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Southeast Asia

Curt Gabrielson, a science teacher and an Institute Fellow, is observing the re-establishment of education in East Timor.

Cloudy Waters: A Political Primer of East Timor

By Curt Gabrielson

MAY 3, 2001

DILI, East Timor – People are lining up all over East Timor to take part in national voter registration. Since the official start date of March 16, registration centers have been set up in 63 subdistricts throughout the country. One hundred fifty foreign “experts” and 300 local staff are employed by the UN on the task and use equipment of the highest technology: fast computer units connected to CD burners and ID card printers, accompanied by generators to power them (or keep them going in the face of the inevitable blackouts in towns that do have electrical service). To date, 200,000 East Timorese have registered. The East Timorese walk away from the registration center, eligible to vote, with a temporary ID card. The UN registration staff walk away with basic statistics on each man, woman and child in East Timor.

It is the second time in two years that the East Timorese have been encouraged to make the (often lengthy) trek to registration stations. In June 1999, around 600 staff, both local and international, carried out registration for the referendum that gained East Timor’s independence from Indonesia. As reported in my last newsletter, close to 450,000 East Timorese adults registered at that time, and in only 20 days.

Today things are a bit more relaxed, and the UN has set the target end date as June 20, giving a total of just over three months for the population to come forth. Propaganda in the form of information, slogans and songs fills the airwaves on



A registration center in central Dili

the UN radio station, urging the East Timorese to go and be registered in order to take part in the coming elections.

The process is getting off to a rough start. The majority of computers in each of the districts I have visited did not work initially. When they did work, only a small fraction of the staff understood them well enough to use them, and tiny glitches brought the whole operation to a screeching halt. Some of the stations were concerned about security, and when the UN Peace Keeping Force (PKF) did not have the resources to accompany the workers at each center, some of the centers stood idle.

At other centers no one showed up to register. This was the case in Vemasse, Baucau district. A bit of questioning soon brought to light the fact that a certain political party had been threatening the local population to keep them from registering. It seems that this party had been under the erroneous impression that this was the registration for political parties, and since they had not

had time to do any campaigning, they wanted to slow the process.

Several *liurai's* – traditional village chiefs – recently came to Dili to discuss the inefficiencies and inadequacies of the registration system with authorities. They said in some of their areas the locals had walked for hours to arrive at the registration center only to be told to come back the following day. In addition, the ID cards received seemed to indicate that the people would be forced to vote in the coming election.

Misunderstanding seems to rule the day in East Timor politics. This is not hard to explain, considering the extraordinary complexity involved in setting up a new government combined with the low education level of the population and a still-toddling media organism. There is some danger in the situation: misunderstanding can be easily used to consolidate political power and force the political process in certain directions. I sometimes feel that I am in the midst of a Mark Twain story, watching

villagers size up a slick traveling salesman.

One of the confusing issues is exactly what will be voted upon in elections that are presently scheduled for August 30. Many assume that they will be voting for the first president of East Timor. Actually, the coming ballot will elect members of a Constituent Assembly, which will then choose the form and substance of a new constitution for the nation. After the constitution is in place, representatives and other leaders will be chosen according to processes outlined in the constitution. There may be another vote, or the Assembly may metamorphose into a parliament.

Several groups, including some of the smaller political parties, are loudly protesting the speed of this process. Many



feel that current leaders are trying to railroad the operation. Civic organizations criticize that the fast timeline will not allow for any genuine consultation process with the people of East Timor. A few other groups protest the slow pace; they are anxious to get rid of the UN and foreign influences. It appears that the process will continue according to the current schedule despite these protests.

Meanwhile, the National Council (NC), as something of a prototype parliament, is debating the political events of the country. While the NC has no real power, UNTAET president and Special Representative to the Secretary General (SRSG), Sergio Vieira de Mello, is in theory supposed to be taking its views and decisions into account while ruling the country. The SRSG has nearly unrestrained power during this transition period: his powers are checked only by the UN in New York and the UN mission's donor countries.

Where did the NC come from? If you don't know, you've got good company: most East Timorese people. The UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) used a "quasi-democratic" process to put the 36 NC representatives in place. UNTAET created on the NC one position for each district, one for each political party, and one for each of several other major interests (the Catholic Church, the Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs), labor, agriculture, etc). They asked the leaders of each district, party or interest to put forth several eligible candidates. Vieira de Mello and his aids then chose one person to fill each spot.

Although the temporary dictatorship of Vieira de Mello is unpopular, and the method used caused some bitterness among the several "losers" for each position, the result is an NC that represents, at least on paper, the majority of East Timorese.

I walk past the vast chamber of the NC every time I visit the education section of UNTAET. Sometimes I step in and enjoy the powerful air conditioners that chill the space. It is always interesting to see if I can figure out what is happening. All speaking is done into microphones, which are linked to simultaneous-translator booths, one for each of the four relevant languages.¹ The translated speech is then transmitted to the NC members, public and media, who are wearing multi-channel receivers with headphones enabling them to listen in the



UNTAET 'S Human Rights Division gives a presentation to the NC.

language of their choice. There are no standard loudspeakers in the chamber, and it is often the case that the large room is silent until I don the headphones and hear the soft voice of a speaker whom I must then locate by the red light glowing on her microphone.

Technical assistants scurry busily around the edges of the room, and the local media are always there waiting patiently for something of note to happen. But often half or more of the NC members are absent, and half of those present seem to be ignoring the proceedings. It has been said that democracy is rarely pretty, and East Timor's NC is a shining example thereof.

The head of the NC, until recently, was Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao.² Gusmao is hands-down the most well-known and popular political figure in East Timor. He has been leading the resistance since 1980, and can be said to lead the country today, if only by default. Gusmao's famous battle cry, "To resist is to win!" is the title of his autobiography, written in part during his eight-year stay in an Indonesian gaol.

Gusmao was born in 1946 in a small town on the north coast of East Timor. His parents both came from peasant families, but his father was able to make it through the gauntlet of Portuguese tests and become an *assimilado*: a Portuguese-speaking, tax-paying, Catholic-baptized civil servant. Gusmao's father taught school in several towns across eastern East Timor during Xanana's childhood, and was able to send all eight of his children to school.

Xanana was not much of a student, and ran away

¹ See newsletter CG-3 for an introduction to the complex language situation in East Timor.

² Xanana is something of a pseudonym, and has become an affectionate, accepted title for Gusmao. His Portuguese baptismal name is Jose Alexandre Gusmao.

frequently to play with buddies who were unfettered by the “white man’s” school. His father was adamant about his son’s education, though, and when Xanana couldn’t gain access to any of the high schools in Dili for financial reasons or lack of connections, his father sent him to the seminary at Dare.

Pamela and I frequently go to Dare, pronounced DAH-reh, to visit a friend. It is a magical place, perched like an eagle’s roost above the city of Dili. The tiny settlement is surrounded by dense jungle, and is often shrouded in clouds. It was to Dare that nearly 60,000 fled during the post-referendum violence in 1999. The pro-Indonesia militias were afraid to pursue the refugees, perhaps because Dare is strategically defensible, perhaps because it is a holy place. Jesuit priests, mostly from Portugal, ran the Dare seminary in Xanana’s day, and took in boys from all across the island. The quality of education was high, and many future political leaders were educated there. Few graduates actually became priests, but most benefited from the discipline and language training.

Gusmao ran away from the seminary in 1962, convinced it was not for him. Still unable to gain access to the Portuguese public high schools, he bounced from job to job (manual labor, clerical work, fishing, small business) and tried repeatedly to gain a solid position in the Portuguese colonial government. This he eventually achieved in 1967, and was quickly disillusioned with it. But he used the financial freedom it gave him to continue his schooling. Xanana’s only military training came with his required National Service in the Portuguese army from 1968 to 1971. He reports that he “had joined the army, and left it, with a spirit of defiance and disobedience.”

News of the anti-fascist revolution of 1974 in Portu-

gal, and the decolonization it promised, took Gusmao by surprise. He had had no previous political inclinations, and was saddened by the enormous amount of infighting and violence that seemed to sprout spontaneously from Timorese intellectual youth. He had serious doubts about the ability of the East Timorese to rule themselves. With the help of connections, Gusmao went to Australia for six months with an idea of emigrating there. When he came back to take his family, he was persuaded by friends to remain and eventually to join a political party.

The brief coup by the UDT (*Uniao Democratica Timorese*) party that preceded the Indonesian invasion of 1975 was an even larger shock to Xanana, and soon thereafter Gusmao was implored to join the Central Committee of Fretilin (*Frente Revolucionara do Timor Leste Independente*), the other major political party. He tried to decline the identification, holding that he knew nothing about politics and had no background or education in political ideology. This was a claim he maintained for several years until he actually became leader of Timorese resistance forces. In the end he did join Fretilin’s leadership, and he tells of feeling a deep responsibility to contribute to the struggle. Indonesia was already attacking East Timor’s border regions.

With the Indonesian invasion, Gusmao was forced into roles of leadership and military planning. For the first three agonizing years of Indonesia’s oppression of the East Timorese people, Fretilin’s army Falintil (*Forças Armadas de Libertacao Nacional de Timor Leste*) put up a formidable resistance in the face of incredible odds. After 18 months of brutal and systematic offensive action by the Indonesian military, which made extensive use of US weapons to mount attacks from air, land and sea, it is estimated that Falintil, which used only ground forces, received no outside support and had access only to the weapons they had carried from the Portuguese colonial arsenal, still controlled 80 percent of the half-island. During those first years, Xanana was put in charge of political and defense operations in the eastern district of Lautem. He began on-the-job learning about the realities of warfare.

As part of its Campaign of Annihilation, begun in September 1977, Indonesia made extensive use of aerial bombing and napalm drops to destroy the Timorese resistance. Falintil forces in the eastern region that Gusmao was leading were eventually forced to retreat, together with a large segment of the population, to a mountain called Matebian (meaning “departed soul”) in east-central East Timor. Indonesian forces surrounded the mountain and killed



Rugged mountains near Matebian, eastern East Timor

thousands of fighters and civilians in an attack on November 22, 1978. Xanana managed to escape from the mountain with a small group of men.

In the next few months of Indonesian onslaught, all of the remaining original Central-Committee members of Fretilin were captured or killed. Xanana and his men were isolated in the East without information as to the condition of the resistance movement. He adopted guerrilla tactics with his remaining forces and kept in close covert contact with the people of the region in the midst of the Indonesian invaders. The East Timorese he spoke with encouraged him strongly to keep up the fight. When he finally made contact with resistance forces in the West and learned of their heavy casualties, he assumed leadership of both Fretilin and Falintil.

To me this is the most remarkable point in the story. Xanana's response to his unexpected rise to leadership? Study. At the time, he and his men were living in mountain camps, caves and jungle hideaways, always on the run, and yet Xanana studied war and revolution, at night using candles made from wild beeswax. He thought carefully about political theory and wrote two highly technical communiqués, which he required his underlings to study. In his autobiography, he notes his ignorance about history and politics at that time, and says that as the new leader of the resistance, he felt he had to do his best to prepare himself for the task ahead.

At a meeting of resistance forces in 1981, it was agreed that guerrilla warfare would be the strategy of choice, that small battalions would roam the country, never staying long in one place, and that an underground resistance movement would be cultivated among the population, nearly all of which was by then under Indonesia's rule. Xanana's disciplined leadership played a large role in the success of all of these actions.

Gusmao was captured by the Indonesians in 1992. By that time he had become a national hero and a political figure with some recognition worldwide. He had developed communication with the resistance movement outside of East Timor, honed skills of international diplomacy, tapped resources of solidarity from around the



Faded CNRT posters left over from the referendum paper the walls of local businesses

globe, used media effectively to further the independence struggle and had managed to avoid capture for 17 years in the mountains of East Timor and the safe-houses of the underground civilian resistance. The details of his capture are still unclear, but there is some likelihood that he could be of more use to the resistance movement in a prison in Jakarta than in a jungle camp.³

From the Cipinang political prison in Jakarta, Gusmao continued to lead the resistance. He was able to live in reasonable comfort and communicate without excessive difficulty with the resistance movement. He entertained many foreign guests, including Nelson Mandela, near the end of his stay. His orders continued to be carried out, many times against the will of the resistance forces. For example, he counseled moderation to the youth in the campaigning for independence leading up to the 1999 referendum, with the point of view that the vote would be easily won. The local youth heeded his call by and large, thus reducing some tension in the pre-referendum months. Several times Xanana also ordered his men, armed and ready, to stay in their camps even after militias led by the Indonesian military carried out terrible massacres. This made clear to the world that these mass killings were not related to a "civil war."

Xanana was released from prison following the referendum of August 1999, and returned to East Timor. He was soon married to Australian activist Kirsty Sword. Their courtship had taken place while he was in jail, and she had been an active link in the clandestine resistance

³ It is also clear that by 1992 international solidarity with East Timor had forced many nations to put pressure on Indonesia in the area of human rights. In earlier years, hundreds of resistance fighters, including many leaders, had been summarily executed upon their capture by the Indonesian military.

movement. They met only once before he was released, but now have a baby and continue to work together on various issues in East Timor.

The story of Xanana's life, his ability to adapt, to learn, and to apply what he has learned impresses me greatly. It is easy to like him, and hard to locate his faults. While I know that he is mortal, his shortcomings simply have not been published. Every documenter's account of him is positive and respectful, and my friends who know him support that opinion as well. He is universally loved among common people. He has remained unflinchingly modest, and out of that modesty comes great respect and power. He also realizes that his heroic image is excessive among the Timorese people, and is concerned about where that will lead. He seems to understand that no one person is the answer to this nation's ills, and has repeatedly stated that he will not seek the presidency and is not fit to be a politician.

This past March 28, making good on his stated intentions, Gusmao quit his position as president of the National Council. Following a session where the NC voted not to bring to discussion a proposal that would have provided a forum for public education and debate around the development of the new constitution, Gusmao resigned. Citing too much infighting and time wasted, as well as his own lack of fitness for politics, he vowed to continue working for unity among East Timorese, but outside the political realm.

Another well-known East Timorese politician immediately stepped up to take Xanana's place: Jose Ramos-Horta. Vieira de Mello accepted his offer, and moved to have him installed as National Council president.

Jose Ramos-Horta has a history altogether different from Xanana's. Born in 1949, he excelled in his studies and went through the colonial school system with honors. His father, a Portuguese, had been exiled from Portugal for political reasons, and Jose was to meet a similar fate. He became a journalist in 1969, and as a result of several scathing reports on the colonial government, he was exiled to Mozambique in 1971.

A major result of Ramos-Horta's exile was his contact with independence movements of Mozambique and Angola. He was introduced to new politics and new strategies and studied them well. After he returned to East Timor, he was made Chief of External Affairs and Information for Fretilin. He traveled to Jakarta in 1974 and received Indonesia's explicit promise that it would respect the integrity and independence of East Timor. With this good news, he went to Australia to request similar assurance. There for a month he was ignored, and told that East Timor was of no relevance to Australia.

Three days before Indonesia invaded Dili in 1975, Ramos-Horta left East Timor, bound for Portugal. He was

not to return for 25 years. He became, at 25 years of age, the primary connection between the East Timorese resistance movement and the international community. He lived for most of the 80's in Brooklyn, officially representing Fretilin at the UN and trying to garner support for East Timor.

Ramos-Horta and the other resistance diplomats received wholehearted support from only four governments: Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. It was always difficult or impossible to communicate with the guerrilla forces in East Timor. As British historian John Taylor points out, Ramos-Horta "had to learn all the diplomatic tricks and skills in a very short time, and in a situation in which (he was) either politely dismissed or treated with benign tolerance by most governments."

As always, he was a good student. When I have seen Jose in action, I have been impressed at his savvy with the media, his command of information and his eloquent delivery. His sharp tongue has served his cause well. "A pathetic bystander," was what he termed Portugal as he tried to get its government to take a responsible stand on East Timor in the 80's. Upon learning of Indonesian dictator/president Suharto's illness in the late 90's, Jose's reaction was: "I hope he burns in hell."

Jose Ramos-Horta, together with East Timorese Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996. This marked an enormous step toward self-determination for the East Timorese people.

In recent years, Ramos-Horta has, in addition to his continued globetrotting for East Timor, opened the Diplomacy Training Programme in the Law Faculty of the University of New South Wales, Sydney. As an UNTAET Foreign Affairs Cabinet Member, he is sending a dozen East Timorese youth through the program, effectively creating a core of diplomats for the young nation.

Ramos-Horta did not get a chance to lead the NC. The response of other NC members was as broadly varying as their backgrounds. Some supported the candidacy of Ramos-Horta, some moved to nominate other NC members for the position of speaker, others thought it best to wait until the dust of Gusmao's departure had settled.

The NC voted to select a new speaker immediately. Several more people were suggested, but only one accepted nomination: Manuel Carrascalao. The vote between the two was a tie, and in the recess before a second vote, Ramos-Horta decided to withdraw from the election, effectively making Carrascalao the new NC speaker.

Manuel Carrascalao is one of a family of well-to-do mestizos with strong connections to both Portugal and Macao. He represents East Timor's business community's interests on the NC, and has a long history of supporting

the resistance movement.⁴ In 1999, his house was destroyed and his son killed by pro-Indonesian forces. Ramos-Horta gave him high praise and commendations upon his rise to the head of the NC, saying that he would be a fine speaker.

But Carrascalao's reign will last less than three months. The NC is slated to be dissolved by mid-July, making way for the constituent-assembly election in August. Already there is a flurry of activity as the various parties begin their preparations.

UNTAET'S Independent Electoral Commission recently held two informational meetings with political party representatives. The parties have been briefed on the procedures for registration, and have application forms. The time for collecting signatures has arrived; campaigning soon will begin.

There are currently 13 political parties represented on the NC, as well as two or three that are not represented. The two largest parties are Fretilin and UDT. They have been around since 1974, along with three other smaller ones: Trabalhista, a party based on labor, APODETI (*Associação Popular Democrática de Timor*), a pro-Indonesian party, and KOTA (*Klibur Oan Timor Ass'wain* – "Sons of Timor Warriors") a party originally based on the traditional indigenous feudal structure. All the others have appeared in the last two to five years. There is a conservative Catholic party, a liberal Christian party, a socialist party (in addition to the "labor" party), three parties that still support autonomy within Indonesia, and a "middle-way" party put together by leaders from both Fretilin and UDT. Most of these parties are very small, some having few if any members outside the leadership circle.

After scrutinizing information about the various parties, I have found their platforms, even those of the two major ones, to be unclear. UDT, founded by Manuel Carrascalao's brother Joao, initially followed a pro-Portuguese line, stressing a methodic transition to independence while maintaining strong connections to the "Motherland," and was anti-communist. It was made up primarily of local elite within the colonial towns. Today the UDT seems to be struggling to maintain its large



The Socialist Party of East Timor prioritizes the participation of low-income women, and has started a number of cooperatives to market local products. PST headquarters, Dili.

membership while defining a new agenda.

Fretilin, which began as ASDT (*Associação Social Democrática Timor*), was formed, according to Ramos-Horta, circa 1974, with the platform: "freedom of ideas and expression on the one hand and a mixed economy on the other." Fretilin had a more popular base than UDT, and has always claimed the largest membership. The original members of Fretilin ranged in political ideology from Maoists to staunch anti-communists. Naturally, these differences were the source of much division and difficulty during the resistance. Foreign powers including Indonesia were always ready to call Fretilin a "dangerous communist element," but Xanana makes clear in his autobiography that not only was the party not self-defined as communist, but many of its members were also unclear on exactly what communism meant.

At this time, the most controversial (and noisiest) political group is CPD-RDTL (*Conselho Popular pela Defesa da República Democrática de Timor Leste*). Using as platform the original declaration of independence on November 28, 1975, CPD-RDTL is declaring itself to be the restoration of the true Fretilin, not necessarily a party, but representative of the should-be government. The original president of Fretilin, Francisco Xavier do Amaral, is active in this party, even though he was expelled from Fretilin in

⁴ Interestingly, Xanana was once refused a loan from Carrascalao when he was head of agriculture under the Portuguese colonial government. The loan was to start a farming enterprise, and Carrascalao insisted that Xanana take on a larger operation than he was comfortable with.



The CNRT's office complex, nestled in the foot hills of south Dili, was previously the primary-level teacher-training center under Indonesia. The UN used the complex as its base for the referendum of 1999, and the compound was made famous by the militia siege following the vote when over 2000 people sought refuge within its walls.

1977 for trying to negotiate with the Indonesians and, suspiciously, spent the occupation living well in Jakarta. CPD-RDTL members have held dozens of protests and rallies around the UNTAET headquarters demanding recognition and positions of power, and denying accusations of Indonesian support.

Most people here believe that forces in Indonesia are supporting and possibly controlling local organizations that work to disrupt the peaceful development of the country. While proof is hard to come by, all evidence points in that direction, and anyone with connections to Indonesia is suspect. For this and other reasons, violence and turmoil are predicted to erupt around the coming election. Unity and peaceful resolution of differences is a priority for many groups, political and otherwise.

It is thus unwelcome news that the CNRT (*Conselho Nacional Resistencia Timorese*) will cease to exist within a few months. The CNRT is a coalition organization designed to unify the various parties that resisted the Indonesian occupation. The creation of the CNRT in 1998 was a wise political move, and the product of 17 years of attempts at bringing together factions among the Timorese resistance. Both Xanana and Ramos-Horta quit Fretilin in order to focus on unification through CNRT and its predecessor organizations.

With Xanana at its head, CNRT became the symbol of a free East Timor. The 1999 ballot had a picture of the CNRT flag on a map of East Timor beside the square to be marked in rejection of autonomy under Indonesia. The organizational structure of CNRT has been invaluable since the referendum in coordinating the activities of international aid organizations and defining the East Timorese agenda. Only three or four of East Timor's po-

litical parties are not members of CNRT, and I have noticed CNRT offices in the tiniest villages I have visited.

But the CNRT is not a party, nor is it a government body. Thus, Xanana and other CNRT leaders claim that it has served its purpose, and will now make way for a new political structure. Though the situation is not all love and roses today (both Fretilin and UDT currently have strained relations with CNRT), most feel that what unity has been provided by the CNRT will be sorely missed.

I recently strolled through a beachfront rally put together by CPD-RDTL. Scattered along Dili's wharf were groups from all over East Timor. They camped under crude tents, tended fires cooking giant pots of food, and performed traditional dances and songs as vendors showed their wares. The mood was one of celebration, not politics. Most of the attendees were common peasants, excited by a trip to Dili and the reality of a free nation. No one I talked with knew much about CPD-RDTL or its platform. Nor could they articulate exactly why CPD-RDTL was holding a large rally. While all my observations were of reckless joy and contentedness, Mark Twain's traveling salesman crept back into my mind and I was filled with uneasiness as I left.

The future of politics in East Timor is extremely cloudy. Will the various parties find common ground and merge, or solidify their platforms and organize their supporters? Will infighting stifle the successful growth of a healthy political process? Will the numerous groups of people and interests in East Timor find adequate representation in the new government? Will the constitution-building process be a joke, or will the population be truly involved? Will the people of East Timor receive enough good information to successfully identify which of their leaders are selling bad snake oil? We shall see. □



The CPD-RDTL faction from Aileu, a town in central East Timor.

The CPD-RDTL “Flag Rally” Beachfront, Dili



A stack of flags used during the rally. This flag is the original flag of the ASDT, predecessor party to Fretilin. Fretilin continues to use the flag, although several splinter parties including CPD-RDTL are trying to commandeer the flag as their official symbol because it is well known to the local population.



Traditional dances went on continuously during the rally. Women beat drums and small gongs and walked together closely in small circles. Men waved traditional swords and spears and danced freely around the group of women.

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS FELLOWS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

Shelly Renae Browning (March 2001- 2003) • **AUSTRALIA**

A surgeon specializing in ears and hearing, Dr. Browning is studying the approaches of traditional healers among the Aborigines of Australia to hearing loss and ear problems. She won her B.S. in Chemistry at the University of the South, studied physician/patient relationships in China and Australia on a Thomas J. Watson Fellowship and won her M.D. at Emory University in Atlanta. Before her ICWA fellowship, she was a Fellow in Skull-Base Surgery in Montreal at McGill University's Department of Otolaryngology.

Wendy Call (May 2000 - 2002) • **MEXICO**

A "Healthy Societies" Fellow, Wendy is spending two years in Mexico's Isthmus of Tehuantepec, immersed in contradictory trends: an attempt to industrialize and "develop" land along a proposed Caribbean-to-Pacific containerized railway, and the desire of indigenous peoples to preserve their way of life and some of Mexico's last remaining old-growth forests. With a B.A. in Biology from Oberlin, Wendy has worked as communications coordinator for Grassroots International and national campaign director for Infact, a corporate accountability organization.

Martha Farmelo (April 2001- 2003) • **ARGENTINA**

A Georgetown graduate (major: psychology; minor, Spanish) with a Master's in Public Affairs from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, Martha is the Institute's Suzanne Ecke McColl Fellow studying gender issues in Argentina. Married to an Argentine doctoral candidate and mother of a small son, she will be focusing on both genders, which is immensely important in a land of *Italo/Latino machismo*. Martha has been involved with Latin America all her professional life, having worked with Catholic Relief Services and the Inter-American Development Bank in Costa Rica, with Human Rights Watch in Ecuador and the Inter-American Foundation in El Salvador, Uruguay and at the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing.

Gregory Feifer (January 2000 - 2002) • **RUSSIA**

With fluent Russian and a Master's from Harvard, Gregory worked in Moscow as political editor for *Agence France-Presse* and the weekly *Russia Journal* in 1998-9. He sees Russia's latest failures at economic and political reform as a continuation of failed attempts at Westernization that began with Peter the Great — failures that a long succession of behind-the-scenes elites have used to run Russia behind a mythic facade of "strong rulers" for centuries. He plans to assess the continuation of these cultural underpinnings of Russian governance in the wake of the Gorbachev/Yeltsin succession.

Curt Gabrielson (December 2000 - 2002) • **EAST TIMOR**

With a Missouri farm background and an MIT degree in physics, Curt is spending two years in East Timor, watching the new nation create an education system of its own out of the ashes of the Indonesian system. Since finishing MIT in 1993, Curt has focused on delivering inexpensive and culturally relevant hands-on science education to minority and low-income students. Based at the Teacher Institute of the Exploratorium in San Francisco, he has worked with youth and teachers in Beijing, Tibet, and the Mexican-American agricultural town of Watsonville, California.

Peter Keller (March 2000 - 2002) • **CHILE**

Public affairs officer at Redwood National Park and a park planner at Yosemite National Park before his fellowship, Peter holds a B.S. in Recreation Resource Management from the University of Montana and a Masters in Environmental Law from the Vermont Law School. As a John Miller Musser Memorial Forest & Society Fellow, he is spending two years in Chile and Argentina comparing the operations of parks and forest reserves controlled by the Chilean and Argentine governments to those controlled by private persons and non-governmental organizations.

Leena Khan (April 2001-2003) • **PAKISTAN**

A lawyer who formerly dealt with immigration and international-business law in the Washington, DC area, Leena will study the status of women under the "islamization" of Pakistani law that began in the 1980s and continues to this day. Born in Pakistan and immersed in Persian and Urdu literature by her grandfather, she is a Muslim herself and holds a B.A. from North Carolina State University and a J.D. from the University of San Diego.

Jean Benoît Nadeau (December 1998-2000) • **FRANCE**

A French-Canadian journalist and playwright, Jean Benoît studied drama at the National Theater School in Montreal, then received a B.A. from McGill University in Political Science and History. The holder of several Canadian magazine and investigative-journalism awards, he is spending his ICWA-fellowship years in France studying "the resistance of the French to the trend of economic and cultural globalization."

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