pressing matters on their minds, and such limited time and resources.

It was Andrew who organised the people and resources, and scheduled the committee meetings in his home, all aimed at paving the way for a change in public and government perceptions about the Timor Gap Treaty. I remember during one of these meetings, how pleased Andrew was to receive a note from Xanana Gusmao, hand written from Cipinang Prison in Jakarta. Andrew let me take a copy, and I have decided now is an appropriate time to publish it, for two reasons. Firstly, it will illustrate that Andrew was always acting with the tacit support and trust of the most senior East Timorese resistance leaders.

Secondly, it leads me to wonder how many more important historical

documents like this are contained within the walls of his house at the time of his death:-

Cipinang

10 March 1998

Dear Dr. Andrew,

Warm greetings! and.....welcome to the Suharto's kingdom! Thanks for your letter and specially for the amount, which will help me very much in this 'krismon'...I'm fine now and I thank you very much for all attention given to my health problem. Kirsty told me every advices from you. Yes, I have received the report of ETISC's activities from our great friend Juan. I understand what you have explained about the new possibility to put the Timor Gap issue in the Australian Court. I agree with this suggestion and I hope we can do something to impede the free exploitation of our oil and gas. I do really support the idea.

I'm waiting for more ideas and news from you.

<name unclear> told me about the photo. I'm sending you some ones....

A luta continua!

Yours,

Xanana

--

Five months later there were sensational and perception-changing headlines in the Sydney Morning Herald, with a scoop by David Jenkins. "BHP talks to jailed guerrilla leader" the headlines screamed (Herald, Aug 20, 1998). The Australian government was taken by surprise. The Indonesian government was angry that this was done without their knowledge or consent. There were reportedly heated exchanges between Foreign Minister Downer and his counterpart in Jakarta, Ali Alatas. BHP issued denials that the talks were in any way "official" but nobody believed them. The Labor Party also took note, accelerating enquiries on the issue, believing that BHP must know something about the likelihood of independence that nobody else knew. The headlines created a feeling of Xanana's legitimacy as leader-in-waiting. That this status was recognised by Australia's largest company reinforced Xanana's status and increased the pressure on the Indonesian government to release him from jail. The creation of these headlines was made possible by Andrew flying to Dili and having an "accidental" meeting with the BHP manager who it was known would be there for a signing ceremony between BHP Petroleum, the then operator of disputed Bayu-Undan gas field in the Timor Sea, and the puppet governor of the territory, Abilio Soares, re some charity PR deal. The meeting went ahead without complications and Andrew was able to use his considerable skills to brief the manager on the desirability and respectability of meeting Xanana. Simultaneously, in Jakarta, another agent of the resistance was busy bribing prison guards to facilitate a meeting between Xanana and an "unauthorised" friend. When the BHP manager returned to Jakarta the meeting went ahead

without the need for much persuasion and without a hitch. The success of this operation was largely due to Andrew's abilities and motivation.

I would like to take the opportunity now to quote in full a couple of paragraphs from Lansell Taudevin's book, "East Timor: Too Little Too Late". These paragraphs are a tribute written for Andrew, so it is a fitting time to repeat them here (with the author's permission). On the above trip Andrew travelled with Lansell into the mountains and was involved in other "secret wheelings and dealings" it seems.

AS Lansell recalls: "In August 1998 details of the military strength in East Timor, including its elaborate network of paramilitary groups, were leaked. Activist Andrew McNaughtan, on one of his frequent trips to Dili, had managed to access the personnel files of ABRI. Andrew had worked tirelessly for East Timor. Maligned my many, his non-stop information campaign now shows that he was one of the few that had it right. I recall being accused by (Australian) embassy staff in Jakarta of having him as a friend. I was cautioned to stay away from him as he was at best a ratbag and at worst ill-informed. I begged to differ. Interestingly, when the embassy staff came to Dili in August I arranged for them to meet Andrew. After the meeting, a surprised diplomat commented, 'He is not that bad after all' I suspect that one reason he was constantly ignored by the establishment was that they knew deep in their hearts that he was correct, and his views challenged their own fragile positions. Certainly, Andrew was not loathe to express his opinions often and at length, such was his obsession with the plight of the East Timorese. When the reckoning is finalised, his role and contribution in enlightening the world to the realities of East Timor will be amongst the most significant"

As the final example of Andrew's media-savvy influence and contacts, we fast forward to April 2000, which was at the beginning of the Timor Sea negotiating process under the auspices of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor. Sydneysiders woke up to front-page and thick headlines announcing "Timor set for oil windfall" (Sydney Morning Herald, April 13, 2000). In a story presented as a "scoop" the legal strength of East Timor's maritime entitlements was announced and readers directed to a 300-word opinion piece masterfully crafted by Andrew, headlined "New nation has opportunity for gains in the Gap". Such was Andrew's influence.

It is my belief that that the Australian government's capitulation from 50% to 90% - in East Timor's favour - over revenue-sharing in the Timor Gap was largely due to the pressure of public opinion manufactured in Australia, with Andrew playing a most significant role.

Therefore I concur strongly with Vacy Vlazna and Helen Hill's feelings and hope that Andrew McNaughtan be suitably remembered in Timor Leste for what he has given to the nation with his life.

Goodbye Andrew.

-- Geoffrey McKee

(Friend)
GAM

Very sad indeed, Wes.

I spoke to Andy just a few days ago - always ready to discuss some item of interest. Now he is dead it is a conversation cut off in mid-stream.

It is a huge loss.

Peter [Cronau]

Constancio Pinto

I was speechless when I read the tragic news of the death of our beloved friend Dr. Andrew McNaughtan at his house in Sydney. I first met Dr. Andrew in Sydney in 1994 and later, in the United States, again in Sydney and East Timor. Dr. Andrew's dedication and determination to fight alongside East Timorese to achieve freedom and independence for East Timor was unforgettable .

Andrew, we miss you but your name and your work for Peace and Justice in East Timor will be remembered forever.

Constancio Pinto
Dec.27, 2003

Helder da Costa

This is indeed tragic news for friends and activists of Timor-Leste.

Andrew was a charming, caring and dedicated man as described so well by Rob Wesley Smith.

Among his contributions on the struggle of Timor-Leste, back in November 1996 in Kuala Lumpur during the occasion of major disruption of APCET conference by UMNO, Andrew was the only person who fortunately had a cell phone - he was able to communicate with the outside world (from the hotel corridor) regarding the status of 75 international detainees at the Kuala Lumpur international airport hotel. It was a dramatic moment for the international participants, and eventually all the participants were deported to their own countries of origin by Malaysian authorities.

Andrew will definitely be missed by his friends and colleagues. Rest Peacefully in Heaven.

Helder

Akihisa Matsuno

In memory of Andrew McNaughtan

It was the first news I read today when I opened my computer returning from a five-day trip. I was shocked and actually shouted when I read the news. I couldn't accept the fact for a while. So sad.

He visited Japan only once but is well known among Timor activists in this country. He came with Mr. Antonio Maia and his wife Mrs Veronica Maia to attend the Post War Compensation Forum in Tokyo in August 1995, a citizens' movement to demand compensation for WW II victims. The photo exhibit on the wartime Timor he brought with him was of great value. He was a most important source for solidarity groups worldwide, particularly on human rights abuses in East Timor. He always tried to get evidence, pictures and films, and he generously gave us copies of photos and images of East Timor that he had collected. I was just thinking of contacting him about some of his materials.

I met him several times abroad and in East Timor. We always chatted but had little time to talk really after the referendum. Time to rest never came to Timor activists after the "resolution" of the conflict, and perhaps that situation was one reason why he passed away so early. It came suddenly when he was taking a rest on the Christmas Eve

He will be remembered forever.

Akihisa Matsuno

Free East Timor Japan Coalition

Dr Helen Hill

On Human Rights day this year, only three weeks ago, a group of us from the Australia-East Timor Associations in Melbourne and Sydney were in Canberra for the opening of the Embassy of Timor-Leste. Andrew McNaughtan had phoned me the previous week to discuss whether or not he should go, I pointed out that there would be a whole day of activities, the Embassy opening, the National Press Club lunch and the Dinner at Canberra Institute of Technology and it would be a good opportunity for us all to get together with the Timorese students and others to discuss our future work in support of Timor-Leste, besides, it's a lot closer than going to Dili to find out what is happening in Timor. He agreed that a great

deal could be achieved in a short time, so he drove down in his car.

December 10th in Canberra was a great day for the Timorese and their long-term supporters in Australia, some of whom, including Andrew, had been feeling a bit marginalized in the rush by everybody else to make it look as if they had always supported Timorese self-determination. Sadly I didn't get to sit at his table on either occasion due to seating shermozzles but he did drive me, John Sinnott and Jean McLean (from AETA Victoria) around Canberra a bit and we discussed his book on the Joe Gerston saga among other things.

I was interested to read Helder's comments on the Kuala Lumpur APCET conference in 1996 because I saw Andrew in Manila just afterwards at the People's Forum on APEC, a number of the delegates had come there to protest against the cancellation of Jose Ramos Horta's visa by the Ramos government.

Andrew did a great deal during those years 'in the wilderness' for East Timor to convince people that the struggle could be won.

The phone call from Lansell yesterday telling me of Andrew's death left me speechless. When I last saw Andrew he seemed fit and keen to get going, particularly with the campaign on Timor's permanent seabed boundaries which he had spent a great deal of time explaining to a Radio Australia journalist at the Press Club. He seemed very impressed by Horta's responses on the Timor Sea at the Press Club and of the work of the Timor Sea Office. He and his AETA (NSW) colleagues had been somewhat critical of the Timor-Leste government's line at the time of the Timor Sea Treaty, leading to the comments in Quinton Temby's New Internationalist article that relations between the government and Australian solidarity activists were not good. If it was true then, I don't think it is now.

Vacy's statement 'Strange how death clarifies the vastness of his spirit' is very apt. Andy could be a most infuriating person to work with, but now he's gone what we remember is his tremendous dedication, his fearlessness and his sharp mind. He is one of those people whose whole life was transformed by their Timor advocacy work, there are others, fortunately most still with us, but they need to look after themselves.

Like Vacy I hope he will be suitably remembered in Timor-Leste.

Helen

+++++

Dr Helen M. Hill
(Chairperson Australia-East Timor Association - Victoria)

Matt Coffey, Darwin

'Vale' Andrew Mc Naughtan

If ever there was an Australian 'medicins sans frontier', in the one person, he was it!

Whilst Australia was 'low-class' and 'thinking' about the resource frontier and how much gas, oil and minerals; Andrew was 'out there' surveying the 'human rights' frontier. (His survey pegs will ever be remembered).

They came, saw and conquered, whereas Andrew realised, assisted and cooperated in the true fashion of a 'mate' giving someone down on their luck "a fair go".

I agree that Andrew should be remembered, in both DRTL & Aus' with a memorial of his contribution to humanity, and our region!

'Vale' Andrew, You pushed the perimeter of our hearts!!!

Matt Coffey, Darwin

Aurelio Guterres

On behalf of former East Timor University students
UNTIM I would like to express our sadness on the death of one of our true friends Andrew McNaughtan. I still remember when he came to UNTIM in 1998, in a very difficult situation to compile a documentary film programme on East Timor. He was a great person and had great concern on human rights issues and democracy. We former East Timor University -UNTIM always remember Andrew McNaughtan's work on East Timor.

RESQUEM IN PACEM

Aurelio Guterres
Staff Lecturer
East Timor National University
Timor-Leste

Warren Snowdon -
Rob,

I was greatly distressed and saddened at the sad news of Andrew's passing. He was a person for whom I had a great deal of respect and admiration. As you rightly point out in your note he was truly a warrior for the East Timorese cause. He was insightful, charming, intelligent, knowledgeable, creative and politically astute. I enjoyed our frequent interactions over many years, he was one among a small number who kept the flame alight and kept us all accountable.

Wes, I would be grateful if you could keep me informed of what arrangements are being made to commemorate his passing and celebrate his life.

Warren Snowdon -
[MHR and longstanding federal Parliamentary supporter for East Timor, Darwin]

Apologies - from Warren Snowdon

Could you please pass on my regrets and apologies for not being able to attend the service for Andrew in Sydney. If it is appropriate I would like the following message conveyed.

I knew Andrew over many years as a passionate and tireless advocate of human rights, most particularly in East Timor. He was for most of that time " a keeper of the faith" an emissary, advocate and worker who made a great many personal sacrifices and took enormous risks for the cause. He was among a small number of non Timorese Australians who kept us accountable and concentrated on the quest for justice and liberation for East Timor , when it was not fashionable to do so.

Andrew was an insightful critic and an intelligent and politically astute motivator and advocate. He was a person for whom I had the highest respect and admiration. He was blessed with humour and great patience and I enjoyed immensely our many interactions and was for ever in awe of his dedication and commitment to the struggle.

He inspired me and I am sure many others.

And with the liberation of Timor Leste he knew that there was now a new struggle to be won, to develop this new democracy and to insure that its people got a fair shake.

He will be greatly missed. But his untimely passing puts us all on notice. We should celebrate Andrew's life and its many achievements and use it as an example of why it is important to keep alight the fires of

justice and human rights.

Warren Snowdon

Member for Lingiari

[MHR in Australian Parliament and long term East Timor supporter]

from Victoria

Dearest Vacy and dear Rob,

Thank you, thank you, for sending me Rob's very thoughtful valediction on Andrew's totally untimely death. It was good to find out more details on Andrew's personal background, his roots (something we never talked about, though I have known him since 93) and circumstances of death.

Most of all I am grateful that there are always companeros out there, who won't forget those conscientious objectors, when they suddenly go - people like Herb Faith - the small warriors who stood their ground over important issues and didn't let the big fish get away without a fight.

Thank you Rob, for your encouraging words and for remembering. Men like Andrew are my 'heros', as uncomfortable as their company can sometimes be.

I am always grateful that I have met them and that they 'belong' to my circle of friends and have added to my perspective on life.

The first time I met Andrew was in July 1993, in the vicinity of the Cathedral in Dili, where he was hanging out with his camera - of course - for the appearance of a student demo. In the climate of the times, we eyed each other suspiciously, not knowing where we came from and on whose side each of us was. Until then, I had never heard of him, and after some time talking to each other I remember how glad I felt that there were others, too, venturing out into the thick of Dili and the evil of Indonesian-Timorese politics trying to disprove the Indonesian version that all was well in Timor-Timur.

He tried to persuade me to walk with him and the student demonstrators through the streets of Dili, but my own good sense of reality prevailed (I was living in Indonesia at the time) as well as the sudden appearance of Armindo Maia, the then Rector of UNTIM, who 'rescued' me from this fantasy by whisking me away in his Kijang van. And as a 'Darwinist' myself, I soon after started making contact with the other activists and East Timor supporters in Darwin meeting in Andrew's house in Ludmilla, whenever I managed to come out of Kupang in Timor West, enjoying many lively debates with him and the others about what needed to be done in terms of a just resolution.

Vacy, I am so sorry that he is no more. It is really completely incomprehensible how quickly someone's life can be over, don't you think?

Victoria

Ceu Federer President, Timor Aid

Dear Wes, THANKS!

I'm mourning Andy's death deeply. Besides East Timor Andy was a dear personal friend of my family. Tears flow freely when I remember how my daughter Grace greeted him every time he came home. "Andy, Andy piggy back please" to which Andy was glad to abide. Grace jumped on his back and both made a few circles in the garden with the dog chasing them behind. Jude and I have been comforting one other talking about Andrew amid tears and laughter. Last night Angelica remembered how he danced, Jude stood up and demonstrated how she remembered him dancing with East Timorese kids in Dili streets on the occasion of Independence festivities.

I would like to add that Andy worked as Information Officer for EAST TIMOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT CENTRE - ETISC- in Darwin for two years. For 18 months

leading up to Referendum, Andy donated \$1,000 to FALINTIL every month. That amount was 80% of his monthly salary. During that time Andrew travelled to Jakarta a few times to liaise with Indonesian solidarity groups for East Timor and also to do research on Human Rights abuse by the Suharto regime to the Indonesian people. Andrew also made a great contribution to Max Stahl's Film "Sometimes I Must Speak out Strongly" in 1996 for the occasion of NOBEL PEACE PRIZE ceremony in OSLO. Max used many footages taken by Andrew during his trip to Timor in 1994 because the Indonesians were after Max's head since the release of "Cold Blood."

We are organising a memorial service for Andrew tomorrow afternoon 16:30pm at Santa Cruz and then we'll head to Vila Harmonia to celebrate Andrew's life. We have been ringing people who know Andrew to join us at the memorial service tomorrow.

Please keep us informed about the day of his funeral and other matters related to it. Keep well and take care
Ceu

PS: How can we wish one another Happy New Year without Andrew?!
REAST IN PEACE ANDY! St. Peter is the lucky guy as he got himself the best company to keep him entertained in Heaven.

We are organising a memorial service for Andrew tomorrow afternoon 16:30pm at Santa Cruz and then we'll head to Vila Harmonia to celebrate Andrew's life. We have been ringing people who know Andrew to join us at the memorial service tomorrow. Ceu

from tomorrow's STL newspaper, Dili [no doubt with help from Ceu and Jude]
Obituary for Andrew McNaughtan 1953 - 2003

Sad news was received in Dili on 27th December that our dear friend and long-time activist for East Timor, Dr Andrew McNaughtan had died suddenly in his home in Sydney before Christmas.

Andrew began to lobby passionately for the self-determination of East Timor in 1993. From then on until independence he devoted most of his waking hours to collecting and disseminating information about human rights violations in East Timor through email, letters, newspapers, radio, television, meetings, enquiries and film. 'Journalists respected his investigative skills and trusted his information.' He was proud to be praised by Noam Chomsky for his analysis of the struggle.

That year he made his first trip here and moved to Darwin where he joined the activist group Australians for a Free East Timor (AFFET). In 1994 Andrew spent two weeks in East Timor when he interviewed and filmed Bishop Belo who confirmed that there was a second massacre after the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991 when hundreds of the wounded were killed. This footage was used in Max Stahl's documentary about the Bishop Sometimes I must Speak out Strongly which would also be a good epitaph for Andrew. During the 1994 trip Andrew also filmed a man who had been injured in the Dili massacre then tortured and interviewed students who had participated in university riots which occurred during his visit. He received a lot of press from this visit including an interview with Amy Goodman for her US radio station.

In 1995 alongside a conference on East Timor and West Papua held in Darwin Andrew organised a brilliant exhibition of photos from the War Memorial of Australian soldiers in East Timor in World War II and also testimonials from some Darwin Timorese who had assisted the Australian army at that time. Andrew had spent many hours interviewing these Timorese and he later accompanied two of them to Japan so they could speak at the 'War Crimes Compensation Forum' in order to raise awareness about Japanese abuses in East Timor. He again visited Timor this year to investigate the situation only to be deported, the first of many times.

Andrew's home in Darwin played an important role in supporting solidarity activists, students, journalists and photographers who stayed there on their way to and from East Timor. Until now AFFET activists have lived in this house and many meetings have been held there, actions planned, and posters, banners and t-shirts designed and painted.

In 1996 Andrew moved to Sydney where he became the convenor of the

Australia-East Timor Association (AETA). In 1997 he also became Information Officer for the East Timor International Support Centre. He produced the influential brochure Human Rights Violations in East Timor which included many photos of torture that had been smuggled out of the country.

In 1998 Andrew became a board member of Timor Aid. He started sending AUD1000 per month to Falintil until the referendum. He also provided money to Xanana when he was in Cipinang. From his own money he made many sets of a new photo exhibition of photos from the 25 years of occupation and sent the sets around the world. That year on another trip to East Timor he travelled with and filmed the Student Solidarity Council conducting the some of the Student Dialogues around the country. This footage was included in a film Andrew made - Viva Timor Leste. He obtained and released TNI wage records from a brave Timorese which revealed that TNI were lying about the numbers of military in Timor at the time.

In 1999 Andrew was invited to the Chinese embassy in Canberra for discussions when they were deciding whether they should vote in the Security Council to send peacekeepers into East Timor. He was persuasive in exposing the TNI backed militia In July Andrew came here to support and report the referendum process. He and other activists took sample ballot papers across the island to distribute and on August 30th some of these were discovered in his car by the Polri at Zumalai and he was deported for the last time. Back home he was 'a key player in mobilising domestic and international support for InterFET' and he returned here soon after they came in. Andrew courageously went to Suai before InterFET to film and report the massacre and devastation there.

Andrew was always concerned that the East Timorese receive their fair share of the Timor Gap oil and 'produced endless reports and documentaries on the unfairness of the treaty'. He also supported the West Papuan and Achenese struggles and the Australian Greens Party.

Andrew was planning to return to East Timor in January 2004 to organise meditation courses which he believed would assist with trauma healing. Unfortunately for East Timor Andrew will now never return but his contribution to self-determination will not be forgotten. East Timorese Consul in Sydney Abel Guterres said 'Andrew was one of those very special people whose dedication to the struggle of East Timor was tireless.' Constancio Pinto wrote 'Andrew, we miss you but your name and your work for peace and justice in East Timor will be remembered forever.'

Andrew was loved by his many friends for his energy, intelligence, commitment, friendliness, vulnerability and of course his ability to

converse for hours especially on the topic of East Timor. His death leaves a big gap in our lives.

A commemoration for Andrew will be held at Santa Cruz cemetery at 4.30pm on Tuesday 30th December, afterwards proceeding to Vila Harmonia in Becora. Everyone who knew Andrew is invited to attend.

The Australian:

Timor activist dead at 50

December 27, 2003

EAST Timorese freedom campaigners are mourning the death of a leading Australian human rights activist, Dr Andrew McNaughtan.

The 50-year-old was found dead in his Mosman home in Sydney's north on Christmas Eve after friends and neighbours noticed he had not been seen for some days.

Dr McNaughtan campaigned for the liberation of East Timor from Indonesian rule and was deported from the troubled province a number of times after exposing civilian murders and military oppression.

Jefferson Lee, a spokesman for the Australia-East Timor Association - for which Dr McNaughtan served as convenor in recent years - said the movement was in shock.

He said Dr McNaughtan played a major role in bringing the plight of the Timorese people to the world's attention throughout the 1990s, and sacrificed his medical career in the process.

Mr Lee described Dr McNaughtan as being "as game as Ned Kelly" in his approach, but "laudable as Ghandi" in championing the rights of oppressed people.

"I think it was just his deep-seated compassion for fellow human beings," Mr Lee said.

"He was first alerted to the Timor problem when he was working as a general practitioner in Darwin and was treating Timorese refugees and noticed all the torture marks and psychosis effects from torture."

In 1996, Dr McNaughtan and other Australians were detained by Malaysian police after attending a banned conference on East Timor at a Kuala Lumpur hotel.

A pro-government youth group allied to then Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's ruling coalition broke up the conference, saying it could harm Malaysia's ties with Indonesia, which annexed East Timor in 1975.

East Timor's newly appointed consul-general to Australia, Abel Guterres, was also kicked out of Malaysia alongside Dr McNaughtan.

Mr Guterres said Dr McNaughtan was considering his request to spend two years practising medicine in the village where he grew up.

"Andrew was one of those very special people whose dedication to the struggle of East Timor was just so tireless," Mr Guterres said.

"He was a great mate who did everything possible to help East Timor and this is a great loss."

Mr Lee said Dr McNaughtan worked on the board of Timor Aid and dispensed medical assistance to hundreds of Timorese while lobbying politicians and the media about the meltdown in East Timor.

"Dr McNaughtan was best known for his devotion to the liberation of East Timor," Mr Lee said.

"He spearheaded many campaigns to highlight human rights abuses there throughout the 1990s."

SHIRLEY SHACKLETON

I remember Andy

I remember Andy McNaughtan and the way he approached the apparently insoluble problem of East Timor. I remember his first call to me. He was apologetic because he was a late arrival on the scene.

'I know so very little,' he said. 'I don't really know where to start.'

I asked what had got him interested and when I learned that he had been treating Timorese torture victims of the Indonesian military, I said, 'The little you know is quiet enough,' and I gave him a reading list and a letter showing how effective Indonesian propaganda had been, in that most of the books published (and this still holds true today) are by authors who unwittingly propagate a huge amount of incorrect detail. E.g. The myth of the civil war in Portuguese Timor. The charge that Fretilin members were committed Communists. The misreporting of the murders at Balibo - that the five were killed during an invasion when in fact the invasion did not occur

for another eight weeks. That their murders were their own fault for being in Balibo. That they were fighting with Falintil, and so on and so on.

He was appalled and very soon had studied all the books and articles and was back with an impressive list of questions.

I remember Andy calling me almost in tears at the outrageous treatment I received at the hands of an Australian government toady who defamed me by misquoting me in a preliminary investigation into the Balibo murders.

I soon got him laughing. 'No, no, ' I assured him, 'this is very good. Mr. Sherman has shot himself in the foot. By his own admission he has improperly conducted the investigation by revealing that he did not approach the subject without prejudice.'

Andy became a fine activist over a very busy decade and when the International Commission of Jurists held a colloquium into the re-named Balibo Report, (another case of trying to pass off a web of lies and deceits as if it were bone fide investigation) he displayed great tenacity and scholarship with his own investigation into the so-called Balibo Report. He had approached me to ask if he could do so and I was thrilled. Coming from me it would be dismissed as defensive and defective, coming from another quarter altogether, it had a chance of being taken seriously.

Oh heavens, to list all his activities would take a year of careful research, but perhaps I should relate one incident that I will find hard to forget. Upon my return from the opening of the Balibo Flag House Community Centre a month ago, I blacked out four times while debriefing a group of Timor activists in Sydney. Doctor McNaughtan attended me, taking readings of my pulse and examining me most efficiently. I saw at close quarters what a good doctor he was and I will always regret the fact that we should have been examining him!

Like all genuine activists he never expected rewards for his work, neither monetary nor praise. He deserved the highest of praise.

I will always remember you Andy and while I'm grieved by your early death I gain great comfort from the knowledge that you achieved so much for others. You put your life to great use and we will miss you.

I wrote the following poem for my husband and for anyone who has lost anyone. I offer it now in remembrance of you.

Creases

I don't know why I kept it

I hung your best suit behind the door
When we had to move
I took it down once more
It had become invisible, like you
So had the pain, but
When I held it in my hands
I remembered once again.

I expected moths
When I gave it a shake;
Out fell a shock of memories
I thought my heart would break.
There are three small creases
On the inside of the sleeves
And more on the trousers
At the back of the knees.

Permanent creases,
Not so easily erased
But all that is left of you
Oh God, what a waste.

COPYRIGHT 1977
SHIRLEY SHACKLETON
ALL RIGHTS BY ALL MEDIA RESERVED.
337 Dorcas Street.
MelbourneVictoria
AUSTRALIA 3205

Weekend Australian

Timor activist dead at 50

27dec03

EAST Timorese freedom campaigners are mourning the death of a leading Australian human rights activist, Dr Andrew McNaughtan.

The 50-year-old was found dead in his Mosman home in Sydney's north on Christmas Eve after friends and neighbours noticed he had not been seen for some days.

Dr McNaughtan campaigned for the liberation of East Timor from Indonesian rule and was deported from the troubled province a number of times after exposing civilian murders and military oppression.

Jefferson Lee, a spokesman for the Australia-East Timor Association - for which Dr McNaughtan served as convenor in recent years - said the movement was in shock.

He said Dr McNaughtan played a major role in bringing the plight of the Timorese people to the world's attention throughout the 1990s, and sacrificed his medical career in the process.

Mr Lee described Dr McNaughtan as being "as game as Ned Kelly" in his approach, but "laudable as Ghandi" in championing the rights of oppressed people.

"I think it was just his deep-seated compassion for fellow human beings," Mr Lee said.

"He was first alerted to the Timor problem when he was working as a general practitioner in Darwin and was treating Timorese refugees and noticed all the torture marks and psychosis effects from torture."

[Vacy et al, we held our Darwin wake last night, a nice night, it was hard for many there to talk about Andrew, many knew him as a colleague and friend and wild dancer with a love of African music, those who did were:

Ilana Eldridge who shared his house in 1994/5 and reflected on the irony of Andrew not being happy with her using the house as a venue for NT Greens meetings, yet he became a Senate candidate for the Greens in 2004, and that Andrew's morning routine was, even then, to ring Foreign Affairs officers, whoever he could find, and subject them to up to 2 hours of argument and correction, [I recall there was an urgent need for 2 separate phones into that house];

Jude Conway, who rented and now rents his house, and worked with Andrew a lot including in etisc/timoraid, very sad;

Rob Wesley-Smith who covered a lot of ground and reflected that a great unresolved issue for Andrew was what he saw as his libel by Jill Jolliffe, otherwise see my written notes for most of what I said, a great loss to us all for what was yet to be accomplished as well as his past decade. There was a small shrine set up, photos of Andrew, and a booklet had been produced but needs reprinting for adequate quality. Wes]

Sydney Morning Herald, Jan 10, 2004 Obituary

Andrew Ian McNaughtan 1954-2003
by John Macgregor

Andrew McNaughtan braved death many times, from an early career as a

motorcycle racer, to smuggling medicines to East Timor's resistance fighters under the noses of the Indonesian army. He publicly embarrassed the FBI, and brought about a Congressional investigation which damaged the reputation of Janet Reno, the Attorney General of the United States. Given the risks he took, and the highly-placed noses he put out of joint, it's not unremarkable that Andrew's death, just before Christmas, was from natural causes.

Andrew was not much attracted by family commitments, career, or the enveloping shadows of suburbia. Though a great lover of women, he never married or had children. He could have been a highly successful journalist, diplomat or intelligence analyst - but he rarely accepted paid work.

Andrew's life, inner and outer, took its shape in opposing the oppression of innocents: in Australia's Aboriginal communities, in Central America, and in (of all places) South Florida. But his most sustained contribution was the decade he devoted to East Timor: an Australian citizen trying, bit by bit, to undo the most fatal botch-job in our diplomatic history.

I met Andrew in 1995, when we were deported from East Timor together. In the five years till we met again, he'd not been idle. He had been jailed by the Indonesian military; had been deported from Timor again; had filmed the aftermath of the Suai massacre; had won the admiration of the most conservative committee chairman in the US Congress; and had broken open one of the greatest political scandals in the history of Florida.

In the late 1990s, Andrew helped to educate the Labor opposition on East Timor. Thereafter, Foreign Minister Alexander Downer came under increasingly well-informed attack in Parliament. To take the heat off the government, John Howard suggested a referendum on East Timorese autonomy to Indonesia's President Habibie. The mercurial Habibie - himself now under international pressure over East Timor - threw in independence as an option too. The rest is history.

In the same period, Andrew formed a committee to examine options for fairly apportioning East Timor's oil and gas revenues. His efforts did not go unnoticed. In March 1998 he received a letter from Jakarta's Cipinang prison:

"I hope we can do something to impede the free exploitation of our oil and gas," wrote East Timor's resistance leader Xanana Gusmao. "I'm waiting for more ideas and news from you."

Andrew had ideas aplenty. Five months later, a BHP executive shocked the

Australian government by meeting Xanana in prison, to discuss exploration rights under a (previously unthinkable) free East Timor. It was a huge symbolic boost to the notion of independence, and confirmed Xanana's status as president-in-waiting. Andrew had arranged the meeting.

1998 may have been Andrew's annus mirabilis. In October, he was leaked personnel files from within the Indonesian military, which showed that Indonesia's vaunted troop withdrawal from East Timor was a fiction; and that the province's murderous militias were under the direct command of the Indonesian army. Much credit must go to the courageous East Timorese who leaked the files. But it was Andrew who carried them out of East Timor, analysed them, and took them to the world's media.

Clinton Fernandes - then the Australian Intelligence Corps' principal analyst for East Timor - says of Andrew's coup: "The consequence was a dramatic increase in the pressure on Habibie. It was...an important reason for his subsequent decision to offer a referendum on autonomy or independence."

Film-maker Max Stahl says: "The list of unlikely political triumphs and back-from-the-dead victories which Andrew McNaughtan had a hand in is long and eclectic."

Speaking of the "heroes" who had inspired him, the journalist John Pilger said, "Andrew McNaughtan would have been at the top of my list."

"He was one of the truth-tellers about East Timor," Pilger said. "If you wanted a reliable source for what was happening there, you went to Andrew, and you were never let down.

"He was an extraordinary witness to events, especially during 1999, when there was a great deal of disinformation about the Australian government's intervention in East Timor. Andrew was one of those who countered all the propaganda coming out of Canberra about the government saving East Timor, or General Cosgrove saving East Timor. It didn't happen of course. It was the Andrew McNaughtans - and especially Andrew McNaughtan himself - who contributed hugely to saving East Timor."

Jose Ramos-Horta, now East Timor's Foreign Minister, says: "I first met Dr Andrew McNaughtan some fifteen years ago in Darwin. He took enormous risks with his own life, travelling to Timor and delivering cameras to the Resistance.

"Life is very unfair. I don't want to blame the Creator. But he seems to have the habit of taking away some of the best people I know. 2003 was a disastrous year. First Sergio Vieira de Mello [the UN's Transitional

Administrator of East Timor, who was killed in Iraq in August] and now Andrew McNaughtan."

Lansell Taudevin was head of AusAID's East Timor water supply and sanitation program from 1996 to 1999. In his book "East Timor: Too Little Too Late", he writes of Andrew:

"I suspect that one reason he was constantly ignored by the establishment was that they knew deep in their hearts that he was correct, and his views challenged their own fragile positions. Certainly, Andrew was not loathe to express his opinions often and at length, such was his obsession with the plight of the East Timorese. When the reckoning is finalised, his role and contribution in enlightening the world to the realities of East Timor will be amongst the most significant."

In an entirely different sphere, Andrew's analysis of the Gersten case - which embraced all three branches of the US and Australian governments - was so highly regarded that it formed the basis of a report issued in the name of the United States Congress.

In 1992 the FBI attempted to frame Joe Gersten, a reforming Florida politician, for murder. Driven from office, Gersten moved to Australia in 1993, but was harassed here too. When he met Andrew in 1996, Gersten felt "relief that a person of such extraordinary advocacy talents had come to my aid - though I didn't yet know quite how brilliant he was."

Gersten was soon to find out. "Andy realised the terrible things the Australian government was doing to me had been ordered by Washington, so that was where they had to be turned off. So he took my case back to the US. Before long I started getting faxes from him. They were copies of subpoenas issued by the Congress - to the Director of the FBI, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of State - to yield up whatever information they had on my case, and explain themselves. It was phenomenal.

"Andy was never afraid to think outside the square. It was unimaginable by almost everyone else that the FBI would direct a political campaign to discredit me on Australian soil. But Andy intuited that it was happening, then went about proving it. How many Australians have written the questions with which a US Attorney General is hauled over the coals by Congress?"

At the centre of Andrew's pantheon was the dissident American academic and author Noam Chomsky. After he contacted Chomsky in 2001 (beginning his email with an uncharacteristic "Dear Sir"), Andrew was dismayed to discover that Chomsky had long been an admirer of his.

Professor Chomsky told the Herald: "The work Andrew McNaughtan did in East Timor for many years, under extremely difficult circumstances, was truly inspiring. It was a major contribution to the health and spirits of people suffering terribly, and to informing the rest of us on the realities of those awful events... He was a person of great courage, honour, and dedication."

Campaigners against genocide are a phlegmatic lot: starry-eyed idealists don't last long up against real perfidy. Andrew was in that mould. He was driven by a fine sense of moral outrage, which made him fearless. He was a stubborn dismantler of spin, and possessed of biblical patience. He often felt impotent - but in reality his life might serve as a blueprint for what can be achieved by one cranky, obstinate, passionate citizen.

When Andrew began an after-dinner monologue, you were in for a long night. Sometimes he was still talking, uninterruptably, at sunrise. But just when you had wilted (grumbling to yourself that he was humourless and insensitive) he'd launch into a delicious impersonation of President Habibie, complete with spinning eyes and extravagant gestures; or would sing you, word perfect, the entire lyrics of Astral Weeks.

Andrew was warm, but always a little abstracted. He was co-operative and competitive; generous and stingy. He gave thousands of dollars to East Timor's Resistance movement - yet stayed, on his travels, in the cheapest humanly habitable accommodation. He negotiated Washington's power networks whilst living on the floor of a squat, along with the resident cats.

The beautiful Mosman home Andrew inherited from his mother, June, became a meeting place for activists, and a safe house for officials with secrets to leak. It was visited by ASIO more than once. And the house was the repository of Andrew's all-important documents: they filled wardrobes, shrouded the dining room table, lined the hallways, and cluttered the bathroom.

When Andrew returned there in March, 2000, after six violent and chaotic months in Timor, there were kilograms of unopened mail, and 11,800 emails to read. (Typically, he counted them.) But before he could regain a toehold in normality, the Gersten case enveloped him again. The "X-files" had been leaked - now-infamous documents showing that the US Government had instructed our Federal Police to deal destruction on Joe Gersten here. Andrew had the brainpower to dissect the X-Files with forensic precision, and the brio to spirit them off to the US. Shortly

afterwards, a testy Justice Whitlam convened an urgent hearing of the Federal Court, to order their return. When he was told Andrew had placed the files on the US Congressional Record, "the blood drained from His Honour's face", according to one observer.

Andrew described himself as an "activist", but the description is too narrow. He was the most astute analyst and strategist that many of us have known. Fortunately, many who loved him did let him know, in recent times, how impressed we were by his example. (Only to see surprise, then a shy delight, suffuse his face: he tended to doubt his own worth.) Since his sudden passing, the things about him which drove us crazy dissolved - their triviality unmasked by his death - and a picture of the larger man has emerged: just as taking a few steps back from a painting might reveal a masterpiece. "It is strange," says Andrew's friend Dr Vacy Vlazna, "how death clarifies the vastness of his spirit".

On December 30, a memorial service for Andrew was held in Dili, beginning at the Santa Cruz Cemetery, and proceeding to the Vila Harmonia - once a centre of the resistance. General Taur Matan Ruak, chief of staff of East Timor's defence force, said to mourners:

"No East Timorese leader can deny Andrew's invaluable contribution for the liberation of East Timor. The ones who didn't have the honour of meeting Andrew lost a great opportunity to hear and see one of the finest souls in the history of liberation of this country."

On January 2, an Australian memorial service, at the Mary MacKillop Chapel in North Sydney, was attended by 400 people. Eulogising Andrew were John Pilger, Jose Ramos-Horta (representing President Xanana Gusmao), Supreme Court Justice Barry O'Keefe, and Andrew's cousin Nigel Stewart.

Dr Ramos-Horta told the Herald he will ensure the government of East Timor honours Andrew with a permanent memorial. May it be something worthy of his olympian spirit.

John Macgregor wrote a series of stories for the Herald about the Gersten case, for which Andrew McNaughtan was his main source. He is now writing a book on the case

Hundreds honour late East Timor activist McNaughtan

Hundreds of people have marked the death of the East Timor independence activist Dr Andrew McNaughtan at a memorial service in Sydney in New South Wales on Friday.

Dr McNaughtan was the convenor of the Australia-East Timor Association. He died at his Mosman home on December 22, aged 49.

Among those attending the service were former Labor minister Tom Uren, Supreme Court justice Barry O'Keefe and journalist John Pilger.

Mr Pilger describes Dr McNaughtan as a champion of truth and a real-life hero.

"Some people are heroes - they're not plastic heroes, they're not celluloid heroes, they're quiet heroes, and that was Andrew McNaughtan," Mr Pilger said. "I shall miss him [and] I pay tribute to him."

Also attending was East Timor's Foreign Minister, Jose Ramos-Horta, who describes Dr McNaughtan as a man of immense compassion who recognised injustice.

"So he began to try to go to Timor, which he did at risk of his own life," Mr Ramos-Horta said. "He was arrested [and] deported a few times.

"To publicise the truth about what was happening back in East Timor ... he has done tremendous tremendous educational work, educating people about the plight of the people of East Timor."

abc radio report

The Australian online: Bob Brown
"Rights advocate deemed 'hero' "
December 29, 2003

HUMAN rights advocate Andrew McNaughtan, who died on Christmas Eve aged 50, was a great Australian, the Australian Greens said today. Greens Senator Bob Brown said Dr McNaughtan was a truly wonderful Australian and a great human rights advocate.

Best known for his work in helping East Timor fight for independence, Dr McNaughtan was dedicated to uncovering the truth, Senator Brown said.

"Throughout the 1990s he repeatedly exposed the hypocrisy of Australia's politicians and elites who were complicit in the Suharto regime's brutality," Senator Brown said.

"Andrew was a tireless warrior for justice."

Senator Brown said Mr McNaughtan continued to fight for justice for East

Timor following its independence from Indonesia.

"Recently he sought to bring attention to the unjust deal the Australian government has imposed on East Timor regarding oil revenues in the Timor Sea," he said.

"During the debate on the Timor treaty legislation in the Senate last year Andrew acted as adviser to the Greens senators.
"Dr McNaughtan was a truly wonderful Australian, the country has lost one of its heroes."

Louisa

Hi Rob, I have been reading all the tributes for Andrew, so bloody awful to lose such a good, good man. I am very sad about his death and I want you to know that I am thinking of you too because I know this is a great personal lose for you, you have lost a great friend and colleague.
Lots of love to you always.
Louisa

Tom Hyland

Rob, Needless to say when Dino telephoned me with the news I was shocked and saddened. Well What can I say. This is a terrible blow to us all. I know that you were close to Andrew. I used to love the banter between the two of you. You may know that I had a heart attack last May and Andrew was particularly helpful in advising me on lifestyle changes. So it come as a great shock to me. Our Timorese friends, activists will meet later today to remember our friend, Andrew. I am going to the UK to see Max tomorrow. Best wishes
Tom [Hyland]

maryann keady
thanks rob. it still seems unbelievable that such
an important part of the historic struggle has gone.
maryann keady

Stephanie Coop

Friends of East Timor in Japan are deeply saddened at the news of Andrew McNaughtan's untimely death. He worked tirelessly for the cause of self-determination for the East Timorese people, and will be missed both as a committed activist and a warm, caring human being.

With heartfelt condolences,
Japan East Timor Coalition (formerly Free East Timor! Japan Coalition)

Dear all, (Posted from a friend in Dili)

KESTA-Dili, A memorial service was held in Dili yesterday (Tuesday 30/12) to pay tribute to Dr Andrew McNaughtan and his dedication and commitment to the Independence of East Timor.

The service was held in Santa Cruz Cemetery at 16.30. Friends, activists and some members of the government were also present. Ms Ceu Federer started the opening words. Then letters of gift from friends were read out.

Taur Matan Ruak (Chief of staff of FDTL-FALIINTIL) was also present, and took the opportunity to remember Dr Andrew through his work to East Timor.

"Andrew has left us, but he left an Independent East Timor to the people he loved", said Taur Matan Ruak.

Member of Parliament from Democratic Party, Eusebio Guterres, also remembered how Andrew in 1998 translated his paper into English, so that he could present it at a seminar in Australia .

Students of former Universitas Timor Timur recalled Andrew's back and forth trips to the University during November 1997, when the TNI stormed the University and left at least one dead and several students injured. Andrew strolled around the University to interview students and asked what had happened and reported everything happened to the outside world. Students were encouraged to resist TNI, because they believed Andrew would tell "their stories to people in overseas", said a student of that university.

The Santa Cruz memorial service ended at 17.30 and friends re-gathered in Vila Harmonia, Becora, to remember Andrew. A number of proposals were presented on how to remember Andrew and his work for the people of East Timor.

Honouring Andrew McNaughtan - John Waddingham

I only met Andrew once - in April 2003. My instinctive impressions from this meeting have been doubly confirmed by the reflections and tributes from people who knew him much better than me. It's clear we have all lost a true warrior for peace and justice. It will now be a matter of eternal regret that I had to cancel my planned meeting with him in mid-November.

We had begun an unfinished conversation about the long-term future of his collection of materials about East Timor and particularly the material that he was directly responsible for creating.

Two items he was particularly proud of were some audio-visual recordings of East Timorese activists conducting democracy training in the East Timorese countryside and some expensive photo exhibitions that he had self-funded.

Andrew was very keen that the a-v recordings be preserved for the long term. And he was particularly browned-off that one or more of his photo exhibitions had disappeared into the ether (he had been unsuccessfully trying to locate a particular exhibition last heard of in the USA).

It seems to me that one way of honouring Andrew's memory is to make sure the material that he accumulated or created (on Timor at least) is kept together as a distinct record of his work and that it is preserved for long-term access.

I would be pleased to offer any advice or assistance I can to facilitate this.

And if they are still 'missing', perhaps through this list we can track down the whereabouts of those photo exhibitions and honour his wish for them to be returned.

John Waddingham
The CHART Project
www.timorarchives.info

[John published East Timor Newsletter in the 1970s from Melbourne, Wes]

Vale Andrew McNaughtan, - Pam Sexton

I've just gotten on email after a few days off, and was deeply saddened by this news. I met Andrew in August 1999 in Suai, after having heard of him from other ETANers better connected to the broader international solidarity movement for East Timor. I remember that he was extremely kind and supportive of me personally (as well as so many others I'm sure) in September 1999, when I found myself, for the worst of possible reasons, in his home country. We met many more times in the years that followed when I was working in Dili with La'o Hamutuk. While I can't say I knew Andrew very well or always agreed with him, I know that he cared passionately for East Timor and hoped and worked courageously for a better world. Condolences to his family, community of friends and fellow activists.

Pam Sexton [election observer and La'o Hamutuk staffer]

Ed McWilliams

I was shocked to learn of Andrew's death. I had worked with him on East Timor and other issues, including Gerstein's case while I was in the State Department. Since retirement he had been an occasional interlocutor via email. If a fund is set up in his memory I would be grateful to know of it.

Ed McWilliams edm-@msn.com

RFK Memorial - Indonesia Support Group
Indonesia Human Rights Network
Papua resource Center

Max White

As Wes Smith said, Andrew McNaughtan truly was an activist warrior. I first met Andrew in '97 or early '98. I especially appreciated talking with him during those dark September days in Darwin following the referendum and evacuations.

Returning through Darwin in October '99, I bought a copy of Lansell's just-published book, "East Timor, too little, too late." Andrew happened to be at the Dili airport, saw the book in my hand, looked in the index for his name, and politely browbeat me into loaning the book to him. I thought then, and know now, that this is a guy who truly helped East Timorese. I gave him the book.

A couple of years ago a friend, dying of cancer, joked that, "I know everyone dies, but thought there might be an exception for me." Andrew was someone for whom that exception might have been appropriate. Thank you for everything, Andrew.

Max White
Portland OR USA

Maire Leadbeater

Dear Rob,
Please could you pass on the condolences of New Zealand activists. I met Andrew in Malaysia at the APCET conference that was brought to a halt. I don't think I ever repaid him for the (extensive) use of his cell phone at that time. We shared information and campaigns many times - often painful stuff like the graphic photos of torture victims. I was full of admiration for his commitment and resourcefulness. He

seemed to focus all his energy on the cause and to be very unassuming. All of us here who knew him or knew of his hard patient faithful work will be feeling very sad. Thoughts are with his family, friends and fellow activists
Maire Leadbeater

Quinton Temby,

I can hardly believe that I'm writing a eulogy for Andrew McNaughtan. I only met Andrew last year. I never expected our friendship to be so short. I'd wanted to write something detailed about Andrew's life work which I would have had to research through visits to him in Sydney and interviews with people who knew him much better than I did. It was either that or I would have convinced him to write that book he was talking about. Now I can only savour what everyone is writing and saying about Andrew, words that are helping to fill the huge gap that is left. Here is just my personal account, sadly, very much truncated.

The other day I called Andrew on his mobile, a ridiculous thing to do as I already knew he was dead. I can imagine him disapproving of such an action on grounds of its irrationality. But I confess I did it anyway – even the small chance that he would call back to deny the rumours of his untimely death was worth it. Anyway, I'm sure that he would have appreciated the dark humor in my leaving a message. It was the least I could muster for someone who was one of the funniest people I knew.

With humor and intellect Andrew had a deep, primal sense of compassion that was a formidable driving force. It was obvious that what had happened to East Timor pained him. He had chartered the course of its suffering intricately, providing treatment when he could, prescriptions when necessary and an expert diagnosis that Australian governments refused to hear.

In the months leading up to the independence referendum and the anticipated military backlash, Ashton Calvert and the Department of Foreign Affairs were frantically traveling the world, lobbying Lisbon and Washington against the idea of a peacekeeping force. Andrew, of course, was doing the opposite, pursuing his own shuttle diplomacy between Canberra, Dili and Jakarta, and as he put it, telling officials until he was blue in the face that the Indonesian military had plans to either derail the ballot or sabotage East Timor after the result. Contrary to the official line everywhere it was actually the military that was the source of insecurity, he testified.

Despite the hysteria of this period Andrew maintained his sensitivity and humanity, arguing passionately for a new direction in Australian foreign policy:

“I am not suggesting that we view Indonesia as an enemy, but Indonesia is a complicated society and the Indonesian army is the problem at the moment, not the Indonesian people. I think we need to get better relations with the Indonesian people but we need to review our idea that the new order regime and the army are our allies, because they are not. They are not allies of their own people either.”

Andrew was in East Timor to observe the referendum and, after being deported, returned to work on several different tracks, providing crucial material assistance and documenting the crimes. He was with the first group of foreigners to discover the church massacre in Suai. It enraged and sickened him and he documented it in almost forensic detail. He was aware that fate had made him a key witness, one of the surviving members of that group. A wide-ranging consequence of Andrew’s death is the specialist knowledge that went with him.

Andrew continued his desperate lobbying for international intervention until the very end, making it out to Darwin on September 8, 1999 to give the aforementioned testimony at a Senate Foreign Affairs Committee hearing.

In this final phase of the long struggle for East Timorese freedom, Andrew, as an Australian, did his best to salvage what was left of our national integrity; as a member of the international community he helped to ignite world concern for the East Timorese which culminated in the Interfet intervention. His conviction, as he testified to Australian politicians, was that “there is a world out there that cares about these things”.

Andrew would have continued to care about East Timor long after independence. Until his death he cared about Australia’s theft of natural resources in the Timor Sea and about the ongoing impact of post-conflict trauma on the population. He planned to return to East Timor in February to introduce a culturally appropriate form of healing meditation. It seemed to me a very personal project: perhaps he would have been unable to find complete inner peace until the Timorese had found theirs.

Although my (only recent) involvement with East Timor has been as a journalist, in studying the history I came to identify most closely with Andrew’s proactive response to what was happening in East Timor. He symbolized for me the person who would do everything in their power to end the occupation, who believed that some things are more important than one’s career.

It is true that at times last year Andrew felt marginalized and rejected. I appreciate Helen Hill’s comment on the rift between some in the solidarity movement and the East Timorese government: “If it was true then, I don't think it is now”. I deeply want and hope this to be the case. I was struck by how

Andrew was as straight-forward about the rifts as he was about his admiration for others in the movement: Timorese leaders and activists, ETAN activists - to whom he would have dedicated a large part of his book - even his enigmatic adversary Jill Jolliffe, and of course his original inspiration, Rob Wesley-Smith.

Now, like everyone who knew him I'm left hanging with the last words we spoke. And I'm replaying my last images of him in Dili: the time we foolishly tried to get across town on my bicycle, with all six foot of Andrew see-sawing off the handlebars like a kid. Images of him in the distance, ambling alone to various meetings in his unpretentious t-shirt, thongs and shorts that covered only a fraction of his long legs, with a fiery head of hair and a notebook swinging in one hand - it was a notebook in which he worked on several critical subjects so densely that I had only come to know a few of them. He would walk along carefully picking up broken glass on the footpath and putting it out of harm's way. I asked if he had this obsession as a doctor aware of the human injury that can occur from broken glass and he quipped "no", that it was his obsession "as a thong-wearer".

Sometimes when someone abruptly leaves your life you realize you had taken them for granted and only really appreciate them now that they're gone. Fortunately for me this wasn't the case with Andrew. Long before this Christmas he was my hero and I hope he could understand that. I feel an immeasurable sense of loss but I too am comforted by the knowledge that Andrew had achieved so much.

Quinton Temby,
30 December 2003

Interview in Darwin 19th Dec abc reporter Sarah Hawke, and Jose Ramos Horta, (transcript Cherie, thanks)

I have known dr andrew mcnaughton for the past ten, fifteen years and ever since I have known him every single day of his life was devoted to do good to people, not only politically speaking but as a human being he was very caring about individuals, about the well being of others.

He cared a lot about East Timor. He risked his life, he put aside his medical practise to help Timor Leste achieve its freedom which we have done and ever since he has also tried to help with research and arguments on the timor sea negotiations to get a better deal for the people of East Timor, so we miss him thoroughly.

We miss a great human being. We pray for his soul, so that his life serve as a lesson for all others to do as good as he has done.

Q: What do you think was the most significant thing he achieved for East Timor or

contributed to East Timor?

I think things that he has done tremendously, with risk of his life, was coming to Timor Leste, in the eighties and nineties, bringing in cameras to capture situations in Timor Leste such as torture, the fight the oppressive rule of the Indonesian army and smuggling the film out and the advertising, publicising to the rest of the world. I think this was among the most generous and daring gestures that he has made, that could have cost him his life.

Q: Do you think actions like this helped contribute to the independence of Timor Leste, and getting those images out to the outside world?

Q: Absolutely, Dr Andrew McNaughton's work, the quality of his work, integrity of his research, did contribute tremendously to advertising, to publicising what was hidden from the world and it contributed to our independence and freedom.

Q: Are there any in particular images or outstanding bits of footage that contributed to getting the picture of what was happening in East Timor to the outside world?

He had a footage that was shot in the mountains with the resistance with clandestine network. I have no access to this footage right now, but I remember back then they were invaluable for our struggle for freedom.

Q: Was he one of the greatest advocates, do you think, for independence for Timor Leste?

Yes Dr Andrew McNaughton was one of the greatest advocates we have had in Australia, there were many other advocates in the United States and Europe. But in Australia he was among the finest advocates we have had.
correction by Wes: indicating the impact Andrew had in a short time, his first involvement in East Timor was 1992 and his first trip there was not before 1993 or 4.

Karen Orenstein

Rob - I just wanted to thank you for putting out all this information about Andrew's life and contributions to Timor and social justice generally. Andrew stayed at my house for about a month back in late spring/early summer 2000, when he was working on his friend Joe's case. I always remember with a smile how he dealt with the litter box of 2 large cats my housemate was watching. The litter box really stank, and Andrew cleaned it on several occasions; he always referred to it as the "shit box," which always made me laugh. Again, thank you very much,
Karen